

**Supernatural Power Ritual and Divination in Ancient
Israelite Society: A Social-
Scientific, Poetics, and Comparative Analysis of
Deuteronomy 18**

Glen A. Taylor

A thesis submitted to
The University of Gloucestershire
in accordance with the requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Faculty of Humanities

August 2005

FRANCIS CLOSE HALL
LEARNING CENTRE
UNIVERSITY OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE
Swindon Road, Cheltenham GL50 4AZ
Tel: 01242 714600

Abstract

The thesis argued for here is that a social-scientific, poetics, and comparative analysis reveals that all the religious phenomena listed in Deuteronomy 18.10-11 are bound together in a conceptual unity. The religious practitioners and practices enumerated properly portray various elements characteristic of ANE religious beliefs in conflict with an emerging, world-constructing, and ideologically explicit Yahwistic vision of reality. Furthermore, Deuteronomy presents the Yahwistic prophet, the *nābî*, as the preeminent symbol of Yahwistic reality, which seeks to replace all other notions of reality in the Israelite community.

This study makes contributions to an interdisciplinary approach to biblical interpretation by using a combination of social-scientific criticism, poetics literary analysis, and comparative analysis of ANE religions and ethnographic field studies. Special significance is given to Meir Sternberg's poetics analysis, Peter Berger's theory of world-construction, Michael Carrither's theory of intersubjectivity, and Douglas Davies' theory of clusters of belief. This study also makes contributions to the understanding of the unique role of the Yahwistic prophet as preeminent cultural symbol in Israelite society.

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the University of Gloucestershire and is original except where indicated by specific reference in the text. No part of the thesis has been submitted as part of any other academic award. The thesis has not been presented to any other education institution in the United Kingdom or overseas.

I wish to express my thanks and gratitude to my first supervisor Dr. Gordon Wenham for his wise guidance and encouragement in bridging biblical studies and social science. I also am grateful to my second supervisor Dr. Douglas Davies for his wisdom and guidance in navigating theory and method in the social sciences. I would also like to thank Dr. Craig Bartholomew for stimulating and helpful insights regarding philosophical hermeneutics. However, responsibility for the views expressed in the thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University.

Signed Date.....

Table of Contents

Abbreviations	viii
1. Introduction	1
Delimitation	2
Method	2
Assumptions and Definitions	4
2. Method: A Social-Scientific, Poetics, and Comparative Methodology	11
Introduction	11
Anthropology and Sociology	14
The Development of Anthropology in OT Studies	16
Functionalism	19
Structuralism	22
Embodiment	24
Social-scientific Criticism	28
Poetics Analysis	30
A History of Literary Method in Biblical Studies	34
Interdisciplinary Methodology	44
Description of Method Used in this Study	45
Conclusion	58
3. Religion in the Ancient Near East, Ancient Mediterranean World, and Classical World	59
Introduction	59
Relevant Anthropological and Sociological Theories	60
Religion in the Ancient Mediterranean and Classical Worlds	62
Introduction	62
Cosmic Warfare Worldview	67
Priests and Divination	69
Priests and Prophecy	75
Netherworld and Mortuary Cult	75

Human Sacrifice	78
Priests and Magic	78
AMW and CW Terms	82
Religion in Ancient Egyptian Society	85
Introduction	85
Cosmic Warfare Worldview	87
Priests and Divination	88
Priests and Prophecy	90
Netherworld and Mortuary Cult	95
Human Sacrifice	97
Priests and Magic	99
Conclusion	103
Religion in Ancient Mesopotamian and Anatolian Societies	104
Introduction	104
Cosmic Warfare Worldview	107
Priests and Divination	110
Priests and Prophecy	117
Netherworld and Mortuary Cult	120
Human Sacrifice	126
Priests and Magic	128
Conclusion	134
Religion in Ancient Syro-Palestinian Societies	136
Introduction	136
Cosmic Warfare Worldview	141
Priests and Divination	143
Priests and Prophecy	149
Netherworld and Mortuary Cult	153
Human Sacrifice	163
Priests and Magic	168
Conclusion	172
Religion in Ancient Israel	173
Introduction	173
Cosmic Warfare Worldview in Yahwism	176
Divination and Yahwism	179
Priests and Prophecy in Yahwism	181
Netherworld, Mortuary Cult, and Yahwism	182

Human Sacrifice and Yahwism	184
Magic and Yahwism	186
Conclusion	187
4. Exegesis of Deuteronomy 18	188
Introduction	188
Yahwistic Cosmology	189
The Literary Cotext	203
The Yahwistic <i>Kōhēn and Lēwî</i>	210
Introduction	210
The <i>Kōhēn</i> in Deuteronomy	218
The Provision for the <i>Kōhēn</i> and <i>Lēwî</i> Expressed in Deuteronomy 18.1-8	220
<i>The unique inheritance of the whole tribe of Levi</i> (vv. 1-2)	221
<i>The specifics of the provisions for the <i>kōhēn</i> (vv. 3-5)</i>	226
<i>The right of the <i>lēwî</i> to serve at the chosen sanctuary</i> <i>and receive equal provisions (vv. 6-8)</i>	227
The Yahwistic <i>Nābi'</i>	231
Introduction	231
The <i>Nābi'</i> in Deuteronomy	234
The Role and Authority of the <i>Nābi'</i> Expressed in Deut 18.15-22	236
<i>Obedience to the Yahwistic <i>Nābi'</i> (vv. 15, 19)</i>	237
<i>An Etiology for the Institution of Prophecy</i> (vv. 16-18)	245
<i>Illegitimate <i>N^ebî'îm</i> (vv. 20-22)</i>	248
The Forbidden Religious Phenomena	252
Introduction	252
The <i>Tô'ēbōt</i> (vv. 9-14)	255
<i>Ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bitô bāēš</i> (v. 10)	259
<i>Qōsēm q^e sāmîm</i> (v. 10)	276
<i>M^e 'ônēn</i> (v. 10)	284
<i>M^e naḥeš</i> (v. 10)	287
<i>M^e kaššēp</i> (v. 10)	291
<i>Hōbēr Hāber</i> (v. 11)	294
<i>Šō'el 'ōb w^e yidd^e 'ōnî</i> (v. 11)	296

<i>Dōrēš 'el hammētīm (v. 11)</i>	301
5. Conclusion	305
Bibliography	310

Abbreviations

Textual

Aram	Aramaic
Aq	Aquila
BHS	K. Elliger and W. Rudolf (eds.) <i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> , 2nd ed., Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1983
Dtr	the Deuteronomist
DtrH	the Deuteronomistic History (Joshua-Kings)
ET	English Text
HB	Hebrew Bible
LXX	Septuagint
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
Sam	Samaritan Pentateuch
Sym	Symmachus
Theod	Theodotion

Old Testament

Gen	Genesis	Isa	Isaiah
Exod	Exodus	Jer	Jeremiah
Lev	Leviticus	Lam	Lamentations
Num	Numbers	Ezek	Ezekiel
Deut	Deuteronomy	Dan	Daniel
Josh	Joshua	Hos	Hosea
Judg	Judges	Joel	Joel
Ruth	Ruth	Amos	Amos
1-2 Sam	1-2 Samuel	Obad	Obadiah
1-2 Kgs	1-2 Kings	Jon	Jonah
1-2 Chr	1-2 Chronicles	Mic	Micah
Ezra	Ezra	Nah	Nahum
Neh	Nehemiah	Hab	Habakkuk
Esth	Esther	Zeph	Zephaniah
Job	Job	Hag	Haggai
Ps(s)	Psalm(s)	Zech	Zechariah
Prov	Proverbs	Mal	Malachi
Eccl	Ecclesiastes		
Cant	Canticles, Song of Solomon		

New Testament

Matt	Matthew	Luke	Luke
------	---------	------	------

Mark	Mark	John	John
Acts	Acts	Titus	Titus
Rom	Romans	Philem	Philemon
1-2 Cor	1-2 Corinthians	Heb	Hebrews
Gal	Galatians	Jas	James
Eph	Ephesians	1-2 Pet	1-2 Peter
Phil	Philippians	1-2-3 John	1-2-3 John
Col	Colossians	Jude	Jude
1-2 Thess	1-2 Thessalonians	Rev	Revelation
1-2 Tim	1-2 Timothy		

Hebrew Grammar

abs.	absolute	impf.	imperfect
acc.	accusative	impv.	imperative
act.	active	ind.	indicative
adv.	adverb, adverbial	inf.	infinitive
c.	common	int.	interrogative
conj.	conjunction	juss.	jussive
consec.	consecutive	masc.	masculine
constr.	construct	niph.	niphal
def. art.	definite article	pass.	passive
disj.	disjunctive	pf.	perfect
du.	dual	pilp.	piel
fem.	feminine	pl.	plural
fut.	future	prep.	preposition
hiph.	hiphil	ptcp.	participle
hithp.	hithpael	sg.	singular
hoph.	hophal	suff.	suffix (es)

Journals, Reference Works, Series

<i>AA</i>	<i>American Anthropologist</i>
AB	Anchor Bible
<i>ABD</i>	D. N. Freedman (ed.) <i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> , 6 vols., New York: Doubleday, 1992.
ACCS	Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
<i>ANET</i>	J. B. Pritchard (ed.), <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> , 3rd ed., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOTC	Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries
<i>ARU</i>	J. Kohler, and A. Ungnad, <i>Assyrische Rechtsurkunden</i> , Leipzig Pfeiffer, 1913.
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>

<i>BAG</i>	W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich (eds.) <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> , Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979 Second Edition.
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
<i>BDB</i>	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs (eds.), <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> , Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951 Reprint.
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BLS	The Bible and Liberation Series
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BO	Berit Olam
BS	The Biblical Seminar
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>CAD</i>	I. I. Gelb et. al. (eds.), <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> , Chicago: Oriental Institute (1956-)
<i>CANE</i>	J. M. Sasson (ed.), <i>Civilizations of the Ancient Near East</i> , 4 vols., Peabody, MA: Hendrikson Publishers, 2000 reprint.
CB	The Century Bible
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
CC	Continental Commentary
CHANE	Culture & History of the Ancient Near East
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et belleslettres</i>
CS	W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger (eds.), <i>The Context of Scripture: Canonical Compositions, Monumental Inscriptions, and Archival Documents from the Biblical World</i> , 3 vols., Leiden: Brill Publishers, 1997-2002.
CSCS	Cambridge Studies in Cultural Systems
CSSCA	Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology
<i>DBI</i>	R. J. Coggins, and J. L. Houlden (eds.), <i>A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation</i> , London: SCM Publishers, 1992 2nd edition.
<i>DDD</i>	K. v. d. Toorn, B. Becking, and P. W. v. d. Horst (eds.), <i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> , Leiden: Brill Publishers, 1999 2nd edition.
<i>EI</i>	C. E. Bosworth, E. v. Donzel, W. P. Heinrichs, and C. Pellat (eds.), <i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 11 vols., Leiden: Brill Publishers, 1960-2002.
<i>ER</i>	M. Eliade (ed.), <i>The Encyclopedia of Religion</i> , 16 vols., London: Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1987.
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FOTL	The Forms of the Old Testament Literature
<i>GKC</i>	E. Kautzsch (ed.), <i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> (rev. and trans. A. E. Cowley), Oxford: Clarendon, 1985 Reprint.
GPT	Growing Points in Theology
<i>HALOT</i>	L. Koehler, and W. Baumgartner, <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> , 5 vols., Leiden: Brill Publishers, 1995.
<i>HALAT</i>	L. Koehler, and W. Baumgartner, <i>Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament</i> , 2 vols., Leiden: Brill Publishers, 1995.
<i>HAT</i>	<i>Handbuch zum Alten Testament</i>

<i>HSM</i>	<i>Harvard Semitic Monographs</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IOS</i>	<i>Israel Oriental Studies</i>
<i>IRT</i>	Issues in Religion and Theology
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JP</i>	<i>Journal of Philology</i>
<i>JPS</i>	The Jewish Publication Society
<i>JPSTC</i>	The Jewish Publication Society Torah Commentary
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Ritual Studies</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSOTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series
<i>JSSEA</i>	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>LAI</i>	<i>Library of Ancient Israel</i>
<i>LD</i>	C. T. Lewis, and C. Short, <i>A Latin Dictionary: Founded on Andrew's Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary</i> , Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966 Reprint.
<i>LTC</i>	Language, Thought, and Culture: Advances in the Study of Cognition
<i>MMES</i>	Modern Middle East Series
<i>NBD</i>	J. D. Douglas (ed.), <i>The New Bible Dictionary</i> , Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 1962 Reprint.
<i>NCB</i>	New Century Bible Commentary
<i>NIB</i>	New Interpreter's Bible
<i>NIBCOT</i>	New International Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>NIDOTTE</i>	W. A. VanGemeren (ed.), <i>New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology & Exegesis</i> , 5 vols., London: Paternoster Press, 1996.
<i>NSBT</i>	New Studies in Biblical Theology
<i>OA</i>	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i>
<i>OBO</i>	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
<i>OBL</i>	<i>Orientalia et Biblica Lovaniensia</i>
<i>OBT</i>	Overtures to Biblical Theology
<i>OEANE</i>	E. M. Meyers (ed.), <i>The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East</i> , Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
<i>OLA</i>	Orientalia lovaniensia analecta
<i>OTG</i>	Old Testament Guides
<i>OTL</i>	Old Testament Library
<i>OTS</i>	Old Testament Studies
<i>PSB</i>	<i>Princeton Seminary Bulletin</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>SBAB</i>	Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin
<i>SBB</i>	The Soncino Books of the Bible
<i>SBL</i>	Society of Biblical Literature
<i>SBLSCS</i>	Septuagint and Cognate Studies

SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SHBC	Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary
SHS	Scripture & Hermeneutics Series
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandia
SHCANE	Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East
<i>TB</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>TDOT</i>	G. J. Botterweck, J., H. Ringgren, and H.-J. Fabry (eds.), <i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> , 13 vols., Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 1974-2003.
<i>THAT</i>	E. Jenni, and C. Westermann (eds.), <i>Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> , 2 vols., München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1978-79.
<i>TLOT</i>	E. Jenni, and C. Westermann (eds.), <i>Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> , 3 vols., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1997.
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Bible Commentary
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Assyrologie</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

Miscellaneous

Akk.	Akkadian
ANE	Ancient Near Eastern
AMW	Ancient Mediterranean World
ASV	American Standard Version
AV	Authorised Version
CW	Classic World
ESV	English Standard Version
JB	Jerusalem Bible
LB	Late Bronze
MB	Middle Bronze
NAS	New American Standard
NIV	New International Version
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NKJV	New King James Version
NLT	New Living Translation
RHE	Douay-Rheims Version
RSV	Revised Standard Version
TEV	Today's English Version

Chapter One

Introduction

There is much debate about the definitions of and relationship between magic, divination, and religion in general,¹ and in the HB, as well as in the various ANE (ancient Near Eastern) social contexts in particular.² Are magic and divination aspects of a *popular religion* in Israel and other ANE religions? Or are magic and divination normal aspects of ANE religion? These questions are important because much confusion exists concerning the extent of magic and divination in the HB, ancient Israelite society, and the societies of the ANE. The answers to the questions posed above have many ramifications for the understanding of Yahwistic religion, the religion of Israelites in general, and the religious beliefs of other ANE communities. For example, they affect the way the practitioners and practices in Deut 18.10-11 are understood. At times the religious phenomena enumerated have not been understood to fit together appropriately.³ The first item in the list alluding to child sacrifice has been understood especially to be ill-suited to the context.⁴ This problem will be

¹J. G. Gager, "Panel Discussion: *Magic in the Ancient World* by Fritz Graf," *Numen* 46/3 (1999) 291–325; D. Hammond, "Magic: A Problem in Semantics," *AA* 72 (1970) 1349–56; J. Middleton, "Magic: Theories of Magic," *ER* (New York: Macmillan, 1987) 82–9; P. Schäfer, and H. G. Kippenberg, "Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium," *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium* (ed. P. Schäfer and H. G. Kippenberg; Leiden: Brill, 1997) ix–xi.

²F. H. Cryer, *Divination in Ancient Israel and Its Near Eastern Environment* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1994) 233–50; A. Jeffers, *Magic and Divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria* (SHCANE; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 1–16; J. K. Kuemmerlin-McLean, "Divination and Magic in the Religion of Ancient Israel: A Study in Perspectives and Methodology," Ph. D. Dissertation (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University, 1986) 6–7, 20–2; P. D. Miller, *They Cried to the Lord: The Form and Theology of Biblical Prayer* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1994) 283–90; T. W. Overholt, *Cultural Anthropology and the Old Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996) 69–83; J. Sweek, "Book Review of Divination in Ancient Israel and Its Near Eastern Environment," *JBL* (1997) 725–7.

³A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy* (NCBC; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1981) 280. Some while not stating overtly that *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bitô bāēš* does not belong in the list, do not include it in the discussion of magic and divination, either explicitly or implicitly assigning it to a different category (G. Braulik, *The Theology of Deuteronomy: Collected Essays of Georg Braulik, O.S.B.* [N. Richland Hills, TX: Bibal, 1994] 195; Cryer, *Divination in Israel*, 256; Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 123–4; B. Kedar, *Biblische Semantik* [Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kolhammer, 1981] 90; J. K. Kuemmerlin-McLean, "Divination and Magic," 63–8; P. D. Miller, *Deuteronomy* [Interpretation; Louisville: John Knox, 1990] 151; D. Olson, *Deuteronomy and the Death of Moses* [OBT; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1994] 84; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy* [NIBCOT; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996] 216).

⁴The linguistic term *context* will be used to indicate the sentences, paragraphs and chapters surrounding a text. The term *context* will signify the sociological or historical setting of the text (P. Cotterell, and M. Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation* [London: SPCK, 1989] 16).

explicated in detail in Chapter 4. The thesis that I argue for in this study is that all the phenomena listed in Deut 18.10-11, including child sacrifice, properly portray various elements characteristic of ANE religious beliefs and practices in conflict with an emerging, world-constructing, and ideologically explicit Yahwistic vision of reality.⁵ Positively, I am arguing that Deut presents the Yahwistic prophet, the *nābî*, as the preeminent symbol of Yahwistic ultimate values, which seeks to replace all other notions of reality in the Israelite community.

Delimitation

Exploring the question of the relationship of magic and divination to religion in the Israelite and various ANE contexts will be centred in Deut 18. It is an appropriate place to begin such a study because the longest list of practices often referred to as magic and divination are found there (18.10-11). The terms found in Deut 18 will be used as a point of departure to explore their links to other parts of the HB. In an ANE comparative analysis, the terms and concepts in Deut 18 will be used as guides to analogous religious practitioners and practices found in the ANE in the period beginning with the formation of the Israelite community in Palestine in the Late Bronze (LB) Age/early Iron Age to the exile in Iron Age II (586 BCE). Certain ethnographic field studies will be used to help illumine religious issues in Deut 18. However, due to space limitations, only a cursory review can be made of the relevant religious issues found in the ANE communities and ethnographic field studies.

Method

Admittedly, the thesis suggested is a difficult one to argue for conclusively. Yet, a more nuanced understanding of the religion and worldview of the various ANE cultures implied in Deut 18, as well as the Yahwists of the HB, is needed because the regnant modern perspective of things ‘magic’ and ‘superstitious’ has obscured a more accurate and sympathetic understanding of ANE religion. The following argument will

⁵For elaboration of the concept of world-construction and explicit/implicit ideology see Chapter 2, p. 49.

not resolve all the difficulties involved, but perhaps will aid in moving the discussion forward. In order to make a contribution to the discussion and understanding of magic, divination, and religion in the HB I am proposing a method combining social-scientific criticism, literary criticism, and comparative analysis. This method can be broken down further to include anthropological, sociological, and poetics theories, as well as ethnographic and ANE religions comparative analyses. The literary theory of poetics plays a significant part in interpretation because by nature, the HB is a work of literature and must be read as such.⁶ In most of the study the theory of poetics elucidated by Meir Sternberg will remain tacit, while the elements of social-scientific criticism will have more focused discussion. Anthropological and sociological theory is necessary because it provides a theoretical basis for interpreting an ancient society which is far removed from our experience in space and time.⁷ A comparative analysis using ethnographic case studies from the discipline of anthropology is important in that it provides a type of concrete knowledge of societies, a *phronesis*, viewed as preferable to theoretical knowledge by Aristotle and more recently echoed by Hans-Georg Gadamer.⁸ This concrete knowledge comes by way of experiencing and analysing living communities in sustained academic investigation.⁹ Comparison is an innate epistemological method. The assumption that comparison is a means of building one's knowledge of the *other* was part of the reason for the rise of the discipline of comparative religion in the 19th century.¹⁰ Finally, a comparative analysis of ANE religions is necessary because the societies of the ANE were the closest in space and time to ancient Israel. I propose that the mix of literary and sociological theory, alongside concrete examples of ANE and modern cross-cultural communities with worldviews generally analogous to the ANE, will provide an 'in front of' the text

⁶M. Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Literature: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 1985) 2.

⁷Overholt, *Cultural Anthropology*, 3–21.

⁸H.-G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (London: Continuum, 2003 2nd revised edition) 21.

⁹R. R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1980) 14–6; Overholt, *Cultural Anthropology*, 1–3.

¹⁰E. J. Sharpe, *Comparative Religion: A History* (La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1990 2nd Printing) xi-xii. See also B. J. Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (London: Westminster John Knox, 2001 3rd Edition) 3–4.

conditioning of the reader furnishing a more nuanced understanding of the definitions and relationship of magic, divination, and religion in Deut 18. Chapter 2 will be devoted to the discussion of method. Let us now make explicit some assumptions and definitions used in the study.

Assumptions and Definitions

In this discourse I assume a purpose for language, without which this project would flounder.¹¹ In the same way, whether reading ancient texts or modern ethnographic case studies, it is assumed that there is a purposive sense embedded in the text which the reader must apprehend.¹² This in turn leads to understanding. This does not mean that the reader does not get it wrong, or does not struggle to understand the *other* in the process of reading. But it does mean that by applying certain heuristic principles, the margin for error in understanding is reduced. This will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

I realise at this point that there are terms used that require definition. In this study there will be two types of definitions given. First, an ethnographic method will be used. This method seeks to flag up discrete concepts by transliterating the local words used for the terms being expressed. Each culture has a unique social *realm* which gives subtlety to the meaning contained in their words.¹³ By remaining sensitive to this reality a more nuanced understanding of terms and worlds is achieved. So for example, in discussing concepts of ‘magic’ in the Egyptian context the term *ḥk’w* will be used, in the Assyrian context *āšipūtu* or *kaššāpūtu* will be used, and in the Hebrew *kešep* will be used.

¹¹In this way I follow those who understand language to carry meaning, and that texts objectively communicate with their readers, even while admitting the limits of language for communication (cf. Gadamer, *Truth*, 383–405; P. Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* [Fort Worth: Texas Christian University, 1976] 63; G. Steiner, *Real Presences* [Chicago: University of Chicago, 1991] 3–4; Sternberg, *Poetics*, 1–23). This means that I do not follow a Derridean theory of language which says, in essence, that the “significative nature of language appears rather uncertain, partial, or inessential (J. Derrida, *Writing and Difference* [Chicago: University of Chicago, 1978] 4).”

¹²Sternberg, *Poetics*, 1.

¹³R. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (CSSCA; Cambridge: CUP, 1999) 9.

A second type of theoretical definition will be used for more general words or phrases which translate alien concepts for the reader. This follows Karel van der Toorn's comment that an alien culture must be translated for its readers in order to be understood.¹⁴ This requires an attempt to provide theoretical definitions for the religious phenomena under consideration. Van der Toorn describes this definitional step in the following way:

The basis for any interpretation of the past—the basis, in fact, for history as a scholarly discipline—is the assumption that there is some common ground between previous generations and ourselves. Of course, they were different from us, and their lives and times unlike our own. Yet beneath the evident dissimilarities, we must assume the presence of some continuity by virtue of which their experience is somehow relevant to us. The axiomatic assumption of a common ground justifies our use of modern notions and concepts in the effort to read and organize the past. To bridge the distance between them and us we are forced to continually shift from their terms to our terms and back. To remain wholly within their terms (which is more than a matter of words, because these terms reflect and perpetuate a certain vision of reality) would defeat all efforts at interpretation. We cannot understand cultures different from our own unless we appropriate them by an effort of translation. Scrupulous adherence to the rule of *Eigenbegrifflichkeit* would condemn us to incomprehension.¹⁵

On the other hand, Michael Carrithers articulates the definitional and interpretive problem succinctly when he says “We need cultural glosses, but we need to be wary of them.”¹⁶ Realising the need for cultural glosses, along with the care and sensitivity necessary to understand local meanings correctly, some theoretical definitions for the

¹⁴K. v. d. Toorn, *Family Religion in Babylonia, Syria and Israel: Continuity and Change in the Forms of Religious Life* (SHCANE; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 6–7.

¹⁵Toorn, *Family Religion*, 6–7.

¹⁶M. Carrithers, *Why Humans Have Cultures: Explaining Anthropology and Social Diversity* (Oxford: OUP, 1992) 107.

terms used above will be ventured. I have attempted to follow general sociological definitions, but consensus is often lacking for many of the terms I am compelled to use such as *magic*, *divination*, and *prophecy*. I am often, but not exclusively, preferring the phrase *divine* or *supernatural power*, in the place of the term ‘magic’ because of its strong cultural and pejorative connotations which often do not fit cleanly with practices described in ANE societies. But there are places where it cannot be avoided. Unless otherwise qualified, I will use ‘magic’ when referring to an impersonal supernatural power, either existing independently or bequeathed by some type of deity, used to manipulate reality either for benevolent or malevolent purposes. Used in this sense it is not to be understood as a pejorative term, but simply descriptive of certain types of supernatural phenomena. ‘Magic’ is understood as belonging to a religious pattern of beliefs.¹⁷ Quotation marks will bracket the term ‘magic’ to highlight the acknowledged notorious difficulty in agreeing on a theoretical definition. Contrary to some, in this study ‘magic’ is not used as a genus for divination because I would argue that they are conceptually distinct. Both ‘magic’ and divination are understood to be species under the genus ‘religion.’ The essential characteristic of ‘magic’ which differentiates it from divination is *control*.¹⁸ Therefore, ‘magic’ will not be understood to include aspects of divine revelation.¹⁹

The next term needing qualification is *divination*. I understand divination to have both an objective and subjective revelatory function, which are interpreted by a traditional set of criteria. The objective aspect of divination is seen in the manipulation or ‘reading’ of natural or man-made objects such as lots, arrows, the flights of birds, or the entrails of sacrificial animals. It also includes a type of dream interpretation

¹⁷Cf. Middleton, “Magic,” 82; Hammond, “Magic,” 1355. This definition will not be satisfying for many, but it seems preferable to using ‘magic’ as a genus for all supernatural phenomena, thereby understanding everything from miracles to sorcery, prophecy to witchcraft, to come under its province (pace J. Milgrom, *Numbers* [JPSTC; Philadelphia: JPS, 1990] 471). Such a broad definition of magic would suit a materialist perspective, but would not suit the variety of religious worldviews which range across space and time.

¹⁸Sweek, “Divination,” 727.

¹⁹This is in contrast to Cryer and Olmo Lete who describe divination as a subcategory of magic (Cryer, *Divination in Israel*; G. d. Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion According to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit* [Bethesda, MD: CDL, 1999] 63, 345).

controlled by a tradition of standard interpretive norms, such as the Mesopotamian dream interpretation book. This is essentially an objective, or ‘scientific,’ process of discerning the divine message in dreams. The subjective aspect of divination is found in the interpretation of dreams or revelations given in response to inquiries, such as dream incubation or the Delphic oracles of ancient Greece. The interpretation does not come by means of an objective set of criteria, but by some type of subjective inspiration. The latter overlaps with the definition of prophecy given below, in that it is direct communication from a deity. The knowledge obtained through divination can concern the past, present or future.²⁰ Objective divinatory answers are often limited to binary responses, either yes or no, but sometimes there is a neutral third answer. Its procedure is usually mechanical, for example the casting of lots (cleromancy). But divination also can be a more complex *science* which goes beyond binary or trinary answers. One example would be horoscopes and other types of astrological forecasts. Most often divination is understood to be a process in which a deity (or deities) communicates, indirectly or directly, with humanity. But it can also be understood to be an impersonal power. The details of divine or supernatural communication will vary from culture to culture.²¹ The essential feature of this term which separates it from ‘magic’ is *knowledge*.²²

Prophecy has been mentioned in the forementioned discussion about divination. Nissinen defines prophecy as a noninductive or subjective process described as a “human transmission of allegedly divine messages.”²³ As with divination, this knowledge can concern either the past, present, or future. Key issues distinguishing it from divination are that the method is solely *subjective* or *inspirational*, and communication from the deity (or deities) is direct, and not by indirect means, or via

²⁰M. Barré, “The Portrait of Balaam in Numbers 22–24,” *Interpretation* 51/3 (1997) 256; G. Frantz-Szabó, “Hittite Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination,” *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 2013; Plato, *The Dialogues of Plato, Vol 3* (trans. B. Jowett; London: OUP, 1968 4th edition) 150–1; E. M. Zuesse, “Divination,” *ER 4* (London: Collier Macmillan, 1987) 375.

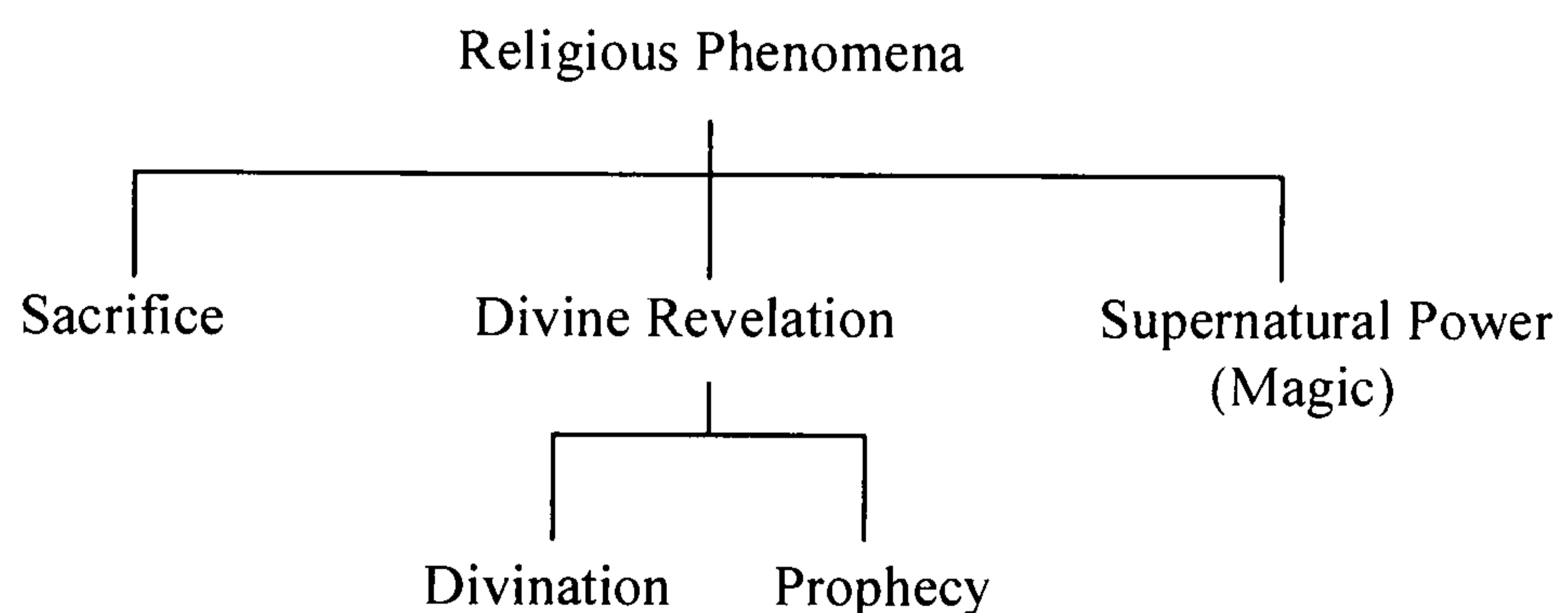
²¹Cf. Zuesse, “Divination,” 376–9.

²²Sweek, “Divination,” 726–7.

²³M. Nissinen, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (WAW; Atlanta: SBL, 2003) 1. Cf. also G. T. Sheppard, and W. E. Herbrechtmeier, “Prophecy: An Overview,” *ER 12* (London: Collier Macmillan, 1987) 8.

an impersonal power.²⁴ Often prophecy deals with ethical or social reform as in Yahwistic prophecy or the Egyptian prophecy seen in the *Admonitions of Ipu-wer*,²⁵ or the Akkadian *Oracles Concerning Esarhaddon*.²⁶ But as mentioned above, the subjective aspects of divination may overlap with prophecy.

The theoretical model for ‘magic,’ divination, and prophecy presented here views the all to be various species of religious experience. In order to map the relationship of these theoretical terms, I have developed the following diagram. I have included sacrifice²⁷ in this model because it is a key religious element, along with the fore mentioned religious phenomena, generally acknowledged to be present in Deut 18.



As can be seen in the diagram above, divination and prophecy are understood to be species of divine revelation. Also, the different elements in the diagram are not understood to be in distinct categories, but the lines linking them connect them in ways which overlap in varying degrees, depending on the culture in which they are found. In Chapter 3 the significance of sacrifice for this study will be elucidated.

The next term to clarify is *poetics*. I take it to be the principles or structure which govern the writing of literature. Aristotle (c. 350-285 BCE) was the first to coin the term which was used in the title of his famous treatise.²⁸ More recently Sternberg has used the term to describe the principles or system-at-work, which govern the structure

²⁴Cf. J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1967 Reprint) 1–6.

²⁵*ANET*, 441-444.

²⁶*ANET*, 449-450.

²⁷For the significance of sacrifice in relation to things regarding divination see pp. 69, 77, 94, 96, 97, 110-1, 112, 116, 124-5, 146-8, 184, 269-75, 283-4; and to things regarding ‘magic’ see pp. 97, 184, 260-1, 269-75, 283-4.

²⁸Aristotle, *Poetics* (London: Penguin, 1996).

of the literature of the HB.²⁹ The use of poetics is foundational for any work of literature, including the HB.

A specific aspect or method of anthropology is *ethnography*. In the English-speaking world it is the primary method of anthropology. Ethnography is the method of fieldwork and its resulting written record. Ethnographers, beginning with Bronislaw Malinowski in the early twentieth century, began to systematically study small non-Western communities by living in them for a year or more. They developed their anthropological theories by means of their first-hand experiences participating in and observing the host communities.³⁰ Ethnographic studies will be used to provide a widened cross-cultural knowledge base from which to analyse Israelite and ANE communities. In this way, for the reader, they function mainly as an ‘in front of’ the text conditioning for the interpretive process.³¹ More will be explained in the next chapter about the use of ethnographic case studies.

Returning to the main point, this thesis argues that the various religious phenomena listed in Deut 18.10-11 are well suited to its context, and are aspects of a recognisable pattern of ANE beliefs which Yahwism seeks to replace. The prophet, *nābî*, is the primary controlling symbol for this new pattern. I propose to argue for this thesis by beginning with a detailed explanation of method (Chapter 2); analysing similar religious phenomena in a variety of ANE, AMW (Ancient Mediterranean World), and CW (Classical World) societies, and ethnographic studies (Chapter 3); then looking at the religious phenomena listed in Deut 18 and related texts in the HB in a comparative method with ANE and modern ethnographic case studies (Chapter 4); and finally summarising the argument in the final chapter (Chapter 5). With the basic plan for the thesis and some assumptions made clear, along with a handful of preliminary

²⁹Sternberg, *Poetics*, 2.

³⁰D. Davies, *Anthropology and Theology* (Oxford: Berg, 2002) 7; G. W. Stocking, Jr., *The Ethnographer's Magic: and Other Essays in the History of Anthropology* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1992) 40–4.

³¹A. C. Thiselton, “‘Behind’ and ‘In Front Of’ the Text,” *After Pentecost: Language and Biblical Interpretation 2* (SHS; eds. C. Bartholomew, C. Greene and K. Möller; Carlisle: Paternoster, 2001) 97–102.

definitions given, let us now proceed to the detailed explanation of methodology in Chapter 2.

Chapter Two

A Social-Scientific, Poetics, and Comparative Methodology

Introduction

As has been explained in the last chapter, the thesis that I argue for in this study is that each of the practitioners and practices itemised in Deut 18.10-11, including *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bitô bāēš*, fit together well conceptually according to the perspective of various ANE communities, as well as that of the implied Yahwistic author who observes and comments on aspects of the religious organisation of those communities in this passage. The details of the HB often lack perspicuity to those of us in the modern world due to the space-time gap between us and ancient Israel. This has made it challenging to understand the religious phenomena listed in Deut 18.10-11. In order to help make the HB and its social milieu clearer biblical scholars employ various strategies, including the use of the social sciences. Among the social sciences, anthropology has been used with varying degrees of success. Despite sustained criticism of the evolutionary assumptions of the anthropologists of the nineteenth century,¹ the anthropological theories from that period have had a profound and enduring hermeneutical effect in OT studies. Edward B. Tylor,² Robertson W. Smith,³ and James G. Frazer,⁴ are names associated with the pioneering phase of the discipline of anthropology,⁵ and the use of anthropology in biblical studies.⁶ Indeed they are still

¹P. L. Berger, *The Social Reality of Religion* (London: Faber and Faber, 1967) 158, 187; Cryer, *Divination in Israel*, 43–6; M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 2004 Reprint) 34–5; Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 5; A. E. Jensen, *Myth and Cult Among Primitive Peoples* (London: University of Chicago, 1963) 14–9; B. Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion: And Other Essays* (London: Souvenir, 1974 Reprint) 19; Sharpe, *Comparative Religion*, xii-xiii; Stocking, *Ethnographer's Magic*, 352–4.

²E. B. Tylor, *Religion in Primitive Culture* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1970).

³R. W. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1889).

⁴J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1959 Reprint).

⁵Malinowski, *Magic*, 18–9, 21; Sharpe, *Comparative Religion*, 53–8, 77–82, 87–94; Stocking, *Ethnographer's Magic*, 17–8, 40, 57, 220, 355; V. W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1969) 3.

⁶ANET, xix; Cryer, *Divination in Israel*, 37, 43–51; Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 4–6, 8–9.

cited in biblical research up to the present time.⁷ Explicit use of anthropological theory and research by biblical scholars up to the mid 20th century was usually limited to the late 19th century work of scholars such as Tylor, Smith, and Frazer.⁸ Ernest W. Nicholson and Frederick H. Cryer mention that the theories of sociologist Max Weber, which were also based on unilinear evolutionary assumptions, are implicit in the social understanding of Albrecht Alt and Martin Noth.⁹ This early period of anthropology and sociology continues to have significant impact in biblical studies. Anthropological research from the early 20th century onward was not used significantly in biblical studies until the second half of the twentieth century. From the 1960s to the present time there has been a marked increase of interest in current anthropological and sociological theory, as well as the descriptive anthropological method of ethnography. This increase has been notable especially since the 1980s.¹⁰ One indication of this was the emergence in the mid-1980s of the biblical studies method called Social-Scientific Criticism.¹¹

Current scholarship is characterised by rich interdisciplinary activity.¹² This study seeks to participate in the interdisciplinary dialogue by using anthropological and sociological theory alongside the interpretative literary theory of poetics.¹³ Combined with these

⁷Cryer, *Divination in Israel*, 43–51; Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 4–6; M. S. Smith, *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2002 2nd edition) 78 n. 44, 114 n. 27.

⁸J. W. Rogerson, *Anthropology and the Old Testament* (GPT; Oxford: Blackwell, 1978) 12.

⁹Cryer, *Divination in Israel*, 14.

¹⁰D. J. Chalcraft, ed., *Social-Scientific Old Testament Criticism* (BS; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997) 13.

¹¹Mary Douglas' treatment of Levitical laws in her seminal work *Purity and Danger*, was a benchmark in the resurgence of the use of anthropology in the HB, but Norman Gottwald's work was particularly noteworthy in sparking OT interest in the use of social science methods (N. K. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel 1250–1050 B.C.E.* [London: SCM, 1980]). Notable in NT studies was the work of Bruce Malina and the 'Context Group.' Significant in this development was the dedication in the mid-1980s of two volumes of *Semeia* (35 and 37) to 'social-scientific criticism' (W. R. Herzog, "Forward," *The Social Gospel of Jesus: The Kingdom of God in Mediterranean Perspective* [author B. J. Malina; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001] ix).

¹²Cf. Clifford Geertz' observation of the "blurred genres" in reference to the discourse that takes place between the various academic disciplines today (C. Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* [London: Fontana, 1983] 19).

¹³Aristotle, *Poetics*; R. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic, 1981); S. Bar-Efrat, *Narrative Art in the Bible* (Sheffield: Almond, 1989); A. Berlin, *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative* (Sheffield: Almond, 1983); D. M. Gunn, and D. N. Fewell, *Narrative in the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: Oxford Bible Series, 1993); J. L. Ska, *Our Fathers Have Told Us:*

theoretical tools, a comparative method will be employed using ANE texts and ethnographic field studies. Space does not permit a detailed description of the venerable tradition found in the comparative method using ANE texts, but it has long been understood to be foundational for understanding the HB.¹⁴ The theories and descriptive studies mentioned above combine to prepare the reader for interpreting the text of the HB by giving a heightened sensitivity to the complex realities of cultures and communities far removed from our own.¹⁵ The method described above is a way of learning to feel more comfortable and discerning in a variety of different worlds, each with their own complex of similarities and differences. It is a means to deepen and expand our hermeneutical horizon.¹⁶ This method is not assumed to be a sort of heuristic panacea, but is an effective option that can be used alongside other interpretative methods. More specifically, I hope to show that by combining these various methods, hermeneutical insight will be gained in at least four ways critical for understanding Deut 18. For example, concerning understanding the practitioners and practices listed in Deut 18.10-11, the result of employing this method will be 1) a more precise understanding of religion, ‘magic’, and divination (through use of anthropological and sociological theory, as well as by examining analogous religious phenomena in ANE societies and more recent ethnographies); 2) a more nuanced (more emic or competent) understanding of the Yahwistic worldview, as well as the worldviews of other ANE communities; 3) a more effective epistemology (based on an analogy of participant observation); 4) a more discerning understanding of the

Introduction to the Analysis of Hebrew Narratives (Subsidia Biblica; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1990); Sternberg, *Poetics*.

¹⁴ W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969 Reprint) ; *ANET*; Nissinen, *Prophets*; A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (London: University of Chicago, 1977 Revised Edition); D. Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (Atlanta: SBL, 2002); J. M. Sasson, ed., *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East I-IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint); M. S. Smith, *Early History of God*; K. v. d. Toorn, B. Becking and P. W. v. d. Horst, eds., *DDD* (Leiden: Brill, 1999 2nd Edition).

¹⁵Overholt, *Cultural Anthropology*, 3.

¹⁶I have in mind Gadamer’s ideas about the ‘situation’ and ‘horizon’ of the reader. What is hoped for is that the horizon of the reader can be ‘expanded’ or even a ‘new horizon’ might be gained by means of the theories and data from anthropology, sociology, comparative, and literary method (see Gadamer, *Truth*, 302).

dynamics of social change (world-construction, explicit/implicit ideology, mutability and intersubjectivity). There are a number of terms I have used just now which are enclosed in parentheses. They will be defined in due course. In the meantime, if employing the method explained above yields these four benefits, then a better understanding of the list of religious phenomena in Deut may reasonably be expected.

The next section will provide a more detailed definition of the various aspects of the eclectic method which will be used in this study. We will begin with anthropology and sociology, followed by the history of how they have been used in OT studies, then an explanation of social-scientific criticism. Following that, the comparative method will be discussed. Afterwards there will be a discussion of a theory of literary poetics, and how this interfaces with anthropological and sociological methods.

Anthropology and Sociology

Anthropology and sociology overlap in their concern for understanding and interpreting people and society, so they share common ground with the human interest of biblical scholars who are keen to understand and interpret the cultures portrayed in the Bible. Space precludes detailed explanation of the disciplines of anthropology and sociology, and so the following description will be brief. Both anthropology and sociology are concerned with the analysis of culture and society, but anthropology is generally interested in understanding and elucidating alien cultures. There is a preference in Britain to refer to the discipline as *social anthropology*, while American scholars favour the term *cultural anthropology*. The former reflects an historic tendency for analysis of the concrete, such as kinship structure. The latter tends to favour the analysis of the ideals of a community.¹⁷ In this study there will not be a need

¹⁷The term *anthropology* was coined by Kant (K. Hart, "Forward," *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* [author R. A. Rappaport; Cambridge: CUP, 1999] xvii) and has been used with different meanings in various Western cultures. As one reads anthropological literature in English, French, and German, it is important to bear this in mind. The German *Anthropologie* refers more to the nature of human beings. In German literature the study of various ethnic groups would usually be called *Ethnologie*. In French, the term nearest to capturing the meaning of anthropology would be *sociologie*. In English, anthropology can mean either the biological study of humans or the study of the sociology of distinctly foreign communities. The latter meaning is the more common usage (J. W. Rogerson, *Anthropology*, 9–10). In current scholarship British and American anthropology have been

to distinguish between British and American anthropology, and so the term *anthropology* will be used.¹⁸ Yet, a helpful distinction is made by some in anthropology between the terms culture and society. This distinction will be kept in this study. Culture will be used to signify the *ideal* behaviour of a society, and society itself will mean the *actual* behaviour of a people which often is at odds with its cultural ideals.¹⁹ However, there is much overlap between the two and so the distinction will not be pressed rigidly.

Sociology, as distinguished from anthropology, is characterised by its concern for knowing and interpreting one's own culture, or near cultures, and not so much that of an alien one. Émile Durkheim explained:

Sociology sets for itself problems other than those posed by history or ethnography ... [I]ts goal is first and foremost to explain current reality, something close to us and consequently capable of affecting our ideas and actions.²⁰

In addition to Durkheim's *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, classic examples of a sociological analysis of one's own, or near cultures, would be Karl Marx's *A Communist Manifesto*,²¹ and Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, or *The Sociology of Religion*.²²

With these basic distinctions in mind, let us review the development of anthropology, and to a lesser extent sociology, in order to better understand the long relationship

brought closer together, focusing, for example, on the symbolic aspects of culture with an emphasis on a self-reflexive, or auto-biographical method (cf. Carrithers, *Cultures*; G. E. Marcus, and Michael M. J. Fischer, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences* [London: University of Chicago, 1986]; Stocking, *Ethnographer's Magic*, 13; Turner, *Ritual*).

¹⁸Carrithers, *Cultures*, 13.

¹⁹Stocking, *Ethnographer's Magic*, 145–6.

²⁰É. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (Oxford: OUP, 2001 Reprint) 3.

²¹K. Marx, *A Communist Manifesto* (New York: Penguin, 2002 Reprint).

²²M. Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Scribner's, 1958 Reprint); M. Weber, *The Sociology of Religion* (Boston: Beacon, 1991 Reprint).

they have had with biblical studies, reaching back to the 19th century. This history has had an impact on the understanding of key issues in Deut 18, both general and specific.

The Development of Anthropology in OT Studies

Following E. E. Evans-Pritchard and John Rogerson, an overview of the history of the relationship of anthropology and biblical studies can be organised into three periods.²³ The first period spans the 18th to the mid-19th centuries when anthropology as a distinct discipline and product of the Enlightenment began to develop. In this period there was no direct influence on OT studies. Additionally, no formal recognition of a discipline called cultural or social anthropology was recognised. During this period scholars, mainly philosophers, collected information from friends and contacts who happened to be living or travelling abroad. These philosophers developed speculative theories, and used information about alien cultures which they received from second-hand sources to support their theories.²⁴ Since this period had no direct impact on biblical studies there is no need to dwell on it, so we will move on to the next two significant periods.

The second period Evans-Pritchard identifies is from the mid-19th to early 20th century and was dominated by a unilinear evolutionary theory, as were most disciplines of the period.²⁵ Rogerson notes that this period had the deepest impact on OT studies.²⁶ In this period Wellhausen wrote his enduring reconstruction of the history of Israelite religion, based on a unilinear evolutionary understanding of social development. This was the period when Frazer wrote his classic *The Golden Bough* and Smith made much use of anthropological concepts in his OT work, and actually broke new ground for the nascent fields of anthropology and comparative religion.²⁷ Tyler, Smith,

²³E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Social Anthropology* (London: Cohen & West, 1951) 21–129; J. W. Rogerson, *Anthropology*, 16. See also Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 6 n. 26.

²⁴Evans-Pritchard, *Anthropology*, 27.

²⁵Stocking, *Ethnographer's Magic*, 17.

²⁶J. W. Rogerson, *Anthropology*, 12.

²⁷R. W. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*. For an explanation of Smith's impact on the disciplines of anthropology and comparative religion see Sharpe, *Comparative Religion*, 80; Stocking, *Ethnographer's Magic*, 220, 335.

and Frazer were understood to be among the handful of founding fathers of the discipline of anthropology as we know it.²⁸ The overlap of anthropology and biblical studies in this period is embodied in the scholarship of Smith. He not only held the chair of Old Testament Studies at the Free Church College in Aberdeen, and during his prolific career wrote two significant articles concerning the practitioners and practices of Deut 18.10-11,²⁹ but also pioneered the anthropological method of fieldwork by living among bedouin communities in the Middle East.³⁰ This method endures to the present as the primary method in anthropology, in spite of continuing experimentation with new approaches.³¹ One way this second period of anthropology was distinct from the previous one was its view that the study of culture was important in its own right, and not simply to adorn *a priori* theories with exotic data. But the theoretical work suffered from the assumption that all societies pass through identical stages of evolutionary development, and that in the perceived early stage primitives were mentally inferior, leading to theories about, or implicit assumptions of, racial inferiority.³² Apparent similarities of belief and custom between cultures led to hasty generalisations. The impact this had on OT studies was the notion that the many lacunae of knowledge about ancient Israelite culture and society could be filled and reconstructed easily via a comparison with data from contemporary primitive communities. Evolutionary theory was the framework from which developed the notion that ‘magic’ was the first stage in the development of higher forms of religion and science, as well as the JEDP theory, which was based on a similar view of the development of religion — going from the simple to complex, lower forms to higher forms.³³ The unilinear evolutionary theory of the development of religion and society was generally eschewed in anthropology, sociology, and comparative religion in the early 20th century, led by

²⁸Sharpe, *Comparative Religion*, 53–8, 77–82, 87–94; Stocking, *Ethnographer’s Magic*, 17–8, 40, 57, 220, 355; Turner, *Ritual*, 3.

²⁹R. W. Smith, “On the Forms of Divination and Magic Enumerated in Deut. XVIII. 10, 11. Part I,” *JP* 13 (1884) 273–87; R. W. Smith, “On the Forms of Divination and Magic Enumerated in Deut. XVIII. 10, 11. Part II,” *JP* 14 (1885) 113–28.

³⁰Sharpe, *Comparative Religion*, 77–9.

³¹Stocking, *Ethnographer’s Magic*, 369.

³²Cryer, *Divination in Israel*, 44; Jensen, *Myth and Cult*, 14–9; Malinowski, *Magic*, 17–25; Stocking, *Ethnographer’s Magic*, 354.

³³Evans-Pritchard, *Anthropology*, 29.

anthropologists Frans Boas and Bronislaw Malinowski, for its racist tendencies and ideological bias were out of sync with the data compiled by ethnographers.³⁴ Another assumption of the evolutionary view was that as religion evolves, supernatural religious phenomena is discarded for higher forms of ethical religion, shorn of supernatural or transcendent notions. The highest form of evolution is 'science' in which belief in supernatural phenomena is shelved completely. Supernatural phenomena become disparagingly labelled 'magic.' In this view modern secular societies are supposed to be the exemplar of enlightened empirical thinking, free from the superstitions of early and primitive societies.³⁵ However, anthropology and comparative religion have shown that belief in supernatural phenomena

may be collected from all historical periods, the earliest as well as the most recent, and from all peoples, primitives as well as the most civilized.³⁶

Unfortunately, as Douglas has charged, in OT studies many of the unilinear evolutionary assumptions about Israelite religion, as well as the primitive nature of 'magic' and its position as an early stage in the development of religion or science, still hold currency.³⁷

The last period that Evans-Pritchard mentions begins in the early 20th century and continues to the present time. This period in anthropology is characterised by field-work (or ethnography) and the theoretical notions of functionalism, structuralism, and embodiment.³⁸ It is common at the present experimental time in the social sciences, for anthropologists, sociologists, and social-science OT critics to be using various aspects of each of these theories, and many others not mentioned, simultaneously, as is the

³⁴Malinowski, *Magic*, 17–25. See also Jensen, *Myth and Cult*, 14–9; Sharpe, *Comparative Religion*, 188; Stocking, *Ethnographer's Magic*, 90, 352–4.

³⁵Frazer championed the particular evolutionary social theory that society passes through three stages of development: magic, religion, and science (Evans-Pritchard, *Anthropology*, 32). His view has had a profound impact on OT studies and its views of ancient Israelite society.

³⁶Jensen, *Myth and Cult*, 20. See also Sharpe, *Comparative Religion*.

³⁷Douglas, *Purity*, 25–6.

³⁸Evans-Pritchard, *Anthropology*, 50; Malinowski, *Magic*, 237–8; Overholt, *Cultural Anthropology*, 11; J. W. Rogerson, *Anthropology*, 16–7; Stocking, *Ethnographer's Magic*, 14, 62, 354.

case in this study.³⁹ What follows will be a discussion of the history and theory of the three significant theories mentioned above, as well as the definitions of many key anthropological and sociological concepts used, for an ‘in front of the text’ reading of Deut 18.

Functionalism

Functionalism can be defined as the understanding that the values and symbols of human culture and society, such as religion for example, are created by humans for the control, functioning, and ordering of society.⁴⁰ In this understanding there is no objective transcendent reality, or at least in the analysis of culture, this is of little significance.⁴¹ Durkheim is the one most often associated with the founding of the functionalist school.⁴² It was during the period of functionalism that ethnography, based on the method of fieldwork originally pioneered by Smith, and made standard by Boas, and more significantly by Malinowski, came to the fore.⁴³ Ethnography can be described as research based on first-hand experience in cultural immersion (called *participant observation*) by trained anthropologists in a distinct alien community for a period of approximately eighteen months in which they learn the language of the host culture and document their observations.⁴⁴ It is a descriptive enterprise from which cultural and social theories are constructed. We saw in the second period of the development of anthropology mentioned above that broad theoretical generalisations disembodied from their social contexts were formulated by armchair anthropologists. By way of contrast, in the functionalist period there was the realisation of the *local* nature and distinctiveness of each community and that any similarity in form between cultures does not necessarily mean similarity in meaning.⁴⁵

³⁹Cryer, *Divination in Israel*, 18–20; Stocking, *Ethnographer’s Magic*, 358–72.

⁴⁰Sharpe, *Comparative Religion*, 83.

⁴¹Berger, *Social Reality*, 180.

⁴²Sharpe, *Comparative Religion*, 82–6; Stocking, *Ethnographer’s Magic*, 356.

⁴³Overholt, *Cultural Anthropology*, 11; Stocking, *Ethnographer’s Magic*, 14, 62, 354.

⁴⁴Malinowski, *Magic*; Stocking, *Ethnographer’s Magic*, 14, 16, 17, 30, 39.

⁴⁵J. W. Rogerson, *Anthropology*, 16–7.

With the advent of functionalism and ethnography comes a corrective to the OT studies of the second period when biblical scholars uncritically accepted Frazerian evolutionary notions. In the corrective it was acknowledged that there were limits to what anthropology could contribute to the reconstruction of ancient Israelite society due to the paucity of information available.⁴⁶ Recognising these limits has brought some measure of maturity to the use of anthropology in OT studies. Yet for many biblical scholars the Frazerian notions of the separation and unilinear development of religion and ‘magic’, as well as the basic Wellhausian notion of the development of Israelite religion, endure. This can be seen in the way scholars continue to understand and interpret the religious practitioners found in Deut 18, especially in the way *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bitô bāēš* (v. 10) has been interpreted as not properly belonging with the rest of the items in the list. This problem will be taken up in Chapter 4.

Functionalist theory has had its own weaknesses as well. Its earlier construal that the various parts of society create a balanced and systematic whole that does not change is an ideal that does not square with experience. Rather, tensions in communities exist, and individuals exercise their will in opposition to cultural norms which upset balance and equilibrium.⁴⁷ There are forces of change in society that are ever present and at work in many complex ways. The reality of dynamic forces continually initiating change in a community has been expressed in anthropology and sociology in various ways. Carrithers describes the inherent plasticity of communities in his concepts of *mutualism* and the *intersubjective* dynamic in a community taking place between its own members as well as with those of surrounding cultures.⁴⁸ Maurice Godlier describes this perennial process of change as social mutability.⁴⁹ In biblical studies Jacques Berlinerblau has focused on this important social dynamic by referring to the “‘multidirectional’ flow” between various members of a community who inevitably

⁴⁶J. W. Rogerson, *Anthropology*, 17.

⁴⁷Carrithers, *Cultures*, 6–7; Overholt, *Cultural Anthropology*, 5, 8, 10–1.

⁴⁸Carrithers, *Cultures*, 7–9, 55–8.

⁴⁹M. Godelier, *The Enigma of the Gift* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1999) 1.

hold to various views of reality.⁵⁰ This dynamic is seen in the ubiquitous exchange of ideas with neighbouring societies. There is an understanding now that in order to properly know a certain community, one must understand the neighbouring communities with which culture is being exchanged.⁵¹ Another short coming of functionalism was its lack self-reflexivity, and the materialist assumption of a closed universe unable to treat sympathetically the belief of a community, such as the ANE societies and Israelite Yahwism, in a transcendent dimension in the universe.⁵² A helpful corrective for the latter was the *epoché* method of the phenomenology of religion school which strives for a value-free assessment of religious phenomena.⁵³ The Dutch scholar Gerhardus van der Leeuw was an example of this school of thought. Commenting on van der Leeuw's critique of assumptions as found in functionalism, as well as structuralism, Eric Sharpe explains

When the attempt is made to study religion solely on the basis of logical and social categories, the whole enterprise so often moves in the sphere of abstractions, revealing nothing of the mind of *homo religiosus*.⁵⁴

[T]o be narrowly and exclusively empirical was to deny one's own wholeness, and hence to fail at the scholar's most vital and most sensitive point, the point of genuine understanding.⁵⁵

In this analysis of Yahwistic religion in Deut, and the analysis of other ANE religions, the functionalist utilitarian tendency only to see the organisation of society as based on social exigencies will be tempered by sensitivity to the phenomenology of religion. Leaving functionalism, and its understanding of social organisation based on control and maintenance, we come to the theory of structuralism.

⁵⁰J. Berlinerblau, "The 'Popular Religion' Paradigm in Old Testament Research: A Sociological Critique," *JSOT* 60 (1993) 9.

⁵¹Carrithers, *Cultures*, 12–3, 25.

⁵²Cf. W. Brueggemann, *The Land* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) 57 n.23.

⁵³Sharpe, *Comparative Religion*, 224.

⁵⁴Sharpe, *Comparative Religion*, 235.

⁵⁵Sharpe, *Comparative Religion*, 235.

Structuralism

The scholar most often associated with structuralism is Claude Lévi-Strauss.⁵⁶ Lévi-Strauss theorised that culture or society is organised according to patterns which originate in the mind, as opposed to the functionalist notion that this order and patterning originates with the desire of individuals to control and maintain a community. It also is concerned with meaning in cultural symbols, especially subconscious meaning, as opposed to the functionalist concern for interpreting social structures.⁵⁷ Structuralism is a theory informed by structural linguistics.⁵⁸ The time period when structural anthropology came to prominence was the mid-twentieth century. Terence Hawkes states that structuralism has roots in the eighteenth century concepts of Italian scholar Giambattista Vico.⁵⁹ Vico's ideas were subsequently developed by Saussure in the twentieth century.⁶⁰ Structural linguistics has informed a variety of disciplines including biology, mathematics, physics, psychology and literary theory. Lévi-Strauss borrowed heavily from structural linguistics, using it as a paradigm for sociological behaviour.⁶¹

Lévi-Strauss was opposed to the “global approach” of the early evolutionary anthropologists of the second period. But he was equally critical of the functionalist school with their emphasis on local situations and cultures coupled with a tendency to avoid the search for over-arching patterns and universal generalisations. Lévi-Strauss theorised that there were universal patterns to be found in societies, but sought to avoid the over-simplifying and hasty generalisations of the evolutionary anthropologists. His most distinctive contribution was his theory that social patterning is inherent in the human mind in the same way that linguistic patterns are produced. He

⁵⁶C. Lévi-Strauss, “The Social and Psychological Aspects of Chieftainship in a Primitive Tribe: The Nambikuara of Northwestern Mato Grosso,” *Comparative Political Systems: Studies in the Politics of Pre-Industrial Societies* (eds. R. Cohen, and J. Middleton; New York: Natural History, 1967) 45–62.

⁵⁷ Sharpe, *Comparative Religion*, 217.

⁵⁸ Stocking, *Ethnographer's Magic*, 152–5.

⁵⁹T. Hawkes, *Structuralism and Semiotics* (London: Routledge, 1977).

⁶⁰F. d. Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959).

⁶¹J. W. Rogerson, *Anthropology*, 106.

is known for the application of his method to *myth* in culture.⁶² This method has stimulated an application to OT interpretation as seen in the works by David Pocock,⁶³ John Rogerson,⁶⁴ and Edmond Leach.⁶⁵ Mary Douglas has used aspects of structural anthropology, especially in terms of *symbolism*, to interpret Levitical laws in regards to purity.⁶⁶ Douglas Davies has also employed the structural anthropological notion of symbolism in his work on OT sacrifice.⁶⁷ Rogerson sees the benefit of structuralism to OT studies in the following way:

It will teach Old Testament scholars something about the classificatory system of reality implied in the Old Testament. This ought to make it impossible for Old Testament scholars to assert that the ancient Israelites experienced reality in an undifferentiated or ‘confused’ way. Secondly, Old Testament scholarship may learn something about the symbolic meaning of the Hebrew classification of reality, especially as this affects institutions such as sacrifice.⁶⁸

Aspects of the structuralist notion of the classification of reality will be used in the analysis of Deut 18, specifically in regards to the ideal cultural assumptions about sacrifice, divination, ‘magic’, and religion. This will be taken up in Chapter 4. Leaving aside these two theories that place a strong emphasis on structure and systemisation, we now move on to the last theory to be covered in this third period in the discipline of anthropology, embodiment.

⁶²J. W. Rogerson, *Anthropology*, 103–10.

⁶³D. F. Pocock, “North and South in the Book of Genesis,” *Studies in Social Anthropology: Essays in Memory of E. E. Evans-Pritchard* (eds. J. H. M. Beattie, and R. G. Lienhardt; Oxford: Clarendon, 1975) 273–84.

⁶⁴J. W. Rogerson, *Myth in Old Testament Interpretation* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974).

⁶⁵E. R. Leach, *Genesis as Myth and Other Essays* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1969); E. R. Leach, *Structuralist Interpretations of Biblical Myth* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983).

⁶⁶Douglas, *Purity*.

⁶⁷D. Davies, “An Interpretation of Sacrifice in Leviticus,” *Anthropological Approaches to the Old Testament* (ed. B. Lang; London: SPCK, 1977) 151–62.

⁶⁸J. W. Rogerson, *Anthropology*, 112.

Embodiment

Embodiment views society as an analogy of the human body or person.⁶⁹ The concept of embodiment is more organic than the artificial systemising tendencies of functionalism or structuralism, although it does not exclude systemising *ipso facto*.⁷⁰ Persons are the foundational elements of society, so embodiment begins with the person. John Blacking expresses the aim of embodiment theory when he explains:

Since human bodies are the instruments that both discover and make decisions about self, others, and the worlds of nature and cultural tradition, the anthropology of the body is concerned with the interface between the body and society, the ways in which the physical organism constrains and inspires patterns of social interaction and the invention of culture.⁷¹

Embodiment concepts have been particularly prevalent from the last quarter of the twentieth century until now, although the incipient concept originated in the early 20th century through Norbert Elias⁷² and Marcel Mauss, who was the student and nephew of Émile Durkheim.⁷³ Embodiment theory, like structuralism, has found application across the disciplines. Embodiment ideas find expression in philosophy through the writing of Michel Foucault.⁷⁴ Anthropologist John Blacking has embraced a decidedly embodiment focus in his theory of the anthropology of the body.⁷⁵ Embodiment is a foundational interpretive theory used by Davies in his recent interdisciplinary monograph comparing related anthropological and theological concepts.⁷⁶ As has been

⁶⁹D. Davies, *Anthropology*, 19.

⁷⁰D. Davies, *Anthropology*, 20.

⁷¹J. Blacking, ed., *The Anthropology of the Body* (London: Academic, 1977) v-vi.

⁷²N. Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).

⁷³M. Mauss, *Sociology and Psychology: Essays by Marcel Mauss* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979).

⁷⁴M. Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Tavistock, 1970) 373–86.

⁷⁵J. Blacking, "Toward an Anthropology of the Body," *The Anthropology of the Body* (ed. J. Blacking; London: Academic, 1977) 1–28.

⁷⁶D. Davies, *Anthropology*, 19–51.

mentioned above, embodiment is one of many theories used in anthropology during this time in which no regnant theory can be identified.

For this study there are two aspects of embodiment theory that are important: 1) the organic inconsistency of society, and 2) the way society symbolically embodies its ideals in specific persons. Concerning the first point, embodiment theory stresses that humans are complex and do not behave in an exact mechanical or systematic fashion. Culture may be given to a more systematic analysis, but actual society gives expression to inconsistencies when compared to its cultural ideal. Psychological research shows that humans do not think and behave in strict systematic ways. Anthropological and sociological research indicates that societies do not behave systematically either.⁷⁷

Davies explains

[A]spects of ordinary behaviour brain processes are not logic-like and two-dimensional, operating in 'straight lines' from one point to another but are multi-dimensional, making connections between many sorts of experience and knowledge in working towards a response or some desired outcome.⁷⁸

Thus, by way of analogy with a human person, embodiment recognises that society is not consistent in its beliefs, values, and behaviour. This organic, or very natural, inconsistency is one element which helps to create the social diversity of which Carrithers describes as

the incessant mutability of human experience, the temporality woven into all human institutions and relationships.⁷⁹

This natural inconsistency is illustrated well in a study conducted by Davies and others of beliefs and ideas about the Eucharist experience by members of the Church of England. He explains:

⁷⁷D. Davies, *Anthropology*, 20.

⁷⁸D. Davies, *Anthropology*, 20.

⁷⁹Carrithers, *Cultures*, 29.

In one study people were asked about some ideas that might be important to them when they attended the Eucharist. Presented with a variety of options, 86 per cent of the 168 interviewed said that they ‘felt at one with God’, 85 per cent said it made them realize what Jesus did for them on the cross, 73 per cent said they felt ‘at one with themselves’, 68 per cent that they felt ‘at one with others’ and 36 per cent that they ‘sensed the presence of dead loved ones.’⁸⁰

Davies goes on to relate that if other issues of faith had been asked, the variation would probably be wider.⁸¹ However, despite the variations enough common outlook is present that an overall identifiable culture can be perceived. This collection of various beliefs and ideas found in a particular society or culture are what Davies describes as clusters of belief. He elucidates:

Another foundation of our argument contrasts scholarly systematization of belief with what ordinary people experience in clustered bits and pieces.⁸²

Inconsistency and lack of systemisation in beliefs in the ANE has been recognised by some in biblical studies including William Albright and Jacques Berlinerblau.⁸³ The notion of clusters of belief provides a more nuanced understanding of variations of belief in a community than the concept of popular religion. Berlinerblau notes that discussion of popular religion often gives the impression that there is a homogeneous antithesis to ‘official’ religion among the masses. He states that the term

tends to conceal the fact that numerous religious *groups*—each with their own distinct political and metaphysical agendas—may exist contemporaneously.⁸⁴

The theory of clusters of belief posits that individuals in any given society often hold to a variety of nuances of a particular belief ‘system’ and that this is a more accurate

⁸⁰D. Davies, *Anthropology*, 24.

⁸¹D. Davies, *Anthropology*, 24.

⁸²D. Davies, *Anthropology*, 19–20.

⁸³Albright, *Yahweh*, 121, 199; Berlinerblau, “Popular Religion,” 7.

⁸⁴Berlinerblau, “Popular Religion,” 7.

paradigm than the concept of popular religion. As will be demonstrated below, belief and practice in any given society often vary from individual to individual, family to family, and community to community.

The second point in which embodiment theory is important for this study is the way society focuses on certain extraordinary persons who symbolically embody the ideals of society. These authority figures are embraced and internalised as models of life and behaviour.⁸⁵ For many in the US, and elsewhere, the cultural icons produced by Hollywood are figures that impact and control the ideals of society. The incarnation of Jesus is the embodiment of the ideals and conceptions of God in Christianity (cf. Heb 1.3).⁸⁶ Mohammad is the embodiment of Islamic ideals.

Narrative is another important aspect of embodiment theory. By means of story, the ideals of culture and society are given *flesh*. The importance of narrative for understanding the dynamics of culture and society is explained by Carrithers:

The sense of simultaneously informing and acting on others is combined powerfully in what is arguably the most information-laden speech activity of all: story-telling. Story-telling, as I use it here, can refer to very minimal occasions, such as a glancing remark which reveals to my wife that I did, after all, go to the bank today. But it can also refer to the narration of the *Iliad* or to the writing and reading of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Indeed, story-telling points to what is perhaps the most powerful human capacity, which is to understand one's own and others' moods, plans, and beliefs, and the metamorphosis of those mental states, in a long flow of action. From this perspective humans can understand a complex social setting with a long time dimension, they can understand changes in that setting, and beyond that they can also urge on each other particular information about, and interpretations of, that flow. Such narrative thought lies at the heart of sociality.⁸⁷

⁸⁵D. Davies, *Anthropology*, 31.

⁸⁶D. Davies, *Anthropology*, 19, 48–9.

⁸⁷Carrithers, *Cultures*, 74.

So embodiment will be very helpful in understanding the focus of Deut on Moses as the embodiment of the prophetic ideal in Yahwism which contrasts with the rejected religious phenomena of Deut 18.10-11, and the narrative thought expressed in Deut. Davies' concept of clusters of beliefs will be helpful in elucidating the behaviour of ancient Israelites in the face of the cultural ideal of the *nābî*' expounded in Deuteronomistic Yahwism.

In the next section I will briefly describe social-scientific criticism, a biblical studies interpretative theory, which has developed from the recent interest of biblical scholars in sociological and anthropological method. The discussion will be limited to OT studies and will include a list of some of the recent authors using this method.

Social-scientific Criticism

Social-scientific criticism uses the methods found in the social sciences, especially sociology and anthropology, and applies them both to understanding the social position of the researcher and to the biblical text. M. Daniel Carroll defines social-scientific criticism as interpreting:

the complex socio-cultural realities described or reflected in a number of ways in the biblical text and to explore the social dimensions of the interpretive process.⁸⁸

He goes on to say:

Variety has been a hallmark, as a wide range of theories and models, primarily from the disciplines of sociology and anthropology, have been utilized with fruitful results in biblical research.⁸⁹

Due to the fact that in the social sciences there is presently no regnant theory or model, but rather a great variety of theories and methods being employed, there is much

⁸⁸M. D. Carroll R., ed., *Rethinking Contexts, Rereading Texts: Contributions from the Social Sciences to Biblical Interpretation* (JSOTSup; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000) 13.

⁸⁹Carroll R., ed., *Contexts*, 13.

diversity in the understanding, interpretation, and therefore, the results of biblical research which employs social-scientific criticism. For example, biblical research employing a functionalist theory and method, with its highly systematic understanding of social organisation and belief will be much different from research utilising embodiment theory, which assumes a tendency to an organic inconsistency in the beliefs and practices of society. It is common to find aspects of a variety of theories applied simultaneously in research.⁹⁰ Among OT scholars employing the methods of social-scientific criticism, there has been a preference for interacting with sociologists Peter Berger and Gerhard Lenski, and anthropologist Mary Douglas.⁹¹

John Rogerson articulates the experience of many in biblical studies which has led to the use of interpretive models from the discipline of anthropology and sociology:

In my own case, it began early in my teaching career when I felt the pressing need to gain a vantage point from which I could survey from the outside, as it were, the academic discipline of biblical studies into which I had been inserted as a student and which had shaped the beginnings of my teaching. In the event, it was social anthropology that gave me the needed vantage point. I found in social anthropology a self-critical awareness that I missed in biblical studies, and as I began to compare what was being written about the interpretation of culture and societies in social anthropology with what was being produced in Old Testament studies, I became convinced that the latter badly needed the former.⁹²

As mentioned above, in the last two decades there has been a marked resurgence of interest in the use of an anthropological description and theory in biblical studies.⁹³

Foundational to its recent popularity was the appearance of Norman Gottwald's work

⁹⁰Cf. Cryer, *Divination in Israel*, 208.

⁹¹Chalcraft, ed., *Social-Scientific*, 15.

⁹²J. W. Rogerson, "The Potential of the Negative: Approaching the Old Testament Through the Work of Adorno," *Rethinking Contexts, Rereading Texts: Contributions from the Social Sciences to Biblical Interpretation* (ed. M. Daniel Carroll R.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000) 24.

⁹³Carroll R., ed., *Contexts*, 13; Chalcraft, ed., *Social-Scientific*, 13.

The Tribes of Yahweh.⁹⁴ Since then, a steady stream of monographs and articles employing the method has come from biblical scholars,⁹⁵ with a few noteworthy monographs coming from anthropologists.⁹⁶

Social-scientific criticism is foundational for the epistemology and hermeneutics of this study. However, the form in which the HB is expressed is in essence an ancient Israelite literary form.⁹⁷ Deut 18 is found in the second speech of Moses in the overall narrative describing Israel's last moments with Moses before entering the land of Canaan. For this reason, an understanding of the literary techniques employed must be analysed in order to understand properly what is communicated in the HB.⁹⁸ What follows is an explication of the poetics of HB narrative.

Poetics Analysis

In this section I will make explicit the poetics literary method that will be used together with the social-scientific method described above. I will begin by defining the method. Afterwards I will elucidate some of the shared concepts which provide a harmony in hermeneutical perspective for the interfacing of the literary and social-scientific methodologies.

⁹⁴Gottwald, *Tribes of Yahweh*.

⁹⁵J. W. Rogerson, *Anthropology*; Wilson, *Prophecy*; B. Lang, *Monotheism and the Prophetic Minority: An Essay in Biblical History and Sociology* (Sheffield: Almond, 1983); R. R. Wilson, *Sociological Approaches to the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984); B. Lang, ed., *Anthropological Approaches to the Old Testament* (IRT; London: SPCK, 1985); R. E. Clements, ed., *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological and Political Perspectives* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989); A. D. H. Mayes, *The Old Testament in Sociological Perspective* (London: Marshall Pickering, 1989); V. H. Matthews, and D. C. Benjamin, *Social World of Ancient Israel 1250–587 BCE* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993); Cryer, *Divination in Israel*; C. E. Carter, and C. L. Meyers, eds., *Community, Identity, and Ideology: Social Science Approaches to the Hebrew Bible* (SBTS; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996); Overholt, *Cultural Anthropology*; K. Stone, *Sex, Honor and Power* (JSOTSup; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997); P. McNutt, *Reconstructing the Society of Ancient Israel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999); Carroll R., ed., *Contexts*; N. K. Gottwald, *The Politics of Ancient Israel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001); E. S. Gerstenberger, *Theologies in the Old Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002).

⁹⁶Douglas, *Purity*; M. Douglas, *In the Wilderness: The Doctrine of Defilement in the Book of Numbers* (Oxford: OUP, 2001 Reprint); M. Douglas, *Leviticus as Literature* (Oxford: OUP, 2001); Leach, *Genesis*; Leach, *Biblical Myth*.

⁹⁷Sternberg, *Poetics*, 2.

⁹⁸Bar-Efrat, *Narrative Art*, 9.

Meir Sternberg defines *poetics* as the systematic study of literature.⁹⁹ The method is also referred to by a number of other designations. Jean Ska refers to it as *narrative analysis*.¹⁰⁰ Shimon Bar-Efrat calls it *narrative art*.¹⁰¹ Craig Bartholomew assigns to it the term *narratology*.¹⁰² Poetics as described by Sternberg assumes that the HB is literature and must be analysed as such.¹⁰³ This method, at its core, is a synchronic one. While it does not, and cannot, avoid the historical element, it refuses to be distracted or derailed by the *what* and *how* questions of historical criticism, but seeks to stay focused on the *why*.¹⁰⁴ It seeks to do justice to the *being* of the text, and not primarily to the *becoming*.¹⁰⁵ Bartholomew rightly states that even if a literary work is constructed entirely from other texts, it must be understood as a whole, analogous to a collage that hangs in an art gallery.¹⁰⁶ Who would be concerned about the sources of the various bits and pieces of a work by Marcel Duchamp or Kurt Schwitters?¹⁰⁷ “The literary creation is much more than the sum of its sources.”¹⁰⁸

One reason for focusing on poetics methodology, and combining it with social-science criticism, can be given by means of the epistemological views of Hans-Georg Gadamer and Paul Ricoeur on the nature of texts, and the communication they embody. Both Gadamer and Ricoeur resist the Derridian notion that texts have no determinate meaning.¹⁰⁹ Even given the reality of the reader’s prejudice and pre-understanding, or *Vorhabe*, the reader seeks to receive communication from the text. Gadamer explains:

⁹⁹Sternberg, *Poetics*, 2.

¹⁰⁰Ska, *Our Fathers*, v.

¹⁰¹Bar-Efrat, *Narrative Art*.

¹⁰²C. G. Bartholomew, *Reading Ecclesiastes: Old Testament Exegesis and Hermeneutical Theory* (Analetica Biblica; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1998) 139.

¹⁰³Sternberg, *Poetics*, 2.

¹⁰⁴Sternberg, *Poetics*, 1.

¹⁰⁵Bar-Efrat, *Narrative Art*, 10.

¹⁰⁶Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 115. Cf. Sternberg, *Poetics*, 2.

¹⁰⁷Marcel Duchamp’s work “The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors” is made of oil paint, lead wire, and glass. Kurt Schwitters’ work “Picture of Spatial Growth - Picture with Two Small Dogs” was created by using bits of envelope, postcard, and bus tickets. While the various parts of the whole probably have an interesting history of their own, they do not have a real bearing on the meaning of the finished work. The former hangs in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the latter hangs in the Tate Gallery, London.

¹⁰⁸Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 115.

¹⁰⁹Cf. Derrida, *Writing*, 4.

But what another person tells me, whether in conversation, letter, book, or whatever, is generally supposed to be his own and not my opinion; and this is what I am to take note of without necessarily having to share it.¹¹⁰

Ricoeur relates a similar understanding when he states that the reader must have:

a permanent mistrust of the pretensions of the subject in posing itself as the foundation of its own meaning.¹¹¹

Gadamer observes that unchecked misreading and misunderstanding eventually leads to an impasse with the text. Misreading is corrected or avoided by being explicit about one's *Vorhabe*, acknowledging the *otherness* of the text, and engaging in the dialectical questioning process:

If we examine the situation more closely, however, we find that meanings cannot be understood in an arbitrary way. Just as we cannot continually misunderstand the use of a word without its affecting the meaning of the whole, so we cannot stick blindly to our own fore-meaning about the thing if we want to understand the meaning of another. Of course this does not mean that when we listen to someone or read a book we must forget all our fore-meanings concerning the content and all our own ideas. All that is asked is that we remain open to the meaning of the other person or text. But this openness always includes our situating the other meaning in relation to the whole of our own meanings or ourselves in relation to it. Now, the fact is that meanings represent fluid multiplicity of possibilities (in comparison to the agreement presented by a language and a vocabulary), but within this multiplicity of what can be thought - i.e., of what a reader can find meaningful and hence expect to find - not everything is possible; and if a person fails to hear what the other person is really saying, he will not be able to fit what he has misunderstood into the range of his own vari-

¹¹⁰Gadamer, *Truth*, 268.

¹¹¹P. Ricoeur, "Preface," *Hermeneutic Phenomenology: The Philosophy of Paul Ricoeur* (author D. Ihde; Evanston, IL: Northwestern University, 1971) xv.

ous expectations of meaning. Thus there is a criterion here also. *The hermeneutical task becomes of itself a questioning of things* and is always in part so defined. This places hermeneutical work on a firm basis. A person trying to understand something will not resign himself from the start to relying on his own accidental fore-meanings, ignoring as consistently and stubbornly as possible the actual meaning of the text until the latter becomes so persistently audible that it breaks through what the interpreter imagines it to be. Rather, a person trying to understand a text is prepared for it to tell him something ... The important thing is to be aware of one's own bias, so that the text can present itself in all its otherness and thus assert its own truth against one's own fore-meanings.¹¹²

Three of Gadamer's thoughts are key for understanding the nature of a text and which undergird the epistemology of poetics as expressed by Sternberg,¹¹³ and ethnographic epistemology as found in the method of fieldwork, which has the goal of grasping the native point of view.¹¹⁴ Three critical notions gleaned from Gadamer are that 1) making explicit our biases clears the way for better understanding, 2) the *otherness* of the text requires the reader to listen and hear it, and 3) conversation or dialogue, especially the questioning process, with the text must take place for its meaning to be understood. The necessity of coming to terms with the pre-understanding expressed by *Vorhabe* forms the theoretical basis of the anthropological concept of reflexivity. *Conversation* and the reality that our understanding experiences a metamorphosis in an encounter with the text has similarities with the Sternberg's concept of the text as "a transaction between narrator and the audience."¹¹⁵ It is also related to the anthropological experience of mutualist view, the exchange taking place between ethnographer and informant.¹¹⁶ Marcus and Fischer echo Gadamer on the issue of communication or dialogue. They observe that:

¹¹²Gadamer, *Truth*, 268–9.

¹¹³Sternberg, *Poetics*, 1.

¹¹⁴J. Okely, *The Traveller-Gypsies* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983) 34; Turner, *Ritual*, 11, 15.

¹¹⁵Sternberg, *Poetics*, 1.

¹¹⁶Carrithers, *Cultures*, 9–11.

communication depends upon an exchange. In ordinary conversation, there is a redundancy of messages and mutual correction of understanding until agreement or meaning is mutually established ... Gadamer is concerned with interpreting past horizons of history, but the problem of interpretation is the same whether pursued through time or across cultures.¹¹⁷

Gadamer's recognition of the *otherness* of the text, and its discrete point of view, is what is behind Sternberg's idea of the embodied or objectified intention of the biblical text.¹¹⁸ This is also similar to the anthropological assumption that when approaching an alien society one is prone to misunderstanding and misinterpreting the unfamiliar. The solution for this is to recognise the *otherness* of the foreign community and seek to understand it on its own terms.

The purpose of this section was to make clear the epistemological basis for both the social-scientific and poetics method I employ in this study. What follows now will be a cursory history of the main movements in the literary reading of the biblical text, similar to the review of the use of anthropology in biblical studies given above. I will begin with New Criticism (NC), then briefly discuss Brevard Child's canonical method, and will finish with Sternberg's poetics.

A History of Literary Method in Biblical Studies

New Criticism (NC) was a reaction to the positivism which was prevalent in the early twentieth century.¹¹⁹ It is characterised by a shift in focus from a diachronic to a synchronic analysis, focusing on the text rather than the author. As has been mentioned above, historical critics were focused on the setting and origins, and not on the message of the text. NC began to reverse this trend.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷Marcus, *Anthropology*, 31.

¹¹⁸Sternberg, *Poetics*, 9–10.

¹¹⁹Sternberg, *Poetics*, 7.

¹²⁰Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 112; Sternberg, *Poetics*, 6–8.

NC maintained that the pursuit for authorial intent is misguided, and referred to it as the ‘intentional fallacy,’ a romantic error. Bartholomew explains:

We do not have access to a poet’s intention and furthermore, a literary work is an object in the public domain and not the private creation of an individual. The author’s experience, etc., are only of historical interest and do not determine the meaning or effect of his creation. What counts is what is embodied in the text and that is wholly accessible to anyone with a knowledge of the language and culture to which the text belongs. In this way the significance of authorial intention for literary interpretation is severely curtailed. This is not an ahistorical approach but one which severely restricts the role of history in literary study.¹²¹

There are two basic schools of thought in NC. One does not allow for history, the other allows for it in a subordinate role, which is the view advocated in this study. The reaction to historical criticism by the writers in NC can be seen in the criticism by Allen Tate:

For some reason critics have a hard time fixing their minds directly under their noses, and before they see the object that is there they use a telescope to scan upon the whole horizon to see where it came from. They are wood cutters who do their job by finding out where the ore came from in the iron of the steel of the blade of the axe that Jack built.¹²²

Bartholomew specifically singles out source criticism as an example of the fallacious assumption of the nature of a text of literature. He quotes Weiss who says:

That ancient text which gave the push to the artist was at the most some raw material in the hands of the creator but in no sense the source of his creation. This new creation ... springs completely from the poet’s mind and soul.

¹²¹Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 113.

¹²²A. Tate, *A Man of Letters in the Modern World: Selected Essays 1928–1955* (New York: Meridian, 1955) 333.

Therefore Knight asserts that the expression ‘source’ is only a misleading metaphor.¹²³

NC has been superseded by other methods but its influence endures. However, there are some like Weiss who have not abandoned NC, in spite of the fact that trends have shifted elsewhere.¹²⁴ Bartholomew says:

The strength of Weiss’ work is that he is at pains to show how his ‘Total Interpretation’ bears fruit in actual exegesis. This, in my view, is the ultimate test of a method: “it can only be tested and proved in practice. If the results it produces appear to be *eisegesis* instead of *exegesis*, then a thorough philological-critical examination of the text should point up the inadequacy and illuminate the source of the error.” The major part of Weiss’ work is devoted to showing the difference that his method makes in exegesis.¹²⁵

Foundational to the method of NC is the *close reading*.¹²⁶ As an example of this Bartholomew describes Wright’s close reading strategy applied to Ecclesiastes:

NC, he maintains, discerns two ways in which one can get at the plan of a work. One can proceed immediately to the content of a work and try and follow the sequence of ideas and thereby construct an outline. This approach is however, plagued by subjectivity. The second alternative is an objective method: essentially it is to put attention, first of all, not on the thought but on the form. The critic looks for repetitions of vocabulary and of grammatical forms and thus seeks to uncover whatever literary devices the author may have used, such as inclusion, *mots crochets*, anaphora, chiasm, symmetry, refrains, announcement of topic and subsequent resumption, recapitulation, etc.¹²⁷

¹²³M. Weiss, *The Bible from Within: The Method of Totality Interpretation* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1984) 24.

¹²⁴Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 114–6.

¹²⁵Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 117.

¹²⁶Sternberg, *Poetics*, 7.

¹²⁷Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 119.

The method of *close reading* continues to be foundational in current literary method. It is one way that the subjective element, while never eliminated, is tamed. With NC as background, the canonical method of Brevard Childs may be introduced.

Childs' major work on canonical analysis was published in 1979.¹²⁸ His canonical analysis has much in common with NC, but it also has its own uniqueness. The commonality that the canonical and NC analysis share is the focus on a synchronic reading, indicating a willingness to assume the basic integrity of the text. The difference between the two lies primarily in two aspects: in the recognition of the unique theological makeup of the biblical text which must be reckoned with and explained, and the application of the biblical text within a living community of faith which sees it as divinely authoritative.¹²⁹ Childs explains:

the canonical approach differs from a strictly literary approach by interpreting the biblical text in relation to a community of faith and practice for whom it served a particular theological role as possessing divine authority . . . The canonical approach is concerned to understand the nature of the theological shape of the text rather than to recover an original literary or aesthetic unity.¹³⁰

The contribution Childs' approach makes to biblical studies is the fact that the literary and theological facets of the text are inseparable. Bartholomew states:

As reactions to 'positivism,' Childs' canonical approach, NC and structuralism rightly alert us to the literary (and theological) dimensions of the OT texts, aspects which historical criticism tends to neglect ... Childs' approach is a reminder that the literary and the theological aspects of OT texts are inseparable; access to the message is gained via the literary shape of the text.¹³¹

¹²⁸B. S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (London: SCM, 1979).

¹²⁹Cf. W. Brueggemann, *The Bible and Postmodern Imagination* (London: SCM, 1993) vii.

¹³⁰Childs, *Introduction*, 74.

¹³¹Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 137.

Childs has correctly perceived that there is a unique connection between the text of the HB and the Israelite community that both formed it and was recreated by it. This dynamic is not usually accounted for in the work of the historical critical school.

the focus of OT interpretation is not the canonical literature of the Hebrews and the church but the stages of development of OT literature ... This predominantly historical concern fails to understand the peculiar dynamic of Israel's religious literature and does not relate the nature of the OT literature correctly to the community which treasured it as Scripture.¹³²

Another contribution Childs made to the literary reading of the Bible was his adoption of NC's move away from authorial intention to intention embedded in the text. In canonical analysis Childs called this canonical intention. What is important is not what the author intended but what the final editors intended as they organised the material. Bartholomew writes:

Childs distinguishes his method from the newer literary critical methods such as NC and structuralism, from the kerygmatic exegesis popularised by von Rad and his students and from the traditio-critical approach. The canonical approach is distinguished from the new literary approaches by its concern with the theological shape of the text rather than with an original literary or aesthetic unity. In Childs' view the kerygmatic type of exegesis of von Rad is too closely bound to authorial intention. Often the assumption that the theological point must be related to an original intention within a reconstructed historical context runs directly in the face of the literature's explicit statement of its function within the final form of the biblical text. Israel's religious use of her traditions unleashed a force which shaped the literature as it was collected, selected and ordered. Particular editors, groups and parties were involved but, basic to the canonical process is that those responsible for the actual editing of the text did

¹³²Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 137.

their best to obscure their own identity. Consequently the process by which the texts were reworked is very obscure. But irrespective of intentionality the effect of the canonical process was to render the tradition accessible to the future generation by means of a 'canonical intentionality', which is coextensive with the meaning of the biblical text. Canonical analysis also differs from traditional critical analysis in its evaluation of the history of the formation of the text by assuming the normative status of the final form of the text.¹³³

However, in the end Childs, and others like the Jewish scholar J. D. Levenson,¹³⁴ attempt to combine a synchronic reading with the ill-fitting diachronic concerns of historical criticism.¹³⁵ The result is rather than creating a workable synthesis, two opposing views are placed side by side in an unworkable juxtaposition. The synchronic, with its prioritising of the meaning of the message,¹³⁶ sits uncomfortably beside a particular diachronic analysis that has little regard for the message.¹³⁷ Bartholomew explains:

what distinguishes Childs' reading from an intrinsic final form one is his concern to see how different layers have affected the final form. Childs is very cautious on getting behind the text and yet discernment of the effects of layers requires just that and in a fairly precise manner.¹³⁸

James Barr observes that:

Childs' actual operation, however, is far more dependent on historical criticism than his account of the latter would suggest. The operation is bipolar: if one pole is the new canonical reading, the other is the situation reached by traditional criticism. He displays, not what a canonical reading, untouched by

¹³³Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 103.

¹³⁴J. D. Levenson, *The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism* (Jews and Christians in Biblical Studies; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993).

¹³⁵Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 2.

¹³⁶Cf. Sternberg, *Poetics*, 17.

¹³⁷Cf. Brueggemann, *The Bible*, 5–6.

¹³⁸Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 107.

historical criticism, would be, but the path by which, starting from current positions, one can find one's way to the new canonical reading.¹³⁹

Childs' canonical method differs from NC in that it is not a purely intrinsic, or synchronic reading of the text, yet he does share NC's reaction to an unbalanced focus on history in the humanities by emphasising the final form of the text.¹⁴⁰ But it is in Sternberg that a more sophisticated and consistent approach is found. Sternberg articulates and demonstrates a balance between the theological, historical, and aesthetic aspects of the text that take it to a level not found in Childs.¹⁴¹

Poetics has obvious roots in NC. The approach emerged in biblical studies in the 1970s through authors like Robert Alter and Shimon Bar-Efrat,¹⁴² and continued to mature in the 1980s through others like Adele Berlin and Meir Sternberg.¹⁴³ Monographs by Jean Louis Ska, David Gunn and Danna Fewell, and Craig Bartholomew are examples from the 1990s.¹⁴⁴ The poetics method is a balance between the extrinsic and intrinsic reading of the text. The intrinsic reading is privileged, but the extrinsic has a role.¹⁴⁵ Sternberg expresses the fact that entering into a dialogue with the text, and seeking to understand its intention, is impossible without historical reconstruction:

With the interpreter removed from the Bible's sociocultural context, intention becomes a matter of historical reconstruction.¹⁴⁶

The simple reality of a text's ancient Hebrew language requires historical reconstruction. Just as the linguistic code must be reconstructed for meaning, so also must the artistic code be reconstructed.¹⁴⁷ The function of poetics is to reconstruct the literary code of the HB.

¹³⁹J. Barr, "Childs' *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*," *JSOT* 16 (1980) 15.

¹⁴⁰Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 107.

¹⁴¹Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 137.

¹⁴²Alter, *Art*; Bar-Efrat, *Narrative Art*.

¹⁴³Berlin, *Poetics and Interpretation*; Sternberg, *Poetics*.

¹⁴⁴Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*; Gunn, *Narrative*; Ska, *Our Fathers*.

¹⁴⁵Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 114.

¹⁴⁶Sternberg, *Poetics*, 9.

¹⁴⁷Sternberg, *Poetics*, 10–1.

A distinctive feature of Sternberg's approach is his insistence that poetics is not a method that can be viewed as one option among many. Because the HB is literature, any interpretation which fails to analyse its literary techniques will not reach a precise or fruitful understanding. For this reason the poetics method is used explicitly in the interpretation of Deut 18. Sternberg goes to great lengths to explain the indispensable nature of poetics:

Hence, to offer a poetics of biblical narrative is to claim that biblical narrative is a work of literature. Not just an artful work; not a work marked by some aesthetic property; not a work resorting to so-called literary devices; not a work that the interpreter may choose (or refuse) to consider from a literary viewpoint or, in that unlovely piece of jargon, as literature; but a literary work.¹⁴⁸

Bartholomew goes on to comment on the inherently organic nature of Sternberg's poetics:

It is important to Sternberg that biblical narrative is a work of literature so that in a poetics such as his, the discipline and its object come together. He stresses this in opposition to biblical scholars who see 'literary approaches' to the Bible as the conscious imposition of alien categories upon the OT text. For Sternberg the authors of the biblical narratives have used narrative techniques to convey their message, and poetics is a study of *these* techniques. Consequently at the very outset of his *Poetics* he indicates his understanding of narrative as *functional discourse* and sees poetics as research into how this discourse functions.¹⁴⁹

For Sternberg, like Gadamer, and the epistemology of anthropology, communication and interaction with the *other* is at the heart of the interpretation process. One can see how this understanding of the relation between text and reader complements

¹⁴⁸Sternberg, *Poetics*, 2.

¹⁴⁹Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 140.

Carrithers' theory of *mutualist view* and *intersubjectivity*, along with Gadamer's notion of *conversation*. Bartholomew continues to explain:

Sternberg's opening paragraph is a ringing affirmation of communication as the context within which narrative interpretation takes place. "Biblical narrative is oriented to an addressee and regulated by a purpose or set of purposes involving the addressee. Hence our primary business as readers is to make purposive sense of it." Recognition of the genre of the text alone is insufficient: "Unless firmly anchored in the relations between narrator and audience, therefore, formalism degenerates into a new mode of atomism."¹⁵⁰

Rather than the positivist authorial intention, or the canonical intention of Childs, Sternberg prefers to speak of objectified or embodied intention. Since nothing is really known about the authors, the focus must be on the text. The text itself gives indicators as to its intention.

As interpreters of the Bible, our only concern is with "embodied" or "objectified" intention; and that forms a different business altogether, about which a wide measure of agreement has always existed. In my own view, such intention fulfills a crucial role, for communication presupposes a speaker who resorts to certain linguistic and structural tools in order to produce certain effects on the addressee; the discourse accordingly supplies a network of clues to the speaker's intention.¹⁵¹

Up until this point the discussion of Sternberg's poetics has focused on how it can be said that the text carries out its part of the conversation and communicates with the reader. This is done through embodied intention. Now something will be said concerning the nature of the text. In ancient times literature and religion converged and cannot be understood separately. This must be clearly understood as the text is approached in conversation and in literary analysis:

¹⁵⁰Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 140.

¹⁵¹Sternberg, *Poetics*, 9.

Frequently it is falsely assumed that the Bible as a religious text is in antithesis to the Bible as literature. For Sternberg this is a false antithesis. In the ancient world highly poetic and literary material was regularly highly ideological and attended to for instruction. “the question is how rather than whether the literary coexists with the social, the doctrinal, the philosophical.” Representation is never to be set against evaluation, although the extent to which these aspects dominate in any piece of literature will vary. Only if the Bible were ideological in an extreme form of didactic would taking it seriously as literature be inadmissible. However, “if biblical narrative is didactic, then it has chosen the strangest way to go about its business. For the narrator breaks every law in the didacticist’s decalogue. Anything like preaching from the narrative pulpit is conspicuous for its absence.” Narrative is the means whereby the Bible presents its message and the two, narrative technique and the message are not to be set against each other.¹⁵²

Now that the type of text has been established, some remarks about poetics and its relationship to historical criticism should be made. Scholarship generally recognises that at a minimum, understanding the meaning of the language of the HB is an activity of historical reconstruction. In the history of biblical scholarship this has been primarily the domain of the historical critical school which has been concerned especially with analysis of origins, a ‘behind the text’ analysis of what the historical situation was, and not with interpretation. As has been mentioned, analysis of origins has its place, especially as a tool of the historian. But a biblicalist has other concerns that should take priority. The chief concern should not be with the origins of the various bits and pieces but with the interpretation of its message. Bartholomew, following Sternberg, suggests that the historical and the literary must work together:

The historicity of the text cannot be avoided; at the very least all scholars acknowledge that the language and its meaning require historical reconstruc-

¹⁵²Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 141.

tion. Of course the nature of the source criticism we engage in needs careful attention and Sternberg is very critical of much that has been called source criticism. There is an inevitable tension between source and discourse but Sternberg appeals for a closer partnership between the two; indeed he maintains that the two cannot but work together and neither has the primacy over the other.¹⁵³

In the next section, the methodology of this particular study will be elucidated. It is a methodology involving a dialogue by means of which anthropology, sociology, and literary theory commingle and exert influence on each other, creating an interpretive synergy.¹⁵⁴

Interdisciplinary Methodology

In this section the details of the social-scientific, literary, and comparative method employed in this study will be discussed. The social-scientific method will be treated first. It will include a definition and explanation of ethnography and the comparative method, which are the primary anthropological heuristic tools used here. This section will also include a description of my own background, in keeping with the Gadamerian and anthropological assumption that making biases explicit paves the way for better understanding of the *other*. Following this the ethnographic case studies which will be used in the exegesis of Deut 18 will be introduced and justified. Finally, some of the poetics techniques found in Deut will be mentioned.

The anthropological method is a comparative and descriptive one.¹⁵⁵ It holds promise for interpreting OT texts because of its data resulting from a *close reading* of societies and cultures, analogous with the poetics' *close reading* of texts. Anthropological theory is not taken here as a panacea for the challenges facing the interpretation of the HB. But, as Sternberg notes, since an accurate understanding of the culture embedded

¹⁵³Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 141.

¹⁵⁴I have in mind Gadamer's concept of the synergy and change that takes place in conversation (Gadamer, *Truth*, 383).

¹⁵⁵Carroll R., ed., *Contexts*, 13; Chalcraft, ed., *Social-Scientific*, 14.

in the HB is a necessary prerequisite for reading the ancient scripture.¹⁵⁶ anthropological data and interpretation should be an effective and fruitful conversation partner. Let us now proceed to a description of the method.

Description of Method Used in this Study

The method employed in this thesis can be described in eight points. These points follow Robert R. Wilson, who has outlined a six point method for using ethnographic material for the interpretation of OT texts,¹⁵⁷ to which I will add two more, one of which incorporates the poetics method. Wilson's points continue to hold currency in anthropological method today.

(1) The comparative data must be carried out by twentieth and twenty-first century anthropologists who have gathered the data in fieldwork experience, in order to avoid the imprecision of arm-chair anthropologists using second hand information.¹⁵⁸ (2) The comparative material must be understood in its own context, assuming that similarity of behaviour or symbols with societies in the ANE do not necessarily carry the same meaning.¹⁵⁹ (3) Ethnographies from a variety of disparate communities will be used in cross-cultural juxtaposition with ANE communities in order to understand both patterns and unique ways that societies build their cultures. This also helps the biblical exegete to become accustomed to the variety of theories and methods employed by ethnographers.¹⁶⁰ (4) The descriptive data must be the focus, and where possible, the interpretive framework of the ethnographer must be recognised and set aside in order to understand the emic view of the community being analysed.¹⁶¹ (5) Choice of data should be relevant for comparison with issues under investigation in ancient Israel and

¹⁵⁶Sternberg, *Poetics*, 17.

¹⁵⁷Wilson, *Prophecy*, 15–6.

¹⁵⁸Wilson, *Prophecy*, 15. Cf. Marcus, *Anthropology*, 106–7; Stocking, *Ethnographer's Magic*, 357, 372.

¹⁵⁹Wilson, *Prophecy*, 15. Cf. Okely, *Traveller-Gypsies*, 77.

¹⁶⁰Wilson, *Prophecy*, 15–6. Cf. Marcus, *Anthropology*, 138.

¹⁶¹Wilson, *Prophecy*, 16. Cf. D. Davies, *Anthropology*, 22; Malinowski, *Magic*, 237; K. L. Pike, *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1967) 37; Turner, *Ritual*, 11, 15.

the other societies of the ANE.¹⁶² (6) The biblical text itself should hold the privileged place of informing the interpreter of the Yahwistic pattern of meanings, in order to strive for an emic, or competent, understanding of the Yahwistic worldview.¹⁶³ (7) The interpreter must be reflexive, or autobiographical. This is in keeping with the understanding across disciplines that interpreters carry horizons, or biases, which affect an objective interpretation of data. These horizons should be made explicit.¹⁶⁴ (8) The interpreter must recognise that the biblical text is literature employing literary strategies which must be discerned in order to properly understand the text.¹⁶⁵ There are terms used in the above description of method that will be elucidated in the following paragraphs.

The particulars and descriptions of various rituals and practices for comparative analysis found in ethnographic fieldwork create rich potential for deepening the understanding of how divination and power ritual practices function in various societies.

Anthropologists George Marcus and Michael Fischer define ethnography as

a research process in which the anthropologist closely observes, records, and engages in the daily life of another culture ... and then writes accounts of this culture, emphasising descriptive detail.¹⁶⁶

The anthropologist traditionally carries out ethnographic research for approximately one and a half years alone in the field with the community under investigation.¹⁶⁷ The method of experiencing culture first hand by language and culture acquisition is called *participant observation*.¹⁶⁸ The goal of participant observation is to experience, understand, and interpret the behaviour, symbols, social structure, and underlying beliefs that make up the elements that give a society and its culture meaning and distinction. The epistemology of ethnographic method relies heavily on what Carrithers calls *narrative*

¹⁶²Wilson, *Prophecy*, 16. Cf. Douglas, *Purity*, 7.

¹⁶³Wilson, *Prophecy*, 16. Cf. Douglas, *Purity*, 62; Sternberg, *Poetics*, 17.

¹⁶⁴Gadamer, *Truth*, 269; Marcus, *Anthropology*, 109–10; Stocking, *Ethnographer's Magic*, 13.

¹⁶⁵Bar-Efrat, *Narrative Art*, 10; Sternberg, *Poetics*, 2.

¹⁶⁶Marcus, *Anthropology*, 18.

¹⁶⁷Malinowski, *Magic*, 237; Stocking, *Ethnographer's Magic*, 12–6.

¹⁶⁸Sharpe, *Comparative Religion*, 176; Stocking, *Ethnographer's Magic*, 16.

knowledge, as opposed to *paradigmatic* knowledge. Narrative knowledge is a decidedly pragmatic kind of knowledge as opposed to theoretical knowledge. It is the kind of knowledge picked up as one lives in a community and participates in the life of its people, or in the case of the anthropologist, the adopted people. This kind of knowledge stresses the particulars of individuals and situations in the flow of action over time, as opposed to timeless and disembodied generic descriptions.¹⁶⁹ The kind of epistemology, or narrative knowledge, Carrithers advocates is similar to the *phronesis* which Gadamer describes. Gadamer eschews the modern preoccupation with theoretical reason. Rather he appeals to the importance of Aristotle's notion of *phronesis*, or practical knowledge, as well as the importance of the *sensus communis*, or community, for understanding as opposed to *sophia*, or theoretical knowledge.¹⁷⁰ Here one can see not only that Gadamer's concept of *phronesis* converges with Carrithers' concept of narrative knowledge, but that Gadamer's concept of the *sensus communis* has a parallel with another important anthropological epistemological concept found in Carrithers, that of *intersubjectivity* and *mutualism*.

The various symbols, practices, and beliefs observed in societies and cultures create what is referred to as a *pattern of meanings*.¹⁷¹ This pattern of meanings is the discrete universe, or worldview, constructed by a society. This worldview is analogous to a pattern made up of numerous cultural symbols, beliefs, and behaviour.¹⁷² The result of ethnographic cultural immersion is an epistemology of alien cultures that is competently aware of the meaning of their symbols, beliefs, and behaviour. It is impossible for scholars of ancient societies and cultures to obtain the kind of knowledge that ethnographers obtain. Yet, one of the goals of the biblical interpreter is to understand the Yahwistic pattern of meanings. Foundational elements in the Yahwistic pattern of meaning are found in the Pentateuchal narrative, such as the rituals, laws, and stories

¹⁶⁹Carrithers, *Cultures*, 83–4.

¹⁷⁰Gadamer, *Truth*, 21.

¹⁷¹Berger, *Social Reality*, 19, 28; Douglas, *Purity*, 48, 51; Stocking, *Ethnographer's Magic*, 121; Turner, *Ritual*, 14.

¹⁷²Berger, *Social Reality*, 19, 28. Cf. Sternberg's use of the phrase *pattern of meaning* to describe the linguistic and literary organisation of the narrative of the HB (Sternberg, *Poetics*, 15).

embedded in the narrative of Gen, Exod, Lev, Num, and Deut. Together these make a complex tapestry, the pattern of which explains the meaning of the Yahwistic universe. Ethnographies offer potential for a rich comparative study, and an 'in front of the text' preparation of the reader of the HB. Wilson explains:

Comparative data thus has a dual function. On the one hand, it can broaden the horizons of the biblical interpreter and suggest a wider range of hypotheses than the interpreter might be able to produce on the basis of the biblical text alone. On the other hand, comparative material may lend support to or cast doubt on hypotheses previously advanced.¹⁷³

This is similar to Marcus and Fischer's observations:

In using portraits of other cultural patterns ... anthropology disrupts common sense and makes us reexamine our taken-for-granted assumptions.¹⁷⁴

The notion of *world-construction* has been mentioned above in connection with the way a society develops its own pattern of meanings. Berger's concept of world-construction involves a dialectic in which 1) society creates its own meanings and culture, and once this is created 2) this culture in turn informs and shapes the members of society.¹⁷⁵ Berger develops this dialectic further by describing the process in three stages: 1) externalisation is the creation of the physical and mental aspects of culture by humans which eventually become the dominant characteristic of a community; 2) objectivation is the cultural reality that has become external to the humans that created it and acts as a force shaping the views of the members of a community; 3) internalisation is the passive reappropriation of this active external culture by humans which shapes their cultural assumptions.¹⁷⁶ Berger sums it up by stating that

¹⁷³Wilson, *Prophecy*, 16.

¹⁷⁴Marcus, *Anthropology*, 1.

¹⁷⁵Berger, *Social Reality*, 3.

¹⁷⁶Berger, *Social Reality*, 3–4.

It is through externalization that society is a human product. It is through objectivation that society becomes a reality *sui generis*. It is through internalisation that man is a product of society.¹⁷⁷

Berger's model of world-construction will be utilised in the analysis of Deut. It is significant for this investigation that Berger recognises Moses and the narratives of the Pentateuch as an example of world-construction.¹⁷⁸ Specifically, Deut tells us that Yahweh, through Moses, brings new cultural realities to the community of Israel; this is the process of *externalization* (1.3; 6.1). The goal of Deut is to initiate a process of *internalisation* (6.20-25). This happens as Israelites accept into their social consciousness the attempts of Yahweh and Moses to change their view of reality, resulting in a new and vigorous Yahweh-centred worldview. According to Deut, the *internalisation* process in Israel was not entirely successful, and in fact the failure was anticipated (cf. 31.16).

Dale Eickelman's notion of *implicit* and *explicit ideology* is another important theoretical construct which is helpful for understanding social dynamics at work in Deut. In Eickelman's research on the marabouts of Boujad, Morocco, he makes the point that beliefs assumed by a community often are not given sustained explicit discourse. However, contested, innovative, or reformist beliefs require protracted and explicit, even polemical, treatment.¹⁷⁹ I hold that this theory is helpful for understanding Deut as an explicit polemic designed to challenge the assumptions of the Israelite community.

Other anthropological methods mentioned above, and used in this study, are ones associated with embodiment. The notion of *reflexivity* in anthropological theory deals with coming to terms with the researcher's own social position, biases and assumptions. In order to properly engage the *other* in an alien culture, a scholar must be explicit about

¹⁷⁷Berger, *Social Reality*, 4.

¹⁷⁸Berger, *Social Reality*, 33, 115–6.

¹⁷⁹D. F. Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam: Tradition and Society in a Pilgrimage Center* (MMES; London: University of Texas, 1976) 6–11.

prejudices. Self-analysis must be an ongoing process throughout research. Marcus and Fischer elaborate by saying:

reflexivity demands not only an adequate critical understanding of oneself through all phases of research, but ultimately such an understanding of one's own society as well.¹⁸⁰

Other anthropological concepts used in embodiment theory include *mutualism* and *intersubjectivity*. These concepts stress the malleable and communal nature of society and culture. Carrithers defines mutualism as

one which stresses that people are so deeply engaged with each other that we can only properly understand them if we understand even their apparently private notions and attitudes as interpersonal ones.¹⁸¹

It is a concept that has arisen from anthropology, sociology and social psychology. Carrithers borrowed the concept of *mutualism* from psychologists Arthur Still and Jim Good. Basically, it is an epistemological concept stating that what we know is a joint project between people. Carrithers continues to illuminate the concept by saying that

Mutualist writers have regarded people as inextricably involved with each other in face-to-face relationships. They have understood the works of humans to be always achieved jointly.¹⁸²

Intersubjectivity rises out of a mutualist understanding of reality. Given that humans know what they know through community, then one can be very intentional about utilising this communal way of knowing. Intersubjectivity is the interaction in communication between anthropologist and the community being researched. It is the process of negotiating meaning which takes place in relationship and communication. Another way this has been described is dialogue.¹⁸³ Carrithers defines intersubjectivity as

¹⁸⁰Marcus, *Anthropology*, 109–10.

¹⁸¹Carrithers, *Cultures*, 11.

¹⁸²Carrithers, *Cultures*, 11.

¹⁸³Marcus, *Anthropology*, 30–1.

an innate human propensity for mutual engagement and mutual responsiveness. Some of this propensity is cognitive or intellectual, some of it emotional, but in any case human character and human experience exist only in and through people's relations with each other.¹⁸⁴

Intersubjectivity is basic to embodiment epistemological notions. It realises that our knowledge is deeper and richer as we interact seriously with many individuals in a community. It assumes an *otherness* of the alien community which can be known by interacting and dialoguing with its members. The significance of intersubjectivity will become clearer when it is discussed below in relationship to the literary theory to be used. Next to be explicated are the terms *emic* and *etic*.

The terms *emic* and *etic* originated with linguist Kenneth Pike in 1954.¹⁸⁵ They were introduced into the discipline of anthropology by Marvin Harris in the 1960s¹⁸⁶ and are used now across the disciplines. The various disciplines use the terms in slightly different ways, and at times misunderstand them. Headland cites an extreme example of misunderstanding in the glosses "etic equals sloppy" and "emic equals precise."¹⁸⁷ My definition of emic and etic will follow from Pike's. Emic will be an understanding or concept that arises from an *insider* or *native point of view* that is relevant to the larger pattern of meaning of a culture. Victor Turner describes the ethnographic distinction of seeking out the insider point of view as *indigenous exegesis*.¹⁸⁸ Etic will be understood as a viewpoint or concept that is made as a result of outsider observations of an alien system. Pike defines emic in this way:

It proves convenient - though partially arbitrary - to describe behavior from two different standpoints, which lead to results which shade into one another.

The etic viewpoint studies behavior as from outside of a particular system, and

¹⁸⁴Carrithers, *Cultures*, 55.

¹⁸⁵Pike, *Language*, 37-72.

¹⁸⁶M. Harris, *The Nature of Cultural Things* (New York: Random House, 1964) 133-50.

¹⁸⁷T. N. Headland, "Introduction: A Dialogue Between Kenneth Pike and Marvin Harris on Emics and Etics," *Emics and Etics: The Insider/Outsider Debate* (eds. T. N. Headland, K. L. Pike and M. Harris; London: Sage, 1990) 23.

¹⁸⁸Turner, *Ritual*, 14.

as an essential initial approach to an alien system. The emic viewpoint results from studying behaviour from inside the system.¹⁸⁹

Later, Pike was to give the following more sophisticated definition:

An emic unit, in my view, is a physical or mental item or system treated by insiders as relevant to their system of behavior and as the same emic unit in spite of etic variability.¹⁹⁰

This understanding of emic allows for the existence of a variety of interpretations for a given object in a society. Pike acknowledges this when he says that there may be etic variations of understanding that exist as well as the fact that there are variants of the 'same' emic unit "for a particular person or subculture."¹⁹¹ The fact that there is emic variability as well as etic is in line with Carrithers' and Davies' argument about the plasticity and organic nature of societies.¹⁹²

By definition, it is not possible for an outsider to have a purely emic perspective on an alien society or culture, whether ancient or modern. But it is possible for an outsider to become competent by having perceptions changed, and at times radically altered, in the course of intersubjective dialogue. This understanding can be visualised by seeing the terms emic and etic placed on opposite ends of a continuum. Through the process of intersubjectivity it is possible for an outsider to move along the continuum in the direction of a more emic understanding. Indeed this can be done most successfully when an emic perspective is explicitly pursued. For this purpose seven ethnographic field studies will be used in close dialogue with the biblical text. Also, it is hoped that my own experience living outside of Western society will contribute positively in this way. Anthropological reflexivity, as mentioned above, is another method helpful in moving one toward the emic end of the continuum. In the attempt to make explicit my own

¹⁸⁹Pike, *Language*, 37.

¹⁹⁰K. L. Pike, "On the Emics and Etics of Pike and Harris," *Emics and Etics: The Insider/Outsider Debate* (eds. T. N. Headland, K. L. Pike and M. Harris; London: Sage, 1990) 28.

¹⁹¹Pike, "Emics and Etics," 29.

¹⁹²Carrithers, *Cultures*, 6–11; D. Davies, *Anthropology*, 19–26.

context, and thus apply the principle of reflexivity, I will relate the relevant experiences and contexts which affect my particular perspective.

My social position is that of a white American Anglo-Saxon Protestant male. However, most of my adult life has been lived outside of this social context. After finishing university at twenty-two years of age I moved to the sprawling Hispanic enclave of East Los Angeles where I lived, worked, and married while attending graduate theological school. I married into an Hispanic family, remaining in East Los Angeles for five years. After theological school and ordination I worked and lived for twelve years in Middle-Eastern and Central Asian cultures: Turkey (1988-1993), Tajikistan (1994-2000), and Israel (2000-2001). Most of this time was spent involved in church relief and development work. I could also mention nearly four years (2001-2005) living in the west country of England while pursuing a Ph.D. Recently I have returned to Tajikistan to lecture in the philosophy department of the Tajikistan State National University in Dushanbe. Although I have not experienced the rigours of field research, I have had remotely similar experiences by living with local people, and learning their languages, especially the Persian dialects of Farsi and Tajiki. This has helped, at least in a small way, to temper what would otherwise be a narrowly American interpretive horizon. The experience of living with Muslims and Jews of various ethnic backgrounds, and being involved in reconciliation and peacemaking activities with members of these venerable faiths, has given me an appreciation and respect for these and other religious traditions, even while growing to appreciate my own faith in ever increasing ways. My intersubjective experiences have also been a cause of significant change in political and social perspective. In Tajiki Persian the experience of change in horizon through experience in other societies is referred to as *jahonbin* (a world perspective).

I should also make mention of my location within the Christian Church, since it plays a significant part of my life experience and perspective. The Church today is perhaps more diverse than ever before. As a result no one can presume to speak for the Church

definitively. One cannot even presume to speak on behalf of one of the many branches within the Church. What is possible is for me to enter the dialogue from within a particular branch of the Church.¹⁹³ My particular context is normally associated with charismatic evangelical Protestantism. I can speak from its particular horizon as one of its variable emic voices, hopefully as an *organic intellectual*, bridging the academic and the popular, being one who emerges from within and remaining homogeneous with that particular community.¹⁹⁴ Stephen Chapman is helpful in explaining the tension of personal faith commitment, combined with respect for and seeking understanding of the *otherness* of the HB:

My use of the term ‘Old Testament’ expresses my perspective as a Christian scholar in the service of the Church, but not narrowly. My desire is to hear in the words of the text of God’s Word to *ancient Israel* and thus a witness to Jesus Christ in its *pre-Christian* form. By ‘Old Testament’ I therefore do not intend to ‘christianize’ the text or to deprecate other traditions and titles, some of which I employ as ready synonyms, but rather to report honestly my own social location.¹⁹⁵

Academic interpretation for the Church continues to be fundamentally important as the Church remains a gateway for the discovery of the Bible. As R. W. L. Moberly observes, most people still first encounter the Bible in the context of the Church.¹⁹⁶ The explicit confession of a decidedly Christian interpretation also helps to clear away hermeneutical confusion and helps others better understand the goal and purpose of this particular reading. Again Moberly is helpful in this regard:

¹⁹³Acknowledging the particular faith community of the reader not only is necessary in keeping with reflexivity and *Vorhabe* but has similarities with Child’s canonical idea of interpretation of the Biblical text in the context of a faith community (Childs, *Introduction*, 74).

¹⁹⁴Marxist theoretician Antonio Gramsci distinguishes between two types of intellectual: the ‘traditional intellectual’ imposed on a community from the outside and the ‘organic intellectual,’ one who emerges from and remains homogeneous with the community (A. Gramsci, *Selections from Prison Notebooks* [London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971] 3, 5–6).

¹⁹⁵S. B. Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets: A Study in Canon Formation* (Forschungen zum Alten Testament; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000) ix-x.

¹⁹⁶R. W. L. Moberly, *The Old Testament of the Old Testament: Patriarchal Narratives and Mosaic Yahwism* (OBT; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 1.

Debates about the Bible often focus on questions of method - the relative merits of, say, either form criticism and redaction criticism or else structuralism or deconstructionism. All such debates have their place, but they do not go to the heart of the matter. Rather, the crucial question, which is prior to questions of method and sets the context for them, is that of purpose and goal. To put it simply, *how we use the Bible depends on why we use the Bible*. In practice, many of the disagreements about how are, in effect, disagreements about why, and failure to recognize this leads to endless confusion.¹⁹⁷

Finally, while my context influences my horizon, it does not follow that it *determines* my position.¹⁹⁸ I happily remain open to the mutualist and intersubjective forces of texts, individuals, and communities as I grow and change by means of the process of interpretation. Both Carrithers and Gadamer have emphasised that conversation with text and societies impact and bring change in perspective.¹⁹⁹ I would also be pleased if there is something useful here that other communions and faiths may intersubjectively process and find beneficial.

What remains in this section is the description of the seven ethnographies employed in this study to help in the comparative method, as well as comments on the literary techniques used. I will begin with the ethnographies.

The following ethnographies have been selected because of their enduring value as classics in their field. *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic Among the Azande*, by Oxford don E. E. Evans-Pritchard, is used because of its wide acclaim and usage of its sociological theories across disciplines, especially the way its data has contributed to the sociology of knowledge.²⁰⁰ Evans-Pritchard's ethnography, in the structural-

¹⁹⁷Moberly, *Old Testament*, 2.

¹⁹⁸Professor Anthony Thistelton made this point at the University of Gloucestershire's Scripture and Hermeneutics Seminar Lecture when he spoke on the topic "1 Corinthians and Post-modernity (3 June 2003)."

¹⁹⁹Carrithers speaks of the great changeability and flexibility in culture and society (Carrithers, *Cultures*, 7); Gadamer speaks of true conversation which brings about change, in his terms, *verstehen*, a new understanding (Gadamer, *Truth*, 385).

²⁰⁰E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic Among the Azande* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976) xix-xxix.

functionalist vein, was carried out in the late 1920s among the Azande people of southern Sudan. It is relevant for this present research because of his analysis of Zande²⁰¹ religion, especially in reference to the unique Zande view of witchcraft, sorcery, and divination. Evans-Pritchard's study is also insightful for understanding issues often referred to as official and popular cult. *The Ritual Process*, by Victor Turner, is a classic which employs the symbolic analysis of ritual.²⁰² Turner did his fieldwork in the 1950s among the Ndembu of Zambia. *The Ritual Process* is based on the Lewis Henry Morgan Lectures at the University of Rochester which Turner gave in 1966. The lectures in turn were based on his fieldwork among the Ndembu. Turner's work is apropos for an analysis of Deut 18.10-11 as the various practices and practitioners listed are intimately tied to ritual. Turner also deals with issues of Ndembu religion which give insight into cult, sacrifice, divination, and cosmological chaos conflict. Moving location to Ecuador in South America, *The Jivaro* is an ethnography written by Michael Harner who did his fieldwork in the 1950s and 60s among the Jivaro, now referred to more emically as the Shaur.²⁰³ Harner's ethnography focuses specifically on the phenomenon of shamanism. His work is relevant for Deut 18 in providing comparison for cosmology, cult, and revelatory phenomena. Dale Eickelman's *Moroccan Islam* is an ethnography, also carried out with a symbolic analytical perspective, based on 1960s fieldwork.²⁰⁴ It focuses on marabout religious practitioners found in and around Boujad, Morocco. His study is relevant comparative material for Deut 18 because of the issues of cult, intermediary religious functionaries, and social change. Especially helpful are his clarification of the notions of official and popular cult and his theoretical constructs of explicit and implicit ideology which help give clarity to the social dynamics in Deut. *Knowledge and Passion*, by Michelle Rosaldo, is an ethnography utilising a symbolic interpretive framework based on field-work done among

²⁰¹Zande is the adjective used in referring to things pertaining to the Azande people (cf. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft*, xxii).

²⁰²Turner, *Ritual*.

²⁰³M. J. Harner, *The Jivaro: People of the Sacred Waterfalls* (London: University of California, 1984 Reprint).

²⁰⁴Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam*.

the Ilongot of the Philippines in the 1960s and 70s.²⁰⁵ Rosaldo's work, similar to those mentioned above, is beneficial for the analysis of Deut 18 because of issues of cosmology, cult, sacrifice, divination, and power rituals. It also has relevance as an example of the mutability of culture. *The Traveller-Gypsies*, by Judith Okely, is based on fieldwork done in the UK in the 1970s among Gypsies.²⁰⁶ It is valuable as comparative data for its analysis of ethnicity and cultural symbolism. Finally, Bruce Privratsky's *Muslim Turkestan* is based on 1990s fieldwork performed among Kazaks of Turkistan, Kazakhstan.²⁰⁷ Privratsky's work, with its specific focus on a descriptive analysis of Kazak religion, is valuable for issues involving cosmology, cult, ancestor worship, divination, and power rituals. It is also important for elucidating the notions of official and popular religion.

As mentioned above, the HB is a literary work. In the Pentateuch, its legal portions generally receive the focus of discussion. However, it is critical to keep in mind that the books of the Pentateuch are narratives in which legal portions are embedded. Recognising the narrative nature of the Pentateuch, Sternberg and Ska cite a number of texts from Exod, Num, and Deut as examples of biblical narrative techniques.²⁰⁸ It is generally acknowledged that these texts employ literary and rhetorical strategies designed to influence and shape society and culture (Deut 4.32-35; 5.1; 6.4).²⁰⁹ In fact, as Ska has observed, in the final literary form of the HB, Deut is understood as the interpretative key for Israelite history with allusions to Deut replete throughout the subsequent books of the HB (cf. 1 Kgs 8.23 and Deut 7.9; 12; 2 Kgs 17.7 and Deut 5.7, 6.14, 20.1, 18; 2 Kgs 17.13 and Deut 6.2, 10.13, 11.1, 28.15, 45; 2 Kgs 17.17 and Deut 18.10).²¹⁰ For these reasons, Deut is viewed in this thesis first and foremost as ideological narrative. Moses is presented as the protagonist and is present in the text in

²⁰⁵M. Z. Rosaldo, *Knowledge and Passion: Ilongot Notions of Self and Social Life* (CSCS; Cambridge: CUP, 1980).

²⁰⁶Okely, *Traveller-Gypsies*.

²⁰⁷B. Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan: Kazak Religion and Collective Memory* (London: Curzon, 2001).

²⁰⁸Ska, *Our Fathers*, 45, 46–50, 83; Sternberg, *Poetics*, 115–6, 372.

²⁰⁹Bar-Efrat, *Narrative Art*, 16, 35; Ska, *Our Fathers*, 49–50; Sternberg, *Poetics*, 1, 9, 15.

²¹⁰Ska, *Our Fathers*, 81.

the service of the plot of Deut.²¹¹ Additionally, the narrative is written as an *embedded narrative*, or a *narrative within a narrative*.²¹² Moses plays the role of the intradiegetic narrator in Deut within the narrative which is related more remotely by the covert or heterodiegetic narrator. In other words, Deut employs a remote narrator, one who is covert and relates the narrative of Deut from some indeterminate point of time (Deut 1.1-5; 4.41-5.1a; 34.10).²¹³ Within this narrative, is the narrative and speeches placed in the mouth of Moses. The powerful figure of Moses is used for compelling rhetorical effect, and functions as a primary symbol in Yahwistic ideology.²¹⁴ More discussion of the literary features of Deut will be taken up in Chapter 4. This concludes the main discussion of the particular features of the social-scientific and literary methodology to be employed in this study.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to describe a social-scientific and poetics literary methodology from which to interpret Deut 18. It has identified the key philosophical, sociological, anthropological, and literary concepts to be used in this interpretation. In the next chapter the issues important for interpreting the religious phenomena in Deut 18 will be explored as they are found in ANE communities from which Israel was formed and related. These will then serve as comparative material alongside the modern ethnographies mentioned above in order to understand Yahwistic culture and its vision for society.

²¹¹Ska, *Our Fathers*, 83.

²¹²Ska, *Our Fathers*, 46–51.

²¹³Ska, *Our Fathers*, 46.

²¹⁴Ska, *Our Fathers*, 49–50.

Chapter Three

Religion in the Ancient Near East, Ancient Mediterranean World, and Classical World

Introduction

As stated previously, the purpose of this enquiry is to show that the religious practitioners and practices listed in Deut 18 are normal aspects of cult ritual and practice found in the ANE. Also, I am arguing that Deut presents the Yahwistic *nābî'* as the dominant symbol of the Yahwistic pattern of meanings. To that end, in this chapter the data and issues that arise from a comparative method will be of primary focus. The goal of this chapter is: 1) to better understand the relationship of the practitioners and practices mentioned in Deuteronomy 18.10-11 with those in other ANE and AMW societies, 2) to understand the various worldviews of these societies, and 3) to provide concepts and definitions to aid in understanding these societies and their worldviews. Also, even though later than the period of preexilic Israel, relevant terms used in the CW, as well as its worldview, will be discussed in order to aid in the definitional problem relating to 'magic' and divination terminology. Special attention shall be paid to the way *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bitô bāēš, qōsēm q^e sāmîm, m^e 'ônēn, m^e naḥēš, m^e kaššēp, ḥōbēr ḥāber, šō'ēl 'ôb, yidd^e 'ōnî, and dōrēš el-hammētîm* relate to practices and practitioners in the ANE, AMW and CW in general, and in ancient Syro-Palestinian societies in particular.¹ Also important for this chapter will be the comparison of prophets and priests in the various societies of the ANE, AMW and CW.

¹ In place of the traditional but contested term 'Canaanite,' I will use the term Syro-Palestinian. Mark Smith prefers the term 'West Semitic' in describing the various peoples of ancient Syria and Palestine. The problem with this socio-linguistic term is that there were possibly non-West Semitic peoples (i.e., Hittites and Hurrians) living in Syro-Palestine. For this reason I will opt for a geographical term. For a discussion of the definitional problem of 'Canaan' see M. S. Smith, *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts* (Oxford: OUP, 2001) 14–8.

Relevant Anthropological and Sociological Theories

Israelite society developed in the milieu of the ANE, and was indirectly impacted by the worldview and practices of societies of the AMW. The heuristic importance of understanding surrounding cultures for the interpretation of a given society is axiomatic in more recent anthropological theory which provides some helpful theoretical constructs. As mentioned in Chapter 2 in the description of Carrithers' conception of a mutualist view, a major factor in what constitutes a given society is its relationship and social interaction with its neighbours.² This ontological understanding of society is fundamental to a proper understanding of the development of Israel, or any other culture. This mutual engagement and mutual responsiveness takes place both between societies and within society. Carrithers explains:

Societies which had seemed isolated and untouched turned out, on second inspection, to be deeply affected by other societies.³

Cultural change or cultural evolution does not operate on isolated societies but always on interconnected systems in which societies are variously linked within wider "social fields."⁴

The theories of mutualism and intersubjectivity, along with clusters of belief, explain the reason why there is much evidence in the HB for diversity of belief and behaviour within Israel (cf. Exod 32.1; Num 16.1-3; 25.1-3; Judg 2.10-12). Karel van der Toorn agrees with Davies' embodiment view of clusters of belief mentioned in the last chapter when he observes that:

No religion is a monolith; it is an assemblage of different clusters of beliefs, values, and practices, each cluster having its own niche in society. There is, in

² Carrithers, *Cultures*, 11–3, 25–7.

³ Carrithers, *Cultures*, 12–3.

⁴ Carrithers, *Cultures*, 25.

nearly every historical religion, an internal pluralism—pluralism because the diversity is tacitly accepted by most of the participants in the religious system.⁵

More will be said about the process of intersubjectivity and internal pluralism within Israel in the next chapter.

Paradoxically, while intersubjectivity explains the diversity within society, it also explains the familiar features that are shared between societies in contact with one another. The popular and dominant features of the culture of a particular society, and even some of the not-so-dominant features, are borrowed and modified in new locations. Intersubjectivity plays a deeply significant role in the development of societies throughout the ANE and AMW. This can be seen in a variety of ANE comparative studies.⁶

Another key anthropological principle described in Chapter 2 is Pike's emic ontology. The emic concept, or the focus on 'local' knowledge and understanding, is held in tension with the concept of intersubjectivity. To qualify the emic concept further it can be said that in order to correctly grasp the worldview of a given society, one must seek as much as is humanly possible to have an 'insider's perspective' of its assumptions and behaviour.⁷ This means understanding that there is a 'local knowledge' which will provide a nuanced understanding of what often appears on the surface to be similar or apparently identical behaviour and practices between societies. These apparent similarities in reality are often fundamentally different, as communities often adopt foreign forms on their own terms and make them conform to their own pattern of meanings.⁸

⁵ Toorn, *Family Religion*, 2. See also G. Lanczowski, *Einführung in die Religionswissenschaft* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980) 30–5.

⁶ Albright, *Yahweh*; S. N. Rosenbaum, *Understanding Biblical Israel: A Reexamination of the Origins of Monotheism* (Macon, GA: Mercer University, 2002); Okely, *Traveller-Gypsies*, 77; M. S. Smith, *Monotheism*; M. S. Smith, *Early History of God*.

⁷ Cf. Geertz, *Local Knowledge*, 55–9; Pike, "Emics and Etics," 28–9.

⁸ Okely, *Traveller-Gypsies*, 77.

Therefore, a deeper understanding of Israelite society in Deut and any plurality of beliefs present in it, requires a proper understanding of its neighbours and the multi-directional exchange of ideas continually at work.⁹ This means that a comparative analysis of ANE societies is required. This is essentially a diachronic enterprise, but one which will avoid a behind the text analysis of sources. A nuanced comparative approach using the theories of world-construction, explicit/implicit ideology, intersubjectivity and emic understanding will recognise the general characteristics of a society, as well as the distinctiveness of individuals and communities that create and renew particular societies.¹⁰

In the brief comparative analysis of the ANE, AMW and CW that follows, a survey of relevant aspects of religions in the AMW and CW will be provided first because of its deep impact on Western terms and conceptual categories of religion, ‘magic’, and divination. We will then come closer to the cultural context of Israel with a short discussion of Egyptian, and then Mesopotamian, beliefs and worldviews. Afterwards, the religions and worldviews of the those societies closest to Israel, the ancient Syro-Palestinian, will be summarised. The geographical area of Syro-Palestine generally corresponds to what Yahwistic writers, as well as other ANE sources, described as Canaanite. Following that will be a comparative look at the Israelite community in general and the Yahwistic element of Israel in particular. Finally, a summary analysis will be made with relevance for understanding Deut 18.

Religion in the Ancient Mediterranean and Classical Worlds

Introduction

The following survey is cursory and does not include a number of AMW cultures which could, or should be included. Another problem in attempting to summarise centuries of belief is the impression given that these beliefs were uniform and static.

⁹ Berlinerblau, “Popular Religion,” 9.

¹⁰ Van der Toorn has described well the value of comparative analysis of ANE societies, aided by sociological theory, within the limits of the historical information available (Toorn, *Family Religion*, 4–5).

The reality was that these beliefs developed and changed over time. Because of the limits of this study, Greece will be the focus for getting a general feel for the ancient impulses that directly affected CW Greece and Rome. In the LB Age, archaeological evidence shows an exchange of Greek Mycenaean period materials with ANE societies along the eastern Mediterranean coast, as well as with the societies along the coast of Anatolia.¹¹ Greek religious ideas found in Homer are similar to concepts found in LB Age ANE.¹² Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* show a knowledge of Egypt. *The Iliad* mentions the "Thebes of the hundred gates," and in *The Odyssey* Menelaus confronts Proteus on the coast of Egypt.¹³ These are examples which indicate a process of intersubjectivity between Mycenaean Greeks, the Syro-Palestinian coastal areas, and Egypt.

The Greeks and Romans shared a monistic view of reality in which all the gods and spiritual power in the cosmos were seen as an ontological whole.¹⁴ This included the incorporation into daily life of a perceived transcendent dimension, or reality, that existed beyond the physical, as was true of the ANE societies surveyed below. G. J. Riley describes monism in ancient societies as a view of

the universe as a unified system in which each member, divine and human, had its proper domain and function above, upon, or below the earth. There was (as yet) no arch-enemy Devil, nor a rival camp of Satanic demons tempting and deceiving humans.¹⁵

This does not diminish the reality of the cosmic warfare perspective found in monistic societies. Conflict existed in the universe and was an issue that preoccupied many ancient societies, as will be shown below. But the conflict was not a result of struggle between a clearly defined 'good vs. evil'. Rather it was the ongoing struggle between members of a pantheon who could behave in ways both good and evil.

¹¹ M. L. West, "Ancient Near Eastern Myths in Classical Greek Religious Thought," *CANE I & II* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 33.

¹² West, "ANE Myths," 33.

¹³ L. Kákosy, "Egypt in Ancient Greek and Roman Thought," *CANE I & II* (Hendrickson: Peabody, MA, 2000 Reprint) 3.

¹⁴ G. J. Riley, "Demon," *DDD* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999 2nd edition) 236.

¹⁵ Riley, "Demon," 236.

However, the later philosophical tradition of the Greco-Roman world brought the question of good and evil to an understanding different from the monistic AMW and ANE view. Religion in the AMW and CW was centred in the cult, as opposed to some type of objective body of religious doctrines, and therefore was somewhat fluid and open to transformation. The religious milieu of the AMW and CW is an important context in which to pursue the relationship between the terms that moderns categorise and define as ‘magic’, divination and religion. For those of us in the West, they serve as a bridge between modern and ancient worlds. The Greco-Roman world has bequeathed to Western cultures many of the concepts and terms commonly found in our investigation. The word mantic, *mantikī*, comes to us from ancient Greek. The terms divination (*divinatio*), augury (*augurium*), omen (*omen*), and extispicy (*extispicium*) come to us from Latin. These were not originally pejorative terms, but technical terms found in the official Greek or Roman cult. However, the freedom of enquiry and rise of rationalism which the Greek philosophical tradition cultivated led to negative critiques of indigenous religious practices.¹⁶ Generally speaking, this development did not have parallels in the ANE societies, with the exception of the brief Egyptian religious innovations led by Akhenaten between 1375 and 1358 BCE.¹⁷ Whatever the political reasons were behind the execution of Socrates, the charge of being impious in his speech and actions toward Athens’ traditional gods seems to have some currency, however small.¹⁸ Later on in the Roman period, neo-Platonists had also become severely critical of indigenous cult practices. Their criticism targeted everything from the nature of the gods to the practices of domestic and public divination.¹⁹ The term ‘magic’, in Greek *mageia*, had a history different from those mentioned above and was probably pejorative from the beginning. Taken from Persian origin, it was adopted and used extensively in the CW.²⁰ The polemical Latin term *superstitio*, was employed to

¹⁶ For example, the criticism of the gods in the plays of Euripides (R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1996] 210 n. 46).

¹⁷ E. Hornung, *Akhenaten and the Religion of Light* (London: Cornell University, 1999); D. B. Redford, *Akhenaten: The Heretic King* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1984).

¹⁸ G. Vlastos, *Socrates* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991); R. Parker, *Athenian Religion*, 199–203.

¹⁹ R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (London: Yale University, 1981) 73–94.

²⁰ F. Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World* (London: Harvard University, 1997) 20–1; D. W. Matthew, *Magic and the Magicians in the Greco-Roman World* (London: Routledge, 2001) 13–5.

disparage divination practices in both public and domestic Roman religion. The criticism was an emic one which pre-dated Christianity. It was also the context in which the seeds of the modern criticism of ‘magic’, divination, and religion in general, begins. A distinctly Roman development was the outlawing of foreign religions that had not been granted official approval. In practice this law was not aimed at religion *per se*, but at religious ideologies perceived to undermine political stability. Occasionally Druids, Magians, members of the Isis cult, Jews, and Christians were perceived as violators of this law.²¹

In spite of the views of the philosophers, people in general had a worldview that accepted divine power rituals and divination as a normal part of official and domestic religion. In general there cannot have been a great distinction made between the domestic and official religious spheres. An example of this can be found in Plato’s *Republic*. Socrates and Glaucon go to Piraeus to offer a sacrifice to the goddess Bendis at a public shrine and to enjoy a festival afterwards. They are met by Polemarchus and some other friends. Polemarchus invites Socrates and Glaucon to his house. They retire to the house where they find Polemarchus’ father, wearing a priestly symbol (a garland) and offering a sacrifice.²² Domestic shrines and sacrifices were common, but were not substantially different from larger cult centres.²³ Cicero’s testimony indicates that divination practices were normal throughout the then-known world:

Now I am aware of no people, however refined and learned or however savage and ignorant, which does not think that signs are given of future events, and that certain persons can recognise those signs and foretell events before they occur.²⁴

²¹ A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1978 Reprint) 79–82.

²² Plato, *The Republic* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003 6th printing) 1–2.

²³ R. Parker, *Athenian Religion*, 5–7.

²⁴ “Gentem quidem nullam video neque tam humanam atque doctam neque tam immanem atque barbaram, quae non significari futura et a quibusdam intellegi praedicique posse censeat (Cicero, *De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinatione* [Loeb Classical Library; London: William Heinemann, 1923] 222–3).”

Therefore, to use the term ‘popular religion’ to describe Greco-Roman domestic religion, and with that designation the connotation of illegitimacy or inferiority in any way to ‘official’ cult, would usually be inappropriate.

Turning now from the introductory comments about Greco-Roman beliefs and terminology, we will proceed to look at the aspects of Greco-Roman religion that are most relevant for Deut 18. I will organise the analysis into six basic categories that appear to me to be useful for shedding light on the reason why the religious phenomena in Deut 18 are found together. These categories are 1) Cosmic Warfare Worldview, 2) Priests and Divination, 3) Priests and Prophecy, 4) Netherworld and Mortuary Cult, 5) Human Sacrifice, and 6) Priests and Magic. The issue of cosmic warfare worldview is a relevant one to explore in a comparative analysis because the rituals and practitioners found in Deut 18.10-11 seem to play a role in giving succour to people in communities who understand the universe to be populated by deities and powers that can be dangerous and harmful to human life. The categories of ‘Priests and Divination’ and ‘Priests and Prophecy’ are used because Yahwistic priests and prophets are a prominent feature of Deut 18, and because the practitioners in Deut 18.10-11 seem to be linked in some way with various priestly roles in different ANE communities.²⁵ Also, the functions of divination and prophecy are normally carried out by cultic priests in various ANE settings. Deut 18.11 seems to have connections to the netherworld and mortuary cult and therefore there is a category for its analysis.²⁶ Human sacrifice apparently has connections to *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bitô bāēš* in v. 10.²⁷ And finally, some of the items in the list appear to have something to do with what is often referred to as ‘magic.’²⁸ In this latter category its relationship to the cult will be explored. Having described the categories being used in this analysis, let us turn to the first one, the cosmic warfare worldview of the AMW and CW.

²⁵ Cf. Nissinen, *Prophets*, 5–8.

²⁶ S. R. Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1901) 223, 225–6.

²⁷ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 222.

²⁸ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 221, 223, 225.

Cosmic Warfare Worldview

Cosmic chaos and danger, believed to have an injurious effect on human life, is an important part of the ancient Greek view of reality.²⁹ *The Iliad* is a good example of this.³⁰ The myth is replete with the battles of the gods, who are portrayed as tumultuous, quarrelsome and capricious. For example, in the opening of *The Iliad*, Apollo rains down arrows on Agaememnon and his men, weighing in against them with lethal force. In the midst of the chaos the goddess Hera comes to their defence. Later in the saga, the gods break up into two opposing and hostile groups, one to aid the defenders of Troy, and the other to aid the forces of Agaememnon and Menelaus.³¹ Such is the nature of reality as portrayed in *The Iliad*. This particular view of the universe is what Gregory Boyd calls a “warfare worldview.”³² Divination and supernatural power rituals were means employed to be able to protect oneself and manoeuvre in such a precarious universe. For example, when chaos and destruction reign in the opening of *The Iliad*, the augur Calchas is called on to find out from Zeus the reason for it. There we are told that Zeus is the source of the messages that come by means of divination.³³ The connection between dangerous cosmic warfare and divination is illustrated here.

An important aspect of this worldview, *Chaoskampf*, has been recognised in biblical studies.³⁴ While *Chaoskampf* is associated specifically with ANE cosmogony myths, it

²⁹ “Greek Religion,” *Encyclopedia Britannica* (<http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId>, 3 Mar, 2005) 65472.

³⁰ However, see the discussion by Martin L. West in which he states that the Homeric epics are not an accurate reflection of ancient Greek beliefs about the gods (West, “ANE Myths,” 36).

³¹ Homer, *The Iliad* (London: Penguin, 1957 Reprint) 23–4, 366–7.

³² G. A. Boyd, *God at War: The Bible and Spiritual Conflict* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1997) 13.

³³ Homer, *Iliad*, 24–5.

³⁴ Boyd, *God at War*, 74–9; F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1973) 112–20; J. Day, *God’s Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament* (Cambridge: CUP, 1985); J. C. L. Gibson, “The Theology of the Ugaritic Baal Cycle,” *Or* 53 (1984) 202–19; H. v. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit: Eine Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung Über Gen 1 und Ap Joh 12* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1895); C. Kloos, *Yhwh’s Combat with the Sea: A Canaanite Tradition in the Religion of Ancient Israel* (Leiden: Brill, 1986); D. T. Tsumura, *The Earth and the Waters in Genesis 1 and 2: A Linguistic Investigation* (JSOTSup; Sheffield: JSOT, 1989) 50; M. Wakeman, *God’s Battle with the Monster: A Study in Biblical Imagery* (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

can be seen as a species of a more general cosmic warfare perception of reality found in various ANE, AMW, and CW societies. This warfare worldview went beyond the limits of creation in that it assumed an ongoing reality of conflict and chaos taking place both between the gods, and between gods and humans, which detrimentally affected daily life. Understood in this way, *Chaoskampf* was not limited to the events surrounding creation but it was a pervasive worldview which annual reenactment rites, such as the *Baal Cycle* in Ugarit, gave witness.³⁵

The Greeks developed a universal understanding of the gods which gives example of the rich intersubjective process that took place with Egyptian and other ANE societies. They viewed the deities found in neighbouring societies as local manifestations of the same gods they worshipped. For example, the Greek historian Herodotus understood the Greek gods to have originated in Egypt and presumed the Greek deity Zeus to be Egyptian Amon, Demeter was Isis, and Apollo was Horus.³⁶

The Romans adopted the Greek cosmology, with its assumption of cosmic chaos conflict, assimilating it to their own. A Roman example of the tumultuous relationships that gods had with humans is the hatred Juno, the Roman goddess of the moon, had for the people of Troy. The *Aeneid* is another Roman example which provides rich examples of the battles and wars of the gods.³⁷

The understanding of a cosmic warfare worldview helps to provide background and grounds for practices associated with divination, power rituals, and the desire for contact with the deceased, as will be made clear in what follows. Next we will look at Greek and Roman views of priests and divination.

³⁵ For the view that *Chaoskampf* is limited to creation and not an ongoing reality of cosmic conflict see M. S. Smith, "Interpreting the Baal Cycle," *UF* 18 (1986) 319f.; J. H. Grønbaek, "Baal's Battle with Yam—A Canaanite Creation Fight," *JSOT* 33 (1985) 27–44.

³⁶ Kákosy, "Ancient Greek and Roman Thought," 6; Weber, *Sociology of Religion*, 23.

³⁷ Virgil, *The Works of Virgil* (London: Macmillan, 1883) 82–279.

Priests and Divination

Divination was a normal and important part of Greco-Roman public life. As has been mentioned previously, an emic, or local, understanding of divination is of primary importance. Unlike the various societies in the ANE, in ancient Greece there was no organised institutional priesthood as such. The cult was basically domestic in nature and there was no distinction between priests and laity.³⁸ Certain members of families usually were given the priestly responsibility to carry out religious rites.³⁹ Theoretically, anyone could perform a sacrifice. Both female and male functioned in the role of priests. For example, priestesses seemed to be preferred in the service of the gods Athena and Hera, and male priests in the service of Isis and Cybele.⁴⁰ Certain priestesses and priests gained significant prestige, such as the Oracle at Delphi. The Oracle, called Pythia, was famous for her divinatory revelations. This uniquely Greek intermediary⁴¹ was a woman normally over fifty years of age, who would answer an inquirer, through inspiration from the god Apollo, in an altered or ecstatic state. The oracle of the Pythia was interpreted by a second priest, but the interpretation itself was often enigmatic. The process included sacrifice among other things and is described in the following way:

According to the usual procedure, sponsors were necessary, as was the provision of a *pelanos* (ritual cake) and a sacrificial beast that conformed to rigid physical standards. The Pythia and her consultants first bathed in the Castalian spring; afterward, she drank from the sacred spring Cassotis and then entered the temple. There she apparently descended into a basement cell, mounted a sacred tripod, and chewed leaves of the laurel, Apollo's sacred tree. While in her abnormal state, the Pythia would speak, intelligibly or otherwise.

³⁸ Cf. the illustration of domestic cult in Plato's *Republic* given in the introduction to this section, p. 65.

³⁹ "Priesthood," *Encyclopedia Britannica* ([Http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId](http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId), 3 Mar. 2005) 38739.

⁴⁰ "Greek Religion," 65477.

⁴¹ I use 'intermediary' following Robert Wilson who uses it as a genus for all revelatory functionaries (Wilson, *Prophecy*, 27–8).

Her words, however, were not directly recorded by the inquirer; instead they were interpreted and written down by the priests in what was often highly ambiguous verse.⁴²

In *Phaedrus*, Plato puts in the mouth of Socrates the declaration that divination is the noblest of arts. Plato describes two types of divination, the one requiring the skill and study of portents and signs, the other being subjective revelatory experience. The type of divination most noble, in the opinion of Plato, was that of the subjective oracular type in which one becomes possessed and inspired by the gods in order to speak their message.⁴³ This type of subjective divination phenomenon was found, for example, in Delphi mentioned above, and in the famous oracle Cybele.⁴⁴

Divinatory oracles were received by means of chthonic deities as well. The receiving of these oracles was distinct from that above in that the method of incubation was usually practised.⁴⁵ This will be described below in the section Netherworld and Mortuary Cult. The divinatory oracles, such as the ones given at Delphi, were understood as prophecy by the Greeks and will be discussed further in the following section entitled Priests and Prophecy.⁴⁶

Generally speaking religion was decentralised in Roman society. The divination practised was usually of the objective type, such as augury. There were a variety of priestly groups, and most of these did not have a full-time role.⁴⁷ In the period of the Roman Republic, politicians were the primary practitioners of divination and religion in the state cult. Augurs were priests or officials who enjoyed official status in Roman state religion. They were trained in an officially sanctioned augural college, which was actually a sub-group of the members of the Senate. The role of these politicians in offi-

⁴² "Oracle," *Encyclopedia Britannica* ([Http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId](http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId), 3 Mar, 2005) 9057246.

⁴³ Lindblom, *Prophecy*, 28; Plato, *Dialogues*, 150–1.

⁴⁴ Lindblom, *Prophecy*, 28.

⁴⁵ "Oracle," 9057246.

⁴⁶ See p. 75.

⁴⁷ L. L. Grabbe, *Priests, Prophets, Diviners, Sages: A Socio-Historical Study of Religious Specialists in Ancient Israel* (Valley Forge, PN: Trinity, 1995) 56–7.

cial religion was to consult the gods by means of interpreting auspices (*auspicium*), primarily the interpretation of the flight pattern of birds.⁴⁸

Divination was also practised domestically. The gods communicated to humans by means of divination. In the *De Divinatione* (45 BCE), during his imaginary debate with his brother Quintus, Cicero offers this simple and basic definition of divination: “the foresight and knowledge of future events.”⁴⁹ This indicates the Roman understanding, or at least Cicero’s, of divination to be concerned with supernatural knowledge regarding the future. Cicero suggests that divination may be understood as a natural power distinct from the gods.⁵⁰ But he also mentions that Chrysippus understands divination to be given to humans by the gods:

“Chrysippus, indeed, defines divination in these words: ‘The power to see, understand, and explain premonitory signs given to men by the gods.’ Its duty,’ he goes on to say, ‘is to know in advance the disposition of the gods towards men, the manner in which that disposition is shown and by what means the gods may be propitiated and their threatened ills averted.’⁵¹

Statements such as these reveal that the reality of divine communication through divination, and its connection to cosmic chaos conflict and cult sacrifice, was an assumption of Roman society. This was the case in spite of the unique development within the monistic Greek and Roman societies in which severe and sustained criticism of divination practice arose.

Similar to ancient Greece, in the Roman world oracles were also received by lots and, more subjectively, by dreams through incubation:

⁴⁸ Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 450–1.

⁴⁹ “praesensionem et scientiam rerum futurarum (Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 222–3).”

⁵⁰ Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 234–5.

⁵¹ “Chrysippus quidem divinationem definit his verbis: ‘vim cognoscentem et videntem et explicantem signa, quae a dis hominibus portendantur; officium autem esse eius praenoscerere, dei erga homines mente qua sint quidque significant, quem ad modumque ea procerentur atque expientur (Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 516–7).”

In Italy the lot oracle of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste was consulted even by the Roman emperors. The goddess Albunea possessed a dream oracle at Tibur (Tivoli), and the incubation rites of the god Faunus resembled those of the Greek hero Amphiaraus.⁵²

Cicero shows that the Romans at the end of the first millennium BCE were familiar with divination practices from the ANE and the part they played in the practices of the CW. In *De Divinatione* Cicero speaks of the particular renown the Assyrians had for understanding the divinatory significance of the movement of the stars and planets. He expresses familiarity with the Egyptian divination practices which were rooted in very ancient times. He explains that the various Greek tribes divined the songs and movements of birds, and were famous for the Pythian, Dodonian, and Jupiter Hammon oracles.⁵³ This is another indication of the intersubjectivity that the CW had with the ANE and AMW.

Quintus, the dialogue partner of Cicero, divides divination into the two traditional Platonic categories mentioned above, and claims that this was a common view in all cultures. The first category he calls art (*ars*), and the second nature (*natura*).⁵⁴ In the first category are priests, listed as *extispex*, who interpret entrails of sacrificial animals and portents, and augurs who interpret auspices. These are the more objective types of divinatory practices. Also in the list are astrologers who read the heavenly bodies. In the second category of natural, or subjective, divination are dreams (*somnia*) and frenzy (*furor*). In frenzy, a priest or some other ‘channel’ of divine communication becomes ‘possessed’ by a god and while in an ecstatic state gives oracles or prophecies.⁵⁵ In the divination described as frenzy, an oracle was possessed by the gods and in an ecstatic state would prophecy about the future. The oracle at the shrine

⁵² “Oracle,” 9057246.

⁵³ Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 223, 225.

⁵⁴ Cf. Plato, *Dialogues*, 150–1.

⁵⁵ Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 234–5, 448–9.

of Cybele is an example of this.⁵⁶ In the case of dreams, anyone having a dream could have them interpreted.⁵⁷

Cicero reveals the tension that existed in seeking to excise a problematic but integral part of Roman religion. He believed in the necessity of the worship of the gods but rejected divination as superstition.⁵⁸ He comments:

For a hasty acceptance of an erroneous opinion is discreditable in any case, and especially so in an inquiry as to how much weight should be given to auspices, to sacred rites, and to religious observances; for we run the risk of committing a crime against the gods if we disregard them, or of becoming involved in old women's superstition if we approve them.⁵⁹

Cicero's dialogue partner in *De divinatione* makes the statement that divination and the gods are inseparable. He expresses what was apparently a common assumption when he says

My own opinion is that, if the kinds of divination which we have inherited from our forefathers and now practice are trustworthy, then there are gods and, conversely, if there are gods then there are men who have the power of divination.⁶⁰

Cicero's *De Divinatione* is one example of a scathing pre-Christian denigration of divination. It is a good case study of the internal struggle and debate that often goes on within society concerning religious practices and traditions. Cicero affirms his belief in God (or the gods), but is critical of the 'irrational' aspects of religion. He advocates jettisoning from the official cult divination in its various forms. Cicero's universe is an

⁵⁶ S. Perowne, *Roman Mythology* (London: Hamlyn, 1969) 58–60.

⁵⁷ Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 226–7.

⁵⁸ Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 536–7.

⁵⁹ Nam cum omnibus in rebus temeritas in assentiendo errorque turpis est, tum in eo loco maxime in quo iudicandum iest quantum auspiciis rebusque divinis religionique tribuamus; est enim periculum, ne aut neglectis iis impia fraude aut susceptis anili superstitione obligemur (Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 230–1).

⁶⁰ "Ego enim sic existimo, si sint ea genera divinandi vera, de quibus accepimus quaeque colimus, esse deos, vicissimque, si di sint, esse qui divinent (Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 232–3)."

increasingly closed one, with his epistemology becoming limited to what can be discerned rationally.⁶¹

Cicero was not the only one from the CW to criticise the practice of divination. According to Cicero, the presocratic Greek philosopher Xenophanes of Colophon (c. 570-475 BCE) rejected all divination. The Greek philosopher Dicaearchus, a student of Aristotle (c. 350-285 BCE) and Cratippus, the Greek historian (fl. c. 375 BCE), accepted natural divination by means of dreams and frenzy, but rejected all other means.⁶² Lucretius (c. 99-55 BCE) revelled in being free of the bonds of religion. He used the Homeric account of the human divinatory sacrifice of the maiden Iphianassa, by her father King Agaememnon, as an example of the type of practices that caused him to criticise religion.⁶³ Others, such as the distinguished members of the Roman Senate Gaius Aurelius Cotta (c. 124-73 BCE) and Marcus Porcius Cato (c. 95-46 BCE) were critical of divination as well.⁶⁴ Eventually, divination and ‘magic’ practice were outlawed by Augustus.⁶⁵ Aside from the HB, such sustained negative criticisms against religious practices are not attested in the ANE. And the polemic in the HB is of a different nature. The HB is not concerned with the exercise of reason to understand the universe. Its concern is with faithfulness to Yahweh.

In spite of the problem that divination posed for Cicero and his colleagues among the neo-Platonists, divination in the Roman world was considered a normal part of religious life. The polemic of the Greek and Roman philosophers and politicians seems to be an example of an explicit ideology being waged against more common and widespread implicit beliefs.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Cf. his description of casting lots as as fraudulent, superstition and error: “Tota res est inventa fallacis aut ad quaestum aut ad superstitionem aut ad errorem (Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 466).”

⁶² Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 227, 229.

⁶³ Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things* (London: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1952) 2.

⁶⁴ Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 233, 429.

⁶⁵ E. Bourguignon, “Necromancy,” *ER 10* (London: Macmillan, 1987) 346.

⁶⁶ Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam*, 153–4.

Priests and Prophecy

The English word for prophet is derived from the Greek word *prophêtês*. However, the Greek understanding of prophet is broader than its biblically influenced usage in English. Johannes Lindblom explains:

The poets are called prophets of the Muses, the philosophers prophets of nature. Men spoke of prophets of public opinion and prophets of truth, of reason. Preachers and propagators of different philosophical schools were called prophets. We are told of the prophets of Epicurus, of Pyrrho, etc. Everyone who had something to announce publicly was called a prophet. Sometimes prophets were regarded as interpreters of philosophical doctrines, sayings of the poets, divine words and oracles.⁶⁷

In addition to this broad understanding of *prophêtês*, the term was used of the inspired oracles discussed in the previous section concerning divination. The Pythia of Delphi and Cybele, along with the various cybeles associated with different temples, were all considered prophets by Plato.⁶⁸ In this way subjective divination and prophecy overlap in the Greek world. The diviner Cassandra in the *Aegamemnon* of Æschylus is specifically called a prophet.⁶⁹ Additionally, it can be seen that Greek prophecy was associated with temple cult. For additional discussion of subjective revelatory phenomena see the section above Priests and Divination.⁷⁰ We now turn to the chthonic aspect of Greek and Roman religion.

Netherworld and Mortuary Cult

To begin this section a rationale for the use of the term ‘mortuary cult,’ and an avoidance of the term necromancy, will be given. Necromancy is a term often used in relation to rituals involving netherworld deities. In English it is generally understood to

⁶⁷ Lindblom, *Prophecy*, 27.

⁶⁸ Lindblom, *Prophecy*, 28.

⁶⁹ Lindblom, *Prophecy*, 27.

⁷⁰ See pp. 69-74.

involve categories of both divination and ‘magic’ or witchcraft.⁷¹ These descriptions are inadequate and misleading for the various AMW and ANE cults of the dead. Veneration of the dead went beyond divination, ‘magic’, or witchcraft. More broadly, the mortuary cult often involved worship of the ancestors as gods, receiving healing and other types of supernatural power from them, receiving guidance (as the ancestors are often tutelary beings) which could possibly include some type of divination. Because the term necromancy has a certain historical and cultural history in the West, mainly rooted in the witch hunts of the Spanish Inquisition and the Puritan purges in England and the US, it is not normally used in current ethnographic research for describing cross-cultural rituals and practices.⁷² In this study the term necromancy will be avoided, and Pardee’s term *mortuary cult* will be used instead. Mortuary cult refers to any ritual used in the worship and veneration of deceased ancestors.⁷³

For the Greeks the netherworld is a forbidding place more akin to Mesopotamian notions than to Egyptian ones. The earliest accounts of the Greek netherworld, *hades*, come from the Homeric works *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*. The souls of the dead exist as insipid shadows of their earthly life. Existence is cold and dark. Hades is a frightful place guarded by the fierce demon-dog Kerberos. There are notions of divine judgment by the god Minos for deeds performed on earth.⁷⁴ Sacrifices to netherworld deities differ from those offered to the primary Olympian deities in that they are offered in the evening, only black victims are sacrificed, and the flesh is completely consumed.⁷⁵ The deceased heroes of Greek society, mighty men renowned for their strength and skill in battle, are thought to provide power to those in the locality in which they are buried. For this reason the Thebans and Athenians disputed over the place for Oedipus’ burial.

⁷¹ *Oxford English Reference Dictionary* (Oxford: OUP, Revised second edition 2002) 969.

⁷² Bourguignon, “Necromancy,” 345.

⁷³ D. Pardee, “Marziḫu, Kispu, and the Ugaritic Funerary Cult: A Minimalist View,” *Ugarit, Religion and Culture: Proceedings of the International Colloquium of Ugarit, Religion and Culture, Edinburgh, July 1994. Essays in Honour of Professor John C. L. Gibson* (N. Wyatt, W. G. E. Watson; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1996) 273.

⁷⁴ J. B. Long, “Underworld,” *ER 15* (Macmillan, 1987) 128–9.

⁷⁵ “Greek Religion,” 65479.

Deceased heroes are worshipped and receive sacrifice and ritual similar to netherworld deities.⁷⁶

Plato takes the conception of the afterlife in new directions with the development of divine rewards and punishments, as well as the suggestion that hades is a symbolic place. He also promotes the positive notion, perhaps from Egyptian influence and experience, that true knowledge comes in the afterlife.⁷⁷ The Roman Virgil develops the idea of two destinations of the soul. Elysium (Paradise) is the place of reward and Tartarus is the place of punishment.⁷⁸

One means of receiving divinatory revelation was the consultation of netherworld deities and the dead. This was normally received in a dream by means of a process called incubation. The inquirer would sleep in the temple of the deity, or visit the tombs of the deceased and perform sacrifices and libations.⁷⁹ They would then receive the oracle desired in a dream. The process is explained as follows:

Oracles delivered through incubation were believed to come from chthonian (underworld) powers. Thus invalids slept in the hall of Asclepius, the god of medicine, at Epidaurus and claimed to receive cures through dreams. At the oracle of the hero Amphiaraus at Oropus in Attica, consultants slept on skins, while visitors to the oracle of Trophonius (son of Erginus the Argonaut) at Levádhia slept in a hole in the ground. Incubation was also practised at the oracle of Dionysus at Amphicleia, while an oracle for consulting the dead existed beside the river Acheron in central Greece.⁸⁰

The Greek practice of incubation, also attested in Egypt and Mesopotamia, provides overlap between mortuary cult, sacrifice, divination, and prophecy. Next we turn to the question of human sacrifice in the AMW and CW.

⁷⁶ "Greek Religion," 65472.

⁷⁷ Kákosy, "Ancient Greek and Roman Thought," 7.

⁷⁸ Long, "Underworld," 128–9.

⁷⁹ Bourguignon, "Necromancy," 345–6.

⁸⁰ "Oracle," 9057246.

Human Sacrifice

Human sacrifice does not appear to play a part in Greek religion generally.⁸¹ There is no archaeological evidence for it, and the only epigraphic evidence of human sacrifice in ancient Greece is implied by the Homeric myths, such as the account of the sacrifice of King Agaememnon's daughter, Iphianassa, mentioned above.⁸² It is not generally found in Roman history, but there are exceptions:

Human sacrifice, on the whole, was extraneous to Roman custom, though its practice among the Etruscans may have contributed to the institution of gladiatorial funeral games in both Etruria and Rome, and it was resorted to in major crises, notably during the Second Punic War (216 BC). Earlier in the century, and perhaps once before, a member of the family of the Decii had given up his life by self-sacrifice (*devotio*) in a critical battle.⁸³

Leaving the question of human sacrifice, we now turn to the issue of 'magic' in the AMW and the CW.

Priests and Magic

The etymology of the English word 'magic' is found in the Greek *mageia*, which in turn is rooted in the Persian term *magi*, which refers to the priests of ancient Persia (cf. *magoi* of Matt 2.1-12).⁸⁴ In early Greek history conceptions of 'magic' had similarities with societies in the ANE in that 'magic' was understood as a supernatural power that both gods and humans employed. Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are generally understood to have originated in the LB Age, at the end of the Greek Mycenaean period (c. 1100 BCE), and as mentioned above, it was a period characterised by the exchange

⁸¹ *ANET*, 446.

⁸² "Human Sacrifice," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (<http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId>, 3 Mar, 2005) 9041475; Lucretius, *Nature of Things*, 2.

⁸³ "Roman Religion," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (<http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId>, 6 Mar, 2005) 65521.

⁸⁴ Graf, *Magic*, 20–1; Matthew, *Magic*, 14; E. M. Yamauchi, "Magic in the Biblical World," *TB* 34 (1983) 174.

of goods and ideas with Syro-Palestinian coastal societies and Egypt.⁸⁵ Homer's epic poems came to their mature development in the eighth century BCE.⁸⁶ In the stories of the Greek gods, employing an impersonal 'magic' power was a normal part of their activity as they attempted to gain advantage and control over one another. The 'magic' found in the *The Odyssey* is seen to be both an offensive and defensive weapon in the hands of the gods. For example, Ulysses seeks to free his companions from the 'magic' power of Circe, who has turned Ulysses' companions into pigs by means of a potion. Hermes arms Ulysses with a counter potion which protects him from Circe's dangerous concoction and her wand of power. The point is that in the religious conception of Homer, supernatural or 'magic' power is a comfortable aspect of the activity of the deities. In other words, there is nothing in the religious conception of the *Odyssey* that 'magic' is outside the proper realm of religion. In this way it has similarities to the use of 'magic' power by Egyptian deities as will be shown in the next section. It is assumed in the Greek worldview that the gods use the weapons of 'magic'. The female goddess Circe is understood to be a master of 'magic' power. Circe is known as the goddess with the "house of many drugs." Hermes is also known for his 'magic' powers. He is called "Hermes of the golden wand."⁸⁷ In this view 'magic' in itself is neither good nor bad, but simply a power that can be used benevolently or malevolently.

Supernatural healing powers were manifested by the gods. The deity Asclepius was worshipped in hundreds of temples throughout Greece, the remains of which may still be seen at Epidaurus, Cos, Athens, and elsewhere. To these resorts, or hospitals, sick persons went for the healing ritual known as incubation, or temple sleep. They lay down to sleep in the dormitory, or *abaton*, and were visited in their dreams by Asclepius or by one of his priests, who gave advice. In the morning the patient often is said to have departed cured.

⁸⁵ West, "ANE Myths," 33–6.

⁸⁶ G. S. Kirk, "Heroic Age and Heroic Poetry," *The Odyssey* (London: Norton, 1993) 285.

⁸⁷ Homer, *The Odyssey* (London: Norton, 1993) 10.275–395.

However, as early as the fifth century BCE the term 'magic' had developed pejorative connotations.⁸⁸ Following Fritz Graf on this particular point, Gager says:

First, as Graf rightly notes, the early use of *mageia* among Greek authors shows two aspects; it is associated with Persia (hardly a warm association for Greeks in the 5th century BCE, although this changes somewhat from the 4th century onward) - this is the ethnographic side of the term, one which it never loses - and could be described by Xenophon as "expertise in things concerning the gods." But at the same time, and even more prominently, it carried negative connotations not unlike our terms 'nut' or 'kook' or 'charlatan.'⁸⁹

For example Plato and Heraclitus used the term to disparage the traditional practices of the Greek masses. Gager continues to explain:

Graf introduces the notion of a paradigm change, represented first by philosophical theologians (e.g., Plato and Heraclitus), who began to criticize the traditional practices and beliefs of the Greeks and to label them as 'magic;' and also by the medical scientists (he cites here the well-known treatise *On the Sacred Disease*) who similarly attacked traditional healers as *magoi* and charlatans. The result is two-fold: the term *magos* becomes a polemical term of disparagement and it comes to be associated with a whole range of non-civic religious forms.⁹⁰

Despite the philosophical polemic against 'magic' and divination in the Greco-Roman world, these practices remained popular as evidenced from both epigraphic and archaeological findings. Tibullus writes of a charm prepared for him by a 'magic' practitioner. Horace describes the activities of the witch Canidia. The Greek magical papyri discovered in Egypt gives evidence of various spells.⁹¹ The efficacy of amulets and the

⁸⁸ Graf, *Magic*, 21; M. Meyer, "Panel Discussion: *Magic in the Ancient World* by Fritz Graf," *Numen* 46/3 (1999) 302; Yamauchi, "Magic," 174.

⁸⁹ Gager, "Panel Discussion," 293.

⁹⁰ Gager, "Panel Discussion," 294-5; cf. also Meyer, "Panel Discussion," 302.

⁹¹ Yamauchi, "Magic," 179.

danger of the evil eye were commonly believed.⁹² Curses against enemies written on lead sheets, rolled up, pierced with a nail, and then dropped in wells or graves were particularly widespread. These have been found over a long period of time (5th century BCE-6th century CE) and over a wide area (Greece, Cyprus, Italy/Sicily, North Africa, Egypt, Phoenicia, and Palestine).⁹³ This would seem to support the anthropological theory of explicit and implicit ideology. The explicit polemical Greek and Roman literature was reformist in nature, written with a view to change a worldview embraced implicitly by the wider population.⁹⁴

In the later Roman period the celebrated case of the mid second century CE philosopher from Carthage, Apuleius of Madaura, shows both the way in which ‘magic’ is understood as religion, but also the way in which a neutral concept of ‘magic’ is being contested. In defence of charges against him of practising malevolent ‘magic’, Apuleius cites Plato in the following statement by saying:

“If what I read in a large number of authors be true, namely, that magician is the Persian word for priest, what is there criminal in being a priest and having due knowledge, science, and skill in all ceremonial law, sacrificial duties and the binding rules of religion, at least in that which Plato sets forth in his description of the methods employed by the Persians in the education of their young princes? . . . ‘When the boy reaches the age of fourteen he is handed over to the care of men known as the Royal Masters . . . And one of those teaches the boy the magic of Zoroaster the son of Oromazes; and this magic is no other than the worship of the gods.’⁹⁵

However, those charging Apuleius of ‘magic’ belong to a long tradition of polemic against ‘magic’ by the philosophers of both Greece and Rome. So Kippenberg and

⁹² Yamauchi, “Magic,” 187–91, 197.

⁹³ Yamauchi, “Magic,” 185–6.

⁹⁴ Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam*, 153–4.

⁹⁵ H. G. Kippenberg, and Peter Schäfer, “Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium,” *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium* (ed. Peter Schäfer and Hans G. Kippenberg; Leiden: Brill, 1997) vii.

Schäfer are not wholly correct when they state that in ancient Rome the issue of illegitimacy or legitimacy of ‘magic’ was based on function, and not essence.⁹⁶ To be sure, the distinction between function and essence was made by many at the time. But as has been shown above, many of the philosophers in Greece and Rome disparaged ‘magic’ in its essence.

The practice of malevolent ‘magic’ was feared and was constrained in Roman law. An example of a law against incantations is found in law VIII.1 of the Twelve Tables (c. 450 BCE).⁹⁷ It is a law against charming crops away from another persons property. Pliny the Elder gives witness to this law being invoked in a legal case c. 191 BCE.⁹⁸ Another possible example is a law against *evil* sacrifices found in the *Lex Cornelia de Sicariis et Veneficis* (c. 81 BCE).⁹⁹ There are a number of Roman attestations of sanctions against, arrests, and banishment of those accused of practicing ‘magic’.¹⁰⁰

So it is from the Greeks and Romans, as well as from the HB and Christian scriptures, that the West received the polemical category of ‘magic’ understood as ‘bad’ religion. In spite of this, based on epigraphic and archaeological evidence, ‘magic’ was understood generally as a legitimate aspect of religion in the ancient Greek and Roman context. We will now turn to the final section in this analysis of religion in the AMW and CW. It concerns the ‘magic’ and divination terms from the CW which have entered the various languages of Western societies.

AMW and CW Terms

As mentioned above, the etymology of many of the ‘magic’ and divination terms used in the West are traced back to the AMW and CW. Cicero and others are a rich source for providing many of the definitions for these terms. What follows are terms and definitions which come mainly from the Latin classical writers.

⁹⁶ Kippenberg, “Envisioning Magic,” viii-ix.

⁹⁷ <http://www.csun.edu/~hcfl1004/12tables.html>, 6 March, 2005.

⁹⁸ Matthew, *Magic*, 143.

⁹⁹ http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/secondary/SMIGRA*/Leges_Corneliae.html, 6 March, 2005.

¹⁰⁰ Matthew, *Magic*, 152–61.

In ancient Rome, astrologers were associated with the arts of the Mesopotamians. The Latin term for astrologer was *Chaldaeum*.¹⁰¹ The augur (*augur*), and auspices (*auspicium*) have been discussed above.¹⁰² The *auspex* was a diviner similar to an augur, who interpreted the flight of birds.¹⁰³ The difference between an augur and an *auspex* was that the augur played an official political role in society.

An *haruspex* was an Etruscan diviner whose arts were latter embraced by the Romans. In the Roman context the *haruspex* was generally understood to be a priest in Roman religion who specialised in haruspicy (*haruspicium*), or the interpreting of the entrails of sacrificial animals. Haruspicy was synonymous with the Roman term extispicy (*extispicium*). Cicero also understood haruspicy to be the interpretation of portents and lightning.¹⁰⁴ In Rome books such as the *Libri Tagetici* were used for education and training in the art of haruspicy.¹⁰⁵

The Greek term demon (*daimōn*) is believed to have originated in the Homeric period. In the monistic worldview in which it was found originally it meant ‘divinity.’ It was normally used to describe minor deities. As was the case in the ANE, there was not a strict ethical separation between ‘gods’ and ‘demons’, as all deities were morally ambiguous to one degree or another. As a result, ‘demons’ in the AMW, CW, and the ANE, were understood to have the capacity to behave in ways good or evil.¹⁰⁶

Portents (*portentum*) are miracles, or uncommon occurrences, in the course of everyday life that served as signs. Cicero provides examples of portents (of which he is skeptical): a shower of blood, an idol that sweats, a river that turns to blood, and mice gnawing the shields of soldiers before battle. The common modern skepticism of miracles has roots in the CW.¹⁰⁷ The *vates* is a prophet or diviner.¹⁰⁸ In the Roman

¹⁰¹ Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 536–7.

¹⁰² See pp. 70–1.

¹⁰³ Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 450–1; LD, 209.

¹⁰⁴ Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 426–7; Perowne, *Roman Mythology*, 53–7.

¹⁰⁵ Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 426–9; LD, 841.

¹⁰⁶ Riley, “Demon,” 235–40.

¹⁰⁷ Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 436–7.

¹⁰⁸ Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 384–5; LD, 1960.

understanding of this term, which is normally translated into English as prophet, it would be the most generic term for any type of person receiving divine revelation, whether of the more objective mechanical means, or of the more subjective inspired revelation or oracle. The pre-Christian Roman poet-philosopher Lucretius, in *On the Nature of Things* (50 BCE), viewed the prophecies of the *vates* as harmful superstition.

In conclusion to this brief survey of CW religion there are a handful of significant observations useful for this study. It is helpful to see the way that in the AMW and CW, as seen in the *Odyssey* and *De Divinatione*, divination and ‘magic’ were both assumed to be aspects of the activity of deities and religion. The worldview was basically a monistic one.¹⁰⁹ It has also been demonstrated that the AMW and CW had some sort of a cosmic warfare worldview, which is shown in the conflict that took place between the gods and between the gods and humans. Also, a polemic arose within certain clusters of Greco-Roman societies, mainly spearheaded by the philosophical schools, that became quite critical of divination and ‘magic.’ This seems to accord with the anthropological theory of explicit ideology. This was a development not found in the ANE and seems to be an indigenous development distinct from the Yahwistic polemic against divination and certain types of supernatural power in the HB. Finally, a number of helpful terms, especially concerning divination, have been identified. Many Greco-Roman divination and ‘magic’ terms continue to hold currency in the West today. The above has also been helpful in understanding the unique way prophecy was understood by the Greeks and Romans. Prophecy and divination were often used synonymously, especially the subjective types of divination as seen in the Delphic and Sybilline oracles. We will now venture closer to ancient Israel by turning our attention to germane aspects of religion in Egyptian.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Riley, “Demon,” 236.

Religion in Ancient Egyptian Society

Introduction

Leaving the CW, we move closer culturally and geographically to Israelite society by taking up the discussion of those aspects of Egyptian religion that are most relevant to the religious practitioners and practices listed in Deut 18. As mentioned already, it must be borne in mind that the centuries of belief surveyed here was the result of a dynamic process of growth and change. It was not static.¹¹⁰ Ancient Egypt shares similarities and distinctives with other ANE and AMW religions. One of the distinctives of Egyptian religion was the way its gods personified nature (sky, earth, sun, moon, stars, and wind), a unique focus on the significance of ‘magic’ (*ḥk’w*), and a highly developed cult of the dead.¹¹¹ Generally speaking, Egyptian religion showed no tensions with religious practices commonly described as ‘magic’ or divination.¹¹² The only instance of polemic religion was the brief period of the reign of Akhenaten (Ikhnaton)(c. 1367-1350 BCE) in the New Kingdom period. Akhenaten initiated an unpopular religious reform which replaced the cult of most gods, including Amon, with the sun god Aten. Akhenaten changed his name from Amenhotep to symbolise his focused devotion to Aten (Akhen-aten) and removed the name of Amon from cult monuments. Akhenaten’s successors abandoned his reforms.¹¹³

It is generally the case that in the analysis of Egyptian religion separate categories of ‘magic’, divination, sacrifice, and medicine can be discerned. However, they are bound together in ancient Egyptian belief and practice and all could be performed by the same individual priest. For example divination is used to find out by supernatural means the causes of sickness. The appropriate incantations, or ‘magic’ power, is then employed to combat the causes of the illness. Sacrifice and prayer are employed in petitioning the

¹¹⁰ T. J. Lewis, “Dead,” *DDD* (Leiden: Brill, 1999) 224.

¹¹¹ V. Ions, *Egyptian Mythology* (New York: Bedrick, 1982) 24.

¹¹² R. K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1993) 13.

¹¹³ K. A. Kitchen, “Egypt,” *NBD* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1962 Reprint) 342–3. Cf. Hornung, *Akhenaten*; Redford, *Akhenaten*.

gods for healing. Medicinal herbs and remedies would also be used to aid in the healing process. Moderns separate out the categories for analysis, but in the ANE these practices were viewed holistically.¹¹⁴ Similar to other ANE societies, religion in Egypt was monistic and had a cosmic warfare worldview, with a unique cosmological *Chaoskampf*.¹¹⁵ Generally speaking, fate was the foundational reality undergirding the Egyptian worldview, and the various gods were the means by which this reality was accessed and understood.¹¹⁶ In the Egyptian view of reality, the king more than anyone else symbolically embodied the cosmic order which was so highly valued.¹¹⁷ This was in contrast to the primary place that the Yahwistic conception gave to the prophet in Deut (18.18-19). The intersubjectivity that Egypt had with Syro-Palestine is seen, for example, in the Semitic gods that were incorporated into its pantheon: Baal (closely associated with the Egyptian god of chaos, Seth), Anat, Astarte, Reshep, Qadesh, and Horon.¹¹⁸ But as with each of the ANE and AMW societies, Egypt had nuanced views concerning *Chaoskampf*, divine kingship, the members of its pantheon, ‘magic’, divination, and prophecy. For our concerns, what are of particular interest is the unique Egyptian view of the afterlife, and the significant role that the universal impersonal power of ‘magic’ had in daily life. Egypt had much more influence on ancient Israelite culture than is usually acknowledged. There was much intersubjectivity which can be seen in issues of language and religious practices.¹¹⁹ What follows is an investigation of the areas critical for our study.

¹¹⁴ Frantz-Szabó, “Hittite Witchcraft,” 2007.

¹¹⁵ For a comprehensive discussion of Egyptian cosmology see A. R. David, *The Ancient Egyptians: Religious Beliefs and Practices* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982); E. Drioton, “Egyptian Religion,” *Religions of the Ancient East* (ed. E. Drioton, G. Contenau and J. Duchesne-Guillemin; New York: Hawthorn, 1959) 19–59; A. Erman, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* (Boston: Longwood, 1977 Reprint); H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1948); Ions, *Egyptian Mythology*.

¹¹⁶ G. Buccellati, “Ethics and Piety in the Ancient Near East,” *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1694.

¹¹⁷ H. t. Velde, “Theology, Priests, and Worship in Ancient Egypt,” *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1748.

¹¹⁸ But conspicuous in their absence are the primary Mesopotamian deities Enlil and Marduk (Velde, “Theology,” 1736–40).

¹¹⁹ J. D. Currid, *Ancient Egypt and the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1997) 26.

Cosmic Warfare Worldview

In the Egyptian view of the universe, chaos and conflict were a common feature of the relationship between the gods. The self-created sun god, Re, brought order (*ma'at*) out of Nun, the waters of chaos, by subduing the eight other gods of the Ennead.¹²⁰ Yet, chaos and conflict were a continual threat to stability, both in the Egyptian cosmology and in daily life. The gods Seth and Apophis were opponents of Re and were frequently causing mischief. Many were the lesser deities who were the source of all sorts of evil and calamity in both the divine and human worlds. Chaos was an ever-present danger in the Egyptian worldview. The significance of order, and the need for protection from chaos, was symbolised in *Ma'at*, the personification of cosmic and social order.¹²¹ The impersonal 'magic' power *hk'w* was an important source of protection from the chaos caused by evil deities.¹²² Often the magical incantations were characterised by emotive battle terminology.¹²³ In Egyptian, as well as Mesopotamian religion, the gods must possess 'magic' to be mighty. The deities themselves are not supreme, the power of 'magic' is.¹²⁴

The three primary gods of Egypt were Re, Amon and Ptah. Each had their centre in Egyptian cities: Re in Thebes, Amon in Heliopolis, and Ptah in Memphis. Re was the primary deity and the creator of all things. At times he is described as self-created, at other times he is the creation of Ptah.¹²⁵ The word 'demon' is used to describe Amon-Re in John A. Wilson's translation of the Hymn to Amon-Re. As mentioned previously, the use of the term demon in the monistic Egyptian context, as well as the ANE generally, must be understood more generally as deity, with perhaps more

¹²⁰ *ANET*, 3-4; Currid, *Ancient Egypt*, 36.

¹²¹ Velde, "Theology," 1731, 1736-37.

¹²² Ritner, *Mechanics*, 13.

¹²³ J. F. Borghouts, "Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination in Ancient Egypt," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1777-82.

¹²⁴ Currid, *Ancient Egypt*, 30.

¹²⁵ *ANET*, 366, 368, 369.

predilection towards evil.¹²⁶ Certain deities, or demons, such as Apophis, were known only for evil and no temple cult has been found for them.¹²⁷ Images of most deities were made for worship. While the statues of the gods were revered, it was not understood that the gods were limited to them. In a hymn to Amon he is described in the following way:

His soul, they say, is that which is in heaven. It is he who is in the underworld and presides over the East; his soul is in heaven, his body is in the West, and his statue is in Hermonthis, heralding his appearances.¹²⁸

As was common in the ANE, AMW, and CW, human kings were viewed as deities or demi-gods. The Abydos king-list, found at the renowned cult centre of Osiris, king of the netherworld, indicates the way the kings of the past were revered as minor deities.¹²⁹ With this brief description of the religious context of Egyptian with special reference to cosmology and warfare worldview in mind, let us proceed to more specific practices concerning divination and the role of the priesthood in it.

Priests and Divination

The divination practice attested in ancient Egypt was a part of the royal cult. In contrast to the Greek context, the Egyptians had an institutional, and generally hereditary priesthood, the members of which came from the elite of society.¹³⁰ In contrast to Greece and Mesopotamia, women did not serve as priests in the cult. But women of

¹²⁶ Riley points out that the development of the Greek term *daimōn* to indicate a malevolent spirit opposed to a good god is a development found in the early Judaism of the intertestamental period, early Christianity, and non-Christian magic texts of the period. As mentioned in the section above, p. 83, the term is believed to originate in the Homeric period and was a general word for divinity, usually minor deities. In a monistic understanding of the universe there is no strict ethical separation between 'gods' and 'demons' as all are morally ambiguous. This is the case generally in ancient Egypt. Whenever the term 'demon' is employed for Egyptian or other ANE deities care must be taken to understand that it refers to deities that can express good or evil. See Riley, "Demon," 235–6.

¹²⁷ Velde, "Theology," 1736.

¹²⁸ *ANET*, 368.

¹²⁹ B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London: Routledge, 1989); J. K. Hoffmeier, "King Lists," *CSI* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) 69–70; N. Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit: The Words of Ilimilku and His Colleagues* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998) 402.

¹³⁰ Velde, "Theology," 1734–5.

significant social status served in the temple as dancers and singers.¹³¹ There were two primary classes of priests that served in the daily temple ritual, the ‘servants of the gods (*ḥmw-ntr*),’ and a subordinate class called ‘pure ones (*wꜥbw*).’¹³² This latter group may be somewhat similar to the Levites in their logistical role in the temple.¹³³ The pharaoh was considered one of the *ḥmw-ntr*, but usually did not participate in the daily priestly functions.¹³⁴ One of the functions of the *ḥmw-ntr* was to interpret the oracle of the statue of the deities. The priest who proclaimed this message from the deity was called the *ḥm ntr whm*, or the ‘servant of the god who carries the message.’ The tradition of referring to the *ḥm ntr whm* as ‘prophet’ comes from the Greeks who translated it with the term *prophētēs*.¹³⁵ This would be in keeping with the broad Greek definition of prophet and prophecy related above. A third type of priest, distinct from the *ḥmw-ntr* or the *wꜥbw*, was the *hrj-ḥb*, literally ‘he who carries the ritual book.’ *Hrj-ḥb* is usually translated lector-priest. The chief lector priest was *hrj-ḥb hrj-tp*.¹³⁶ Apart from not playing a role in the daily temple rituals, what distinguished the Egyptian *hrj-ḥb* from the other priests was the scholarly training received in, and the ongoing activity of copying, preserving, and studying the extensive and secret incantation, divination, and general ritual literature.¹³⁷ This accords with the description from the HB of the Egyptian *ḥartummîm*, believed by many to derive from the Egyptian *hrj-ḥb hrj-tp*,¹³⁸ as being court officials skilled in the arts of both incantation and divination.

Ḥartummîm is used of the Egyptian priests in the dramatic encounter between Moses and Pharaoh (7.11, 22; 8.3 [ET 8.7]; 8.14 [ET 8.18]; 8.15 [ET 8.19]; 9.11). The Yahwistic view of the *ḥartummîm* found in this context is that of cultic performers of super-

¹³¹ Grabbe, *Priests*, 53.

¹³² Velde, “Theology,” 1734.

¹³³ Grabbe, *Priests*, 53.

¹³⁴ Grabbe, *Priests*, 53.

¹³⁵ *ANET*, 444 n. 2; Velde, “Theology,” 1744.

¹³⁶ *ANET*, 444 n. 2; Velde, “Theology,” 1747.

¹³⁷ *ANET*, 444 n. 2; Grabbe, *Priests*, 53; Velde, “Theology,” 1747.

¹³⁸ Grabbe, *Priests*, 131; T. O. Lambdin, “Egyptian Loan Words in the Old Testament,” *JAOS* 73 (1953) 145–55; J. Quaegebeur, “On the Egyptian Equivalent of Biblical *Ḥartummîm*,” *Pharaonic Egypt: The Bible and Christianity* (ed. Sarah Israelit-Groll; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1985) 162–72; Velde, “Theology,” 1747; J. Vergote, “Joseph in Egypt,” *OBL* 3 (1959) 66–73; Yamauchi, “Magic,” 170 n. 6. Jeffers gives more space to discussing possible Hebrew, Arabic and Akkadian origins, but acknowledges the possible Egyptian source of the term. See Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 45–6.

natural power rituals. It is used also of the Egyptian cult priests described in the Joseph narrative (Gen 41.8, 24), which presents the *ḥartummîm* in a mantic function. The Babylonian *ḥartummîm* found in the Daniel story also are presented in a context which focuses on divination (Dan 1.20; 2.2).

The primary type of Egyptian divination practice was the oracle given by the gods during the frequent festivals in which the statues of the gods were carried on barques by priests in public processions. This type of divine revelation concurs with the theoretical definition of divination given in Chapter 1, namely that divination is divine communication given indirectly and not generally by direct or subjective inspiration of a prophet. During these processions the gods gave guidance indirectly by means of a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answer to a question, or set of questions. The answer was not an audible one, but based on the movement forward (‘yes’) or backward (‘no’) of the priests, inspired by the deity, who carried the shrine of the deity’s statue. This was the most common way the gods responded to questions.¹³⁹ In the New Kingdom period lengthy written oracles appeared which were originally given audibly by a priest, as he interpreted the oracle received by means of the statue of the deity.¹⁴⁰

Terms found in Deut 18 that seem to have mantic functions such as *qōsēm* *q^e sāmîm*,¹⁴¹ *m^e ‘ônēn*,¹⁴² *m^e nahēš*,¹⁴³ *šō ‘ēl ‘ôb*, *yidd^e ‘ōnî*, and *dōrēš el-hammētîm* do not have cognates in ancient Egyptian. However the concept of receiving information from the deities is clearly present and divination as an institutional royal cult activity is well attested in Egypt.

Priests and Prophets

The theoretical definition for prophecy given in Chapter 1 is the human transmission of allegedly divine messages received directly by the deity. This is distinct from the

¹³⁹ Borghouts, “Ancient Egypt,” 1782; Velde, “Theology,” 1744; Wilson, *Prophecy*, 128.

¹⁴⁰ Velde, “Theology,” 1744.

¹⁴¹ *HALOT* 3, 1115-6.

¹⁴² D. N. Freedman, and B. E. Willoughby, “ןָצַח,” *TDOT XI* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2001) 253; *HALAT* 2, 857; E. Jenni, “ןָצַח,” *TLOT* 2 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997) 937.

¹⁴³ H.-J. Fabry, “שָׁחַח,” *TDOT IX* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1998) 356–7; *HALOT* 2, 690.

learned or systematic scientific observation of the astrologer, augur, or haruspices, which come under the definition of divination given above. The prophet in this way is a ‘direct mouthpiece of the gods.’¹⁴⁴ The difficulties in creating a theoretical definition for prophecy are clear. The definition I have proposed is narrower than the emic Greek definition, but broader than the emic Yahwistic one. The definition proposed here is an attempt to provide an appropriate analytical category that will accommodate the variety of ANE societies under consideration.

In Egypt the attestations of prophecy are few and come from the royal cult, as opposed to originating from outside the centre of social power as is often attested in the HB (cf. 1 Kgs 18.10, Jer 37.16).¹⁴⁵ As mentioned above, the Egyptian term *ḥmw ntr* is usually translated ‘prophet’ based on Greek tradition.¹⁴⁶ Outside of the experience of Wen-Amon in Byblos, there is little evidence of ecstatic behaviour associated with receiving divine revelation, as was the case with the Delphic or Sibylline oracles in Greece.¹⁴⁷ Some have objected to translating *ḥmw ntr* as ‘prophet’ because the primary function of the *ḥmw ntr* was the priestly maintenance of the royal cult, and because most often the divine revelation mediated through him was indirect, more in keeping with a description of divination. Also, Egyptian revelations are not usually given in the name of a god. It is said that the occasions of the Egyptian oracle experiences are unlike those in the HB where the spirit of Yahweh ‘comes on’ and ‘inspires’ them to speak his message. There is not usually the powerful moral or ethical voice of the likes of Jeremiah, confronting the wickedness of the people, and imploring them to repent and reform (cf. Jer 7.1-29).¹⁴⁸ It is true that prophecy in Egypt was not like that found in Yahwistic Israel, or even Mesopotamia.¹⁴⁹ Yet, there may be some instances of direct divine prophecy which are discussed in the following paragraphs.

¹⁴⁴ Nissinen, *Prophets*, 1.

¹⁴⁵ Wilson, *Prophecy*, 128.

¹⁴⁶ *ANET*, 444 n. 2; Lindblom, *Prophecy*, 26–7; Velde, “Theology,” 1744.

¹⁴⁷ Velde, “Theology,” 1744.

¹⁴⁸ Grabbe, *Priests*, 86–7.

¹⁴⁹ *ANET*, 444 n. 3.

Prophetic visions, dreams and otherwise supernatural revelatory experiences are attested of the kings in Egyptian inscriptions. In the prophecy of Thut-mose III from the wall inscription at the Temple of Amon at Karnak (c. 1450 BCE), the king describes how he was taken up into the heavens to behold the glory and mysteries of Amon-Re. The text, translated by Wilson, may imply direct communication from the god Amon. He says:

(The god Amon)—he is my father, and I am his son. He commanded to me that I should be upon the throne, while I was (still) a nestling ... [He opened for] me the doors of heaven; he spread open for me the portals of its horizon. I flew up to the sky as a divine falcon, that I might see his mysterious form which is in heaven, that I might adore his majesty ... I saw the form of being of the Horizon God on his mysterious ways in heaven.¹⁵⁰

In the same text, it speaks of the actual choosing of Thut-mose III as pharaoh in a procession that may be similar to that described above in the section Priests and Divination.¹⁵¹ Wilson's translation is as follows:

Then his majesty offered him incense upon the flame and presented to him a great oblation of oxen, cattle, and wild beasts of the desert ... [*The procession*] made the circuit of the colonnaded hall on its two sides, but (it) was not in the heart of those who were present to his actions, in seeking out my majesty everywhere. (Then he) really recognised me, and he halted ... [*I touched*] the ground; I bowed myself down in his presence. He set me before his majesty, I being posted at the Station [of] the Lord. Then he *worked a marvel* over me.¹⁵²

This text above may not give witness to direct revelation, but rather to an indirect process of divination in which the movement of the priests carrying the statue of Amon

¹⁵⁰ ANET, 446.

¹⁵¹ See p. 90. Cf. also ANET, 446 n. 6.

¹⁵² ANET, 446.

was interpreted to mean the choosing of Thut-mose III as the next pharaoh. On the other hand, the experience of being taken up into the heavens like a falcon in order to behold the mysteries of Re may be understood as some type of direct prophetic experience.

Another example of Egyptian prophecy may be the dream described in the Sphinx stela which dates back to the reign of Thut-mose IV (c. 1421-1413 BCE), but was restored sometime between the 7th - 11th centuries CE. In it Thut-mose IV rests in the shadow of the statue of the god Khepri. He has a dream in which the god speaks to him saying:

He found the majesty of this august god speaking with his own mouth, as a father speaks to his son, saying: "See me, look at me, my son, Thut-mose! I am thy father, Harmakhis-Khepri-Re-Atum. I shall give thee my kingdom upon earth at the head of the living."¹⁵³

Other writings showing similarity with Yahwistic prophecy would be the *Admonitions of Ipuwer* and the *Prophecies of Neferty*. They come close to the level of the moral tone found in the Yahwistic prophetic writings.¹⁵⁴ The *Admonitions of Ipuwer* is difficult to date, but the extant papyrus dates to the Late Kingdom period (1350-1100 BCE). In it the pharaoh is denounced for his mishandling of leadership responsibilities, which has led to Egypt's ruin. The long listing of deplorable conditions has a style similar to what one would expect to hear from an Isaiah or Ezekiel (cf. Isa 15; Ezek 19).¹⁵⁵ The problem in classifying the *Admonitions of Ipuwer* as prophecy is that nowhere is it stated that the speaker has been inspired in any way by a deity.¹⁵⁶ The *Prophecies of Neferty* is given by a priest named Neferty to Pharaoh Snefru of the fourth dynasty. In it there is the recounting of grave injustices being committed by people against one another and a self-centredness that is destroying society:

¹⁵³ ANET, 449.

¹⁵⁴ Grabbe, *Priests*, 86-7.

¹⁵⁵ ANET, 441-4.

¹⁵⁶ J. C. Vanderkam, "Prophecy and Apocalypics in the Ancient Near East," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 2084.

Every mouth is full of “Love Me!”, and everything good has disappeared ... Men take a man’s property away from him, and it is given to him who is from the outside ... He who never filled for himself (*now*) empties. Men will [treat] (fellow) citizens as hateful, in order to silence the mouth that speaks. If a statement is answered, an arm goes out with a stick, and men speak with: “Kill him!”¹⁵⁷

However, the problem with ascribing this to a category of prophecy is the same as that of the *Admonitions of Ipuwer*. The text does not explicitly state that Neferty speaks through inspiration of the gods. Nothing more is said of Neferty than that he is a sage and a priest.¹⁵⁸

A final example of possible prophecy from Egypt is the Wen-Amon narrative, in which the convergence of prophecy, sacrifice, and divination is shown. The narrative recounts the journey to Byblos of an Egyptian official of the temple of Amon at Karnak named Wen-Amon.¹⁵⁹ The story tells of some type of divine communication from the god Amon-Re to Wen-Amon instructing him to purchase wood in Byblos for the barque which carries his image. There is no description of how this communication comes to Wen-Amon, but it is written in a letter which is read to the Delta ruler Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded and Ta-net, supposedly his wife. They acknowledge the legitimate command of Amon-Re and send Wen-Amon to Byblos to procure the wood. The story takes many humorous twists and turns as Wen-Amon travels. At one point in the story a youth of the court of the king of Byblos descends into a state of ecstatic prophetic utterance as the king sacrifices to his gods.¹⁶⁰ The boy receives a revelation identifying Wen-Amon as a messenger sent by Amon-Re which reads as follows:

Bring up [*the*] god! Bring the messenger who is carrying him! Amon is the one who sent him out! He is the one who made him come!¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ *ANET*, 445

¹⁵⁸ Vanderkam, “Prophecy,” 2084.

¹⁵⁹ *ANET*, 25-29.

¹⁶⁰ *ANET*, 26 n. 13.

¹⁶¹ *ANET*, 26.

This divine communication would seem to fit the theoretical definition of prophecy. The Wen-Amon narrative is illustrative of the way sacrifice, prophecy, and/or divination existed in a cult setting.

The above examples show that finding clear cases of direct inspired revelation which accord with the theoretical definition given in Chapter 1 is difficult to come by in Egyptian texts. The best examples of a direct subjective prophecy would probably be the Wen-Amon narrative and the dream experienced by Thut-mose IV in which the god Harmakhis-Khepri-Re-Atum speaks to him.

The next section, of particular interest in the light of the Yahwistic prohibitions against communication with the dead (Deut 18.11), deals with the Egyptian views of the afterlife and beliefs concerning communication with the dead. To this we now turn.

Netherworld and Mortuary Cult

The Egyptians were unique in the development of their beliefs and traditions concerning the dead. In contrast to beliefs in Mesopotamia, the afterlife was understood to be generally positive.¹⁶² In early Egyptian experience, there seemed to be a difference in the afterlife experience of royalty and common people. The royalty would travel to the netherworld on the ship of Re to the most desirable situation in the afterlife. Life for them was much the same as it was on earth except for the added benefit of the absence of pain and suffering. In contrast common people were believed to stay near their tombs or journey west to the underworld where they would live much as they did on earth.¹⁶³ However, in later Middle Kingdom period there seemed to be a democratisation of the options for the afterlife, and common people could potentially reach the most coveted afterlife situations if the appropriate spells and incantations were used in the texts on their coffins.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² L. H. Lesko, "Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egyptian Thought," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1768.

¹⁶³ Long, "Underworld," 127–8.

¹⁶⁴ Lesko, "Death and Afterlife," 1767.

Osiris, the god who was killed by the malevolent god of chaos, Seth, and then resurrected from death by his mother Isis by means of ‘magic’ power, was the Egyptian god of the underworld. His primary centres of worship were at Abydos and Busiris. Sokar, the god of death and resurrection, was associated with Osiris.¹⁶⁵ The Egyptians viewed death as a mere interruption of life. So strong was their belief that the dead continue on in a new form of life, that they carried on communication with their departed relatives. The life force, or soul, of the dead, *ka*, lived on in a new form, *akh*. The *akh* was the transformed spirit of the dead. The *akh* could be benevolent or malevolent and the Egyptians spent much energy either communicating with, or protecting themselves from *akh*.¹⁶⁶ The living relatives visited the tombs to communicate with the dead, provided feasts in which the dead were believed to participate, and offered sacrifices to them.¹⁶⁷ An example of a letter written to a deceased relative asking for help is given in a text translated by Edward F. Wente:

It is a sister who addresses her brother, the sole companion Nefersefchki:

Much attention—it is profitable to give attention to one who cares for you—on account of this which is being done against my daughter very wrongfully, although there is nothing that I did against him. I did not consume his possessions, nor did he have to give a thing to my daughter. It is for the sake of interceding on behalf of a survivor that invocation offerings are made to a spirit. So punish the one who is doing what is distressing to me since I will triumph over whatever dead man or woman is doing this against my daughter.¹⁶⁸

The above text indicates the beliefs of both the benevolent actions of *akh* on behalf of the living, as well as the malevolent actions of *akh* which require protection.¹⁶⁹ The dead often made physical appearances to the living. This physical manifestation was called *ba*. One text states that most often they manifested themselves as birds, such as

¹⁶⁵ Velde, “Theology,” 1738, 1740.

¹⁶⁶ Lesko, “Death and Afterlife,” 1764; Lewis, “Dead,” 224–5.

¹⁶⁷ H. Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (London: Harper & Row, 1948) 93–4, 96; Lewis, “Dead,” 225.

¹⁶⁸ Lesko, “Death and Afterlife,” 1765.

¹⁶⁹ See also Frankfort, *Egyptian Religion*, 89.

a swallow, heron, falcon, or bittern.¹⁷⁰ The elaborate, well provisioned tombs, along with the impressive mummification techniques, give testimony to the very concrete conception that Egyptians had of life after death. The use in burial practices of amulets for the dead, incantation texts on coffins, and the inclusion of copies of the *Book of the Dead* and the *Book of Amduat* indicate the importance placed on *ḥk'w*, or supernatural power, for protection and guidance for the dead so that as they journey to the underworld they would arrive safely at the desired location.¹⁷¹

As mentioned above, the Egyptians incorporated a number of West Semitic deities in their pantheon. The chthonic deity Reshep was one of these (cf. Deut 32.24; Ps 78.48; Job 5.7). Reshep was part of the official cult in the court of Amenophis II in the New Kingdom period. His worship at that time was also found among the general population as attested in epigraphic and iconographic remains.¹⁷²

The Hebrew terms in Deut 18.11 that have to do with communication and veneration of deified ancestors, *šō'ēl 'ōb*, *yiddē'ōnī*, and *dōrēš el-hammētīm*, are not cognate with any particular Egyptian terms.¹⁷³ But the basic concept that the dead live on, can be consulted with and provide succour, is present in the Egyptian conception of reality. It can also be seen that sacrifice and the Egyptian conception of the power of 'magic' is a necessary part of mortuary cult ritual. What comes next is a brief discussion of human sacrifice relating to the Egyptian context.

Human Sacrifice

In the various periods of Egyptian history there is evidence of ritual human sacrifice of various kinds. The earliest evidence for Egyptian human ritual killings come from the graves and tombs of the Predynastic (c. 3500-3100 BCE), and Early Dynastic (c. 3100-2685 BCE) periods. It involves the burying, at times in large numbers, of ser-

¹⁷⁰ Frankfort, *Egyptian Religion*, 98–9; Lewis, “Dead,” 224.

¹⁷¹ Ions, *Egyptian Mythology*, 131; Lewis, “Dead,” 224; Yamauchi, “Magic,” 170.

¹⁷² P. Xella, “Reshep,” *DDD* (Leiden: Brill, 1999 2nd edition) 701.

¹⁷³ For a discussion of the etymology of 'ōb see *HALAT I*, 20; H. A. Hoffner, “אֹב,” *TDOT I*: (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1974) 130–3.

vants and family members with the deceased.¹⁷⁴ In the Middle Kingdom period (c. 2040-1785 BCE) there are attestations of large numbers of servants buried with the deceased at Kerma, an area on the periphery of the Egyptian heartland. Unfortunately there is no epigraphic evidence from these early periods which sheds light on the reasons for the practice. Because these human ritual killings are only found at this time in a remote area, Alberto Green holds that it could indicate discomfort with the practice in the central parts of Egyptian society.¹⁷⁵ The later evidence for human ritual sacrifice in Egypt does not involve the sacrificing of Egyptians, but of foreigners. Amenhotep II (c.1427-1400 BCE) sacrificed foreigners at his coronation. Green cites Nubians, Libyans, and unnamed foreigners sacrificed on altars to deities in royal cult ritual in the New Kingdom period (c. 1550-1070 BCE). Non-royal sacrifice of foreign enemies is also attested in Egypt.¹⁷⁶

What is clear from Green's evidence is that the sacrifice of humans in Egypt is well attested in the third and second millenniums BCE, and normally attested in royal cult ritual. Toward the end of the second millennium BCE sacrificial victims were usually foreigners. Green does not give the details on how human victims offered to the deities on the altar were slain. However, members of the eclectic Israelite community who were originally from Egypt would have had the experience of ritual human sacrifice in their history. There is no Egyptian term or practice that seems to indicate relationship with the phrase *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bitô bāēš*. However, Egyptian murals and texts give witness to Syro-Palestinian practices which do have relevance to *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bitô bāēš*. These will be discussed in the section Religion in Ancient Syro-Palestinian Societies: Human Sacrifice.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ A. R. W. Green, *The Role of Human Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East* (Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1975) 195–6.

¹⁷⁵ A. R. W. Green, *Human Sacrifice*, 196–7.

¹⁷⁶ A. R. W. Green, *Human Sacrifice*, 197–8.

¹⁷⁷ See pp. 163-8.

The final section in this analysis of relevant aspects of religion in Egypt analogous to the religious phenomena mentioned in Deut 18 deals with the issue of ‘magic’. To this we now turn.

Priests and Magic

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the theoretical definition of ‘magic’ used in this study refers to supernatural power, either impersonal or bequeathed by some type of deity, used to manipulate reality either for benevolent or malevolent purposes. Control is a key characteristic of the function of ‘magic’ ritual. Ritner maintains that the category and term ‘magic’ should be maintained in the discussion of ancient Egyptian incantation, spells, and deities because of its emic use by Egyptians themselves. However, care must be taken that the ancient Egyptian concept of ‘magic’ is understood on its own terms.¹⁷⁸ Egyptian Coptic translators of the Bible understood *ḥk’w* and the Greek *mageia* to be equivalent terms. The verb related to the Coptic term used to translate *ḥk’w* was used to translate *mageuō* in Acts 8.9 and *pharmakos* in the LXX translation of Deut 18.10. Extra-biblical Coptic literature such as *Oration in Praise of Saint Georgios Diospolis* uses the term of a saint accused of ‘magic’ practices.¹⁷⁹

The various periods of Egyptian history showed no tension between *ḥk’w* and religion, and shows that *ḥk’w* had a primary and ubiquitous role in cult and piety. The primary Egyptian term for ‘magic’, *ḥk’w*, was not a pejorative term.¹⁸⁰ Ritner points out the fact that there is no text which indicates that *ḥk’w* in its essence was an illegal activity or at variance with religion. He explains:

However magic may be defined, in Egypt the practice was in itself quite legal.

Only one trial for sorcery is preserved from ancient Egypt, involving the use of wax figures in a plot against the throne, but the trial recorded is careful to state that the books of magic used by the prisoners came from the king’s own collec-

¹⁷⁸ Ritner, *Mechanics*, 13.

¹⁷⁹ Ritner, *Mechanics*, 14.

¹⁸⁰ J. Assmann, “Magic and Theology in Ancient Egypt,” *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar & Symposium* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) 3.

tion. Sorcery against the king, not sorcery *per se*, was illegal. In other instances, kings, priests, and commoners used the same methods on a daily, normative, and legal basis. Thus King Amenophis II states on the Amada Stela ... that “he made execration figures of his enemies and the Nine Bows (the traditional enemy of Egypt) likewise.” Private individuals are specifically urged to use the same methods in the so-called “Apophis Book” (Papyrus BM 10188), making figures of the enemies of Re, Pharaoh, and “all foes male and female whom your heart fears.” The thematically similar “Rite for Repelling the Angry One” (Papyrus Louvre E 3129) is even more precise: “if this spell is recited against any enemy of NN, evil will happen to him for 7 days.” In both texts the reciter is said to participate in the destruction of divine, royal, and personal enemies with no distinction as to method or legality. It should be stressed that both texts were also performed in the daily liturgies of the chief temples of Amon-Re and Osiris, and are thus an integral part of the religious norm, and by no means constitute “behavior” deviant.¹⁸¹

Thus the Egyptian view of ‘magic’, or *ḥk’w*, is different from the theoretical views of ‘magic’, influential in biblical studies, held by Frazer, Weber, and Durkheim, in which ‘magic’ was distinguished from religion.¹⁸²

Joris Borghouts defines Egyptian *ḥk’w* as a “practice aimed to achieve a desired effect by symbolic means.”¹⁸³ This symbolic means is normally an utterance (as in a spell), often accompanied by a ritual, which harnessed an impersonal force usually called *ḥk’w*, but had other names as well. In objects, such as amulets, *ḥk’w* worked by itself, independent of human manipulation.¹⁸⁴ In ancient Egypt the primary purpose of *ḥk’w* was apotropaic, that is, to defend oneself from sickness or calamity.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Ritner, *Mechanics*, 13.

¹⁸² Durkheim, *Religious Life*, 41–5; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 56–7; Weber, *Sociology of Religion*, 24–31.

¹⁸³ Borghouts, “Ancient Egypt,” 1775.

¹⁸⁴ Borghouts, “Ancient Egypt,” 1775. Cf. G. Andre, “כשף,” *TDOT VII* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995) 362.

¹⁸⁵ See *ANET*, 326–8.

The role of *ḥk'w* in the cult can be seen in a variety of ways. *Hk'w* was understood to be an impersonal power given to humans as a gift from the gods.¹⁸⁶ In the Metternich Stela made for the priest Nesu-Atum, one of the names of Re is *ḥk'w*.¹⁸⁷ The serpent-crest which was worn on the front of the headdress of the pharaohs of Egypt was considered a goddess and among other names, was called “The Magician.” The following is an example from the Pyramid Text 194-95:

The doors of the Horizon are opened, their bolts are slipped.
 He (the king) comes to thee, O Red Crown; he comes to thee, O Fiery One.
 He comes to thee, O Great One; he comes to thee, O Magician.
 He has purified himself for thee ...
 He comes to thee, O Magician.
 It is Horus who has fought to protect his Eye, O Magician.¹⁸⁸

The god Thoth was known as the Lord of *ḥk'w*. He reputedly taught Isis the many spells for which she became known as “the Enchantress.” The spells he taught her enabled Isis to bring Osiris back to life, and to bring Horus back to good health. By means of *ḥk'w* Isis was able to enchant a lettuce dish which Seth ate, causing him to become pregnant.¹⁸⁹ Osiris himself aids the dead with *ḥk'w* for a safe journey to the netherworld.¹⁹⁰

One of the lesser gods of the Egyptian pantheon, Heka, is the personification of *ḥk'w*.¹⁹¹ The importance of *ḥk'w* continues to be seen in the prophetic *Admonition of Ipuwer* mentioned above, where its effectiveness in Egyptian society has become a casualty, like the condition of so much of the rest of Egypt being lamented in the text.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁶ Borghouts, “Ancient Egypt,” 1776.

¹⁸⁷ Borghouts, “Ancient Egypt,” 1781.

¹⁸⁸ Frankfort, *Kingship*, 107.

¹⁸⁹ Ions, *Egyptian Mythology*, 85–6.

¹⁹⁰ *The Book of the Dead* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969 2nd edition) 59, 157.

¹⁹¹ *ANET*, 449 n. 5; Velde, “Theology,” 1737.

¹⁹² *ANET*, 442.

As mentioned above under Priests and Divination, the Egyptian lector-priest, *hrj-ḥb*, functioned in the role of priest, seer, and magician.¹⁹³ The Papyrus Westcar recounts a lector-priest who lifts water out of a lake, but is out done by the superior power of a magician. This same magician, Djedi, also receives and relates a divine communication. This is one of many examples that shows the integration in the Egyptian world of the theoretical categories of cult, ‘magic’ and divination. As mentioned above, divination and ‘magic’ texts, kept secret from the uninitiated, were part of the traditional education of Egyptian *hrj-ḥb*, and were copied, preserved, and studied by them.¹⁹⁴

Jan Assmann defines *ḥk’w* in the Egyptian domestic context as “religion applied to the domestic sphere.”¹⁹⁷ In this context *ḥk’w* was understood to be a coercive power used for the benefit of individuals as opposed to benefiting the community at large. But its particular applications in the home share the same assumptions that it has in the royal cult. He explains:

The Egyptian term *heka*, copt. *hik*, which we usually translate as magic has obviously nothing to do which (*sic*) this distinction between temple and private use. If we start from Egyptian terminology, we get a totally different notion of magic. *Magic* in the sense of *heka* means an all-pervading coercive power—comparable to the laws of nature in its coerciveness and all-pervadingness—by which in the beginning the world was made, by which it is daily maintained and by which mankind is ruled. Magic in the sense of a particular discourse is much more specific. It refers to the exertion of this same coercive power in the personal sphere.¹⁹⁸

There are no Hebrew cognates for *ḥk’w*. But G. André proposes that the Hebrew consonantal group belonging to *kšp* is closest to expressing the Egyptian concept found in

¹⁹³ *ANET*, 444 n. 2; Grabbe, *Priests*, 53; Velde, “Theology,” 1747.

¹⁹⁴ Assmann, “Magic and Theology,” 3–4; Borghouts, “Ancient Egypt,” 1775; Grabbe, *Priests*, 131.

¹⁹⁵ Borghouts, “Ancient Egypt,” 1775; Assmann, “Magic and Theology,” 3–4.

¹⁹⁶ Borghouts, “Ancient Egypt,” 1775; Assmann, “Magic and Theology,” 3–4.

¹⁹⁷ Assmann, “Magic and Theology,” 3.

¹⁹⁸ Assmann, “Magic and Theology,” 3.

ḥk'w.¹⁹⁹ It is from this same Hebrew root *kšp* that the term found in Deut 18.10, *m^e kaššēp*, belongs. Of the two terms in Deut 18.10-11 most associated with 'magic'. *m^e kaššēp* and *ḥōbēr ḥāber*, only the later is attested in Egyptian, but late, and without a sense of 'magic' or divination. In Egyptian it indicates "trade association."²⁰⁰

This completes the survey of features of religion in Egypt which have most relevance to issues raised in Deut 18. This section will end with the following concluding observations.

Conclusion

The result of this brief enquiry into expressions of religion in ancient Egypt apropos to Deut 18 is that there are a number of background issues useful for understanding the social processes which affected members of Israelite society and other ANE communities. A cosmic warfare worldview was shown to be related to seeking means, such as the power of benevolent departed spirits (*akh*) and 'magic' (*ḥk'w*) to protect themselves from malevolent cosmic elements. Divination, the means of obtaining knowledge from the divine, was shown normally to be a feature of the royal cult, usually an objective and indirect form of communication from the deities. Communication with departed ancestors, especially requesting help, was also another way of dealing with cosmic chaos conflict. Underlying the apparent chaos in the cosmos and in human life was a stable and ordered universe with cosmic powers which could be harnessed through appropriate spells. This speaks of a predictability in the universe which allowed humans, at least potentially, to control it. However, the chaotic cosmic elements, as shown in the creation myths, were generally viewed as a monistic and ontological whole. While it was shown that there were instances of direct divine communication with humans in Egyptian experience, prophecy as a way to understand the will of the gods, and as a means to receive divine guidance, was not a prominent feature. Human sacrifice was performed in cult ritual in various ways in different periods,

¹⁹⁹ Andre, "כּשֶׁף," 362.

²⁰⁰ H. Cazelles, "חֶבֶר," *TDOT IV* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980) 194.

but burning children in sacrificial fire is not attested in Egypt. The most tangible human symbol of reality in Egyptian religion was the king, or pharaoh, who also plays a role as a high priest in the cult. This contrasts with the Yahwistic emphasis in Deut on the prophet, *nābî*, as the embodiment of the supreme values of Yahwistic religion. Also discussed above was the role of fate, or destiny, as an overarching environment in the Egyptian view of reality, of which the gods were a means of explanation and understanding. A final observation important for understanding the phenomena listed in Deut 18.10-11 is that divination, 'magic', spirits of the deceased, and sacrifice were all related aspects of the Egyptian cult that could not be viewed separately. Thus the worldview and religious practices derived from Israel's neighbour to the south has important ramifications for Israelite religion and the issues raised in Deut 18. This will be discussed further in the next chapter. For now, we proceed to the next area of investigation which brings us to the east of Israel, Mesopotamia.

Religion in Ancient Mesopotamian and Anatolian Societies

Introduction

Mesopotamia and Anatolia will be discussed together as space precludes a separate treatment. Mesopotamia had a long and significant history that interacted both directly and indirectly with Egypt as mentioned above, as well as Syro-Palestine and the CW. Anatolia was similar, but being generally more eager than Mesopotamian communities to borrow from other societies. This overview will be concerned with those beliefs and practices most relevant to Deut 18 found primarily in Mesopotamian societies, but also found among the Hittites of Anatolia, in the periods preceding and parallel with ancient Israel. For Mesopotamia this will include relevant aspects of the religion of the Old Sumer Period (*c.* 2900-2334 BCE), Akkadian Period (*c.* 2334-2154 BCE), Ur III Period (*c.* 2112-2004 BCE), Isin-Larsa Period (*c.* 2025-1887 BCE), Old Assyrian Period (*c.* 2025-1365 BCE), Old Babylonian Period (*c.* 1994-1595 BCE), Middle

Babylonia (c.1570-689 BCE), Middle Assyria (c.1365-883 BCE), Neo-Assyria (c. 883-609 BCE), and Neo-Babylonia (c. 625-539 BCE).²⁰¹ For Anatolia this includes the religion of the Old Hittite Kingdom Period (c. 1680-1525 BCE), New Hittite Period (c. 1360-1180 BCE), and Neo-Hittite Kingdoms in Syria (1180-711 BCE).²⁰² Each of these periods had importance for the development of Israelite culture and setting.

Some of the major Mesopotamian deities included the Sumerian gods An, Enlil, Enki, and Inanna; the Akkadian gods were Anum, Ea, and Ishtar. The city god of Asshur was Assur and the city god of Babylon was Marduk.²⁰³ The Semitic storm god known in Akkadian as Adad was called Hadda (^dà-da) at Ebla, Hadad (Haddu) at Ugarit, Ishkur (^dIM) in Sumer, Teshup among the Hurrians, and Tarhunza in Hittite society. The oldest attestation of Adad is in Old Akkadian texts.²⁰⁴ As was shown in the Egyptian context, for Mesopotamia, as well as for the Hittites of Anatolia, politics, religion, divination, and ‘magic’ rituals were interwoven.²⁰⁵ In Mesopotamia the major deities took on a political significance distinct from that found in Egypt. Whereas in Egypt the major gods were nature-deities, the Mesopotamian gods were characteristically more anthropomorphic and distinctly associated with the cities they ruled over, similar to the way a human king rules over a certain locality.²⁰⁶ Another aspect of the Mesopotamian worldview distinct from Egypt, Syro-Palestine, and the HB was the view of humans as peons in service of the deities.²⁰⁷

The central figure in the cult in Mesopotamia was the king, which had differences and similarities with the royal cult in Syro-Palestine and Egypt. The Assyrian kings were

²⁰¹ The dates for this chronology come from http://www.cofc.edu/~piccione/graphics/mesop_chronol.html, 10 March, 2005.

²⁰² <http://www.tulane.edu/~august/chron/hittite.htm>, 10 March, 2005.

²⁰³ F. A. M. Wiggermann, “Theologies, Priests, and Worship in Ancient Mesopotamia,” *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1860.

²⁰⁴ J. C. Greenfield, “Hadad,” *DDD* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1999 2nd Edition) 378; Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 196.

²⁰⁵ W. Farber, “Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination in Ancient Mesopotamia,” *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1895; Frantz-Szabó, “Hittite Witchcraft,” 2007; H. Ringgren, *Religions of the Ancient Near East* (London: SPCK, 1973) 91.

²⁰⁶ Greenfield, “Hadad,” 1860.

²⁰⁷ Wiggermann, “Theologies,” 1860–1.

direct representatives of the deity Assur.²⁰⁸ In Mesopotamia the art of divination was given a prominence not found elsewhere in the ANE or Egypt.²⁰⁹ The epigraphic evidence possessed for Mesopotamian religious practices is much better than that available for ancient Egypt, especially since Mesopotamian evidence includes religious practice outside of the royal cult. This is because of the large amount of personal correspondence and private documents that have been recovered. However, this still does not give an accurate picture of Mesopotamian society as a whole. The epigraphic evidence for domestic religion is limited to the upper strata of society. The non-literate lower strata are not heard in it.²¹⁰ But in contrast to Syro-Palestinian Ugarit or Ebla, it gives a broader view of religious practices. There is no evidence from Mesopotamia that ‘magic’ and divination practices were disparaged, as was the case in the polemics of the HB, the Greek philosophers and playwrights, the neo-Platonic Academic School of Rome, or the later Christian New Testament. In fact, in Mesopotamia there is an absence of religious polemic in general.²¹¹ The continuity between royal cult and domestic cult can be seen in royal instructions for domestic rituals.²¹² Another example of this continuity is seen in the domestically used *Maqlû* and *Surpû*, manuals for protection against spells and malevolent spirits. The *Maqlû* and *Surpû* were also used by the royal court.²¹³

Of the dozen or so excavations of Amorite cities, Mari is the best preserved example of the Bronze Age Amorites in Mesopotamia.²¹⁴ Mari is important to this study because of its close proximity to Israel, and because the HB often mentions Amorites as among the indigenous people of Canaan whose cult practices were forbidden in Israel (Deut 1.20; 7.1-4; 20.17-18). The city of Mari came under Amorite rule c. 1800 BCE. As in other cities in Mesopotamia, the Amorites eventually were assimilated into

²⁰⁸ Farber, “Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination,” 1902.

²⁰⁹ Grabbe, *Priests*, 132; Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 16–7.

²¹⁰ Toorn, *Family Religion*, 11.

²¹¹ Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 20.

²¹² *ANET*, 339.

²¹³ Farber, “Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination,” 1902.

²¹⁴ J.-C. Margueron, “Mari: A Portrait in Art of a Mesopotamian City-State,” *CANE I & II* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 885.

the Akkadian population.²¹⁵ However, when Amorites assumed political power (such as Hammurabi of Babylon, Samsī-Addu of Assur, and Zimrī-Līm of Mari) the Akkadian population was generally understood to be the city-dwellers and the Amorite population understood to be the nomads and villagers round about.²¹⁶

From this general description of the Mesopotamian and Hittite religious context, we move to the specifics of those issues that impinge on the understanding of the practitioners and practices in Deut 18. We will continue with the six analytical categories explained above²¹⁷ beginning with the Mesopotamian view of cosmic conflict.

Cosmic Warfare Worldview

The purpose of the cult in Sumer, like that in Egypt, was to placate and serve the gods thereby providing order in a world prone to chaos. Through service and homage to the gods, harmony and order were maintained in life, and evil and chaos were minimised. As with the other ANE and AMW societies, Sumer had its principal deity who was preeminent among the gods. Sumer's principal deity was Enlil, with significance given to Anu and Ea as well.²¹⁸ There is an evident contrast between the capricious character of Enlil, who cares little for humanity, with the stability found in Egyptian Re.²¹⁹ A number of lesser deities had decidedly evil characters and are often referred to by scholars as 'demons.'²²⁰ These evil spirits (Sumerian MAŠKIM and Akkadian *rābišu*) shared the same general ontology as the other deities of the pantheon. However, no temple or cult was provided for these evil deities. Additionally, the spirits of departed relatives could become malevolent if not served properly. Misfortune and illness were

²¹⁵ R. M. Whiting, "Amorite Tribes and Nations of Second-Millennium Western Asia," *CANE I & II* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1235.

²¹⁶ Toorn, *Family Religion*, 39–41.

²¹⁷ See p. 66.

²¹⁸ W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960) 4; W. G. Lambert, "Myth and Mythmaking in Sumer and Akkad," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1828–31; G. Pettinato, *The Archives of Ebla* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981) 252; Wiggermann, "Theologies," 1869.

²¹⁹ Cf. Wiggermann, "Theologies," 1860–1.

²²⁰ See the explanation of monistic understanding of demon in the section entitled Religion in the Ancient Mediterranean and Classical Worlds: AMW and CW Terms, p. 83.

believed to be caused by these spirits. The *āšipu* or *mašmašu* priests provided exorcism rites and spells for protection against these spirits.²²¹

As mentioned above, the cosmic warfare worldview and a particular species of it, the *Chaoskampf*, are central motifs in the myths of the various Mesopotamian societies.²²² In Sumer this is shown in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, which made its way into other Mesopotamian, Hittite and Syro-Palestinian societies. The most complete recension of the *Epic of Gilgamesh* is in Akkadian, with only fragments existing in Sumerian.²²³ In this story the warfare motif is shown in the conflict between the god-hero Enkidu who defeats the sea monster Huwama. In this story, as with others, the sea is understood to symbolise the realm of evil and death. This tale serves to explain the imperfect and violent nature of existence.²²⁴

The cosmic warfare worldview in Babylon can be seen in the *Enuma Elish*.²²⁵ In this Babylonian version of creation, the struggle between Apsu and the troublesome gods he engendered is found. This recounting of the cosmic battle in the universe between order and chaos was reenacted at the annual New Years festival.²²⁶ The annual reenactments of the cosmic battle between the gods that took place at creation provided answers for the ongoing struggle between order and chaos experienced by real people in real life.²²⁷ In this struggle, ‘magic’ is a critical resource of power ensuring victory. In this way, there is similarity with the Egyptian understanding of the importance of this independent impersonal power. By means of an incantation, the god Ea

²²¹ A. Green, “Ancient Mesopotamian Religious Iconography,” *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1847; Wiggermann, “Theologies,” 1866–7.

²²² For a more comprehensive understanding of Mesopotamian cosmology see A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1963 2nd edition); A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1963); W. G. Lambert, and S. B. Parker, *Enuma Elish: The Babylonian Epic of Creation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966); W. G. Lambert, “The Cosmology of Sumer and Babylon,” *Ancient Cosmologies* (ed. C. Blacker, and M. Loewe; London: Allen and Unwin, 1975) 42–65; Wiggermann, “Theologies,” 1857–70.

²²³ *ANET*, 72-3; Heidel, *Gilgamesh*, 1–2.

²²⁴ Boyd, *God at War*, 78.

²²⁵ *ANET*, 60-72.

²²⁶ W. G. Lambert, “Myth,” 1833; E. A. Speiser, “Akkadian Myths and Epics,” *ANET* (ed. J. B. Pritchard; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1955) 60; Wiggermann, “Theologies,” 1869.

²²⁷ Boyd, *God at War*, 75; Wakeman, *God’s Battle*, 4–6;

was able to save himself from the destruction planned by his father Apsu. The text translated by E. A. Speiser reads:

Ea, the all-wise, saw through their scheme.
A master design against it he devised and set up,
Made artful his spell against it, surpassing and holy.
He recited it and made it subsist in the deep,
As he poured sleep upon him. Sound asleep he lay.
When Apsu he had made prone, drenched with sleep,
Mummu, the adviser, was powerless to stir.²²⁸

The *Enuma Elish* is a good example of the way various elements which moderns categorise separately, fit together naturally. As the epic progresses the gods frequently make use of spells, and the drama of the *Chaoskampf* rises as fearsome cosmic creatures are created for battle.²²⁹ The epic climaxes with Marduk murdering his grandmother Tiamat and his rule as principal lord over Babylon is established. John Currid comments on the significance of ‘magic’ in the *Enuma Elish*:

In pagan myth the gods do not represent the greatest power of the universe - there is something even stronger: magic. Through the use of magic an external and mystical force beyond the ordinary power of both gods and humans can be brought to bear on natural and human events. In both Mesopotamian and Egyptian religion the gods must possess magic to be mighty. They are not supreme, the power of magic is.²³⁰

The *Kumarbi Cycle* of the Hittites contains a similar cosmic warfare motif. In the Hittite myth there are four main deities who vie for supreme power: Alalu, Anu, Kumarbi, and Teshub. The myth is a fine example of ANE intersubjectivity and social mutability. Deities from Sumer, Babylonia and from the Hurrians are present in the text which, among other things, serves to explain their relationship to each other. The Hittite deity

²²⁸ *ANET*, 61.

²²⁹ Some of the lesser deities created to aid in the battle are Viper, Dragon, Mad-Dog, Scorpion-Man, lion-demons, Dragon Fly, Centaur (*ANET*, 62).

²³⁰ Currid, *Ancient Egypt*, 30.

Kumarbi was well attested at Mari, Ugarit and Emar. As the Hittites were assimilated into various ANE societies Kumarbi mutated to El in Syro-Palestine, to Enlil in Mesopotamia, and to Dagan in Syria.²³¹

In summary, a cosmic warfare worldview can be witnessed in Mesopotamian and Hittite mythology and ritual. 'Magic' had an important role to play in the Mesopotamian warfare worldview. More will be said about Mesopotamian 'magic' and religion below. What follows presently is a survey of Mesopotamian and Hittite divination.

Priests and Divination

The priesthood in Mesopotamia, as in Egypt, was a professional institution in society. Divination was an integral part of Mesopotamian and Hittite religion and a significant function of their priests. Whereas the Egyptians were known for the extensive development of cult piety concerning the afterlife and 'magic' (*ḥk'w*), the Mesopotamian priests and their schools took the objective and 'scientific' aspect of divination, and developed it to an extent not seen previously in the ANE. An extensive heuristic tradition by means of which omens were interpreted make up the majority of Akkadian epigraphic evidence. These texts were influential throughout the ANE, being copied by the Elamites, the Hittites, and in the Syro-Palestinian city-states of Qatna and Hazor.²³² The training of priests was thorough. Numerous training texts were written, and the method of making clay liver models for training was known throughout the ANE. The Hittites seemed to prefer augury, especially the observance of the behaviour of birds, which became a source for the later Etruscan and Roman mantic focus on the auspices.²³³ The Mesopotamians focused especially on extispicy, both the reading of livers and of the entrails of sacrificial animals.²³⁴ The famous murals in the Court of the Palm at Mari depicted, among other things, cult sacrifice ritual. In the depiction of court sacrifice are the king at the head of the procession, the bulls for sacrifice, and the

²³¹ R. Lebrun, "From Hittite Mythology: The Kumarbi Cycle," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1971–4.

²³² Farber, "Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination," 1899; Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 206–8.

²³³ Frantz-Szabó, "Hittite Witchcraft," 2017.

²³⁴ Grabbe, *Priests*, 132; Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 212.

priests and the diviners. This was a graphic example of the role of divination in the royal cult.²³⁵ However, divination was not only carried out in cultic situations. A common non-cultic divination practice was the casting of lots or dice, used in the choosing of estate shares for designated heirs, or the selecting of an official whose name would be used as the name of the new year. While not a cult function, the outcome of the lot or dice was believed to be divinely ordained.²³⁶ Also, the sighting of spontaneous, unsolicited omens, was a non-cultic form of divination attested in Mesopotamia.²³⁷

A number of priestly functionaries were found in the cult in Mesopotamian societies. The Sumerian terms for priests were *en* and *entum*.²³⁸ In Sumer the king-priest was called the *ensi*.²³⁹ There is no single generic term for priest in Akkadian.²⁴⁰ Akkadian texts indicate that the king played the role of a figurehead in the cult, presiding over the cult in special functions such as the New Year festival. But the daily affairs of the cult were carried out by others. The Akkadians had a variety of terms and functions for priestly cultic personnel including the *bārû*, *šā'ilu*, *maḥḥû*, *pašīšum*, *kalû*, *zammeru*, *nâru*, *āšipu* (also called *mašmašu*), *qadištu* and *šangû*.²⁴¹ The *bārû* was a cult priest with extensive training in the objective divination traditions of the Akkadians.²⁴² The *šā'ilu* was likewise a priest with a divinatory role often regarding the interpretation of dreams. Akkadian dream interpretation was not so much a subjective inspirational experience, but the result of the use of a body of tradition providing objective criterion for interpreting dreams.²⁴³ The *maḥḥû* was an ecstatic who received subjective revelation from the divine.²⁴⁴ The *pašīšum* is considered a cult personnel responsible for non-blood offerings and other temple duties.²⁴⁵ *Kalû* was a lamentation priest.²⁴⁶ The *zam-*

²³⁵ Margueron, "Mari," 893.

²³⁶ Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 208–9.

²³⁷ Farber, "Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination," 1906; Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 208.

²³⁸ Pettinato, *Archives*, 253; Wiggermann, "Theologies," 1863–4.

²³⁹ Grabbe, *Priests*, 54.

²⁴⁰ Wiggermann, "Theologies," 1864.

²⁴¹ I. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1967) 89; Grabbe, *Priests*, 54–5.

²⁴² Grabbe, *Priests*, 54–5; Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 81–2, 212.

²⁴³ *CAD* 17, 110; Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 222.

²⁴⁴ *CAD* 10 Part 1, 90, Nissinen, *Prophets*, 35; Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 221.

²⁴⁵ Grabbe, *Priests*, 54–5.

²⁴⁶ *CAD* 8, 91-4.

meru was a cult singer²⁴⁷ and the *nāru* a musician or singer in the cult.²⁴⁸ The *nārātu* was the female equivalent of the *nāru*.²⁴⁹ The *āšipu* or *mašmašu* was an exorcist skilled in the art of proscribing and performing spells.²⁵⁰ The *qadištu* was a woman dedicated to a deity,²⁵¹ and the *šangû* was a chief temple administrator.²⁵² A female domestic divination practitioner was designated by the term *šā'iltu* (the masculine form *šā'ilu* is listed among the cult personnel above).²⁵³ Johannes Renger organises these various priests into three general categories: cult priests, incantation priests, and diviners.²⁵⁴ The *nārātu* (female equivalent of the *nāru*) and the male *qadištu* may have been temple prostitutes, but this is uncertain. They may have served as temple prostitutes at some periods and not in others.²⁵⁵

The king and queen were the chief priests in Hittite royal cult, and there were additional priests and priestesses who served with them. The ^{LÚ}SANGA is the term designating the highest cult official and is usually translated 'priest.' The ^{LÚ}GUDÚ is an 'anointed' priest, and the ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR-LIM is a priestess. Literally translated, the latter term means 'mother of the god.'²⁵⁶ One of the unique characteristics of the Mesopotamian (Sumerian and Babylonian) and Hittite priesthood, as opposed to Egyptian and Israelite, was that women served as priests as well as men.

Turning attention more specifically to the phenomenon of divination, as mentioned above, the Akkadian *bārû* and *šā'iltu* were the priestly officials most generally associated with it. The *bārû* was normally descended from royalty and served in the court, and on the battlefield with the armies.²⁵⁷ Numerous Akkadian texts indicate that the *bārû* commonly presided over sacrifices in his role. The *bārû* offered sacrifices on days held

²⁴⁷ Engnell, *Divine Kingship*, 89; Farber, "Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination," 1903.

²⁴⁸ *CAD* 11 Part 2, 376-7; Farber, "Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination," 1903.

²⁴⁹ Grabbe, *Priests*, 55.

²⁵⁰ Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 81; Wiggermann, "Theologies," 1866.

²⁵¹ *CAD* 13, 48-50.

²⁵² *CAD* 17 Part 1, 377.

²⁵³ *CAD* 17, 110-1.

²⁵⁴ J. Renger, "Untersuchungen zum Priestertum in der altbabylonischen Zeit," *ZA* 58 (1966) 112-4.

²⁵⁵ Grabbe, *Priests*, 55.

²⁵⁶ G. McMahon, "Theology, Priests, and Worship in Hittite Anatolia," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1990-1.

²⁵⁷ Grabbe, *Priests*, 132.

to be auspicious.²⁵⁸ Apart from the main technique of extispicy, lesser attested forms of divination include augury (mainly observing the behaviour of birds), and lecanomancy (reading the behaviour of oil in a cup of water).²⁵⁹ Attestations of the interpretation of spontaneous, or unsolicited omens, were not limited to the *bārû*, but were found among all members of the priesthood in Mesopotamia.²⁶⁰

As mentioned above, the *šā'ilu* were associated more with the interpretation of dreams. While this form of divination was less common and less valued than extispicy, none the less training and educational materials were developed for it. Akkadian dream divination differed from prophetic dream interpretation found in the HB (Gen 37.5-8; 41.1-32) in that the Akkadians developed a systematic description of standard signs and symbols found in dreams upon which the trained *šā'ilu* based his interpretations.²⁶¹ This gave the Akkadian phenomenon of dream interpretation more of the characteristics of objective divination, rather than the subjective and spontaneous prophetic characteristics found, for example, in the Joseph narrative in the HB. Women also served as dream interpreters (*šā'iltu*), but it seemed to be outside the sphere of the temple cult and limited to serving women.²⁶² The importance of dream interpretation can be seen in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* where Gilgamesh relates prophetic dreams to his mother who interprets them for him, and another instance where Enkidu interprets his dreams for him.²⁶³ Further discussion of the interpretation of dreams will be carried on in the next section on prophecy. At Mari non-cultic interpreters of dreams, oracles, and omens were usually high ranking men and women in the royal family.²⁶⁴

An example of the intertwining of divination and sacrifice in the royal cult is found in an omen text from the Neo-Assyrian period. The following text, translated by Walter Farber, was issued on behalf of Esarhaddon:

²⁵⁸ Cf. *ANET*, 340, 341.

²⁵⁹ Grabbe, *Priests*, 132.

²⁶⁰ Farber, "Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination," 1906.

²⁶¹ Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 222.

²⁶² Grabbe, *Priests*, 133.

²⁶³ *ANET*, 76, 82-3.

²⁶⁴ Nissinen, *Prophets*, 13.

I ask you, Shamash, great lord: should Assurbanipal, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, send Nabûsharra-uşur, the *rab-mūqi* officer, to Egypt? And will he carry out whatever orders Assurbanipal is going to give him?

Stand by me, by placing in this ram a firm positive answer, favorable designs, favorable, propitious omens, in accordance with your great divinity, and may I see them.

May [the query] go to your great divinity, O Shamash, great lord, and may it be answered by an oracular message.²⁶⁵

One final aspect of Mesopotamian divination is the way that it overlaps with both medical issues and ‘magic’, or power ritual. This can be seen in a series of texts which are designated ‘diagnostic omens,’ that are to be used by the *āšipu*, the priest who functions as an exorcist/caster of spells. He uses them to understand both the ominous signs of the sick, and the symptoms observed that are associated with certain ailments. Farber states that religion, ‘magic’, science, and divination are inextricably connected in Mesopotamia.²⁶⁶ It also should be noted that however much Mesopotamians may have been resigned to the power of *šimtu* or ‘fate,’²⁶⁷ they did believe in the powers of the *āšipu* priest to be able to change the reality read in the divination techniques. More will be said about the supernatural powers of the *āšipu* in the section Priests and Magic below.

In Hittite divination augury, extispicy, lot oracles, and omens were all attested. Divination by these various means was used to derive a binary answer. Hittite texts give testimony to the complex way divination was used for decision making of any significance, including decisions on how illnesses are to be treated, or how wars are to be fought. This also gives insight into the practical faith that Hittites had in the deities to

²⁶⁵ Farber, “Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination,” 1906.

²⁶⁶ Farber, “Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination,” 1908.

²⁶⁷ For the view that not only is Mesopotamian *šimtu* a “‘determined course’ that can be changed,” but that ‘fate’ as such did not exist in the ANE see M. S. Smith, *Monotheism*, 12. For a more nuanced explanation of fate in the ANE see Buccellati, “Ethics and Piety,” 1687–8, 1694; Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 201–6.

communicate by such means. Gabriella Frantz-Szabó observes three or four components common to most Hittite divination:

- (1) putting the question to the deity, (2) performing the oracular procedure,
- (3) stating the result as interpreted by the expert(s), and, optionally, (4) double-checking by means of an oracle of the same or a different sort.²⁶⁸

As mentioned above, Hittite augury primarily involved interpreting the behaviour of birds, but also involved the interpretation of the movement of snakes. The Hittite method of augury using birds influenced the later Etruscan and Roman ritual of the auspices. The Hittite augur was called the ^{LÚ}IGL.MUŠEN and equivalent of the later Roman *auspex* was the ^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÙ.²⁶⁹ The following augury texts give a good example of the intertwining of divination practice with the petitioning of the deities. The first example is augury using birds and the second uses a snake:

(Question:) The birds of the season (?) will congregate for him there, but when the time of the crocus (?) arrives, they will set out the crocus (?) for the gods, (saying:) If you, O gods, have approved the city of Khattusha, city of the storm-god of Aleppo, for the winter quarters of His Majesty and the Queen, together with everything else, (and if) we have nothing to fear for the person of His Majesty and the Queen in regard to the plague or a serious illness, (and if) evil will not drive them out, (and if) you, O gods, have (indeed) approved Khatusha, city of the storm-god of Aleppo, for the winter quarters of His Majesty and the Queen, may the birds of the incantation of three days establish it by means of an oracle! (Observation:) The eagle is sitting (in?) TAR.LIŠ. His beak is turned forward. The *harrani*-bird is sitting (in?) GUN.LIŠ. His beak, however, is turned halfway to the side. ... (and so on in regard to other birds). (Result:) Thus declared (the augurs) Pikha-Datta and Arma-nani: It (the oracle) is favorable.

²⁶⁸ Frantz-Szabó, "Hittite Witchcraft," 2016.

²⁶⁹ Frantz-Szabó, "Hittite Witchcraft," 2009, 2017.

(Question:) Why are you angry, O great god? Because I have made several vows to you (but have not fulfilled them)? Let this be separated (from the previous oracular inquiries)! If, however, nothing has been neglected in regard to you, O god, let the oracle of the water basin be favorable! (Observation:) The “snake of the hearth” swam to “the sin.” It swam further to “the stele of the bloody deed and the oath.” The other “snake of the hearth” emerged from “the palace.’ ... It swam down to “the ghosts” ... (Result:) Unfavorable.²⁷⁰

Hittite extispicy involved reading a number of body organs of sacrificial animals including liver, heart, gall bladder and intestines. The diviner, ^{LÚ}HAL or ^{LÚ}AZU, was the primary practitioner of extispicy.²⁷¹ Astrology was also attested among the Hittites.

The king used priests who possessed a high degree of education in the art and science of divination. The sacrifice of numerous animals used for guidance for the many decisions necessary, both privately and politically, must have been costly and out of reach for the ordinary person. Less expensive methods such as leconomancy (observing the reaction of drops of oil on water in a cup), or incense oracles (observing the behaviour of the smoke rising from the burning incense) would have been more common for the ordinary Hittite. The worldview that gave rise to the use of divination, as well as ‘magic’, and the general belief in the deities and spirit world, was shared by royalty and commoner alike in Hittite society.²⁷²

In regards to the specific terms found in Deut 18.10-11 dealing with divination, no Sumerian, Akkadian, or Hittite cognates for *qōsēm q^e sāmîm*,²⁷³ *m^e ‘ônēn*,²⁷⁴ and *m^e nahēs*²⁷⁵ are found. Let us turn now to the issue of prophecy.

²⁷⁰ The translation is that of Gabriella Frantz-Szabó and Gary Beckman (Frantz-Szabó, “Hittite Witchcraft,” 2017).

²⁷¹ Frantz-Szabó, “Hittite Witchcraft,” 2016; Grabbe, *Priests*, 135.

²⁷² Frantz-Szabó, “Hittite Witchcraft,” 2015, 2018; McMahon, “Hittite Theology,” 1991.

²⁷³ *HALOT* 3, 115-6.

²⁷⁴ Freedman, “ענן,” 253; *HALOT* 2, 857; Jenni, “ענן,” 937.

²⁷⁵ Fabry, “נחש,” 356–7; *HALOT* 2, 690.

Priests and Prophecy

Most of the evidence for prophecy in Mesopotamia comes from Mari.²⁷⁶ The Old Babylonian Period (1800-1530 BCE), which featured the domination of the Amorites in Mesopotamia, shows evidence of prophecy in both Mari and from Ishchali (near Baghdad) in the Southeast. This indicates that prophecy may have been indigenous to the area. The significance of Mari prophecy is that it has similarities to Yahwistic prophecy. But it has differences also, as will be shown.²⁷⁷

Roughly half of the evidence for prophecy originates with female cult priests. The two most common terms used for them are: *āpiltum* (*āpilum* for male), “speaker, respondent,” or *muhhūtum* (*muhhûm* for male), “ecstatic.”²⁷⁸ There are a number of epigraphic examples of prophecies from this time given by both cultic priests and lay people.²⁷⁹ Most of the lay prophets were female.²⁸⁰ The extant prophecies are recorded in letters, written by secondary sources, and not by the prophets themselves.²⁸¹

Prophecy was not regarded as highly as divination, especially extispicy. This is evident from the fact that the attestation of prophetic texts is much less than the divinatory texts, that their authentication is tested by extispicy, and that the *āpilum* and *muhhûm* are not usually found at the royal cult, but usually have their messages delivered to the king by means of an intermediary. This is in contrast to the high status the *bārû* enjoyed at the royal court.²⁸² Other terms for prophetic persons less well attested are *qammatum*,²⁸³ *nabû*,²⁸⁴ and *assinnu*.²⁸⁵ The term *nabû* has been regarded by some as being cognate with *nābî’* in the HB.²⁸⁶ In the Neo-Assyrian period the term *raggimu*

²⁷⁶ Nissinen, *Prophets*, 15.

²⁷⁷ Grabbe, *Priests*, 87–8.

²⁷⁸ Grabbe, *Priests*, 88; J. Jeremias, “נָבִי,” *TLOT 2* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997) 697; Nissinen, *Prophets*, 6–7.

²⁷⁹ *ANET*, 623–5; Nissinen, *Prophets*, 13–4.

²⁸⁰ Grabbe, *Priests*, 88.

²⁸¹ Nissinen, *Prophets*, 15.

²⁸² Nissinen, *Prophets*, 6–7; Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 221.

²⁸³ Nissinen, *Prophets*, 7, 28, 31.

²⁸⁴ Nissinen, *Prophets*, 7, 50.

²⁸⁵ Nissinen, *Prophets*, 7, 28, 48.

²⁸⁶ Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 82; Nissinen, *Prophets*, 7.

(fem. *raggintu*) replaces the Akkadian term *mahḥû*.²⁸⁷ The Neo-Assyrian *raggimu* was also characterised as an ecstatic.²⁸⁸

It is difficult to discern a clear distinction between *āpilum* and *muhḥûm*, although some have made an attempt.²⁸⁹ The *āpilum* and *muhḥûm* were ecstatics who gave divine utterances while in some kind of altered state of mind.²⁹⁰ The lack of an official status at the royal court for the *āpilum* and *muhḥûm* in Mari should not be interpreted as an indication of a popular religious phenomenon verses an official one. The king, as central priestly cult official, is known to have rewarded certain *āpilum* and *muhḥûm* for the prophecies they gave.²⁹¹

Some of the Mari prophecies touch on ethical issues that show a correspondence to prophecy in the HB.²⁹² An example of this ethical element can be seen in the text A.1121 where the king is reprimanded for not fulfilling his obligation to hand over an estate and to sacrifice the *zukurum*.²⁹³ He is told by the god Adad through the prophet:

Now, since I restored him to his ancestral throne, I may take the estate away from his patrimony as well. Should he not deliver the estate, I—the lord of the throne, territory and city—can take away what I have given! But if, on the contrary, he fulfils my desire, I shall give him throne upon throne, house upon house, territory upon territory, city upon city. I shall give him the land from the rising of the sun to its setting.²⁹⁴

²⁸⁷ Nissinen, *Prophets*, 7.

²⁸⁸ Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 221.

²⁸⁹ For discussion of possible differences between *āpilum* and *muhḥûm* see Nissinen, *Prophets*, 6.

²⁹⁰ *CAD 10* Part 1, 90; Grabbe, *Priests*, 88; Lindblom, *Prophecy*, 31; Nissinen, *Prophets*, 6, 35; Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 221.

²⁹¹ Nissinen, *Prophets*, 79.

²⁹² This is disputed by some. See E. Noort, *Untersuchungen zum Gottesbescheid in Mari* (AOAT 202; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchen Verlag, 1977) 124ff; H. M. Orlinsky, "The Seer in Ancient Israel," *OAT* 4 (1965) 170. But in support of a characteristic of ethical content to be found in Mesopotamian prophecy see Nissinen, *Prophets*, 17.

²⁹³ The meaning of this word is unclear. See Nissinen, *Prophets*, 20 n. b.

²⁹⁴ The translation is that of Martti Nissinen. See Nissinen, *Prophets*, 18–9. See also *ANET*, 624.

However, this feature should not be understood to characterise Mesopotamian prophecy. Most prophetic utterances delivered at Mari had to do with victory for or the well-being of the king.

Lester Grabbe summarises some of the main characteristics of prophecy at Mari:

(1) the messages available to us were not delivered to the king but were brought by the prophets to high officials of the court (including the queen, who acted on the king's behalf) for transmission to the king; (2) the king was interested in all omens, bad as well as good; (3) the officials would often forward something from the prophets (usually a lock of hair and a piece of their garment) for testing authenticity (by means of divinatory techniques); this meant that problems of determining "false prophecy" did not arise in the same way as in the OT texts; (4) many of the prophets received support from the court, suggesting they functioned as "central prophets" ...; this includes many of the *muḫḫûm*, though there were also lay prophets, the majority of them women; and (5) oracles could arise spontaneously or could be the result of formal inquiry, no distinction being made between them.²⁹⁵

In addition to Grabbe's points on the general characteristics of Mesopotamian prophecy, additional differences it has with prophecy in the HB can be pointed out. Whereas in Mesopotamia the *āpilum* and *muḫḫûm* are not highly regarded, Yahwism in Deut regards the prophet, the *nābî'*, as the most important figure in Israelite society (18.15, 19). In contrast to the short occasional Mesopotamian prophecies recorded in letters, a rich and varied prophetic literature developed in Yahwism. The book of Deut is only one example of this.

It can be mentioned that in Anatolia the Hittites placed importance on dreams in order to receive revelation and guidance from the deities. The prophet, *šuniyant-*, literally means "one possessed of/by the deity."²⁹⁶ During the reign of Khattushili III (c. 1280-

²⁹⁵ Grabbe, *Priests*, 88.

²⁹⁶ Frantz-Szabó, "Hittite Witchcraft," 2013.

1250 BCE) the Hittite scribes were careful to record many dreams of the royalty. They dealt mainly with the future of the king's reign, his health and well-being.²⁹⁷

In conclusion, most of the terms used in Mesopotamia for prophetic functionaries do not have cognates in Deut 18. The one exception would be the poorly attested *nabû*, which could be cognate with the Hebrew *nābî*'.

Netherworld and Mortuary Cult

Evidence from Mesopotamia yields a large amount of documents of private citizens that show us the basic stuff of Mesopotamian religious life, even though this social picture is limited to the literate upper classes. This religion has a very strong family base, with a special focus on the veneration and deification of ancestors and the worship of specific family gods. The lack of a highly developed conception of the afterlife, and the belief that it is a dangerous and dreadful place, is set in sharp contrast to Egypt.²⁹⁸ The resignation to the inevitability of death seems generally to surround Mesopotamian attitudes toward it.²⁹⁹ The Hittites seemed to adopt a similar view of the afterlife. Their term for the underworld was the "Dark/Gloomy Earth." But at the same time they held to views of an afterlife being similar to life on earth, in some ways akin to the Egyptians.³⁰⁰ Holding to two (or more) seemingly contradictory views of afterlife is not uncommon, and can be attested in many cultures across space and time.³⁰¹

Mesopotamians believed that the deceased continued life as deities and performed the role of tutelary spirits for their living relatives.³⁰² The evidence for Mesopotamian non-royal religion comes to us via private letters and documents primarily dated to the Old Babylonian period, or the early part of the second millennium BCE. These documents

²⁹⁷ Frantz-Szabó, "Hittite Witchcraft," 2013, 2015.

²⁹⁸ Lewis, "Dead," 225.

²⁹⁹ Lewis, "Dead," 225; Long, "Underworld," 128; Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 333; Ringgren, *Religions*, 121; J. Scurlock, "Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Mesopotamian Thought," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1887.

³⁰⁰ V. Haas, "Death and the Afterlife in Hittite Thought," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrikson, 2000 Reprint) 2021, 2023, 2030.

³⁰¹ For the explanation of this phenomenon, referred to as 'clusters of beliefs' see Albright, *Yahweh*, 121; D. Davies, *Anthropology*, 19–26. See also the explanation in the previous chapter, pp. 26-7.

³⁰² Toorn, *Family Religion*, 62.

indicate that there were two main aspects of religion in the home: the veneration of a family deity, and the veneration of the departed ancestors.³⁰³ The national gods were actually the family deities of the royalty. These gods were worshipped by the common people, but were not usually a part of their daily domestic ritual. The Hittites believed that the departed royalty somehow became one with *Šiu(n)*, the highest god of heaven and light. The departed ancestors were also worshipped and believed to empower their living relatives. The Hittites were unique in the ANE for their practice of cremation.³⁰⁴ Our survey in this section will continue with a look at the national or family deities of the royalty.

Nergal and Ereshkigal were the national netherworld deities in Mesopotamian religion.³⁰⁵ Nergal was considered to be god of the Babylonian city of Cutha whose veneration spread to Assyrian cities as far west as Mari and east to Elam.³⁰⁶ More is learned about the deadly character of Nergal, Ereshkigal, and the netherworld from the myth of Inanna/Ishtar's descent to the netherworld. She returned, but only after a deadly encounter with Ereshkigal in which she had to be brought back to life and rescued with the aid of Ea.³⁰⁷ The Gilgamesh epic speaks of the inevitability of death. In it Enlil condemns Enkidu, the companion of Gilgamesh, to death for the killing of the Bull of Heaven. After Enkidu's death Gilgamesh is able to communicate with his spirit.³⁰⁸

In Mesopotamian religion, the belief that departed ancestors had become divine and exercised divine power on behalf of living relatives is attested from the early Sumerian period into the Neo-Assyrian. The daily *kispum* ritual was a central part of the veneration of these departed ancestor deities. For the average person the ritual was not a part

³⁰³ Toorn, *Family Religion*, 11.

³⁰⁴ Haas, "Death," 2027–9.

³⁰⁵ These deities would be worshipped by royalty and the more powerful leading members of the community. As mentioned, members of lower social status would be involved in the daily worship of the distinct family deity and additionally their departed ancestors. Cf. Toorn, *Family Religion*, 16.

³⁰⁶ A. Livingstone, "Nergal," *DDD* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999 2nd edition) 621–2.

³⁰⁷ *ANET*, 106-9.

³⁰⁸ *ANET*, 73-99. In Anatolia the Hurrians assimilated the Gilgamesh myth, which in turn was passed on to the Hittites (Haas, "Death," 2022).

of temple cult, but was performed at home (cf. Judg 17.4-5).³⁰⁹ There were also a variety of lesser temples and sanctuaries scattered throughout the neighbourhoods of Mesopotamian cities where such rituals took place. These minor sanctuaries have been found in Ur, Nērebtum, Šaduppum, Ešnunna, Tell ed-Dhibā‘i, and Isin.³¹⁰ Neighbourhoods in Mesopotamia were predominately a community of relatives. Although it could not be said that all neighbours were blood relations, generally neighbourhoods were organised around one or two leading families.³¹¹ In such a context the neighbourhood shrine could be understood as the centre of a family deity. Karel van der Toorn has suggested that the statements concerning the veneration of “gods and the dead (*iḫ u mētē*)” are a hendiadys indicating that the shades of the dead are deities. By the first millennium BCE the shades of the dead were counted among the Anunnaki, the gods of the netherworld. Van der Toorn demonstrates that the frequent references made by Mesopotamians to their personal gods are in fact directed to their departed relatives.³¹² Images were made of the departed ancestors for their shrines.³¹³ The average person in Mesopotamia felt it presumptuous to be able to approach directly the national deities such as Enlil or Marduk. Neither could they approach the gods that presided over their cities. Rather, they approached their departed relatives with prayers and petitions. Letters to their relatives could be written and sent home to be read if they were at a distance from their shrines. The *kispum* ritual was an important part of taking care of the deceased. They required feeding, and would not be fed and cared for if the living relatives neglected these rituals. There was a limit to the amount of ancestors which were venerated. It was generally confined to the deceased relatives which the head of the household had known personally. This would usually restrict the veneration to siblings, parents, and grandparents of the head of the household.³¹⁴ If the sacrifices and offerings to the household deities were neglected, it was expected that the deities would

³⁰⁹ Lewis, “Dead,” 225; Toorn, *Family Religion*, 48–9.

³¹⁰ Toorn, *Family Religion*, 16.

³¹¹ Toorn, *Family Religion*, 24–5.

³¹² Toorn, *Family Religion*, 55–8.

³¹³ Farber, “Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination,” 1889.

³¹⁴ Scurlock, “Death,” 1888; Toorn, *Family Religion*, 54.

turn malevolent.³¹⁵ In such cases protection was provided for the living against the attacks of angered ancestors by means of the *āšipu* priest and the incantations he proscribed which are available to us in the many extent texts.³¹⁶

The Akkadian *šēdu* was a protective spirit associated with the shades of the dead. *Šēdu* is cognate with the Hebrew term *šēd*, which is poorly attested in the HB and not precisely understood, but is found in passages relevant for Deut 18 (Deut 32.17; Ps 106.37). The LXX translates *šēdīm* as *daimonion* in both Deut 32.17 and Ps 106.37.³¹⁷ In Ps 106.37 the *šēdīm* receive the sacrifices of sons and daughters, which parallels the *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bittô bāēš* in Deut 18.10.

For our purpose in understanding the background of Deut 18.11, it is important to know that communication with the departed ancestors through prayers and petitions was a normal part of life in Mesopotamian societies. What might have been less common was some type of direct communication with the dead. But there is some attestation for it.³¹⁸ The time at the end of the month of Abu was believed to be an auspicious time to communicate with the dead, to ask favours (especially that the departed spirits would not harass the living relatives), and to seek counsel.³¹⁹ JoAnn Scurlock describes such a communication ritual:

Instructions accompanying necromantic incantations indicate that the favored method of consulting ghosts involved the preparation of an ointment. This salve—which might contain any one of a variety of ingredients, including such oddities as centipede dust, frog intestines, lion fat, and goosebone marrow—was smeared on the practitioner’s face in order to make the ghost visible to him so that he could converse freely with it. Alternatively, a salve might be rubbed on a figurine or skull that served as a housing for the ghost.³²⁰

³¹⁵ Farber, “Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination,” 1897–8.

³¹⁶ Scurlock, “Death,” 1891.

³¹⁷ Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 201.

³¹⁸ Lewis, “Dead,” 225–6.

³¹⁹ I. L. Finkel, “Necromancy in Ancient Mesopotamia,” *AfO* 29/30 (1983/84) 1–17; Scurlock, “Death,” 1889.

³²⁰ Scurlock, “Death,” 1889.

In regards to issues relating to a mortuary cult, there is only one Hebrew term from Deut 18 which may have cognates in Mesopotamia or Anatolia. The term *'ôb*, found in the phrase *šō 'ēl 'ôb* in Deut 18.11, may be cognate with a number of Mesopotamian or Anatolian terms. Koehler-Baumgartner understand it to derive from the Hittite term *a-a-pi*, a sacrificial pit.³²¹ This view is the last of three possibilities discussed by Harry Hoffner.³²² Hoffner describes the Hittite sacrificial ritual in which this type of pit was used:

In this ritual, sacrificial pits (*ḥatteššar, patteššar, a-a-bi*; Akk. *asru*; Sumerogram *TÚL, BÙR*) were dug (*kinu-*, *padda-*) in the ground at a place which had been determined by interrogating the gods. In this pit, oblations (loaves, cheese, butter, honey mixed with milk, oil, honey, wine, beer, and sacrificial blood), expensive gifts of silver (models of the human ear, breast ornaments, a miniature ladder), and often even the sacrificial animal, were lowered into the pit. After the sacrificial animal was lowered, someone below in the pit slaughtered it. Two of the objects lowered into the pit symbolized the twofold intention of the entire procedure. The silver model of an ear indicated the wish of the offerer to “hear” and to learn from the inhabitant of the Underworld. The silver ladder or staircase expressed the desire that the spirit might ascend to the world above.³²³

This type of ritual appears in both Sumerian and Akkadian texts in conjunction with consulting the spirits of the dead. It is found in a Sumerian version of the Gilgamesh Epic in which Gilgamesh digs a pit to communicate with his departed companion Enkidu. The Akkadian version is similar.³²⁴ However, van der Toorn offers a different theory. He holds that the Hebrew *'ôb* in Deut 18.11 is linked to the Ugaritic *ilib*, “god

³²¹ HALOT 1, 20.

³²² The first one posits the view that *'ôb* is from the same Hebrew word meaning “wineskin.” The second one posits a hypothetical Semitic root from which is derived the Arabic word “*'āba*, to return (Hoffner, “אוב,” 131).”

³²³ Hoffner, “אוב,” 132.

³²⁴ ANET, 98.

of the father,” or “ancestor god.” In this way it would be connected to an ancestor cult.³²⁵ This will be discussed in more detail below.³²⁶

The later Neo-Assyrian term *abu/apu* probably derives from the Hittite *a-a-pi*. This term is used to describe a hole which is dug in order to perform sacrifices for departed spirit deities and subsequently to communicate with them. This derives from the Hittite belief that all openings in the earth, such as caves, springs, wells and ponds, are openings to the Dark World, the netherworld. The artificial cavities are places of sacrifice and communication with the deities of the Dark World in Hittite conception.³²⁷ In the Neo-Assyrian period there are texts that carry a similar idea. One translation of a Neo-Assyrian text reads:

(the king) presents food to the spirits of the dead, (the singer) removes (the meal from the table), places it in the hole (*a-pu*), he pours honey, oil, beer, and wine over it, the singer fills the hole, the king puts his foot over the hole, kisses [the ground?].³²⁸

The Hittites believed that the spirits of the dead gave information concerning the future. Hittite texts give evidence of oracle questions put to deceased ancestors, such as in the ‘House of the Grandfather,’ one of four institutions of a Hittite ancestor cult.³²⁹

Apart from *’ob*, the remaining terms in Deut 18 that have connections to the netherworld such as *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bittô bāēš* (v. 10), *yidd^e ’ônî*, and *dorēš ’el-hammētîm* (v. 11), do not have cognates in Mesopotamia or Anatolia. However, the Akkadian netherworld *šēdu* may have an indirect connection to *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bittô bāēš*

³²⁵ Toorn, *Family Religion*, 160–1, 357. See also R. Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period: From the Beginning to the End of the Exile 1* (London: SCM, 1994) 255 n. 65; Lewis, “Dead,” 223, 227, 228. Cf. Pardee who argues that *ilib* can only mean ‘god of the father’ (Pardee, “Marziḥu,” 283 n. 17). ’

³²⁶ See discussion below in the section Religion in Syro-Palestinian Societies: Netherworld and Mortuary Cult, p. 161.

³²⁷ *CAD* 1.II, 201; Haas, “Death,” 2022; Hoffner, “אויב,” 132–3.

³²⁸ *CAD* 1.II, 201.

³²⁹ Haas, “Death,” 2028–9.

through its usage in Ps 106.37. Also, there are concepts underlying the consulting of ‘familiar’ spirits (*yiddē ‘ōnī*) and the dead (*dorēš ‘el-hammētīm*) in Deut 18 and elsewhere in the HB that are similar to the evidence from Mesopotamia and Anatolia provided above. Let us now move to the topic of human sacrifice in Mesopotamia and Anatolia.

Human Sacrifice

In Mesopotamia and Anatolia archaeological evidence for human sacrifice is found both domestically and in cult centres. As far back as the late 4th millennium BCE in the Tepe Gawra XIII infant burials, known as ‘foundation sacrifices,’ are found beside walls and in the centres of homes. The 3rd millennium BCE Uruk infant burials appear to be an aspect of a community wide cultic ritual known as ‘chapel sacrifices.’³³⁰ These practices continued into the 2nd millennium BCE.³³¹ Sacrificial killing of children from the early Gawra period are depicted on seals believed to be of Hurro-Hittite and Cappadocian origin.³³² Sumerian seals from the 2nd millennium BCE depict prisoners being ritually slain, and Akkadian seals from this same general period show human victims ritually slain on altars before nature deities.³³³

First millennium texts describing the substitute king ritual in both Mesopotamia and Anatolia offer evidence for human sacrifice. This infrequent practice, called *šar pūḫi* in Akkadian, was normally a response to an omen which was believed to threaten the life of the king. It was believed that by sacrificing another in his place, the king would be spared.³³⁴

Mesopotamian epigraphic evidence from the Neo-Assyria period (c. 883-609 BCE) describes a legal penalty calling for the ‘burning’ of children in sacrifice to the gods

³³⁰ A. R. W. Green, *Human Sacrifice*, 190–1.

³³¹ A. R. W. Green, *Human Sacrifice*, 190.

³³² A. R. W. Green, *Human Sacrifice*, 190.

³³³ A. R. W. Green, *Human Sacrifice*, 192.

³³⁴ Frantz-Szabó, “Hittite Witchcraft,” 2012; A. R. W. Green, *Human Sacrifice*, 193; Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 100; Scurlock, “Death,” 1885.

Adad and Ishtar. Moshe Weinfeld summarises the penalties listed in these documents as being of five basic types:

- 1) His eldest son will be burnt in the *ḥamru* of the god Adad.
- 2) His son he will burn to Adadmilki, his eldest daughter, together with two *se'hs* of cedar resin, he will burn to *Bēlet-šēri*.³³⁵
- 3) His eldest son or his eldest daughter, together with two *homers* of good spice, he will burn to *Bēlet-šēri*.
- 4) His eldest son he will burn before Adadmilki, his eldest daughter he will burn before *Bēlet-šēri*. He will hand over seven priests and seven priestesses to Adad, who dwells in Kurbail, and will give seven sacred male prostitutes and seven sacred female prostitutes to Ištar, who dwells in Arbail.
- 5) His seven sons he will burn before Adad and his seven daughters he will lead forth as sacred prostitutes to Ištar.³³⁶

Surprisingly, Weinfeld views the ‘burning’ as figurative. His view is that the ‘burning’ refers to some type of cult dedication.³³⁷ However, Morton Smith has effectively answered Weinfeld’s argument.³³⁸ The penalties above do not offer evidence that the burning of children in sacrifice was carried out. However, it points to the possibility.³³⁹ From the evidence above, ranging from early foundation sacrifices to the later substitute king sacrifice, it is clear that the general notion of human sacrifice had been an acceptable part of the Mesopotamian worldview for centuries. The content of the legal text above also has implications for understanding the nature of the gods Adad and Ishtar, who are the proper recipients of such a sacrifice. On the frontier of

³³⁵ *Bēlet-šēri* is the equivalent of Ishtar (cf. M. Smith, “A Note on Burning Babies,” *JAOS* 95 [1975] 479).

³³⁶ M. Weinfeld, “The Worship of Molech and of the Queen of Heaven and Its Background,” *UF* 4 (1972) 144–5.

³³⁷ Weinfeld, “Worship of Molech,” 145–6.

³³⁸ M. Smith, “Burning Babies,” 479 Cf. Weinfeld, “Worship of Molech,” 479.

³³⁹ G. C. Heider, *The Cult of Molek: A Reassessment* (JSOTSup; Sheffield: JSOT, 1985) 210.

Mesopotamia in the city of Mari, no archaeological or epigraphic evidence exists for child sacrifice.³⁴⁰

Of the evidence surveyed so far, the Neo-Assyrian legal text discussed above comes closest in correspondence to the phrase *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bittô bāēš*. The correspondences are basically two: a sacrifice of burning, and children used as the sacrifice. The sacrifice to Adad is interesting because in the second millennium BCE Adad and Baal were one and the same deity in the Mesopotamian and Syro-Palestinian cult, Baal being an epithet of Adad. Child sacrifice to Baal is attested in the HB (Jer 19.4-6; cf. Jer 32.35). However, it is not likely that in the Neo-Assyrian legal text above the reference to Adad could be understood as a reference to Baal. In the first millennium BCE Adad and Baal came to be understood in Mesopotamia and Syro-Palestine as two separate deities.³⁴¹ What can be concluded is that various types of human sacrifice, including the sacrifice of children, had a long history in Mesopotamia and Anatolia. The Neo-Assyrian legal text indicates, at a minimum, that the idea of sacrificing children as the payment of certain legal penalties was present in their thinking. Let us now proceed to ‘magic’ in Mesopotamia and Anatolia.

Priests and Magic

Based on epigraphic evidence, the value that Mesopotamians placed on supernatural power rituals is only surpassed by divination rituals. Of the texts found from the library of Assurbanipal, divination tablets were the most attested, with more than three hundred tablets recovered. The second largest group of texts were power ritual texts, numbering approximately one hundred tablets. By way of contrast, only thirty-five to forty tablets of the famed epic literature of Mesopotamia were found.³⁴² The Mesopotamians placed great value on the revelational and power ritual aspects of reality. Walter Farber defines Mesopotamian power ritual (magic) as:

³⁴⁰ Heider, *Cult*, 113.

³⁴¹ See p. 137 n. 388.

³⁴² Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 16–7.

that whole area of religious behavior which tries to influence man's success, well-being, health, and wealth by using methods based neither on rational experience nor solely on private or public worship of a deity.³⁴³

In Mesopotamia and Anatolia religion, divination, and 'magic' practice overlapped.³⁴⁴ One example of this is the way that the *āšipu* (or *mašmašu*) priest, usually associated with power ritual, and the *bārū* priest, normally associated with divination, are found together participating in the same temple cult ritual.³⁴⁵ The Mesopotamian supernatural power ritual often described by the term 'magic,' was the *āšipūtu*,³⁴⁶ which was performed by the *āšipu* priest.³⁴⁷ Ancient Mesopotamian medicine was intertwined with this practice.³⁴⁸ This was distinguished from witchcraft or sorcery (*kaššāpūtu*, *kišpu*), which was a capital crime, as seen for example in law two of the *Code of Hammurabi*.³⁴⁹ But there is no record of capital punishment being administered for violation of this crime.³⁵⁰ Returning to the description of the cultic practitioner *āšipu* Tzvi Abusch describes him as follows:

The *āšipu* is a legitimate practitioner of magic. He operates constructively and destructively on behalf of his clients. He attempts to free his client from malevolent forces that grip him, and occasionally he provides protective devices against future attacks. He is regarded as well intentioned, certainly not malicious. On a cosmic level, the main enemies of the exorcist are demons. On a human level, he contends with the witch or sorcerer.³⁵¹

³⁴³ Farber, "Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination," 1896.

³⁴⁴ Farber, "Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination," 1896.

³⁴⁵ *ANET*, 345. See also *ANET*, 333-4 for the participation of the *mašmašu* (*āšipu*) in the New Year cult celebration in the Marduk temple.

³⁴⁶ The Sumerian term for apotropaic power ritual was *SISKUR* (Frantz-Szabó, "Hittite Witchcraft," 2008).

³⁴⁷ *CAD* 1.II, 435-6.

³⁴⁸ R. D. Biggs, "Medicine, Surgery, and Public Health in Ancient Mesopotamia," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1911 Biggs, "Medicine," 1911.

³⁴⁹ *ANET*, 166.

³⁵⁰ Andre, "כַּשְׁפִּי," 363, 365; *ANET*, 166; *CAD* 8, 454-6; Farber, "Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination," 1898.

³⁵¹ I. T. Abusch, *Mesopotamian Witchcraft: Toward a History and Understanding of Babylonian Witchcraft Beliefs and Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2002) 6.

The *āšipu* was not confined to cult centres but visited the homes of those suffering infliction due to evil spells or malevolent spirits.³⁵² This illustrates a blurring of Western categories which often understand domestic and royal or official cult as different in essence. By way of contrast, the Mesopotamian *kaššāpu* was a practitioner of malevolent power rituals. Abusch offers the following description:

The witch, *kaššāpu* (m.)/*kaššāptu* (f.), performs destructive magic. According to the standard view, witches are illegitimate practitioners of magic. Normally, they are regarded as antisocial and as motivated by malice and evil intent ... [T]he witch is usually depicted as a woman. She is normally presented as one who uses forms of destructive magic to harm other human beings and whose purpose is essentially malevolent. She is able to control or harm her victim by means of indirect contact: she steals objects that have been in contact with and represent her victim; she makes an image in the likeness of her victim and then twists its limbs in holes in the wall or in the ground; she feeds statues to animals ... Contact is still indirect when she sends evil omens that augur doom; that is, the witch is also able to harm her victim by sending against him emissaries in the form of experiences, living beings, and objects.³⁵³

The *Maqlū* text described in the following paragraphs gives instructions for protection against malevolent powers, including the powers unleashed by the *kaššāpu/kaššāptu*.

The context of Mesopotamian ‘magic’ and witchcraft is one of conflict. In this can be seen the underlying warfare worldview discussed above. Quality of life was constantly threatened by evil deities, witches (*kaššāptu*) and sorcerers (*kaššāpu*).³⁵⁴ The gods were sought for protection from evil deities, but if one fell out of favour with the deities then protection from them was withdrawn. Incantations and amulets were prophylactics used in case one was not protected by the gods. If one came under attack by either a god or a sorcerer, an incantation ceremony, or exorcism, was per-

³⁵² Wiggermann, “Theologies,” 1867; Farber, “Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination,” 1902.

³⁵³ Abusch, *Mesopotamian Witchcraft*, 7.

³⁵⁴ *CAD* 8, 291-2.

formed by an *āšipu* priest.³⁵⁵ Two volumes of apotropaic incantations were written entitled the *Šurpu* and *Maqlū*.³⁵⁶ The *Maqlū* indicates the belief in witches who cast lethal spells. The incantations in the *Maqlū* were designed for protection against those spells. Along with the ritual prayer of the *āšipu* priest, the distressed patient makes figurines of witches or sorcerers believed to be causing the affliction. The individual then prays that they will be consumed.³⁵⁷

The king, the central cult figure, used the incantation rituals of *Maqlū* and *Šurpu* in the royal cult to protect himself against witchcraft and evil gods, as did private citizens domestically.³⁵⁸ Mesopotamian power rituals were characteristically apotropaic. The rituals were used for protection in cosmic conflict. An example of the cosmic conflict in which gods, magic and witchcraft are pitted against each other can be observed in the following prayer from the *Maqlū*:

Fire-god, O mighty one, exalted among the gods, who dost vanquish the wicked and the enemy, vanquish them [the witches] lest I be destroyed. Thou art my god, thou art my lord, thou art my judge, thou art my helper, thou art my avenger.³⁵⁹

In addition to protection against the power rituals of the *kaššāpu/kaššāptu*, there was the need for protection against the shades of the dead who had become a source of conflict due to the neglect of maintaining their domestic cult. The *āšipu* are understood to be instructed in their power rituals by the deity Enki.³⁶⁰ Thus, a link with the divine for the source of ritual power is established. However, as mentioned above, ritual power could be either cultic and originate with the deities, or it could be non-cultic and independent of deities.

³⁵⁵ *CAD* 1.II, 431-5; D. Pardee, "An Ugaritic Incantation Against Serpents and Sorcerers (1.100)," *CS I* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) 328 n. 6.

³⁵⁶ I. T. Abusch, "Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Literature," *JNES* 33 (1974) 251-62; Andre, "כשף," 363; Grabbe, *Priests*, 55; Ringgren, *Religions*, 89-90.

³⁵⁷ Andre, "כשף," 363.

³⁵⁸ Abusch, "Witchcraft," 258-9; Abusch, *Mesopotamian Witchcraft*, 3; Farber, "Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination," 1902.

³⁵⁹ Andre, "כשף," 363.

³⁶⁰ Lewis, "Dead," 226; Wiggermann, "Theologies," 1866.

One type of legitimate power ritual performed by the *āšipu* that shows a manipulative characteristic was the *šaziga* or potency ritual. This ritual was designed to release supernatural power to attract or rekindle love from an unresponsive individual, or to heal an impotent male.³⁶¹

Turning to the Hittites, their views of ‘magic’ were somewhat similar. Apotropaic magic was a necessary part of royal religion. Women were prominent as incantation priestesses (Hittite: *haššawa-*; Sumerian: *mⁱšU.GI*). The term used for them means literally “Old Women”, implying “Wise Woman.”³⁶² They practised alongside other cult officials, such as physicians (*L^UAZU*), seers (*L^UHAL* or *L^UAZU*, Akkadian *bārû*), and diviners (*L^UMUŠEN.DÙ*) to bring healing to the sick. Most of the evidence for this concerns the royal court as the recipient of the help.³⁶³ Malevolent magic was illegal. Practising malevolent magic was a capital crime, as was the case in Mesopotamia and in the HB (with the criterion for ‘magic’ in the HB defined uniquely). However, Hittite malevolent power ritual was not a crime if carried out against non-Hittites.³⁶⁴ The following two excerpts from Hittite texts, translated by Gabriella Frantz-Szabó and Gary Beckman, are illustrative of the Hittite fear of the ill-effects of malevolent supernatural ritual power. The first is from King Telipinu (1500 BCE):

If someone within a family knows about magic, you shall remove him from (his) family and bring him to the palace gate. Whoever does not bring him in—it will come about that things will go badly for that person.³⁶⁵

The second example showing the concern for malevolent ‘magic’ comes from the Hittite law code:

³⁶¹ Farber, “Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination,” 1900.

³⁶² Frantz-Szabó, “Hittite Witchcraft,” 2009; Grabbe, *Priests*, 135.

³⁶³ Frantz-Szabó, “Hittite Witchcraft,” 2009.

³⁶⁴ H. A. Hoffner, “Legal and Social Institutions of Hittite Anatolia,” *CANE I & II* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 557.

³⁶⁵ Frantz-Szabó, “Hittite Witchcraft,” 2008.

If someone purifies a person (ritually), he must also transport the ritual remains to the place of burning. If he transports them to someone's field or house (plot), this is sorcery and (a case for) the royal lawcourt.³⁶⁶

The belief in the efficacy of malevolent power ritual was an aspect of the Hittite cosmic warfare worldview, a species of the larger supernatural worldview which included an invisible world of deities and spirits. The Hittite 'magic' practices are also illustrative of the rich intersubjectivity taking place between cultures in the ANE. The exchange of beliefs and practices with neighbouring societies was commonplace. Practices from other Anatolian societies such as the Hattic, Hurrian, and Luwians are found in Hittite rituals. Babylonian and Egyptian incantation priests and physicians were also employed in the Hittite court.³⁶⁷

We turn now to the connection that the Mesopotamian and Anatolian power ritual terms and practices have with the HB. The root of the Hebrew term *m^ekaššēp*, which is found in the list of forbidden divination and 'magic' practices in Deut 18.10, is derived from the Akkadian term *kašāpu*, meaning specifically to bewitch or enchant.³⁶⁸ Derived from this root are the Akkadian terms for sorcerer or witch: *kaššāpu*, *kaš-šaptu*.³⁶⁹ As mentioned above, the Hebrew term does not seem to carry with it divinatory concepts. By means of the tell-tale initial alef, the Jewish Aramaic term *'aššāp* shows that it is derived from Akkadian, and not from Hebrew.³⁷⁰ It is debated as to whether or not the Hebrew *ḥābar* found in Deut 18.11 has an Akkadian cognate. Traditionally the Hebrew root has been understood to be West Semitic.³⁷¹ However, some have suggested an etymological link to two different Akkadian terms. One term considered is *ebru/ibru*, meaning comrade or colleague.³⁷² This meaning accords well with the root meaning of the Hebrew *ḥābar* 'to bind,' and its derivative terms carrying

³⁶⁶ Frantz-Szabó, "Hittite Witchcraft," 2008.

³⁶⁷ Frantz-Szabó, "Hittite Witchcraft," 2008–9.

³⁶⁸ *CAD* 8, 284; *HALOT* 2, 503.

³⁶⁹ Andre, "כַּשָּׁפִי," 361.

³⁷⁰ Andre, "כַּשָּׁפִי." 361.

³⁷¹ Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 32.

³⁷² *BDB*, 288; *CAD* 7, 5-7; Cazelles, "חָבַר," 193.

concepts such as join, unite, association, companion, etc.³⁷³ It has been suggested that the ANE power ritual practice of tying knots in order to bind people or spirits is associated with *ḥābar*.³⁷⁴ In a second Akkadian term, *ḥabāru*, also suspected of having links to the Hebrew *ḥābar*, the meaning ‘to be noisy’ is found.³⁷⁵ If the Hebrew term was connected conceptually to this it would carry the idea of making a sound in incantations, or muttering in some type of ecstatic sense.³⁷⁶ However some do not consider there to be a true conceptual link between *ḥabāru* and *ḥābar*, the Hebrew term being no more than a homograph.³⁷⁷ Most importantly however, in neither of the Akkadian terms is found the sense of ‘magic’ (or any other kind of supernatural phenomena). Neither do they carry this sense in Mari texts. Therefore, an Akkadian etymological link to *ḥābar* does not shed light on power ritual practices cited in the HB.

From the survey above it is clear that whatever non-cultic ‘magic’ practices existed in Mesopotamia and Anatolia, the cultic use of supernatural power ritual or ‘magic’ in the royal and domestic cult is well attested. Also, cross-links with divination and the mortuary cult are clearly evident. Let us now draw some final conclusions.

Conclusion

Some observations can now be made concerning aspects of Mesopotamian and Anatolian religion that most deeply impact Deut 18. First, as has been seen in the AMW, CW and Egypt, the Mesopotamian and Anatolian societies had a monistic view of reality. The various gods, with their various blends of both good and evil, shared the same basic ontology. In Mesopotamia they tended to be more capricious and less stable when compared to the deities of the Egyptian pantheon. The cult, sacrifice, divination, and ‘magic’ were not conceived of in distinct categories, but were inter-

³⁷³ Cazelles, “חבר,” 193.

³⁷⁴ *BDB*, 287-288; Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 32. For attestation of the tying of ‘magic’ knots in power ritual in Mesopotamia see Lewis, “Dead,” 226; Scurlock, “Death,” 1891.

³⁷⁵ *CAD* 6, 7-8; Cazelles, “חבר,” 193; *HALOT I*, 287-8.

³⁷⁶ Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 32.

³⁷⁷ Cazelles, “חבר,” 193.

twined. Also, the Mesopotamian gods had a much more anthropomorphic character than the Egyptian deities. The cosmic warfare worldview can be seen in narratives such as the *Epic of Gilgamesh* and the *Enuma Elish*. It is also seen in the importance placed on the *āšipu* priest to provide succour through the power ritual spells he provided. There were a large variety of ‘priests’ in the Mesopotamian cult. The cult personnel may be conceived of as being divided into three types of cult service: sacrifices, ‘magic,’ and divination. This division of responsibility contrasted with Egyptian practice. Also, there was not a separate office of prophet in the Israelite or Yahwistic sense. Women were a part of Mesopotamian priesthood. The Mesopotamians did not have as highly developed an understanding of the netherworld as the Egyptians. Mesopotamians believed in the continuation of life after death in the netherworld, the deceased becoming divinity, and the possibility of communication with the departed relatives (especially via the *kispum* ritual). However, their view of the afterlife was significantly more pessimistic than their Egyptian neighbours. Human sacrifice, however infrequent, was attested over a long period of time stretching from the third to first millennium BCE, with one Neo-Assyrian legal text calling for the sacrifice of children in fire to Ishtar or Adad as a penalty. The Mesopotamians developed divination, especially extispicy, to a high degree of sophistication. Objective forms of divination were the norm. Subjective inspirational forms of divination or prophecy are attested in Mesopotamia, especially in Mari, but were not valued as highly as the objective methods. There was a great fear of witches and witchcraft, whose power could be thwarted by apotropaic incantations performed by authoritative priests. In the search for terms cognate with Hebrew terms found in Deut 18 we have found the Akkadian term *kaš-šāpu*, or sorcerer, for the Hebrew *m^ekaššēp*. There is a possible connection between the Neo-Assyrian *abu/apu* and Hittite *a-a-pi*, used to describe a hole which is dug for sacrifices and communication with the shades, with the Hebrew *’ôb*. Finally, there is a possible connection of the Akkadian *nabû*, some type of revelatory figure, with the Hebrew *nābî’*. Let us continue the survey of religion in ANE societies by moving to the region which was closest in proximity to Israel, the region of Syro-Palestine.

Religion in Ancient Syro-Palestinian Societies

Introduction

Ebla (c. 2900-1600 BCE) is the earliest source of Syro-Palestinian data. However, that data is not understood well at the present time. Most of the information on religious life and practices in Syro-Palestine comes from Ugarit, as it is the richest source of data in the region.³⁷⁸ When Ugarit and Ebla are compared to Mesopotamia or Egypt, there is much less epigraphic evidence. The Syro-Palestinian worldview has much in continuity with that shown above in Egypt and Mesopotamia. In their pattern of reality humans were understood to exist in a fragile relationship between good and hostile cosmic forces.³⁷⁹ In this monistic perception of reality the lives of humans were influenced by various spirits and gods for good or for evil. The official cult, as well as domestic power or 'magic' rituals, were a part of the attempt by human beings to establish order out of the chaos that was perennially present. As compared with Egypt and Mesopotamia, the Syro-Palestinian gods could be characterised as more distinctly anthropomorphic nature deities, with more of a family concept characterising their relationships.³⁸⁰ The cultural centres of the Syro-Palestinian city-states indicate a robust family or domestic religion which mirrored the royal cult, but on a smaller scale. This is seen from LB Age through Iron Age II.³⁸¹

The leading deity of Ebla seems to have been Dagan the Canaanite (*Be-kà-na-*).³⁸² Dagan was well known in Mesopotamia, as well as among the Philistines, as attested in the HB.³⁸³ His name adorns a city gate in Ebla and one quarter of the city is named

³⁷⁸ S. B. Parker, "The Literatures of Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Phoenicia: An Overview," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 2399–40.

³⁷⁹ Boyd, *God at War*, 75.

³⁸⁰ Albright, *Yahweh*, 125–7; M. S. Smith, *Monotheism*, 37–8, 78, 87; T. C. Vriezen, *The Religion of Ancient Israel* (London: Lutterworth, 1967) 56.

³⁸¹ P. M. Michèle Daviau, "Family Religion: Evidence for the Paraphernalia of the Domestic Cult," *The World of the Arameans II: Studies in History and Archaeology in Honour of Paul-Eugène Dion* (JSOTSup; eds. P. M. Michèle Daviau, J. W. Wevers; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001) 199–229.

³⁸² K. v. d. Toorn, "Theology, Priests, and Worship in Canaan and Ancient Israel," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 2045.

³⁸³ Toorn, "Priests," 2045.

after him. His name is found abundantly in the Eblaite onomastica with the title Lord.³⁸⁴ Adad was second in rank to Dagan and also was well known throughout Mesopotamia and Syro-Palestine.³⁸⁵ An important link to Mesopotamian religion was the worship of tutelary family deities. The tutelary deity of the royal family at Ebla was Kura.³⁸⁶

The Eblaite texts and onomastica indicate ancient origins for the major West Semitic or Canaanite deities. All in all there are some 500 deities mentioned in the epigraphic evidence from Ebla.³⁸⁷ West Semitic deities present at Ugarit, Mari, Moab and in the HB, such as El, Dagan, Baal/Adad,³⁸⁸ Aštar, Kamoš, Lim, Rasap, Malik, and Mot, are also found at Ebla.³⁸⁹ The earliest attestation of the designation for the god El is found there.³⁹⁰ Giovanni Pettinato maintained that the earliest attestation of the god Ya is found there also.³⁹¹ One example he gave was an onomasticon with the divine determinative, ^d*ia-ra-mu*, or “Ya is exalted.”³⁹² But H. Müller has refuted this by showing that the NI which Pettinato transliterated as ‘yà’ is actually short for NI-NI, more correctly transliterated as *i-lí*, or ‘my god’. So rather than Pettinato’s ^d*ia-ra-mu*, the result is the word ^d*ili_x-ra-mu*, meaning ‘my god is exalted.’³⁹³ In short, there is a broad consensus that the worship of Yahweh did not take place in Ebla or Ugarit.³⁹⁴

³⁸⁴ M. Dahood, “Ebla, Ugarit, and the Bible,” *The Archives of Ebla* (G. Pettinato; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981) 272; Pettinato, *Archives*, 246.

³⁸⁵ Toorn, “Priests,” 2045.

³⁸⁶ L. Milano, “Ebla: A Third-Millennium City-State in Ancient Syria,” *CANE I & II* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1225.

³⁸⁷ Heider, *Cult*, 96.

³⁸⁸ The consensus of biblical scholarship is that Baal and Adad were not understood as separate deities until c. 9th century BCE (Greenfield, “Hadad,” 379; W. Herrmann, “Baal,” *DDD* [Leiden: Brill, 1999 2nd Edition] 132; Toorn, “Priests,” 2045).

³⁸⁹ Pettinato, *Archives*, 245–9.

³⁹⁰ M. S. Smith, *Monotheism*, 135.

³⁹¹ The majority view of scholarship is that the name Yahweh and the first worship of the god Yahweh was found among the Kenites, Midianites and/or Edomites in southeast Palestine (Toorn, “Priests,” 2047).

³⁹² Pettinato, *Archives*, 249.

³⁹³ H.-P. Müller, “Gab es in Ebla einen Gottesnamen Ja?” *ZA* 70 (1980) 83; H.-P. Müller, “Der Jahwenamen und seine Bedeutung Ex 3,14 in Licht der Textpublikationen aus Ebla,” *Bib* 62 (1981) 306–7.

³⁹⁴ K. v. d. Toorn, “Yahweh,” *DDD* (Leiden: Brill, 1999 2nd edition) 910; Toorn, “Priests,” 2047.

The conventional view is that it had beginnings in South Palestine, or the Northwest portion of the Arabian peninsula near the Red Sea region.³⁹⁵

In addition to the first known appearance of many of the unique West Semitic gods at Ebla, the Sumerian and Akkadian gods Enki, Enlil, Nergal, Utu, Inanna, Tiamut, Marduk, Nadu, and Bara are attested there. Hurrian deities revered in Ebla include Adamma and Aštabi. Nergal is the deity that Akkadian bi-lingual texts indicate is the equivalent of Ebla's Malik.³⁹⁶ At Ugarit Nergal is associated with Resheph in the Keret narrative and deity lists (*RS 1.017:27*).³⁹⁷ It is from the association with Mesopotamian Nergal that the chthonic nature of Ebla's Malik is reconstructed.³⁹⁸

LB Age Ugarit also revered many of the same members of the pantheon witnessed at Ebla. In Ugaritic religion, the storm god *Ba'lu* was the central deity in the cult,³⁹⁹ and the blood sacrifice was its central focus.⁴⁰⁰ This was different from earlier Ebla where Dagan was the principal deity.⁴⁰¹ El was the father of *Ba'lu* and functioned in a passive leadership role as a type of figurehead of the pantheon.⁴⁰² In the life of the cult, El was in practice a second to *Ba'lu*, who took centre stage in the life of the cult of Ugarit. For example, there is no evidence of a temple to El, even though he is described as the "father of humanity" and the "creator of the earth."⁴⁰³ The three excavated temples at Ugarit include one to Baal, one to Dagan, and a Hurrian temple.⁴⁰⁴ As stated above, the majority opinion is that *Ba'lu*'s proper name was Hadad, with *Ba'lu* being an epithet. In the 1st millennium BCE they become understood as separate deities: Hadad

³⁹⁵ M. S. Smith, *Monotheism*, 145; Toorn, "Priests," 2047.

³⁹⁶ H.-P. Müller, "Malik," *DDD* (Leiden: Brill, 1999 2nd edition) 540; Toorn, "Priests," 2046. All vowels in Eblaite terms are reconstructions. The consonants given in the Eblaite texts for the *Malik* would be *mlk*. Usually the renderings suggested by scholarship are either *Milk* or *Malik*. In this study the rendering *Malik* is used.

³⁹⁷ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 14; Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 362; P. Xella, "Resheph," 701.

³⁹⁸ Heider, *Cult*, 100; G. Pettinato, "The Royal Archives of Tell Mardikh-Ebla," *Biblical Archeologist* 39/2 (1976) 48–9; Toorn, "Priests," 2046.

³⁹⁹ Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 74; Toorn, "Priests," 2046, 2056.

⁴⁰⁰ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 3.

⁴⁰¹ Toorn, "Priests," 2046.

⁴⁰² For a challenge to this view see C. E. L'Heureux, *Rank Among the Canaanite Gods: El, Ba'al, and the Repha'im* (HSM; Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1979) 3–28.

⁴⁰³ Albright, *Yahweh*, 124–5; Toorn, "Priests," 2046.

⁴⁰⁴ For a map of the city and the position of its temples see M. Yon, "Ugarit," *OEANE* 5 (Oxford: OUP, 1997) 256.

being the primary deity of Aramean communities and *Ba'lu* the primary deity of the Phoenicians.⁴⁰⁵ Important for this study is the identification of the hard to define goddess Asherah. One of her many roles identified in the *Baal Cycle* is that of the patroness of diviners.⁴⁰⁶

The discovery of Ugarit shifted the perception of an Israelite society shaped primarily by its relationship to Mesopotamia, to a society that arose out of a West Semitic milieu. This was due to the commonality of language, proper names, and names of gods shared in both Ugaritic texts and the HB. The epigraphic and archaeological evidence found at Ugarit attests a cult practice that integrated sacrifice, divination, 'magic,' and politics, as in Mesopotamia and Egypt surveyed above. The king was the central figure in the Ugaritic cult. The Ugaritic king probably functioned as chief priest, although the texts at Ugarit are not as clear on this as is the case in the Hittite, Mesopotamian, or Egyptian contexts.⁴⁰⁷ As G. A. Cook has put it:

The kingship tends to centralize religion. The king is the head of the national religious and political system; the temple is the royal sanctuary, and temple and palace adjoin. The king controls temple and cult, and, like the priestly king Ithobaal of Phoenicia, or the priestly queens of Arabia, performs a twofold function. He prays and sacrifices on behalf of the people in peace and in war; and in all crises he consults the god, the oracle or the sacred symbols.⁴⁰⁸

The intersubjectivity in regards to shared ANE deities is richly attested in Ugarit. For example the Mesopotamian god Ishtar (*'attartu* in Ugaritic) was worshipped there. According to *RS 24.244.78* her temple was in Mari.⁴⁰⁹ The god Dagan was worshipped in Ugarit and was said to be located in Tuttul, a city in northern Mesopotamia.⁴¹⁰ In *RS 24.224*, *Rašap-Bibitta*, one of the manifestations of the chief

⁴⁰⁵ Herrmann, "Baal," 132; Toorn, "Priests," 2046–7.

⁴⁰⁶ Albright, *Yahweh*, 122.

⁴⁰⁷ Grabbe, *Priests*, 33; Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 11.

⁴⁰⁸ Cook is quoted by Engnell, *Divine Kingship*, 87.

⁴⁰⁹ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 176.

⁴¹⁰ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 175, 277.

underworld deity *Rašap*, was given the location of Bibitta in Anatolia.⁴¹¹ Hundreds of multilingual deity lists have been found linking Ugarit with various cultures in Mesopotamia (Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hurrian in *RS* 1.017, 24.264, 20.024, 24.643.1-9). Of particular interest for this study is that in Ugarit the deities designated by the term *Malakūma* are shown parallel to the Akkadian *Ma-lik*^{meš} (*RS* 20.024:32).⁴¹² The Akkadian *Ma-lik*^{meš} are chthonic in nature. At Mari the parallel *Mālikū* received the same *kispum* offerings that the departed kings received.⁴¹³ This will be discussed further in the Netherworld and Mortuary Cult section below.

Moses, the intradiegetic narrator and powerful symbol of Yahwistic values in Deut, portrays the inventory of forbidden practices in 18.10-11 as practices of the indigenous people of the land (18.9, 12). This land is referred to in Deut as *kē nā'an*, (Canaan)(32.49)⁴¹⁴ or at times *har hā^{re} mori* (the hill country of the Amorites)(1.7, 9, 20; 3.25; cf. Exod 15.17).⁴¹⁵ The term Canaan was used by various ANE societies to designate a geographical area that can be described roughly as Syro-Palestine.⁴¹⁶ Because of the lack of uniformity in what these ancient societies meant by the term, many scholars prefer other geographical or socio-linguistic designations such as West

⁴¹¹ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 176.

⁴¹² Müller, "Malik," 540; D. Pardee, "Ugaritic Science," *The World of the Arameans III: Studies in Language and Literature in Honour of Paul-Eugène Dion* (eds. P. M. Michèle Daviau, J. W. Wevers; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001) 230, 248–9; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 15; Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 362.

⁴¹³ Heider, *Cult*, 102–47, 383–408; Müller, "Malik," 540.

⁴¹⁴ This is the only instance in Deut where the word Canaan is used (Cf. Gen 17.8; 47.1; 50.13; Exod 6.4; 16.35; Lev 14.34; 18.3; Num 33.51; 34.2, 29; 35.10; Josh 14.1; 21.2; 22.9, 11; Judg 4.2; 5.19). The term Canaanite is found four times in Deut (1.7; 7.1; 11.30; 20.17). At times the term *re mori* is used in the DtrH as a general designation for the inhabitants of Canaan (Josh 10.5; 1 Sam 7.14; 2 Sam 21.2). See J. G. McConville, *Deuteronomy* (AOT; Leicester: IVP, 2002) 63; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; London: Doubleday, 1991) 132.

⁴¹⁵ A number of scholars recognise that at times the phrase *har hā^{re} mori* is a general reference for the promised land of Canaan. See Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 119; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 63, 67; G. v. Rad, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia, PA: Westminster, 1966) 39; J. H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy* (JPSTC; Philadelphia: JPS, 1996) 8, 14; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 132. See also the discussion in Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 10–1.

⁴¹⁶ Y. Aharoni, *The Archaeology of the Land of Israel* (London: SCM, 1982) 67–8; W. G. Dever, *What Did the Biblical Writers Know and When Did They Know It? What Archeology Can Tell Us About the Reality of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2003) 219; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 9; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 133.

Semitic, Palestine, or Syro-Palestine.⁴¹⁷ I will use the geographic term Syro-Palestine when discussing the general region consisting of both Cisjordan and Transjordan, and only use the term Canaan when referring to the emic Yahwistic view. The term Canaan will also be used at times when other ANE societies using the term are being discussed.

From this general survey of religion and the pantheon in Syro-Palestine we turn to matters concerning its cosmic warfare worldview. This is a significant factor underlying the felt need in the Syro-Palestinian communities for the types of practitioners and practices found in Deut 18.10-11.

Cosmic Warfare Worldview

The creation myths of Ugarit reflect the common understanding in antiquity of a warfare cosmology. Frank Cross has suggested that the relevance of the myths, and the *Chaoskampf* inherent in them, was not limited to a distant past but described the universe as being “timeless or cyclical or “eschatological” in essence.⁴¹⁸ In the ANE societies the basic plot of the myths is that of a god representing order in the universe being overcome, or destroyed, in conflict with a rival god. The victorious rival god represents evil and chaos. In the end the god representing order rebounds from defeat or death and vanquishes chaos and evil. Chaos is often represented by the sea.⁴¹⁹ In Ugarit the warfare worldview is seen clearly in the narratives of the *Baal Cycle*, *Aqhat*, and *Keret*. These myths are indigenous to Syro-Palestine, and do not seem to have a background in Mesopotamia or Egypt. Yet the intersubjectivity taking place in the region can be seen in the use in the myths of a number of non-Semitic names, usually

⁴¹⁷ For those who advocate a nuanced understanding and use of the term Canaanite see Albright, *Yahweh*, 116; J. Bright, *A History of Israel* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2000 4th edition) 41 n. 38; Dever, *What Did the Biblical Writers Know?* 219. For those advocating other designations see G. W. Ahlström, *History of Ancient Palestine* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993) 56; S. Moscati, *The Semites in Ancient History* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1959) 76–103; N. P. Lemche, *The Canaanites and Their Land: The Tradition of the Canaanites* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991) 29–52; M. S. Smith, *Early History of God*, 19 n. 2; M. S. Smith, *Monotheism*, 14–8.

⁴¹⁸ Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 120.

⁴¹⁹ Wakeman, *God's Battle*, 4–6.

understood to be Hurrian and Indo-Aryan.⁴²⁰ The *Baal Cycle* especially has much relevance for understanding the HB references to the subduing of the sea (cf. Ugaritic Yamm)(Pss 65.8 [ET 7]; 89.10 [ET 9]; Job 26.12), and other Ugaritic cosmic warfare motifs such as the Leviathan (Isa 27.1; Job 3.8; 26.13; Ps 104.26; cf. KTU 1.5 I).⁴²¹ Like the Sumerian *Epic of Gilgamesh*, the Mesopotamian *Enuma Elish*, the conflict in Egyptian cosmology which Re had with Seth and Apophis, and conflicts displayed in the Greek *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the Ugaritic myths recount cosmic battles between the gods which explain the realities of life.

In contrast to the *Baal Cycle*, the *Keret* story deals with human actors. The main character King Keret is succoured by the god El so that he can wed Hurriya, the daughter of the King of Udum, and receive healing for the illness with which the goddess Athirat had afflicted him, and defeat Mot, the deity of death.⁴²² The opening lines of the myth paint a dramatic picture of the kind of chaos to which humans are subjected:

The family of [Keret] was laid waste,
the house of the [k]ing destroyed,
which had seven [bro]thers in it,
eight sons of one mother.

(As for) Keret, his offspring was destroyed,
(as for) Keret, ruined was his posterity.

A rightful wife he had indeed obtained,
a lawful spouse (with bride-price paid),
A women he had married,
but she went away.

Children their mother had borne him,
but a third died at birth,

⁴²⁰ Albright, *Yahweh*, 118.

⁴²¹ M. S. Smith, "Myth and Mythmaking in Canaan and Ancient Israel," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 2031; M. S. Smith, *Early History of God*, 80–91.

⁴²² *ANET*, 142–9; S. B. Parker, "Literature," 2402–3; Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 180–241.

a fourth of disease,
a fifth pestilence gathered to itself,
a sixth the sea engulfed,
a seventh of them fell to a weapon.⁴²³

The *Baal Cycle* presents the most complete picture of Ugarit cosmic reality⁴²⁴. The cosmic conflict centres on Baal and his conflict with Yamm, the god of the Sea. In one version of the tale, Baal is killed by Yamm. He then comes back to life putting Yamm to death. In other versions Yamm appears in the form of Lotan, a sea serpent, or the conflict is described as taking place between Baal and the chthonic god Mot.⁴²⁵

Another significant example of Syro-Palestinian cosmic warfare worldview is found in the first millennium Deir Alla inscriptions (c. 800-600 BCE). These inscriptions concerning Balaam (cf. Num 22-24) are significant because of their closer proximity to Israel, with the time period being some 600-800 years later than the second millennium BCE texts at Ugarit. It indicates how enduring the warfare worldview was in the ANE in general and specifically in Syro-Palestine. In these inscriptions, found at a sanctuary in the vicinity of Ammonite and Israelite territory, Balaam, son of Beor, attempts to intercede with the gods in order to circumvent the chaos initiated by the Shaddayin deities.⁴²⁶ More will be said about the Deir Alla texts below.

Having provided a brief glimpse of examples of LB Age and Iron Age Syro-Palestinian cosmic conflict, a survey of divination and the cult will now follow.

Priests and Divination

As mentioned in the opening chapter, divination is understood to be a subcategory of divine revelation, and is a phenomenon distinct in most ways from the related sub-

⁴²³ The translation is that of Wyatt (Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 180–1).

⁴²⁴ *ANET*, 129-42.

⁴²⁵ Albright, *Yahweh*, 118–27; N. Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1987) 46–8.

⁴²⁶ S. B. Parker, "Literature," 2400–1; C.-L. Seow, "West Semitic Sources," *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (WAW; ed. M. Nissinen; Atlanta: SBL, 2003) 207–12; J.-M. d. Tarragon, "Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination in Canaan and Ancient Israel," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 2073.

category of divine revelation known as prophecy. Divination is the discerning of a divine message by either mechanical means or by the observing of objects and interpreting their meaning using a set of traditional criteria. With this definition in mind let us look at some of the available evidence regarding divination and its place in the cult in Syro-Palestinian cultures.

Due to the paucity of information available concerning Ebla, not much is known about the Eblaite cult. Pettinato maintains that the king presided over the sacral system, as was the case in other ANE societies. But generally speaking, the cult officials did not have the political power that was enjoyed by Mesopotamian cult officials.⁴²⁷ As in Mesopotamia, there was not a generic term for ‘priest.’ There are five terms that were used in regards to the cult that could possibly be described as indicating priests and priestesses: *pašīšu*, *aširatum*, *išartum*, *nabiutum*, and *malikum*. The latter two terms have Hebrew cognates, but none of the terms have etymological links to the list of forbidden practitioners in Deut 18.10-11. The possible Hebrew cognate of *nabiutum* is a key term in Deut 18 (vv.15, 18, 20, 22). The term used to designate the most prominent of the cult priests was *pašīšu*, meaning ‘the anointed.’ The *pašīšu* could be male or female.⁴²⁸ *Aširatum* and *išartum* are terms designating some type of cult priestesses.⁴²⁹ Pettinato suggests that the *nabiutum* was an itinerant ‘prophet.’⁴³⁰ But the texts at Ebla do not provide an explanation of who the *nabiutum* was and so the role and function of the Eblaite *nabiutum* remains an open question.⁴³¹ The Eblaite cult seems to have had a number of female functionaries, which would be similar to the Mesopotamian milieu, but different from that of the Egyptian and Yahwistic setting.

A number of terms have been associated with priestly functionaries at Ugarit, but there is a lack of consensus as to their precise meaning. *Khnm*, *rb khnm*, *rb nqdm*, *prln*, *tnnm*, *inš ilm*, *qdšm*, *bnš mlk*, *mlhš* and *t’y* are all terms that various scholars have sug-

⁴²⁷ Pettinato, *Archives*, 244–5.

⁴²⁸ Pettinato, *Archives*, 252.

⁴²⁹ Pettinato, *Archives*, 253.

⁴³⁰ Pettinato, *Archives*, 253.

⁴³¹ For the discussion of the Akkadian cognate *nabû* see the section entitled Religion in Ancient Mesopotamian and Anatolian Societies: Priests and Prophecy, pp. 117.

gested describe cult officials involved in some type of priestly function.⁴³² John Gray suggests the following additional cult functionary terms: *šrm* (singers), *yšm* (makers of vestments), and *pslm* (sculptors).⁴³³ Because of the paucity of descriptive epigraphic evidence there is not much that can be said about the various functionaries. None of these terms are found in the list of forbidden practitioners or practices in Deut 18.10-11. *Khnm* is cognate with the Hebrew term *kōhēn* used in the passage under investigation in this study (Deut 18.1, 3).⁴³⁴ One might expect *khnm* to appear in Ugaritic ritual texts but it does not. It is attested a number of times in economic texts but with little explanation. However, in bi-lingual texts *khnm* is the term used to translate the Akkadian *šangû* mentioned in the survey of Mesopotamian priests, indicating an important priestly administrative function in the royal cult.⁴³⁵ There are no feminine forms of the term found in Ugaritic.⁴³⁶ *Rb khnm* may be the head of the *khnm* and if the ‘house of the priest’ is any indication, the social rank of the *rb khnm* was quite high. *Rb khnm* and a number of other terms linked to priestly roles are found in the colophon of the *Baal Cycle* (KTU 1.6).⁴³⁷ In this brief closing line *rb nqdm* seems to be used in parallel with *rb khnm*.⁴³⁸ Nicholas Wyatt holds that the Ugaritic term *prln* found in the *Baal Cycle* (KTU 1.6) could be a term for diviner if its Hurrian cognate, *pu-ru-di-ni*, is any sort of a reliable guide. The Hurrian *pu-ru-di-ni* is used for the Akkadian *bâru*, the divination priest discussed above.⁴³⁹ A word of caution needs to be given concerning the use of the word divination or diviner for Ugaritic practitioners or practices. It cannot be stated confidently that an Ugaritic term for diviner or divination exists.

⁴³² M. C. Astour, “Two Ugaritic Serpent Charms,” *JNES* 27 (1968) 18; Grabbe, *Priests*, 55–6; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 52, 160; M. S. Smith, *Early History of God*, 23–4; Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 418.

⁴³³ Cited in J. G. McConville, *Law and Theology in Deuteronomy* (JSOTSup; Sheffield: JSOT, 1986) 132 n. 28.

⁴³⁴ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 239–40; M. S. Smith, *Early History of God*, 23.

⁴³⁵ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 239–40.

⁴³⁶ Grabbe, *Priests*, 55–6.

⁴³⁷ M. S. Smith, *Early History of God*, 24; Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 145–6.

⁴³⁸ Grabbe, *Priests*, 56.

⁴³⁹ Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 145 n. 129.

Not much can be said about *tnnm* or *inš ilm*. They are listed in texts with *khn̄m*, but with little else to help in giving a description.⁴⁴⁰ Text *RS 24.277* is found on a lung model, a typical Mesopotamian method used in divination. Because of the unusual way various lines of the text are placed on the model, and because the lines are quite damaged, it is difficult to interpret them. One line speaks about what happens when the city is under attack. The *bnš* are to respond in some way. The *bnš* have been understood by Dennis Pardee to mean *bnš mlk*, or ‘personnel of the king.’ The *bnš mlk* included cult officials. Pardee suggests that it could refer to the cult personnel who specialise in divination.⁴⁴¹ The priestly cult practitioner described as *mlhš* is found in the role of an healer.⁴⁴² The final term *t’y* is used in sacrificial cult contexts and has been translated as ‘sacrificer,’⁴⁴³ or ‘priest.’⁴⁴⁴ It is found in the colophon of the *Baal Cycle* mentioned above (*KTU 1.6*). There *t’y* describes the priestly role of Attanu, along with the other terms already mentioned above: *rb khnm*, *prln*, and *nqdm*. In the incantation text *RIH 78/20* the *t’y* priest performs the role of an exorcist who casts out the spirit or curse sent by sorcerers, *kšpm*, which were believed to be behind the symptom of sexual impotency.⁴⁴⁵ In this way the *t’y* priest may correspond to the Mesopotamian *āšipu* or *mašmašu* priest.

While a lack of consensus exists concerning the meaning of the various Ugaritic terms linked to priestly functions, there is a high degree of probability that divination was a normal part of the official cult at Ugarit. The inseparability of divination and religion in Ugaritic practice can be seen in the fact that most of the divination texts found in Ugarit were located in the ‘House of the Priest (*t’y*),’ a centre of cult sacrifice.⁴⁴⁶

What has been described by scholars as divination in Ugarit is clearly linked to cult sacrifice. In Ugarit, the use of extispicy or hepatoscopy was part of normal cult

⁴⁴⁰ Grabbe, *Priests*, 56.

⁴⁴¹ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 133 n.11.

⁴⁴² Astour, “Serpent Charms,” 17–8; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 174.

⁴⁴³ Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 146 n. 131.

⁴⁴⁴ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 52, 160.

⁴⁴⁵ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 160.

⁴⁴⁶ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 132 n. 1.

ritual.⁴⁴⁷ Astrological divination was also a part of cult practice.⁴⁴⁸ There is nothing polemic in the Ugaritic epigraphic evidence suggesting that domestic divination rituals were an aberration of true religion, as was the case among the Yahwists.

Pardee organises the divination texts found in Ugarit into two categories: daily practices and the recording of spontaneous and occasional phenomena considered to be omens.⁴⁴⁹ The intersubjectivity that took place between Ugarit and Mesopotamia can be seen in these texts and other artifacts recovered from Ugarit. The liver models, and birth and astronomical omens, are recognisably connected to Mesopotamia.⁴⁵⁰ The extant texts point to a cult which may have relied on some means of divine guidance for prescribing an appropriate divination ritual for a given situation. There are no sets of generic divination rituals which could be applied to a repeated situation. Rather, the prescriptions all seem to be unique, somewhat spontaneous, and with application to a single situation.⁴⁵¹

At Ugarit the explicit link between cult sacrifice and divination is made by the use of the term used for cult sacrifice, *dbh*, cognate with the Hebrew term *zebah*, which is found in the divination text *RS 24.323*⁴⁵² This text, like similar examples from Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and Egypt given above, provides an example of the conceptual framework which ties together the seemingly disparate practitioners and practices found in Deut 18.10-11. In this text found on a liver model, appeal to the god '*Attaru*,⁴⁵³ and sacrifice (*dbh*), are joined with divination. The text of *RS 24.323* reads as follows:

Text

Translation

⁴⁴⁷ See *RS 24.312, 24.323, 24.326, 24.327, 24.654* which are all divinatory texts written on liver models (Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 127–9).

⁴⁴⁸ See *RS 12.061* in Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 131–2.

⁴⁴⁹ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 127.

⁴⁵⁰ Grabbe, *Priests*, 133–4.

⁴⁵¹ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 2.

⁴⁵² Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 132 n. 5.

⁴⁵³ However, Pardee mentions the possibility that the *l'itr* could refer to the person for whom the consultation is being given, rather than a deity (Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 133 n. 7).

(1) <i>dbḥt . bsy . b(n)</i> [...]	Sacrificial consultation of BṢY, so[n]/daugh[ter] of
(2) <i>(t)ry . l'tt(r)</i> [...]	ṬRY, to the 'Attaru [...]
(3) <i>d . (b 'ttr)</i> [t ...]	who is in 'Attar[tu] ⁴⁵⁴

This section will conclude with a look at possible relationships with specific terms found in Deut 18.10-11. Neither an Eblaite nor an Ugaritic cognate for *qōsēm* *q^e sāmīm* is attested. The earliest West Semitic cognates for *qāsam* are found in late Jewish Aramaic, Samaritan and Syriac texts. Similarly, West Semitic cognates for *qesem* are found only in the same late Jewish Aramaic, Samaritan, and Syriac contexts.⁴⁵⁵

There is an Ugaritic term that could possibly share the same etymology with *m^e 'ōnēn*. The term is *'nn* which Cyrus Gordon has translated as “reciting music.”⁴⁵⁶ Albright proposed that the Ugaritic and Hebrew are cognates, and suggested that the Hebrew be translated “to recite charms.”⁴⁵⁷ But Koehler-Baumgartner do not see the Ugaritic term as cognate with *m^e 'ōnēn*.⁴⁵⁸ Similarly, Freedman and Willoughby hold that, in regards to the similar form shared with the Ugaritic term, it is no more than a homographic phenomenon.⁴⁵⁹

The consonant group *nḥš*, from which *m^e nahēš* is derived, is attested at Ugarit. But, as was the case with *m^e 'ōnēn*, *m^e nahēš* is probably no more than a homographic phenomenon. The Ugaritic *nḥš*, “serpent,” and its Hebrew cognate are probably from a different root (*nḥš*: Gen 3.14; 49.17; Deut 8.15) which does not have a connection with ‘magic’ or divination. Other West Semitic cognates for the root *nḥš* found in Deut 18.10 are Aramaic and Syriac, which appear later in the first millennium BCE.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁴ The translation is that of Dennis Pardee (Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 128).

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. *HALOT* 3, 1115-6.

⁴⁵⁶ *HALOT* 2, 857. Cf. Freedman and Willoughby who translate it as “servant of Asherah (Freedman, “ענן,” 253).”

⁴⁵⁷ Albright, *Yahweh*, 122 n. 30.

⁴⁵⁸ *HALOT* 2, 857. Cf. also Jenni, “ענן,” 937; Freedman, “ענן,” 253.

⁴⁵⁹ Freedman, “ענן,” 253.

⁴⁶⁰ Fabry, “נחש,” 356–7; *HALOT* 2, 690.

In short, there are no Ugaritic terms that unequivocally correspond to the terms enumerated in Deut 18.10-11. Yet, we have seen that divination is a function of the cult at Ugarit, and used in conjunction with sacrifice ritual. Next, the evidence for prophecy in religion in Syro-Palestine will be surveyed.

Priests and Prophecy

Prophecy has been explained in Chapter 1 as a species, along with divination, of divine revelation. It is dissimilar to divination in that it is a distinctly subjective process.

Prophecy is a noninductive procedure whereby certain inspired persons deliver a message recognised by the community as essentially divine in origin, and not human. The means of receiving the message can be through dreams, visions, or some other sort of subjective inspiration. With this description in mind, let us look at the Syro-Palestinian evidence for prophecy.

In contrast to Mesopotamia, especially Mari, and in spite of the fact that the HB refers to non-Yahwistic prophets (*nābî'îm*) from the neighbouring communities (1 Kgs 18.19; 2 Kgs 10.19),⁴⁶¹ there is not much evidence for extra-biblical prophecy in Syro-Palestine.⁴⁶² Egypt has more evidence that could possibly be interpreted as prophecy than Ugarit does. Studies on prophets and prophecy in the ANE in general and Syro-Palestine in particular do not include anything from Ebla or Ugarit.⁴⁶³ The only early example of Syro-Palestinian prophecy is in the Egyptian account of Wen-Amon travel and experience in Byblos described in the Religion in Ancient Egyptian Society: Priests and Prophecy section above.⁴⁶⁴ The best indigenous examples of Syro-Palestinian prophecy are late, from the 9th-8th centuries BCE. They include the Moabite Stone, Zakkur Stele, and the inscriptions at Deir Alla to which we now turn.

⁴⁶¹ Lindblom, *Prophecy*, 29.

⁴⁶² Wilson, *Prophecy*, 129.

⁴⁶³ Grabbe, *Priests*, 85; Seow, "West Semitic"; Toorn, *Family Religion*, 151–77; Vanderkam, "Prophecy," 2083–90.

⁴⁶⁴ See pp. 94-5. See also Wilson, *Prophecy*, 129.

The Moabite Stone, dating from the ninth century BCE gives evidence from Moab of what could possibly be a spontaneous and subjective type of divine revelation which we would categorise as prophecy.⁴⁶⁵ The inscription relates how King Mesha received a revelation from his god Chemosh instructing him to battle against the Israelites at Nebo. The pertinent part of the inscription reads as follows:

And Chemosh said to me, "Go, take Nebo against Israel!" And I went by night and fought against it from the break of dawn until noon, taking it and slaying all, seven thousand men, boys, women, girls and maid servants, for I had devoted them to destruction for (the god) Ashtor-Chemosh. And I took from there the [...] of Yahweh, dragging them before Chemosh.⁴⁶⁶

But ambiguity exists as to how to properly categorise it. It is not clear what King Mesha meant when he said that his god Chemosh had 'spoken' to him. If it was by means of the technique of divination described above, then it would not be prophecy according to the definition used in this study. If however, the revelation came by way of some sort of subjective inspiration, vision, or dream, then it would be considered prophecy.

The second example of possible Syro-Palestinian extra-biblical prophecy is the Zakkur Stele found near Aleppo in an Aramaic inscription. This is a clearer example of a subjective type of inspired divine message that would be considered prophecy proper.⁴⁶⁷ In this victory stele from the eighth century BCE, Zakkur beseeches the god Baal-shamayn to deliver him from his enemies. Through 'seers' (*ḥzyn*)⁴⁶⁸ and 'messengers' (*'ddn*),⁴⁶⁹ Zakkur receives the message from the god that he will be victorious. The term *ḥzyn* is related to the Hebrew term *ḥôzēh*, 'seer,' which is used synonymously

⁴⁶⁵ Grabbe, *Priests*, 85.

⁴⁶⁶ The translation is that of W. F. Albright, *ANET*, 320.

⁴⁶⁷ *ANET*, 655-6; Wilson, *Prophecy*, 130.

⁴⁶⁸ The translation is that of Grabbe (Grabbe, *Priests*, 85; Seow, "West Semitic," 204).

⁴⁶⁹ The translation is that of Grabbe (Grabbe, *Priests*, 85). Seow translates it as "visionaries (Seow, "West Semitic," 204)."

with *nābî*, or prophet, in the HB.⁴⁷⁰ The term *'ddn* may share a common etymology with the Hebrew terms *'ōdēd*, but this is not certain.⁴⁷¹ The latter is used three times in the HB for the name of a certain prophet (2 Chron 15.1, 8; 28.9). The message given to Zakkur by the gods seems to have more information than the typically binary divinatory answer.⁴⁷² It reads:

But I lifted my hands to Baalshamayn, and Baalshamay[n] answered me, [and] Baalshamayn [said], “F[e]ar not, for I have made [you] king, [and I who will st]and with [you], and I will deliver you from all [these kings who] have forced a siege against you!” Then Baalshamayn said to m[e ... “] [a]ll these kings who have forced [a siege against you ...] [] and this wall whi[ch ...]⁴⁷³

As can be seen, the style and content is similar to Yahwistic prophecies of deliverance (cf. Isa 7.4-9).⁴⁷⁴ Also, the *ḥzyn* and *'ddn* seem to function in the royal cult of Zakkur.⁴⁷⁵

The last and perhaps most interesting example of Syro-Palestinian prophecy comes from Deir Alla, in Transjordan at a site on the River Zerqa, the biblical Jabbok, not far from the bank of the Jordan River. This eighth century BCE inscription concerning Balaam, Son of Beor (Num 22-24), was mentioned above in the section Cosmic Warfare Worldview.⁴⁷⁶ It provides a fine example of a prophetic oracle preserved in a text found in a cultic sanctuary. The cultic location, coupled with the title Balaam is given

⁴⁷⁰ Grabbe, *Priests*, 85; Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 84–5; Seow, “West Semitic,” 201; Sternberg, *Poetics*, 366. Another Hebrew noun derived from the same Hebrew root is *ḥazôn*. It also relates to Aramaic *ḥzyn* in that it is used in reference to divine communication with the deity. Unlike the *ḥzyn*, the term does not refer to a person, such as a cult official or diviner, but signifies a vision or oracle (1 Sam 3.1; 1 Chron 17.15; 2 Chron 32.32; Ps 89.20; Prov 29.18; Isa 1.1; 29.7; Jer 14.14; 23.16; Lam 2.9; Ezek 7.13, 26; 12.22, 23, 24, 27; 13.16; Dan 1.17; 8.1, 2, 13, 15, 17, 26; 9.21, 24; 10.14; 11.14; Hos 12.11; Obad 1.1; Micah 3.6; Nahum 1.1; Habak 2.2, 3). Other Yahwistic terms used to describe a vision or oracle from Yahweh are from the same root: *mah^azeh* (Gen 15.1; Num 24.4, 16 [these latter two used of Balaam] Ezek 13.7), *ḥāzūt* (Isa 21.2; 29.11), and *hizāyôn* (2 Sam 7.17; Job 20.8; 33.15; Isa 22.1, 5; Zech 13.4). The Aramaic *ḥ^ezû* is found in Dan 2.19; 7.2.

⁴⁷¹ Wilson, *Prophecy*, 130.

⁴⁷² Seow, “West Semitic,” 203–6.

⁴⁷³ The translation is that of C. L. Seow (Seow, “West Semitic,” 206).

⁴⁷⁴ Vanderkam, “Prophecy,” 2085.

⁴⁷⁵ Wilson, *Prophecy*, 131.

⁴⁷⁶ See p. 143.

in the text, ‘seer of the gods,’ indicates a cultic revelatory figure.⁴⁷⁷ The language is Northwest Semitic, but the mixture of various elements of Aramaic, Hebrew, and other West Semitic dialects make it difficult to categorise more precisely. The sanctuary was destroyed in an earthquake, but enough of the text has been restored giving us the ability to witness an inspired message that fits the definition of prophecy.⁴⁷⁸ Baalam is described as a seer (*hzh*) and as one who is given a vision (*hzn*). Like the terms discussed above *vis-à-vis* the Zakkur Stele, *hzh* and *hzn* are cognate with the Hebrew terms *hōzeh* and *hazôn* respectively. The text gives a number of insights into the behaviour of a non-Israelite prophet. The first seven lines of Combination I are as follows:

1. The warning of the Book of [Balaam, son of Beo]r, who was a seer of the gods. The gods came to him at night [and spoke to] him
2. according to the ora[cle] of El. They said to Ba[la]am, son of Beor, “Thus will [] do hereafter. No one [has seen] ...
3. When Balaam arose on the morrow, (his) hand [was slack], (his) right hand [hung]
- low. [He fasted continually] in his chamber, he could not [sleep], and he wept
4. continually. Then his people came up to him and [they said] to Balaam, son of Beor: “ Why do you fast [and w]hy do you weep?” He
5. said to them: “Sit down and I shall tell you what the Shadda[yin have done]; come, see the acts of the gods! The gods gathered together;
6. the Shaddayin took their places in the assembly. And they said to the ... []: “May you break the bolts of heaven, with your rain-cloud bringing about darkness and not
7. light, eeriness and not your brightness. May you bring terror [through the] dark [rain-clo]ud. May you never again be aglow. For the ss ‘gr(-bird) taunts⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁷ Wilson, *Prophecy*, 132–3.

⁴⁷⁸ Seow, “West Semitic,” 207–8; Wilson, *Prophecy*, 132–3.

⁴⁷⁹ The translation is that of Choon-Leong. Seow (Seow, “West Semitic,” 210–1).

In the text above enough information is given to show that there is more in the divine message given than what would constitute the typical binary answer given to a divination query. The elements present in this particular prophetic text, such as fasting, lamenting, lack of sleep, and the visitation of the gods (*'lhn*) to Balaam by night, have some similarity to certain experiences of the prophet Moses in Deut (9.9, 18-20).

In the search for terms relating to religious phenomena in Deut 18 one would perhaps expect to see more examples of cognates for the Hebrew term *nābî'*. But little is found in Syro-Palestinian epigraphic evidence. At Ebla the cognate *nabiutum*⁴⁸⁰ and at Ugarit the cognate *nb'* is found,⁴⁸¹ but without an explanation of their application. However, a similar concept to Hebrew prophecy can be found especially in the Balaam inscription at Deir Alla where the terms *ḥzh* and *ḥzn* are used, terms related in meaning to the Hebrew *nābî'*. Let us now turn to beliefs and practices regarding the netherworld.

Netherworld and Mortuary Cult

As already mentioned, unlike Mesopotamia, Ugarit does not provide the abundance of personal documents that give us access to the piety of private citizens. However, evidence from the cult of the royal family show a strong family-focused religion with its veneration and deification of ancestors, showing a continuity with beliefs in Mesopotamia.⁴⁸² Based on the similarities of the royal ancestor cult practices between Ugarit and Mesopotamian societies, some have assumed and reconstructed a family piety in Ugarit grounded in beliefs regarding the deification and tutelage of departed ancestors and the worship of family gods.⁴⁸³ The Ugaritic beliefs and practices concerning the netherworld, and the way they blur the lines between idolatry, sacrifice, ancestor worship, spiritism, divination, and 'magic,' give them a special significance in regard to the list of forbidden practices found in Deut 18.10-11. What follows is a survey of the national netherworld gods of Ebla and Ugarit, and tentative suggestions for

⁴⁸⁰ Pettinato, *Archives*, 252.

⁴⁸¹ Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 84.

⁴⁸² Toorn, *Family Religion*, 153.

⁴⁸³ Toorn, *Family Religion*, 153.

a reconstruction of family or domestic religion at Ugarit. Of special interest will be the Syro-Palestinian chthonic deity Malik or *Milku* as he seems to have 1) continuity from early Ebla to late Phoenicia,⁴⁸⁴ and 2) because of the possible connections to human sacrifice in Israel and/or the Israelite Molek cult.

The deities at Ebla generally suspected of being chthonic are Rasap, Kamish (cf. the later Ammonite god Chemosh) and Malik. All three are found throughout Mesopotamia and Syro-Palestine.⁴⁸⁵ The evidence from onomastica suggests that Malik was worshipped throughout a broad area from the middle of the third millennium BCE onward and stretching from Ebla to cities in Mesopotamia and Syro-Palestine.⁴⁸⁶ The nature of the worship of Malik in Ebla is not known, and there is no evidence of his worship in the royal cult. No more can be said about Malik at Ebla except that based on the amount of theophoric elements in the Eblaite onomastica he is one of the most popular deities.⁴⁸⁷ In addition to third millennium BCE attestations of the god Malik in Ebla, there are names from a number of Mesopotamian locations of this time period containing the theophoric constituent *Malik*.⁴⁸⁸ His identification as a chthonic deity is based on Akkadian texts which equate him with Nergal.⁴⁸⁹ There is no evidence of human sacrifice at Ebla, and therefore no evidence of child sacrifice *vis-à-vis* the Ebla Malik.⁴⁹⁰ However, it is plausible that Malik could be a precursor, however distant or indirect, of the later Hebrew Molek.⁴⁹¹

Moving forward in time to Ugarit, the primary deities associated with the netherworld are *Milku*, the *Malakūma*, *Rašap*, the *Rapa'ūma*, *Rapi'u*, *'Ināšu- 'Ilīma*, *Mōtu*, *Ḥōrānu* and *Šapšu*.⁴⁹² The research of Dietrich and Loretz, del Olmo Lete, and van der Toorn on Ugaritic texts leads to the conclusion that there were mortuary elements in

⁴⁸⁴ P. Xella, "Resheph," 701.

⁴⁸⁵ Toorn, "Priests," 2043–4.

⁴⁸⁶ Heider, *Cult*, 97–8.

⁴⁸⁷ Heider, *Cult*, 96–7; Pettinato, "Tell Mardikh-Ebla," 48; G. Pettinato, "Ebla and the Bible," *Biblical Archeologist* 43/4 (1980) 205; Pettinato, *Archives*, 260.

⁴⁸⁸ Heider, *Cult*, 97.

⁴⁸⁹ Müller, "Malik," 540.

⁴⁹⁰ Heider, *Cult*, 100–1.

⁴⁹¹ Toorn, "Priests," 2046.

⁴⁹² Lewis, "Dead," 226–8; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 279, 280–3.

the royal cult.⁴⁹³ Pardee has defined a *mortuary cult* as the beliefs and rituals in regards to the deified ancestors and a *funerary cult* as the ritual for the inhumation of the dead.⁴⁹⁴ These definitions are followed here. Let us now survey the various underworld deities at Ugarit.

The underworld deity *Milku* is attested in *RS 24.244:40-41* and *24.251:42*.⁴⁹⁵ His chthonic identity can be seen, for example, in Assyrian texts which equate him with Assyrian Nergal.⁴⁹⁶ The majority of scholars view these texts referring to *Milku* as a deity independent of El or Baal,⁴⁹⁷ but there are those who equate *Milku* with either of the latter two.⁴⁹⁸ The way that known gods such as El, Baal, Dagan, and Rašap are presented in such a formal way in *RS 24.244* indicates that each of the deities listed, including *Milku*, are viewed separate and independent (at least by some influential members of the community). In the following example from Pardee's translation of *RS 24.244* the relevant lines from each of the twelve subsections of the inscription can be seen. Each of the opening lines of the twelve subsections are identical except for the change in the name of the god and its cult centre. In addition to the way the text seems to indicate the independence of *Milku*, it also features the prominent netherworld deity *Šapšu*:⁴⁹⁹

Mother *Šapšu*, take a message to *'Ilu* at the headwaters of the two rivers, at
the confluence of the deeps...

⁴⁹³ M. Dietrich, and O. Loretz, "Ugaritische Rituale und Beschwörungen," *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments II/3* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1988) 328–9; Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 346–7; B. B. Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead: Ancestor Cult and Necromancy in Ancient Israelite Religion and Tradition* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1994); Toorn, *Family Religion*, 153–77.

⁴⁹⁴ Pardee, "Marziḥu," 273.

⁴⁹⁵ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 174–9; D. Pardee, "Ugaritic Liturgy Against Venomous Reptiles (1.94)," *CS 1* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) 295–8; Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 378–87.

⁴⁹⁶ Müller, "Malik," 540.

⁴⁹⁷ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 172–3; Pardee, "Ugaritic Liturgy," 295; S. B. Parker, "The Feast of Rapi'u," *UF 2* (1970) 243–4; Toorn, "Priests," 2054; Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 378.

⁴⁹⁸ For the view that *Milku* is equated with Baal see M. Dietrich, and O. Loretz, "Baal *Rpu* in KTU 1.108; 1.113 und Nach 1.17 VI 25–33," *UF 12* (1980) 179. For the view that *Milku* is equated with El see Y. Avishur, *Studies in Hebrew and Ugaritic Psalms* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1994) 104.

⁴⁹⁹ The twelfth subsection has a minor variation which does not affect the point being made here. In the twelfth subsection the final lines present in the eleven previous subsections "Then he binds the serpent, Feeds the scaly serpent, Draws up a chair and sits" is omitted (Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 174–8).

Mother Šapšu, take a message to Ba'lu on the heights of Šapunu ...

Mother Šapšu, take a message to Dagan at Tuttul ...

Mother Šapšu, take a message to 'Anatu-wa-'Attartu in 'Inbubu ...

Mother Šapšu, take a message to Yariḫu in Larugatu ...

Mother Šapšu, ta<ke> a message to Rašap in Bibitta ...

Mother Šapšu, take a message to 'Attartu in Mari ...

Mother Šapšu, take a message to Zizzu-wa-Kamātu in ḤRY ...

Mother Šapšu, take a message to Milku in 'Attartu ...

Mother Šapšu, take a message to Kôtaru-wa-Ḥasīsu in Caphtor ...

Mother Šapšu, take a message to Šaḫru-wa-Šalimu in the heavens ...

Mother Šapšu, take a message to Hôrānu at MŠD ...⁵⁰⁰

Another witness to the independent status of *Milku* (*il mlk*) is found in a divine betrothal text (*RS 24.255*). The information given is sparse, but it is clear that seven bulls are to be sacrificed to *Milku*. Pardee understands *il mlk* to be king of the underworld.⁵⁰¹

Milku and *Rāpi'u* have been identified as one and the same deity by some because they are both identified with the single location 'Attartu.⁵⁰² Pardee holds that *Rāpi'u* is actually an epithet for *Milku*.⁵⁰³ *Milku* also is stated to be resident in 'Attartu as the following line from text *RS 24.244* indicates: "Mother Šapšu, take a message to *Milku*

⁵⁰⁰ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 174–8.

⁵⁰¹ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 90–3.

⁵⁰² G. C. Heider, "Molech," *DDD* (Leiden: Brill, 1999 2nd Edition) 583; Müller, "Malik," 540; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 177; H. Rouillard-Bonraisin, "Rephaim," *DDD* (Leiden: Brill, 1999 2nd Edition) 697.

⁵⁰³ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 204–5 n. 6.

in ‘*Attartu* ...’⁵⁰⁴ This can be compared with *RS 24.252* in which *Rāpi’u* is located at ‘*Attartu*:

Now may *Rāpi’u*, king of eternity, drink,
May he drink, the god mighty and noble,
The god who dwells at ‘*Attartu*,
The god who dwells at *Hadra’yi* ...⁵⁰⁵

The two locations given in the text above, ‘*Attartu* and *Hadr’yi*, are the same locations given in the HB (‘*aštārōt* and ‘*edre’î*) for the reign of and battle with the Amorite king, Og of Bashan (Deut 1.4; Josh 12.4). In Deut Og is said to be a remnant of the *r^epa’îm*, the Hebrew cognate for the Ugaritic *Rapa’ūma* (cf. Deut 2.11, 20, 3.11, 13; Josh 12.4; 13.12; 15.8; 2 Sam 5.18; Ps 88.11; Job 26.5; Prov 2.18). This provides an important link between the Ugaritic and Yahwistic Rephaim.⁵⁰⁶ Additionally, the cult centre of *Rāpi’u/Milku* at the Amorite location of ‘*Attartu* is an example of the cross-pollination taking place between the Amorite city ‘*Attartu* and Ugarit. Furthermore, Van der Toorn and Wyatt hold that the intersubjectivity taking place with *Milku* involves the Ammonite god *Milcom*, and the later Israelite god *Molech*.⁵⁰⁷ Given the widespread social intersubjectivity at work in the region it is likely that they are correct. However changes (often significant) in the local meanings and practices can be expected, as communities commonly borrow symbols on their own terms.⁵⁰⁸

The nature and status of the plural *Rapa’ūma*, and the relationship they have to the singular *Rapi’u* discussed above are not completely clear. Most scholars understand them to be departed kings or shades of the dead who reside in the underworld.⁵⁰⁹

These ancestral deities provide protection, fertility, correction and guidance for their living family members. Van der Toorn uses the term “tutelary” to describe such deities,

⁵⁰⁴ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 177.

⁵⁰⁵ The translation is that of Pardee (Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 193–4).

⁵⁰⁶ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 205 n. 7.

⁵⁰⁷ Toorn, “Priests,” 2047, 2054; Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 383 n. 22.

⁵⁰⁸ Okely, *Traveller-Gypsies*, 77.

⁵⁰⁹ Grabbe, *Priests*, 134; Pardee, “Marziḥu.”; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 86–8, 282; Rouillard-Bonraisin, “Rephaim,” 692.

which have a continuity with the deified ancestors, the *ilī u mētē* (gods and the dead), of Mesopotamia.⁵¹⁰ Texts such as *KTU* 1.108 in which *Rāpi'u* presides over a feast of the *Rapa'ūma*, lead scholars to surmise that *Rāpi'u* is the lead deity of the *Rapa'ūma*.⁵¹¹ Furthermore, it has also been suggested that this chthonic deity is either an independent god,⁵¹² or that *Rāpi'u* is an epithet for *Milku*,⁵¹³ *Baal*,⁵¹⁴ *El*⁵¹⁵, *Rašap*⁵¹⁶ or *Mot*.⁵¹⁷ The deification of royalty is a feature that we have already seen in other ANE societies surveyed in this study.⁵¹⁸ *RS* 24.257 (*KTU* 1.113) provides an Ugaritic example of the way kings were given divine status. In this Ugaritic king-list the names of the kings are preceded by the divine epithet *il*, so that the line reads “the god who is ... ,”⁵¹⁹ or “the divine ...”⁵²⁰ The term *Rapa'ūma* means either “healthy ones” or “healers.”⁵²¹

Often understood as linked to *Milku* are the deities designated *Malakūma*. They appear in two deity lists at Ugarit (*RS* 1.017:33, *RS* 92.2004:42) and as recipients of libation offerings in *RS* 24.250⁺:25.⁵²² They seem to be deified human kings and ancestors of the Ugaritic royalty.⁵²³ At Ugarit, as in the Hittite and Mesopotamian contexts (and contrasting with the Egyptian context), the kings and their families were not considered divine until after death.⁵²⁴ The *Malakūma* have their parallel with chthonic

⁵¹⁰ Heider, *Cult*, 125–6; Toorn, *Family Religion*, 62, cf. 153.

⁵¹¹ Heider, *Cult*, 126; Lewis, “Dead,” 228; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 205 n. 6.

⁵¹² S. B. Parker, “Feast of Rapi'u,” 243–4.

⁵¹³ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 204–5; Rouillard-Bonraissin, “Rephaim,” 695; Toorn, “Priests,” 2047. Van der Toorn understands *Rapi'u* to be an adjective meaning ‘pure.’ As such he views it as an epithet used of *Maliku* and elsewhere of *Ilu* (Rouillard-Bonraissin, “Rephaim,” 694; Toorn, *Family Religion*, 170–1).

⁵¹⁴ Dietrich, “Baal *Rpu*,” 179.

⁵¹⁵ Avishur, *Studies*, 283; Toorn, *Family Religion*, 170–1.

⁵¹⁶ A. M. Cooper, “Canaanite Religion: An Overview,” *ER* 3 (London: Collier Macmillan, 1987) 39.

⁵¹⁷ See Heider’s citations for the various views (Heider, *Cult*, 122 n. 237).

⁵¹⁸ Cf. the Egyptian Abydos king-list mentioned in the section Religion in Ancient Egypt: Cosmic Warfare Worldview, p. 88, and ancestor cult and *kispum* ritual discussed in Religion in Ancient Mesopotamian and Anatolian Societies: Netherworld and Mortuary Cult, pp.120-6.

⁵¹⁹ Pardee’s translation (Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 202). See also Heider, *Cult*, 122–3.

⁵²⁰ Wyatt’s translation (Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 401–2).

⁵²¹ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 205 n. 6. Cf. Avishur, *Studies*, 282–3.

⁵²² Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 15, 18–9, 54–6; Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 360–2.

⁵²³ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 281.

⁵²⁴ Grabbe, *Priests*, 33; J. Gray, *The Canaanites* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964) 106–7.

Akkadian *Ma-lik*^{meš} (RS 20.024:32),⁵²⁵ and *Imlikū* at Emar (Nergal's gatekeepers).⁵²⁶ Their parallel with the Akkadian *Ma-lik*^{meš} confirms their identification as deities and also confirms their connection to *Malik* or *Maliku*. Heider suggests that the deity *Milku* is the head of this group of departed kings.⁵²⁷ The *Malakūma* and the *Rapa'ūma* seem to overlap a great deal. They may be, as Heider suggests, identical. The two arose from different sources but over time came to be understood as nearly synonymous.⁵²⁸ Or, as Alan Cooper has suggested, the *Rapa'ūma* may include all deified ancestors, while the *Malakūma* are a subgroup limited to departed royalty.⁵²⁹ The respective heads of these two groups of deities, *Rapi'u* and *Milku*, may be one and the same deity.⁵³⁰ In the first millennium BCE Phoenician context the *Rapa'ūma* are shorn of identification with divinity and are understood to be non-royal human beings.⁵³¹

The deity *Rašap* has overlap with *Milku*. He is the chief of the underworld deities and prescribed sacrifices to him occur frequently along with *Ba'lu* and the other primary deities of Ugarit. As mentioned above, according to Ugaritic bi-lingual deity lists *Rašap* is the Ugaritic equivalent of Mesopotamian Nergal (RS 1.017:27).⁵³² Also mentioned above is that fact that in Akkadian texts *Milku* is the equivalent of Nergal.⁵³³ In RS 24.249 *Rašap* is referred to as *Rašap-MLK*. Pardee suggests that the designation MLK indicates either a location or the royalty of the deity.⁵³⁴ The HB cognate *rešep* is mentioned eight times. The cotexts in which *rešep* is found in the HB indicates that at times it refers to some type of malevolent spirit being or god, while at other times it

⁵²⁵ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 15; Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 362.

⁵²⁶ Heider, *Cult*, 128–9. Müller affirms that *Malik*^{meš} are chthonic deities and that they are parallel to the *maliku* of Mari (H.-P. Müller, “מלך,” *TDOT VIII* [Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1997] 384). Mari texts give witness to the ‘kispum’ mortuary ritual given for the *maliku* (Müller, “Malik,” 540). A Mari text states “Why do you (witch) want to carry my soul to the m.-s (CAD 10.1, 169)?”

⁵²⁷ Heider, *Cult*, 126.

⁵²⁸ Heider, *Cult*, 133.

⁵²⁹ Cooper, “Canaanite Religion,” 40. Heider also suggests this as a possibility (Heider, *Cult*, 133).

⁵³⁰ Heider, *Cult*, 129–33.

⁵³¹ P. S. Johnston, *Shades of Sheol: Death and Afterlife in the Old Testament* (Leicester: IVP, 2002) 141.

⁵³² Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 14; Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 362; P. Xella, “Resheph,” 701.

⁵³³ Müller, “Malik,” 540.

⁵³⁴ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 41–3, 283.

has been taken to indicate natural phenomena such as lightning, sparks, or fiery arrows (Ps 76.4 [ET 3]; Job 5.7; Cant 8.6).⁵³⁵ But the translation/interpretation of the Hebrew *rešep* in natural terms may at times be a result of the modern tendency to impose its materialistic worldview on the ancient Hebrew text. What is closer to ancient Yahwistic reality is that these texts give witness to a rival deity identified as *Rešep*, who is subordinate to the power of Yahweh (cf. Deut 32.24; Hab 3.5; Ps 78.48).⁵³⁶

There is not much information about the chthonic deities *'Ināšu-'Ilīma* and *Mōtu* which helps us understand the religious phenomena of Deut 18.11. The *'Ināšu-'Ilīma* are deified shades who consistently figure among the divine recipients of the official sacrificial cult.⁵³⁷ It is unclear what their relationship is to the *Rapa'ūma* and the *Malakūma*. *Mōtu* is known from mythical texts, such as the *Baal Cycle*, but not in any cult texts.⁵³⁸ *Šapšu* is a female sun deity, that often figures prominently in mortuary texts.⁵³⁹

The last netherworld deity to survey is *Hōrānu*. He is found in the exorcism incantation text *RIH 78/20 (KTU 1.169)* where he has the power to cast out malevolent deities/spirits from oppressed individuals.⁵⁴⁰ As mentioned above in the section on religion in Egypt, *Hōrānu* is one of the West Semitic deities worshipped in Egypt from the time of the New Kingdom period.⁵⁴¹ The text mentioned above uses two terms, *kšpm* and *hbrm*, which are related etymologically to the Hebrew *kaššap* (cf. Deut 18.10)⁵⁴² and *hāber* (Deut 18.11) respectively, which will be discussed below.⁵⁴³ The god *Hōrānu* is understood to cast out the malevolent *kšpm* and *hbrm*. Wyatt translates the Ugaritic text as:

⁵³⁵ M. S. Smith, *Early History of God*, 77 n. 43.

⁵³⁶ M. S. Smith, *Early History of God*, 81; P. Xella, "Resheph," 702–3.

⁵³⁷ Pardee, "Marziḥu," 283–4.

⁵³⁸ Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 362 n. 23.

⁵³⁹ See above pp. 154–6. For more information on *Šapšu* see Lewis, "Dead," 227–8; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 283–4.

⁵⁴⁰ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 160–1.

⁵⁴¹ U. Rüterwörden, "Horon," *DDD* (Leiden: Brill, 1999 2nd edition) 426.

⁵⁴² Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 446 n. 28.

⁵⁴³ Cf. Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 31–5. For another example of the use of *hbr* at Ugarit see *RS 24.252:5*. There Pardee and Wyatt translate it "companions (Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 194; Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 396)."

O sorcerers (*kšpm*), O demons,
may Horon expel (your) familiars (*ḥbrm*)⁵⁴⁴

Horon is not mentioned explicitly in the HB, but there are number of occasions where the toponym Beth-Horon is found which suggests that the god Horon was not unknown in Israel (Josh 10.10, 11; 16.3, 5; 18.13; 1 Sam 13.18; 1 Kgs 9.17).

Another Ugaritic lexical link to terms listed in Deut 18.11 could be *ilib*, mentioned above, which van der Toorn maintains is properly translated “ancestor (father) god (rather than “god of the father”).” He and others understand the Hebrew *’ôb* (Deut 18.11) as derived from the Ugaritic term for father. If this is correct, the Hebrew *šō’ēl ’ôb* would be understood to mean consulting departed ancestors.⁵⁴⁵ As mentioned above, other possible links for the Hebrew *’ôb* in Deut 18.11 might be the word for a sacrificial pit used in a variety of Mesopotamian, Anatolian and Syro-Palestinian settings (Sumerian: *ab*, “opening;” Akkadian: *aptu*; Neo-Assyrian: *apu*; Hurrian and Hittite: *a--bi*; Ugaritic: *’eb*).⁵⁴⁶ These pits were used in sacrifices to spirits who were then ‘called up’ and communicated with, which brings to mind Saul’s experience with the *’ôb* of Endor (1 Sam 28.8-15).⁵⁴⁷ Unfortunately, there is no text at Ugarit that parallels the Endor narrative.⁵⁴⁸ If *’ôb* in Deut 18.11 was linked to any of the latter ANE terms and practices, the *šō’ēl ’ôb* would be one who consults the netherworld spirits in the sacrificial pit.

The term *yiddē’ōnî* and *dōrēš ’el-hammētîm* do not appear in extra-biblical Syro-Palestinian texts, with the exception that the former term is found in later Middle Hebrew inscriptions.⁵⁴⁹ Yet, as has been shown above, the concept of communicating

⁵⁴⁴ Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 446–7.

⁵⁴⁵ Albertz, *Israelite Religion*, 225 n. 65; Lewis, “Dead,” 223, 227, 228; Toorn, *Family Religion*, 160–1, 357. Cf. Pardee who argues that *ilib* can only mean ‘god of the father (Pardee, “Mar-zihū,” 283 n. 17).’

⁵⁴⁶ Hoffner, “אוב,” 131.

⁵⁴⁷ For the discussion of *’ôb* in *Religion in Ancient Mesopotamian and Anatolian Societies: Netherworld and Moruary Cult* see pp. 124-5.

⁵⁴⁸ Tarragon, “Witchcraft, Magic and Divination,” 2074.

⁵⁴⁹ The term Middle Hebrew refers to the dialect of Hebrew found in the Mishnah committed to writing c. 200 CE. See J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Wipf and Stock: Eugene, OR, 2004 Reprint) 309; R. Brooks, “Mishnah,” *ABD IV* (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 872.

with departed deified ancestors was present earlier than this in Syro-Palestine.

In conclusion, the netherworld gods have been shown to be included in the sacrificial cult with *'Elu, Ba'lu, Dagon*, and the other principle deities of Ugarit (cf. *RS* 1.017/24.264⁺/20.024/24.643:1-9, 1.003; 24.249).⁵⁵⁰ The veneration of the departed, their elevation to the status of deity, the positive role they played in the community as tutelary beings, healers, and dispensers of a wide range of supernatural power, as well as their inclusion in the official cult, show that the Ugarites viewed their worship as an essential part of accepted religion and that they generally viewed the netherworld positively.⁵⁵¹ As compared to Mesopotamia, little is known of Ugaritic domestic religion. However, there is no polemic against aberrant forms of religion to be found in extant Ugaritic texts. It is plausible that, as in Mesopotamia, family religion mirrored the royal cult, albeit on a smaller scale. Also important for this study is the understanding that there was a netherworld deity named *Milku* who was probably linked in some socially interactive way to the Ammonite *Milcom* and the Israelite *Molek*. However, there is no evidence for child sacrifice related to *Milku* or the other Ugaritic netherworld deities surveyed above. The *Rapa'ūma* found in the HB (*R^epā'im*) often designate shades of the dead in poetic texts, but in narratives it designates a certain group of extraordinarily tall inhabitants of Canaan (Deut 2.11, 20; 3.11, 13), or persons of some type of royal character (Isa 14.9).⁵⁵² There are a number of Ugaritic terms used for gods that are cognates for terms found in the HB, for example *'Ilu* for Hebrew *'ēl* (Deut 5.9), *Ba'lu* for *Ba'al* (Deut 4.3), *Milku* for *Mōlek* (Lev 18.21; 1 Kgs 11.7), *Rapa'ūma* for *R^epā'im* (Deut 2.11, 20; 3.11, 13), and *Rašap* for *Rešep* (Deut 32.24). The Hebrew term *ōb* in Deut 18.11, may be linked to the term *ilib* used for 'ancestor deity.' Next we turn to issues concerning human sacrifice in Syro-Palestine.

⁵⁵⁰ Dietrich, "Texte," 302–3, 315; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 14–5, 41–3, 59–65.

⁵⁵¹ P. Xella, "Death and the Afterlife in Canaanite and Hebrew Thought," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 2066.

⁵⁵² Rouillard-Bonraisin, "Rephaim," 695–8.

Human Sacrifice

There is no unambiguous archaeological evidence of human sacrifice in Syro-Palestine and no explicit epigraphic evidence apart from the HB.⁵⁵³ However, two Egyptian murals and one Ugaritic text discussed below offer possible evidence. In general, blood, as well as non-blood, sacrifices were a central part of the Eblaite cult. The most common sacrifice was a non-blood bread offering. The most common blood sacrifice was a sheep offering. Oxen were offered as sacrifices but less often.⁵⁵⁴ The feast called *hul/rumu* (izi-gar in Sumerian) means ‘consecration’ and Dahood and Pettinato have speculated that it refers to child sacrifice.⁵⁵⁵ But at this time there is no evidence concerning human sacrifice at Ebla.

In Ugarit all ritual involved some type of sacrifice. The evidence from religious rituals indicates that they took place just as much privately as at public sanctuaries. Most of the evidence for ritual has to do with the upper echelons of society, with the king as central cultic figure.⁵⁵⁶

In the midst of a paucity of evidence in the ANE for a kind of child sacrifice indicated by the phrase *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bitô bāēš* (Deut 18.10) some interesting information on Syro-Palestinian practices comes from second millennium BCE Egyptian New Kingdom war reliefs and inscriptions. These pictorial images and inscriptions depict the victories of Seti I, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III over various cities described as Canaanite (Gaza).⁵⁵⁷ The common motif in these scenes are an Egyptian king with his armies capturing a Canaanite city, the besieged leaders of the city in the keep of the fortress with hands raised toward the sky in an act of prayer, one leading figure among them usually holds a brazier which often contains fire, and children being dropped from the wall. Two of the numerous examples are provided below in Plates 1 and 2. Plate 1

⁵⁵³ A. R. W. Green, *Human Sacrifice*, 199.

⁵⁵⁴ Pettinato, *Archives*, 254–5.

⁵⁵⁵ Pettinato, *Archives*, 257.

⁵⁵⁶ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 1–4.

⁵⁵⁷ A. J. Spalinger, “A Canaanite Ritual Found in Egyptian Reliefs,” *JSSEA* 8 (1978) 48.

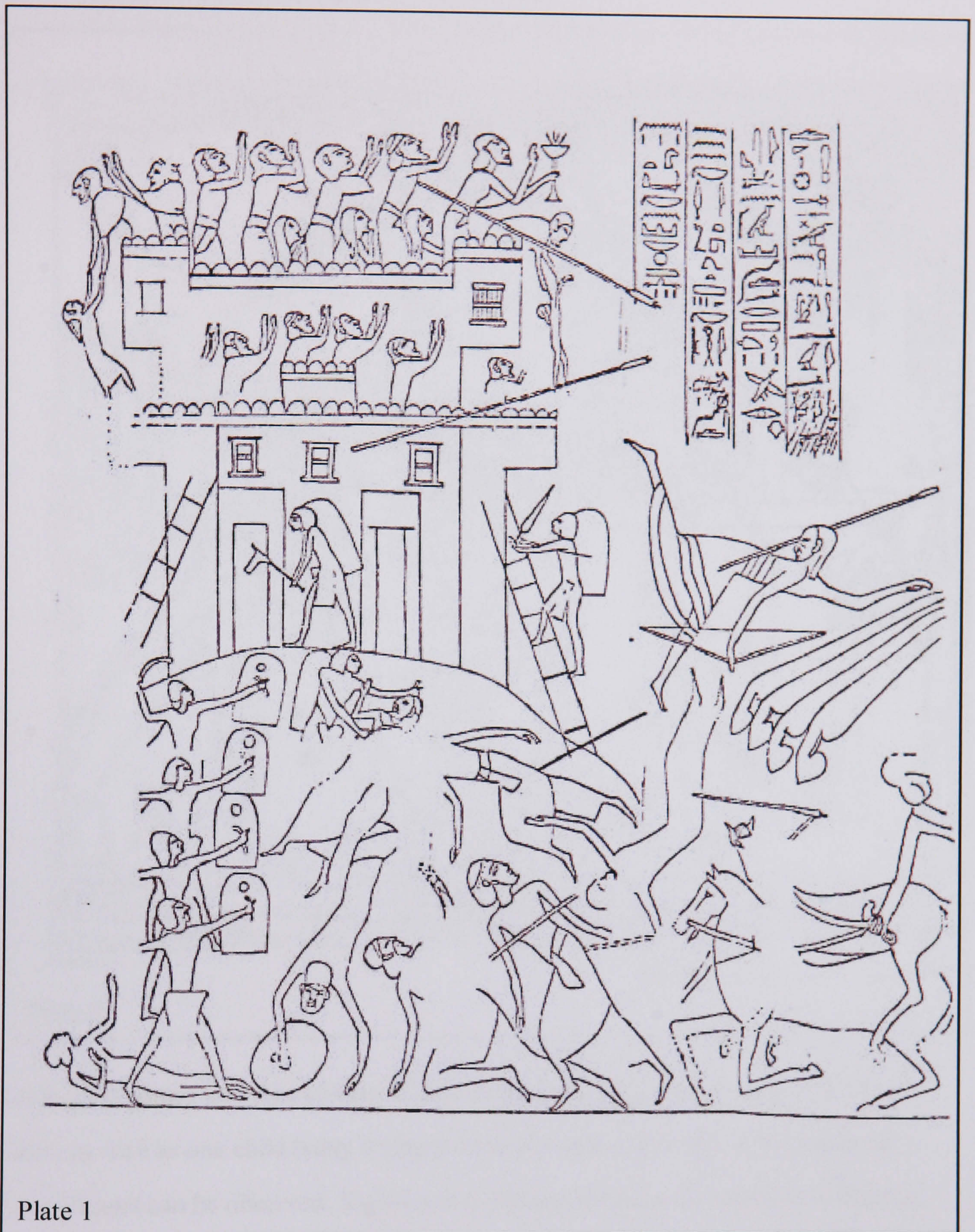
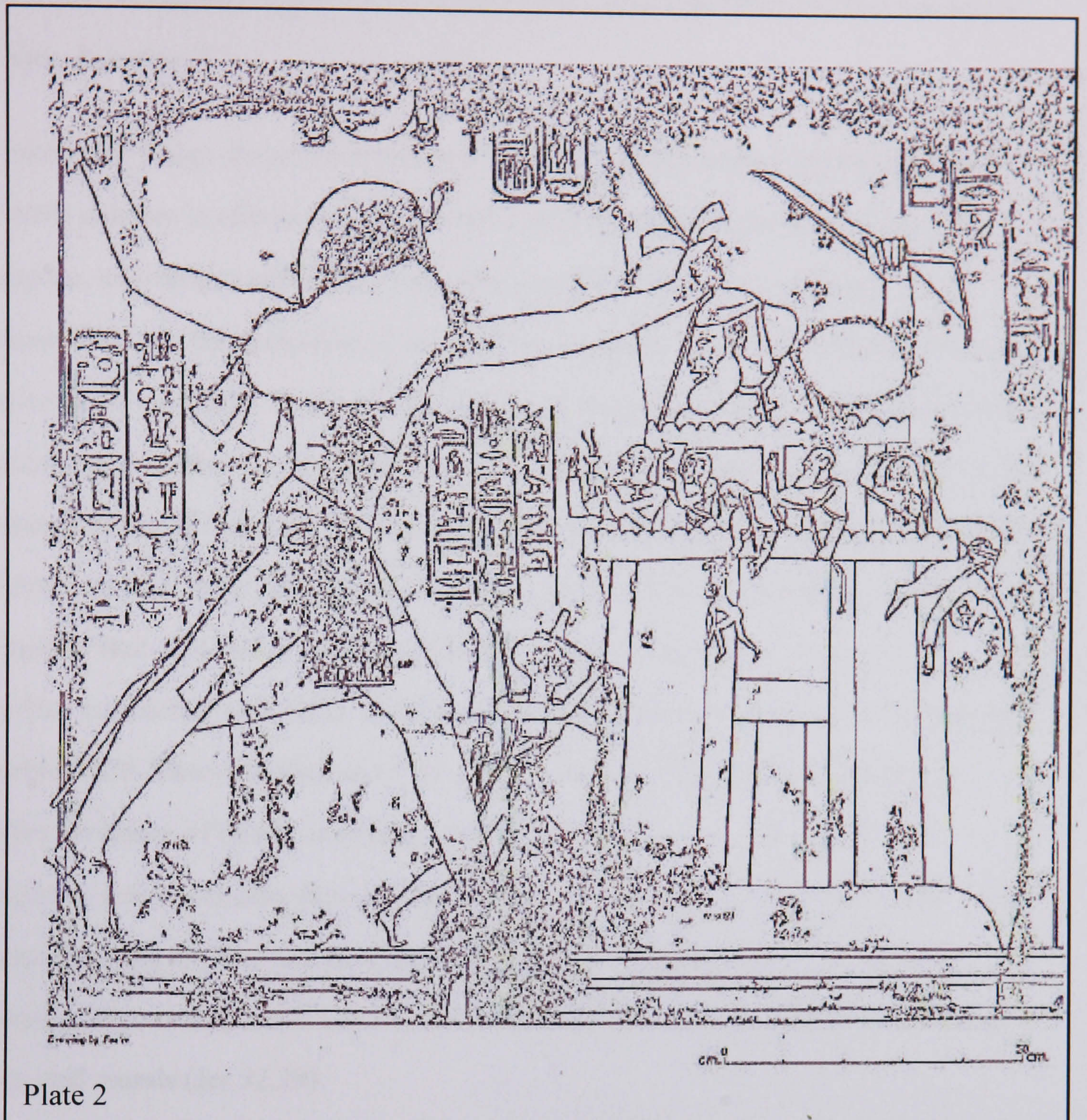


Plate 1

is Spalinger's reproduction from a relief at the Tomb of Merneptah at Luxor.⁵⁵⁸ The inscription states that the besieged city is Ashkelon. The armies of Pharaoh are about to break into the city. One can observe two children being dropped from the wall, one of them limp. The flaming brazier is present along with the outstretched arms of the supplicants while the battle rages outside the city walls. Plate 2 is even more sig-

⁵⁵⁸ Spalinger, "Canaanite Ritual," Plate VI.



nificant.⁵⁵⁹ It comes from the temple of Beit el-Wali at Nubia. The flaming brazier can be seen, as well as one child being dropped from the wall. Again the raised hands of the supplicants can be observed. Significant in the inscription is the mention of Baal as the object of worship. This makes an interesting connection between Baal, the ritual with the flaming brazier, and children being sacrificed (cf. Jer 19.5; 32.35). The phenomenon of the propitiatory sacrifice of King Mesha's son described in 2 Kgs 3.27 seems to have commonality with the scenes from these New Kingdom war reliefs.⁵⁶⁰

This evidence seems to provide images of forms of Syro-Palestinian human sacrifice

⁵⁵⁹ Spalinger, "Canaanite Ritual," Plate VII.

⁵⁶⁰ P. Derchain, "Les plus anciens témoignages de sacrifices d'enfants chez les sémites occidentaux," *VT* 20 (1970) 354. See also the general comments about propitiatory human sacrifice in Syro-Palestine in A. R. W. Green, *Human Sacrifice*, 199–200.

and which would lend support to the biblical statements that child sacrifice was found in Syro-Palestine.⁵⁶¹

A number of things should be mentioned about the quality of the Egyptian depictions of ANE cultures in effectively distinguishing between them. Items such as hair, dress, weapons, and various utensils are culturally specific in the various murals. It is significant that only the depictions of war against Canaanite cities show the children being thrown from the walls. This is not the case in the Egyptian depictions of people outside the cultural boundaries of Canaan such as the images of the subjugation of Qode or the nomadic Shasu of Naharain.⁵⁶² Also, the connection of Canaanite Baal with the ritual of child sacrifice in the late second millennium BCE image and inscription from the temple of Beit el-Wali has an interesting link with Neo-Assyrian notions of child sacrifice connected with Adad, understood to be synonymous with Baal in second millennium BCE Mesopotamian and Syro-Palestinian cult.⁵⁶³ This also corresponds to biblical evidence of Baal's association with child sacrifice (Jer 19.5; 32.35). The preceding references also show a close association of astral worship and the altars on house rooftops for Baal and his consort Ashtarte (the Queen of Heaven, Ishtar in Assyria). The rooftop altars correspond to those pictured on the Egyptian New Kingdom wall murals (Jer 32.29).

One Ugaritic text (*RS 24.266:26•36•*) may point to human sacrifice and give understanding to the Egyptian murals discussed above. Spalinger mentions specifically that it may fit with the mural from the temple of Beit el-Wali in Nubia (Plate 2).⁵⁶⁴ The ritual in *RS 24.266:26•36•* is a prescription for sacrifice to *Ba'lu* when the city is being attacked in battle. Pardee's translation of the text is as follows:

When a strong foe attacks your gate,

⁵⁶¹ Derchain, "sacrifices d'enfants," 353–5; Spalinger, "Canaanite Ritual," 50–3.

⁵⁶² Spalinger, "Canaanite Ritual," 50, 52.

⁵⁶³ See discussion of Neo-Assyrian documents from the 9th-7th centuries BCE concerning "burning children" to Adad and Ishtar above in the section entitled Human Sacrifice in Religion in Mesopotamian and Anatolian Societies, pp. 126-7.

⁵⁶⁴ Spalinger, "Canaanite Ritual," 54–5.

a warrior your walls,
 You shall lift your eyes to *Ba'lu* and say:
 O *Ba'lu*, if you drive the strong one from our gate,
 the warrior from our walls,
 A bull, O *Ba'lu* we shall sanctify,
 a vow, O *Ba'lu*, we shall fulfill,
 a firstborn, O *Ba'lu*, we shall sanctify,
 a *hṭp*-offering, O *Ba'lu*, we shall fulfill,
 a feast, O *Ba'lu*, we shall offer;
 To the sanctuary, O *Ba'lu*, we shall ascend,
 that path, O *Ba'lu*, we shall take.
 And *Ba'[lu* will h]ear [your] prayer:
 He will drive the strong foe from your gate,
 [the warrior] from yo[ur] walls.⁵⁶⁵

When comparing this Ugaritic text to the Egyptian murals and inscriptions concerning the Canaanite appeal to Baal in the plates above, it is possible that there could be correspondences between the two situations.

An important issue in the Ugaritic text is line 31•which reads ... -]kr b[']l. nš[q]dš. Pardee translates it as “a firstborn, O *Ba'lu*, we shall sanctify.”⁵⁶⁶ The ambiguity which teases the imagination is in the term whose first letter is missing and which a number have translated “firstborn.”⁵⁶⁷ Wyatt restores it to [d]kr and translates it as “male animal,” but adds that the restoration and translation “firstborn” is “unproven rather than impossible, and would gain plausibility with further supporting evidence from Ugarit.”⁵⁶⁸

To sum up the results of this review of the characteristics of the child sacrifice ritual seen in the Egyptian New Kingdom murals and inscriptions it is evident that (1) Baal is associated with apparent child sacrifice (cf. Jer 19.5; 32.35); (2) the ritual is performed in an embattled city about to be overthrown; (3) incense braziers are present, usually

⁵⁶⁵ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 53.

⁵⁶⁶ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 53.

⁵⁶⁷ Avishur, *Studies*, 255, 260–1; A. Herdner, “Une Prière à Baal Des Ugaritains en Danger,” *CRAI* (1972) 695; B. Margalit, “A Restoration Proposal in *AQHT* (CTA/KTU 1.17: VI: 45),” *RB* 90 (1983) 364 n. 20; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 53.

⁵⁶⁸ Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 422 n. 43.

with fire; (4) supplicants on rooftops direct their hands and pleas to the heavens; (5) the depictions of child sacrifice are unique to images representing Canaanite cities, and not to other conquered societies outside of Canaan.⁵⁶⁹ From the Ugaritic text *RS 24.266:26•36•* discussed above there is a correspondence with the Egyptian inscriptions and murals with Baal being a god propitiated so that in the midst of crisis harmony and order can be restored. The Egyptian material also has plausible correspondence with the Mesha narrative (2 Kgs 3.27) in showing a propitiatory human sacrifice designed to restore cosmic balance and harmony. The biblical evidence for child sacrifice, especially in regards to the phrase *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bitô bāēš*, does not seem to be restricted to a propitiatory sacrifice in times of military crisis, the only explicit references to such a case being the Mesha and possibly the Jephthah narratives (2 Kgs 3.27; Judg 11). The Israelite Molech, Baal, and child sacrifice rituals for unnamed deities do not seem to have this occasional or spontaneous characteristic, but give the impression of an established cult ritual (2 Kgs 16.3; 17.17; 21.6; 23.10; Jer 7.31-32; 19.5-6, 11; 32.35; Ezek 16.20-21; 20.25-26, 30-31; 23.36-39).⁵⁷⁰ The latter biblical citations will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. It may be that the child sacrifice ritual mentioned in Deut 18.10, alleged to be of Canaanite origin (18.9, 12), includes a general reference to the occasional propitiatory sacrifices witnessed in neighbouring communities. But it would be natural for such a ritual to take on individuality in the distinct Israelite context.⁵⁷¹ This will be explored further in due course. Finally, the royal substitution sacrifice witnessed in Hittite and Mesopotamian societies is not attested in Syro-Palestine. What follows next is a review of divine power rituals in the ancient Syro-Palestinian context.

Priests and Magic

Incantation texts from Ebla continue to provide evidence for the holistic way that divine power formulas and divination were generally integrated into the religious

⁵⁶⁹ Spalinger, "Canaanite Ritual," 54.

⁵⁷⁰ Heider, "Molech DDD," 584.

⁵⁷¹ See discussion of world-construction and the adoption of symbols pp. 48-9, 61.

worldview of the various societies in the ANE and AMW. Since this is uncommon in traditional religious experience in the West, generally speaking, it is beneficial to be reminded once again of the general perspectives on supernatural phenomena in the ANE. Jean-Michel de Tarragon comments:

Rationality, progressively introduced into our minds since the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, has inhibited belief and practice in the domain of the irrational, the unacknowledged, the illicit. The ancient Semitic world had a positive attitude toward these practices, not by tolerance, a modern attitude, but by conviction. The absence of experimental medicine in all ancient societies made legitimate an attitude in the face of illness that we consider superstitious.⁵⁷²

Turning now to the situation at Elba, the incantations recovered seem to be a mix of Sumerian and Eblaite languages. Their concern is defence against the dangers of the physical and spirit worlds. Once again the general ANE understanding of a cosmic conflict comes into view. In the physical world the incantations are given to protect against scorpions and snakes. In the spirit world, they are designed to protect against the activity of malevolent deities. The river god *Baliḫ* and the storm god *Hadad* are the primary gods appealed to for protection in the incantations.⁵⁷³

Moving to the setting in Ugarit, the evidence shows that power ritual and royal cult existed together without tension, however the evidence for power ritual is small.⁵⁷⁴ A tentative definition of power ritual, or ‘magic,’ at Ugarit would be a type of independent cosmic power, often used in cult ritual, residing in the speaking of a certain formula that was used for good or for evil.⁵⁷⁵ Evil practitioners of magic are referred to as *kšp* (related to the Hebrew term in Deut 18.10, *m^ekaššēp*, and the Mesopotamian *kaš-šāpu*, a practitioner of malevolent power formula), *glm d’tm*, and *hbrm* (related to the

⁵⁷² Tarragon, “Witchcraft, Magic and Divination,” 2071.

⁵⁷³ Pettinato, *Archives*, 259–60.

⁵⁷⁴ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 157.

⁵⁷⁵ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 157.

Hebrew term in Deut 18.11, *hōbēr*). The ‘evil eye’ seems to be an independent power working malevolently (*RS 22.225*). Practitioners of benevolent magic, offering protection from different forms of cosmological attack, are the royal cult *ṭ’y* priest, (perhaps analogous to the Mesopotamian *āšipu* or *mašmašu* priest), and the deity *Ḥôrānu*.⁵⁷⁶ The issue of power and control are central to the idea of supernatural power ritual in Ugarit.⁵⁷⁷

In Ugarit one can find examples of supernatural power ritual without explicitly invoking the gods as well as ritual explicitly invoking them. An example of an incantation text which does not explicitly invoke the gods is found in *RS 92.2014*, which is an incantation against snakes and scorpions. In this text the supernatural power wielded by the practitioner of apotropaic magic, the *ṭ’y* priest, is prominent.⁵⁷⁸ In another incantation text an example is found of the blending of the impersonal and independent power of supernatural power with the power resident in the invocation of the gods. This is found in *RS 24.244.4*, already discussed above, which is also an incantation against snake bites. In this text the conjurer (*mlḥš*) has written an incantation in which eleven of its thirteen sections are nearly an exact repetition except that in the heading of each section the name of the deity invoked changes.⁵⁷⁹ The term *mlḥš*, which relates etymologically to the *laḥaš* in the HB (Ps 58.6 [ET 58.5]), is not listed among the temple personnel, neither is it present in the lists of corporations in the Ugarit society.⁵⁸⁰ Yet, the two texts above were found in the library of the priest at Ugarit, indicating that as a priest in the cult, it was important for him to know the incantations of the *mlḥš*.

The Ugaritic deity *Ḥôrānu*,⁵⁸¹ or Horon, is usually associated with apotropaic incantations. Texts such as *RIH 78/20* and *RS 24.244* indicate that his power harnessed in the incantation for protection against destructive forces is not an impersonal supernatural

⁵⁷⁶ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 157–8. See also the discussion vis-à-vis *Ḥôrānu* in this section under the heading Netherworld and Mortuary Cult, pp. 160-1.

⁵⁷⁷ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 157; Tarragon, “Witchcraft, Magic and Divination,” 2075, 2080.

⁵⁷⁸ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 158.

⁵⁷⁹ Astour, “Serpent Charms,” 13–5. Cf. Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 172–9.

⁵⁸⁰ Astour, “Serpent Charms,” 36.

power, but the power of *Hôrānu* himself.⁵⁸² In this exorcism incantation *Hôrānu* destroys the malevolent power of sorcerers (*kšpm*) or tormentors (*dbbm*).⁵⁸³ The monistic aspect of the Ugaritic worldview can be seen in the fact that while *Hôrānu* is usually viewed positively, he is also known as a chief of malevolent spirits.⁵⁸⁴

As this discussion on the relationship between cult and magic in ancient Syro-Palestine concludes, we must look at two Ugaritic words that have appeared in the texts reviewed above which have cognates found in the list in Deut 18.10-11. The Ugaritic root *ktpm*⁵⁸⁵ is cognate with the Hebrew term for supernatural power ritual, or ‘magic,’ *kešep*, both derived from Akkadian *kašāpu* which has been discussed above.⁵⁸⁶ In Mesopotamia the *kaššāpu* (m.) and the *kaššaptu* (f.) are always practitioners of malevolent magic. There are Syro-Palestinian texts (*RIH 78/20*⁵⁸⁷ and *RS 92.2014*⁵⁸⁸) which use the term *kšpm* with the Akkadian ‘š.’ In the incantation text *RIH 78/20*, an afflicted person seeks freedom from the effects of a sorcerer’s spell. This text also has links to Deut 18.10-11 due to the similar terms used: *kšpm* and *hbrm*.⁵⁸⁹ The second Ugaritic term with power ritual connotations, *hbrm*, was mentioned above in the section Netherworld and Mortuary Cult and is cognate with the Hebrew term used in Deut 18.11, *hāber*.⁵⁹⁰ Generally the Ugaritic *hbr* means companion, as is often the case with *hāber* in Hebrew.⁵⁹¹ However, the context in both Deut 18.11 and *RIH 78/20* is that of illicit cult phenomena. Other Syro-Palestinian attestations for the word are late.⁵⁹² This brief survey of so-called ‘magic’ practice in Syro-Palestine indicates that royal cult and supernatural power formulae cannot be sepa-

⁵⁸² cf. Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 173, 178–9.

⁵⁸³ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 160; Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 446 n. 28, 447 n. 29.

⁵⁸⁴ Rüterswörden, “Horon,” 426.

⁵⁸⁵ The Ugaritic term *ktpm* is found in KTU 1.107 (*RS 24.251.48*) (Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 182).

⁵⁸⁶ Andre, “כִּשְׁפָה,” 361; *HALOT* 2, 503; M. J. A. Horsnell, “כִּשְׁפָה,” *NIDOTTE* 2 (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1996) 735; Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 67; Pardee, “Ugaritic Incantation,” 328 n. 6. Cf. also Abusch, *Mesopotamian Witchcraft*, 7.

⁵⁸⁷ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 160.

⁵⁸⁸ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 159.

⁵⁸⁹ Andre, “כִּשְׁפָה,” 363.

⁵⁹⁰ Andre, “כִּשְׁפָה,” 361.

⁵⁹¹ Cazelles, “חִבְרָה,” 193–4.

⁵⁹² Cazelles, “חִבְרָה,” 194.

rated. Let us now finish the survey of certain manifestations of religion in various Syro-Palestinian societies (primarily Ugarit) with some concluding remarks.

Conclusion

This brief summary concerning religious practices in Syro-Palestine relating to Deut 18 provides information on societies that, in Carrither's terms, shared a significant inter-subjective process with Israelite people and culture from the LB Age through the Iron Age. Of the various Syro-Palestinian societies viewed Ugarit is the most prominent. Some of the observations that can be made from this review of religious practitioners and practices and their worldview in Syro-Palestine are that:

- 1) a cosmic conflict worldview is present as seen in the *Baal Cycle*, *Aqhat*, *Keret*, and the apotropaic ritual texts.
- 2) a general monistic understanding of good and evil in the cosmos can be seen in the example of deities such as *Hôrānu*.
- 3) evidence for prophecy is found at first millennium BCE Deir Alla and in the Zakkur Stele, but not from second millennium BCE Ugarit.
- 4) evidence from murals in Karnak and Nubia in Plates 1 and 2 above seems to show a cultic ritual of sacrificing children, the later indicating that the deity propitiated is Baal. This type of ritual may have some connection with the *ma^a vîr b^e nô û-bittô bāēš* of Deut 18.10, but also may indicate differences.
- 5) a number of texts from Ugarit provide clues for a royal mortuary ritual, which by way of analogy with evidence of royal and domestic religion in Mesopotamia, leads to a theory of domestic mortuary ritual. The Ugaritic cognate for the Hebrew term *'ôb* (Deut 18.11) may point to the veneration of and/or communication with deified ancestors. The other terms in Deut 18.11 that seem to relate specifically to communi-

cation with the dead are not found (i.e., *yidd^e 'ōnī*, *dōrēš 'el-hammētīm*), but related concepts are contained in Ugaritic mortuary ritual. The information and succour to be gained from the shades would cross categories of divination and 'magic.'

6) cognates for a number of religious terms in Deut 18 are found for *m^e kaššēp*, *ḥōbēr ḥāber*, *kōhēn*, and *nābī*'. The two former terms seems to relate more to malevolent supernatural power ritual, and the latter two to cult practitioners. While divination texts abound, cognates with Hebrew for divination practices are not found, with the possible of exception of *'ōb*.

What follows then is a brief comparison of this data with the Israelite community and with Israelite Yahwism as set forth in Deut.

Religion in Ancient Israel

Introduction

At the beginning it was stated that this chapter is concerned with a comparative method which surveys communities in the ANE, AMW and CW in order to provide a context for the Yahwistic prohibitions concerning certain rituals and practitioners of religion assumed to be common at that time. The goal of this chapter was 1) to better understand the relationship of the practitioners and practices mentioned in Deut 18.10-11 with those in other ANE and AMW societies, 2) to understand relevant aspects of the various worldviews of these societies, and 3) to provide concepts and definitions to aid in understanding the religious phenomena found in the ANE which relate to those found in Deut 18. Terms used in the CW were also discussed as they underlie many of the relevant 'magic' and divination terms and concepts used in the West. The specific Yahwistic concepts and practices under consideration are expressed in Deut 18.10-11 by the Hebrew terms *ma^a vīr b^e nō ū-bittō bāēš*, *qōsēm q^e sāmīm*, *m^e 'ōnēn*, *m^e naḥēš*. *m^e kaššēp*, *ḥōbēr ḥāber*, *šō 'ēl 'ōb*, *yidd^e 'ōnī*, and *dōrēš 'el-hammētīm*. Some attention

was given to how priests and prophets were defined in the various communities surveyed above. With this survey completed, a brief comparative analysis with what is known of ancient Israelite society and Yahwism will follow. We will begin this last section with a summary of the development of the Israelite community to better understand its relationship to its ANE neighbours.

The community referred to as Ancient Israel emerged in a complex interactive and intersubjective social process from among various communities of the ANE.⁵⁹³ The HB gives abundant evidence of this process (Gen 11.31; Exod 2.16-21; 12.38; Num 32.12; Josh 6.25; 9.4, 26-27; Judg 1.27-35; 3.5-6; Ruth 1.1-4; 2 Sam 24.37, 39). Because of the social situation in which they emerged in the late second millennium BCE, and because of the continued process of intersubjectivity and mutability throughout the centuries of the first millennium BCE, tensions arose as Yahwists sought to give explicit definition to the faith of the Israelite community. These tensions are witnessed in the books of the Pentateuch such as Deut, as well as most of the remainder of the HB. Eickelman addresses such tensions in his discussion of explicit and implicit ideology in his ethnographic research centred on the marabouts of Boujad, Morocco.⁵⁹⁴ In Boujad, the belief in marabouts, intermediaries with a special relationship to God which endues them with supernatural power to bring blessing to people, was an assumption of local Muslims until the end of the nineteenth century. Maraboutism was not written about or debated because most Moroccans of Boujad implicitly believed that the power of the marabout is something that 'just is.' Later however, Islamic reformers opposed belief in marabouts they considered an aberration of orthodox Islam. Their beliefs were explicitly and polemically articulated in order to affect change in the community. The Islamic reformers of Boujad represent the bearers of explicit ideology.⁵⁹⁵ The speed and ease with which the members of the Israelite community built the calf idol as the centre-piece of worship and object of thanksgiving

⁵⁹³ P. Pitkänen, "Ethnicity, Assimilation and the Israelite Settlement," *TB* 55/2 (2004) 162–83.

⁵⁹⁴ For the explanation of the theoretical notions of implicit/explicit ideology see Chapter 2, p. 49.

⁵⁹⁵ Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam*, 6–11. See also the discussion concerning world-construction and externalisation in Chapter 2, pp. 48-9.

and revelry after the exodus (Exod 32.1-6), in a firmly aniconic Yahwistic context (Exod 20.1-6; Deut 5.6-10), may be an example of implicit ideology, as might also be the case in the worship and revelry in the presence of the Baal of Peor (Num 25.1-3). These two examples and others from the HB listed below indicate that the Israelites were not a homogeneous religious community.⁵⁹⁶ I would suggest that the canonical Yahwistic literature represents the explicit ideology of reformers initiating worldview change (cf. Deut 4.3-4; 9.7-21).

There are numerous studies which have sought to explain the process by which Israel became a community.⁵⁹⁷ Two minimal features that may have provided boundaries of ethnicity for Israel included some type of devotion to Yahweh,⁵⁹⁸ and an identification with the narratives explaining the origins of the community that were a basic feature of its collective memory. At a minimum, Israel's community narratives would have included an identification with the forefathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the story of the enslavement and exodus from Egypt.⁵⁹⁹ In the ebb and flow of history, details of the way in which Israel defined itself must have changed and grown.⁶⁰⁰ Much controversy and debate surrounds both the details of the emergence of Israel as an ethnically distinct community, and the beginning of the worship of its god Yahweh. How-

⁵⁹⁶ P. D. Miller, *The Religion of Ancient Israel* (LAI; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2000) 46–105.

⁵⁹⁷ Albright, *Yahweh*, 153–72; E. Bloch-Smith, "Israelite Ethnicity in Iron I: Archaeology Preserves What is Remembered and What is Forgotten in Israel's History," *JBL* 122/3 (2003) 401–25; Gotwald, *Tribes of Yahweh*; Miller, *Religion of Ancient Israel*; Pitkänen, "Ethnicity.," I. W. Provan, V. P. Long and T. Longman III, *A Biblical History of Israel* (London: Westminster John Knox, 2003); R. M. Seltzer, "Jewish People," *ER* 8 (London: Collier MacMillan, 1987) 32–3; M. S. Smith, *Early History of God*; J. A. Soggin, *A History of Israel: From the Beginnings to the Bar Kochba Revolt, AD 135* (London: SCM, 1985); T. L. Thompson, *The Mythic Past: Biblical Archaeology and the Myth of Israel* (London: Basic Books, 1999); Toorn, *Family Religion*. A thorough treatment of the various theories which exist is beyond the scope of this study, and is not necessary for the basic argument.

⁵⁹⁸ Surprisingly, Yahweh is not found listed in any of the pantheons of the ANE (Miller, *Religion of Ancient Israel*, 3; Seltzer, "Jewish People," 33). This is an exception to the common process of inter-subjectivity witnessed in the ANE context. Only one other ANE example of this is found: the worship of the deity Ashur is only attested among the Assyrians (K. L. Noll, *Canaan and Israel in Antiquity: An Introduction* [London: Sheffield Academic, 2001] 251). The name 'Yahweh' as the god of Israel is abundantly attested in extrabiblical epigraphic finds dating from the eighth to sixth centuries BC (Miller, *Religion of Ancient Israel*, 40).

⁵⁹⁹ Elizabeth Bloch-Smith has recently suggested that short beards, abstinence from pork, circumcision, and military inferiority were Iron I characteristics of the premonarchial Israelite community (Bloch-Smith, "Israelite Ethnicity," 422, 425).

⁶⁰⁰ Bloch-Smith, "Israelite Ethnicity," 403.

ever, for the purposes of this study only a minimal amount of agreed upon historical data is needed. Most agree that the process of Israel becoming a community had a beginning sometime between *c.* 1200-1000 BCE. For those who hold to this view, evidence comes from the Egyptian Merneptah Stele inscriptions which mentions “Israel” as some type of community in Syro-Palestine. But for others maintaining this view the Merneptah Stele is not significant.⁶⁰¹ Many hold that the worship of Yahweh was present in some way in the premonarchial Israelite community sometime from the same period, the LB Age to sometime in the early Iron Age.⁶⁰² This would coincide with the earliest traditions of the book of Deut. For the purposes of this study explained in the methodological chapter, there is no need to be more precise in dating than this. What follows are some brief observations concerning the Yahwistic vision for the Israelite community, with particular reference to Deut 18, based on the comparative analysis of the ANE communities surveyed above. The six analytical categories used for each of the cultures above will continue to organise the discussion below.

Cosmic Warfare Worldview in Yahwism

In the context of the ANE, Israelite Yahwism had much in common with its neighbours, as well as much that was unique. The *Chaoskampf* was observed in all the ANE communities described above. It was also present in the Yahwistic literature, although

⁶⁰¹ Aharoni, *Land of Israel*, 153–91; Ahlström, *Ancient Israel*, 282–8, 423; Bloch-Smith, “Israelite Ethnicity,” 402; Albright, *Yahweh*, 159; Dever, *What Did the Biblical Writers Know?* 201–6; W. W. Hallo, “Biblical History in Its Near Eastern Setting,” *Essays on the Comparative Method* 34 (PTMS; Pittsburgh, PA: Pickwick, 1980); K. A. Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2003) 159; N. P. Lemche, “Israel, History of (Premonarchic Period),” *ABD* 3 (London: Doubleday, 1992) 527; A. Malamat, *History of Biblical Israel: Major Problems and Minor Issues* (CHANE; Leiden: Brill, 2001) 3–8; Miller, *Religion of Ancient Israel*, xviii; Noll, *Canaan and Israel*, 124–8; M. Noth, *The History of Israel* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1960) 21; I. W. Provan, V. P. Long and T. Longman III, *History of Israel*, 107, 189–90; M. S. Smith, *Early History of God*, 6–7; R. d. Vaux, *The Early History of Israel: From the Entry Into Canaan to the Period of the Judges* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1978) 606. Certain ones view historical Israel as a reality not evident until later in the 1st millennium BC. Cf. P. R. Davies, *In Search of Ancient Israel* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999 Reprint) 17, 57–63; Soggin, *History of Israel*, 1; T. L. Thompson, *Mythic Past*, 34.

⁶⁰² Albertz, *Israelite Religion*, 23–4; A. Alt, *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966) 1–10, 183; Bright, *History*, 148–50; Gerstenberger, *Theologies*, 22; Gottwald, *Tribes of Yahweh*, 36; Malamat, *History*, 8; Miller, *Religion of Ancient Israel*, 1; G. v. Rad, *Old Testament Theology 1* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1963 Reprint) 15–35; Vaux, *History*, 606. For discussion which presents a more cautious and later view of the rise of Yahweh in the Israelite community see Noll, *Canaan and Israel*, 251–7.

significantly demythologised.⁶⁰³ In the HB *Chaoskampf* is seen in the conflict between Yahweh and Yamm, Behemoth, Rahab and Leviathan. These were analogous to a number of Syro-Palestinian and Mesopotamian deities, and lesser gods (Yamm: Ps 89.10; Job 26.12; Behemoth: Job 40.15-24; Rahab: Isa 51.9; Job 9.13; 26.12; Ps 89.11; Leviathan: Isa 27.1; Ps 74.14; Job 3.8; 41.1-34).⁶⁰⁴ In its demythologised Yahwistic form it replaces the various ANE versions, with their focus on a cosmic battle between the gods, with the conflict between Israel and the neighbouring nations. Day has called this Yahwistic demythologised form *Völkerkampf*.⁶⁰⁵ As mentioned already, the ANE ‘creation’ myths, and the *Chaoskampf* inherent in them, were not limited to describing a distant past but tells of a timeless, cyclical and eschatological reality.⁶⁰⁶ In contrast to the general ANE understanding of cosmic chaos conflict, Yahwism sets a radically new course. It has constructed an ideology which is fundamentally opposed to shared ANE beliefs such as the pantheon of the gods, or the preoccupation with evil spirits.⁶⁰⁷ Yahwistic literature develops a unique historical character, a narrative, which reveals the mighty actions of Yahweh against chaos-causing elements in the universe.

⁶⁰³ For the view that the Canaanite myths are the traditions undergirding many references to creation in the HB and that *Chaoskampf* is a reality normally assumed in the HB see Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*; M. Görg, “Chaos und Chaosmächte im Alten Testament,” *BN* 70 (1993) 48–61; J. Jörg, *Das Königtum Gottes in den Psalmen: Israels Begegnung mit den kanaanäischen Mythos in den Jahwe - König - Psalmen* (Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht: Göttingen, 1987) 22–3; Kloos, *Yhwh’s Combat*, 70–86. For a cautious approach to seeing *Chaoskampf* in the HB see M. Klingbeil, *Yahweh Fighting from Heaven: God as Warrior and as God of Heaven in the Hebrew Psalter and Ancient Near Eastern Iconography* (OBO; Fribourg: University Press, 1999) who sees Canaanite myth and *Chaoskampf* undergirding Ps 144.5-8 but not in many of the other Psalms in which it is normally alleged to be found. See G. J. Wenham, *Genesis 1–15* (WBC; Waco, TX: Word, 1987) 9 for the view that Genesis 1 is actually a polemic against Canaanite mythology.

⁶⁰⁴ For the view that Yamm, Behemoth, and Leviathan are cosmic monsters see Boyd, *God at War*, 94–100; Day, *God’s Conflict*, 44–6; J. Day, *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000) 98–105; J. D. Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988) 27, 48; G. E. Wright, “God the Warrior,” *The Flowering of Old Testament Theology* (B. C. Ollenburger, E. A. Martens; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992) 110. For the view that the denigration of gods in the HB does not constitute a categorical denial of their existence see Boyd, *God at War*, 116–7; A. König, *Here Am I: A Believer’s Reflection on God* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982) 1–57; U. Mauser, “One God Alone: A Pillar of Biblical Theology,” *PSB* 3 (1991) 255–65; Miller, *Religion of Ancient Israel*, 48; H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im Alten Testament* (BWANT; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1971); N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (London: SPCK, Reprint 1996) 253–4.

⁶⁰⁵ Day, *God’s Conflict*, 183f.

⁶⁰⁶ Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 120. See also Day who sees the cosmic conflict in the HB as taking place not simply at creation, but also being historicised with application to Israel’s enemies, as well as being its eschatological timeframe (Day, *Yahweh*, 98).

⁶⁰⁷ Boyd, *God at War*, 79.

Often these actions are performed for the benefit of the Hebrew and Israelite people, but not exclusively.⁶⁰⁸ Yahwistic ideology stands in opposition to the various notions of divine kingship, a commonly assumed worldview in Egypt and the various Anatolian, Mesopotamian, and Syro-Palestinian cultures.⁶⁰⁹ In Yahwism, the forces of evil exist as a result of some type of cosmic opposition to Yahweh (Gen 3.1; Job 1.6-12), but evil does not have ontological priority over good as seems to be the case from ANE creation myths. ANE traditions share notions with the HB of cosmic rebellion, but the origin of evil is fundamentally different.⁶¹⁰ Following the reflection of Paul Ricoeur on the Enuma Elish, Walter Wink explains:

Creation is a violent victory over an enemy older than creation. The origin of evil precedes the origin of things. Chaos (symbolized by Tiamat) is prior to order (represented by Marduk, god of Babylon). Evil is prior to good.

Violence inheres in the godhead. Evil is an ineradicable constituent of ultimate reality, and possesses ontological priority over good.⁶¹¹

In contrast to this worldview, the Yahwism of the HB gives a vision for a different ontology. Yahweh is presented as unpredictable, but not capricious. He is good.⁶¹²

One general feature of ANE cosmology was polytheism. In this worldview there existed greater and lesser deities, usually with a certain god or pair of gods predominant over all. Such was the case with dominant gods Re in Egypt, Marduk in Babylon, Ashur in Assyria, Dagan in Ebla, Baal in Ugarit, and Dagon of the Philistines. The Yahwistic oneness notion that developed in this milieu was not a theoretical monotheism which denied the existence of other deities or spiritual beings (Exod 12.12; 15.11; Num 33.4; Deut 10.17; Isa 27.1; Pss 86.8; 95.3; 97.9; 135.5; 136.2; Job

⁶⁰⁸ Buccellati, "Ethics and Piety," 1691; S. B. Parker, "Literature," 2402.

⁶⁰⁹ Engnell, *Divine Kingship*.

⁶¹⁰ Boyd, *God at War*, 77-8; W. Wink, *Engaging the Powers: Discernment and Resistance in a World of Domination* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 14.

⁶¹¹ Wink, *Engaging the Powers*, 14.

⁶¹² Buccellati, "Ethics and Piety," 1692.

1.6-12; Dan 10.13; cf. 2 Kgs 3.27).⁶¹³ Yahwism's acceptance of the existence of other deities places it much closer to the general ANE worldview of the surrounding communities than the modern understanding of a theoretical monotheism does. This unique Yahwistic ideology will be developed more fully in the next chapter.

Critical in this comparative analysis is the understanding that the HB in general, and Deut in particular, has continuity with a basic cosmic warfare worldview found in other ANE religions. But in the Yahwistic version of the *Chaoskampf*, Yahweh is shown to be supreme in a way that Baal or Enkidu are not. Also, as has already been mentioned, the *Chaoskampf* stories of the HB are de-mythologised to a large extent. The Yahwistic cosmic warfare worldview is an element which has important implications for the hermeneutics of Deut 18. Where does the authority and power for this change in worldview originate? The answer that Deut gives is that it comes from Yahweh, in speech, in writing, and in miraculous phenomena, by means of the charismatically appointed *nābî'* (Deut 1.6, 33, 42; 10.4). In this the Yahwistic *nābî'* potentially exercises a powerful and unique social authority not found elsewhere in the ANE societies surveyed above. The impact of this ideology and worldview will be discussed further in the exegesis of this passage in Chapter 4. Next, we will look briefly at the Yahwistic understanding of divination.

Divination and Yahwism

Deut provides an example of an ideological polemic against both the general ANE *concept* of divination and against most types of technical divinatory *practices* found.⁶¹⁴

Deut imparts a vision of divine revelation that is centred primarily on the prophet and the characteristically non-technical direct subjective means by which he receives divine guidance (18.15, 19).⁶¹⁵ This is in contrast to the elaborate 'science' of divination developed in Mesopotamia, and to the divination witnessed in ancient Syro-Palestine.

⁶¹³ P. Hayman, "Monotheism—A Misused Word in Jewish Studies?" *JJS* 42 (1991) 5–9; Y. Hoffman, "The Conception of 'Other Gods' in Deuteronomistic Literature," *IOS* 14 (1994) 107–9.

⁶¹⁴ Tarragon, "Witchcraft, Magic and Divination," 2071.

⁶¹⁵ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 34.

The handful of Yahwistic practices that are similar in form to ANE divination techniques, such as the casting of lots or the Urim and Thummim (1 Sam 14.41-42), according to an emic Yahwistic definition, are not considered divination, or *qesem*. Additionally, these latter forms similar to forbidden *qesem*, do not have prominence in the Yahwism.⁶¹⁶ However, it would be wrong to conclude from this that in the ANE milieu Deut represents a secularising tendency.⁶¹⁷ In continuity with other ANE communities, a supernatural worldview remains intact in Deut, but is manifest in a way unique to Yahwism. Deut provides an example of a strong Yahwistic vision which introduces some fundamental changes into the ANE worldview. But secularisation is not one of these. The seeds of any kind of secularisation in the ancient world must wait for the Classical period. More on this discussion will be taken up in Chapter 4. It will be argued that the Hebrew terms *qōsēm* and *qesem* become polemical terms which describe practices that would include the categories of both divination *and* ‘magic.’ In this way, the translation of *qesem* with the English term divination limits its range of meaning, which therefore can be misleading. In addition, it will be argued that Yahwism’s answer in Deut 18 to the power available through divination, ‘magic’ and the gods is not limited to “the moral responsibility of the individual,”⁶¹⁸ but to the superior supernatural power and communication of Yahweh mediated primarily through prophets.⁶¹⁹ This discussion will be picked up in detail in Chapter 4. Deut tells us that this unique outlook on accessing divine knowledge comes as direct communication from Yahweh to his intermediary, the *nābî*. Let us now turn to prophecy and prophets in Yahwism.

⁶¹⁶ R. D. Nelson, *Deuteronomy* (OTL; London: Westminster John Knox, 2002) 236; Tarragon, “Witchcraft, Magic and Divination,” 2072.

⁶¹⁷ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 31; J. Milgrom, “The Alleged ‘Demythologization and Secularization’ of Deuteronomy (Review Article),” *IEJ* 23 (1973) 156–61.

⁶¹⁸ Rad, *Old Testament*, 35.

⁶¹⁹ W. Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy* (AOTC; Nashville: Abingdon, 2001) 192, 195–6; Hoffman, “Other Gods,” 109; Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 81–95; C. F. Keil, and F. Delitzsch, *The Pentateuch* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981 Reprint) 392–3; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 172; Wilson, *Prophecy*, 162.

Priests and Prophecy in Yahwism

The Yahwistic vision for the priest and prophet had some continuity with other ANE societies, but the differences were quite significant. The vision for the prophet communicated in Deut was of a religious leader who received revelation primarily through dreams or some type of direct communication/revelation (13.1; 18.18; cf. 9.9-12). The mechanical means of revelation typically used in non-Yahwistic ANE religion, such as extispicy, augury, or the convention of dream interpretation, are not attested of Yahwistic prophets. The vision given for the prophet granted him a certain power ultimately greater than that of the king, yet he was not king.⁶²⁰ In the dualistic worldview of Yahwism, the prophet was the antithesis to the evil, or *abhorrent* practitioners and practices listed in Deut 18.10-11, in the cosmic chaos conflict. As compared to the prophet, the priest played a minor role in regards to revelatory experience in Yahwistic religion.⁶²¹ They were limited to the mechanical revelatory practices of discerning the will of Yahweh by means of the Urim and Thummim, and/or the casting of lots.⁶²² The Yahwistic priests were given the role of teaching the community the principles and regulations the prophet Moses received by revelation (Lev 10.10-11; Deut 17.11; 24.8; 33.10). Furthermore, in contrast to the great variety of priests present in the cult of various ANE societies, Deut differentiates only between two types, or in the view of many, there is no differentiated classes of priests at all. The distinction between Levites and the Aaronic priests witnessed in Exodus-Numbers is present in Deut as will be argued in the next chapter. But whether or not a distinction exists between Levites and Aaronic priests in Deut, the fact remains that Yahwism lacked the variety of priestly officiates attested in other ANE communities. Also, as has been demonstrated above, in most of the ANE societies prophets were a part of a priestly guild. Yahwism had certain priests who were recognised as prophets (Moses: Lev 8.10-30; Jeremiah: Jer 1.1; Ezekiel: Ezek 1.3), but often Yahwistic prophets were not

⁶²⁰ Wilson, *Prophecy*, 160–2.

⁶²¹ Wilson, *Prophecy*, 160.

⁶²² For the view of Urim and Thummim as a subjective revelatory phenomena see C. Van Dam, *The Urim and Thummim: A Means of Revelation in Ancient Israel* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997).

priests (Gad: 1 Sam 22.5; 2 Sam 24.11; Nathan: 2 Sam 7.2; Ahijah: 1 Kgs 11.29-39; Elijah: 1 Kgs 17.1; Elisha: 2 Kgs 2.19-22; Huldah: 2 Kgs 22.14). At times they were positioned in official religion (i.e., Moses; Gad, 1 Sam 22.5; Nathan, 2 Sam 7.2), at other times, like Elijah, they are outside of it (1 Kgs 18.16-19). Deut's vision for the prophet is one who guides the official religion ethically, revelationally, and with the supernatural power of signs and wonders. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4. Let us move to the next category, the netherworld.

Netherworld, Mortuary Cult and Yahwism

The evidence above indicates that in various ANE communities the mortuary cult was a normal aspect of religious life. In the view of Israelite Yahwists it constituted the worship of rival deities. Images used to represent the ancestors venerated in the cult would have been considered idolatrous. The epigraphic and archaeological evidence reviewed above show that a cult of the dead existed in Ugarit, and that the spirits of the dead were generally viewed positively and integrated into the royal cult. However, if relatives did not fulfill obligations to their deified ancestors they could become malevolent. Terms related etymologically to *šō'ēl 'ôb*, *yidd^h 'ōnî*, and *dōrēš el-hammētîm* in Deut 18.11 are not found, with the possible exception of *'ôb*. Suggestions for an etymology reviewed above include a possible Ugaritic etymology based on the term 'father,' giving *šō'ēl 'ôb* a meaning of 'seeking the departed father or relative.' A different suggestion is that the term is derived from cognates indicating a pit where shades are sought and consulted, such as is found in all major ANE societies: Sumerian, Hurrian, Hittite, Akkadian, Neo-Assyrian, and Ugaritic. However, no conclusive evidence exists for these etymological links. Be that as it may, basic ANE concepts concerning the mortuary cult seem to be contained in the terms from Deut 18.11. The fact that in various ANE communities the dead become deities who are worshipped, appealed to for help and healing, and sought for guidance, give a good indication as to why this type of religious understanding was considered apostasy from the

Yahwistic perspective. Furthermore, the practices which the author of Deut named (*šō 'ēl 'ôb*, *yiddē 'ōnî*, and *dōrēš 'el-hammētîm*) are not marginal religious practices, but are practices of both royal and domestic cult found in Syro-Palestine and Mesopotamia. Paolo Xella insightfully describes the conflict between the Yahwistic worldview and the general worldview of other ANE communities:

Yahwism could not tolerate, theologically or practically, a reverence for the dead that often evolved into a real cult. Potentially, the dead became de facto intermediaries, alternatives to YHWH, popular and loved by the common people. Thus, rather than follow the traditional way of integration (as happened to certain Canaanite gods who were transformed into demons or angels, yet creatures subordinate to God), Hebraic monotheism strictly barred any incorporation of these semidivine beings into their official theology.⁶²³

There is enough biblical evidence to show that ancestor veneration was not simply an *alien* worldview, but was one embraced to some degree or another by members of or clusters in the Israelite community throughout their preexilic history.⁶²⁴ The data above regarding mortuary cult in the ANE indicates that disparate categories such as official cult, idolatry, divination, 'magic,' and spiritism all find overlap in the ancestor cult.⁶²⁵ The Yahwists have accurately identified common ANE religious phenomena, but have rejected them as apostasy.

Various phenomena such as divination, 'magic,' and ancestor worship, all accepted in most of the ANE as part of the official cult are not simply relics from the past. Communities researched by some of the most renowned anthropologists of the twentieth century have maintained similar worldviews. Evans-Pritchard's research on the Azande of Sudan indicates a community of people well acquainted with cosmic chaos by means of *agirisa*, spirits of deceased who have become ill-willed and prey on the living. The *agirisa* harass travellers and cause mental confusion. On the other hand there are good

⁶²³ P. Xella, "Death," 2069.

⁶²⁴ P. Xella, "Death," 2067.

⁶²⁵ Tarragon, "Witchcraft, Magic and Divination," 2075.

ancestor spirits, *atoro*, who benefit the living in various ways, including providing information given by means of divination for protection against witchcraft and ‘magic.’ The Azande provide an example of a community in which belief in ancestor spirits is interwoven with divination and power ritual in the cult.⁶²⁶ Bruce Privratsky has researched the Kazaks of the city of Turkistan who, generally speaking, maintain an Islamic dualistic cosmology. They believe in the ontologically separate and transcendent Allah. But they also have a vibrant belief in the immanent spirits of the ancestors, *arūaq*, who are not considered deities in their worldview, but are given permission by Allah to visit the living and exercise power and influence in their lives. The honouring of the *arūaq* with a complex of ritual sacrificial meals, *qudayi*, including weekly meals on Thursdays, is the most important aspect of Kazak religion and, among other things, is a symbolic ethnic/religious boundary marker.⁶²⁷ Occasionally the *arūaq* give revelations, *ayan*, to the living by means of dreams. Many of these revelations would fit our definition of prophecy, others would be divination. These can be experienced at home or at the shrines of Muslim saints.⁶²⁸ Privratsky has interviewed Kazaks who have been instructed in these revelations to practice supernatural healing arts.⁶²⁹ The neglect of the *qudayi* would be the cause of blessing and well-being to be withdrawn from the family.⁶³⁰ The Kazaks demonstrate a community in which sacrifice, prophecy, divination, and power ritual, are all bound together in the cult.

We leave, for the time being, the discussion of a mortuary cult and proceed to the next analytical category of human sacrifice.

Human Sacrifice and Yahwism

Yahwism vigorously opposed human sacrifice (Deut 12.31; 18.10; 2 Kgs 23.10). In Chapter 4 it will be argued that Deut 18.10 is a polemic against an implicit belief present in the Israelite community that human or child sacrifice was an acceptable form of

⁶²⁶ Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft*, 17, 228.

⁶²⁷ Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan*, 114–5, 139.

⁶²⁸ Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan*, 121–2.

⁶²⁹ Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan*, 119.

⁶³⁰ Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan*, 138.

worship. In most of the ANE communities surveyed above it was shown that human sacrifice was practised in a variety of ways, whether it be the sacrifice of prisoners, or the burial of servants and family members with the deceased as seen in Egypt. The substitute king sacrifice was practised in Mesopotamia and Anatolia. Neo-Assyrian documents give witness to the fact that Adad and Ishtar could, at least theoretically, receive child sacrifice as fulfilment of a legal penalty. Probable indicators of child sacrifice in Mesopotamia are the so-called foundation and chapel sacrifices. Sumerian seals show the sacrifice of prisoners. In Syro-Palestine indications of child sacrifice in crisis situations are seen in the murals from Luxor and Nubia, the latter being associated with Baal.

By way of comparison, numerous examples in the HB imply that among the patriarchs and the later Israelite community, there were those who viewed human or child sacrifice as acceptable. Such examples include the *Akedah* (Gen 22.1-18), the incident in which Jephthah's vow leads to the sacrifice of his daughter (Judg 11.30-39), child sacrifice to Baal (2 Kgs 17.16-17; 21.3-6; Jer 19.5; 32.35), Molech (Lev 20.2-5; 2 Kgs 23.10), and unnamed deities (2 Kgs 16.3; 17.17; 21.6; Jer 7.31-32; Ezek 16.20-21; 20.25-26, 30-31; 23.36-39). Although disputed, it has been suggested that the Eblaite god Malik, the Ugaritic god Milku, the Ammonite deity Milcom, the Phoenician Milkashtart, and the Israelite god Molek are related in some way.⁶³¹ Eblaite Malik and Ugaritic Milku have been shown above to be netherworld deities. Given the social dynamic of mutualism and intersubjectivity between the various ANE communities, as demonstrated above, the likelihood of a connection between each of these deities is high. However, social theory and ethnographic case studies indicate that the cult of these various manifestations of the netherworld deity, known in Israel as Molek, would likely mutate to varying degrees in each setting.⁶³² It seems that in the ANE human sacrifice was often spontaneous or occasional. But some practices of child sacrifice in Judah, Topheth for example, might have been part of a regular established cult (2 Kgs

⁶³¹ Toorn, "Priests," 2046-7.

⁶³² For discussion of the adoption of practices and symbols by various communities see p. 61.

23.10; Isa 30.33; Jer 7.31-32; 19.6, 11-14). It has been shown above that the cult associated with netherworld deities, in both ANE communities and ethnographic field studies, often involved supernatural power and divination ritual. The link between human sacrifice and the netherworld cult, for example in association with Molek or Baal, has implications for how *ma^avîr b^enô û-bittô bāēš* fits with the list of religious phenomena in Deut 18.10-11. This will be explored in the following chapter. We turn next to ‘magic.’

Magic and Yahwism

In this study, the term ‘magic’ has been defined as an impersonal power in the universe which both deities and humans can access in order to control and even force (other) deities, humans, and nature to comply with their will. This can be done for malevolent or benevolent purposes.⁶³³ Egyptian society had developed magic, *ḥk’w*, in its religion to a level unequalled in other communities of the ANE. Yet ‘magic’ practice was also a part of Mesopotamian and Syro-Palestinian religion. Epigraphic evidence discussed above shows that in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Ugarit priests were involved in cult ritual that included power rituals designed to heal, change the course of ‘fate’ revealed in omens, and protect against angry or malevolent deities. The source of power in the incantation was an impersonal power in Egypt, a gift of the gods. In Mesopotamia independent supernatural power resided in amulets which gave protection from malevolent cosmic forces. The belief in the power of malevolent power rituals was serious enough that such practice was considered a capital crime in Mesopotamia and Anatolia (although there is no evidence of anyone convicted). In Ugarit the power from incantations was impersonal and independent, but also had its source in the deities, especially Horon. The Ugaritic evil eye was an independent malevolent power mentioned above. The need for supernatural power in the form of incantations and amulets was an aspect of the cosmic conflict understanding of reality. The universe

⁶³³ See Chapter 1, p. 6. Cf. also Tarragon, “Witchcraft, Magic and Divination,” 2075.

was a place where dangerous deities and powers existed, therefore protection was sought from gods, rituals, and power objects.

By way of contrast, in Yahwistic faith Yahweh does not make use of any power which does not originate from within himself. At the same time it does not deny that some type of power exists apart from him (Exod 7.11, 22; 8.7). Yahwism does not dwell on the details or power of other supernatural beings. The few instances of rival powers given in the HB indicates that contrary supernatural power is usually not construed to be impersonal, but seen to originate with lesser gods (Gen 3.1-5; Job 1.8-12; Dan 10.12-14). Furthermore, all things, including lesser gods, are understood to have been created by Yahweh (cf. Jer 10.11-16). The HB shows that the power the gods possess is ultimately of no threat to Yahweh (cf. Exod 12.12; 15.11; Isa 36.19; Ps 95.3; Job 1.8-12). This is in contrast to what is found in various ANE narratives concerning the real threat that the gods are to one another. Deut 18 uses three terms which contain ANE concepts of supernatural power ritual, as it has been defined above: *qōsēm q^e sāmîm*, *m^e kaššēp*, and *ḥōbēr ḥāber*. The first phrase is Hebrew, the second Akkadian in origin, also attested in Ugaritic, and the third is derived from its Ugaritic cognate. The usage of these terms in the HB will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Conclusion

Modern scholarship has often been puzzled about how elements such as cult, ‘magic,’ and divination, which belong to separate conceptual categories, could be (mistakenly) placed together in Deut 18. The analysis of religion in the ANE and AMW indicate that these categories overlapped. It shows why the variety of seemingly disparate practitioners and practices listed in Deut 18.10-11 hang together well. The reforming Yahwistic vision communicated in Deut locates the source of all supernatural power for various needs in Yahweh. The channel of that power is the *nābî*, the prophet. The comparative data given above provides a rich context, an ‘in front of’ conditioning, in which to understand better the discourse of Deut 18. What follows in the next chapter is an extended look at that discourse.

Chapter Four

Exegesis of Deuteronomy 18

Introduction

In this chapter, I continue to advance the argument that Deut 18.10-11 presents the reader with a list of religious phenomena that can be found in a variety of ANE societies from the beginnings of Israel's formation as a distinct social group in the LB Age, late second millennium BCE, to the exilic period (586 BCE) or shortly thereafter, when the final redaction of Deut is believed to have taken place.¹ In the ANE context Deut is a radically unique blueprint for an aniconic Yahweh-only cosmology which vigorously rejects distinctive religious (and other social) elements commonly found in other ANE societies which do not fit the Yahwistic pattern of meanings.² This pattern, portrayed as divinely motivated, and controlled by the central unifying and authoritative symbol of the prophet, *nābî'*, intends to create a comprehensive worldview.³ What often appears to modern readers as a bewildering and shadowy list of religious practitioners and practices in Deut 18, actually represent normal ANE religious elements. ANE religious phenomena, such as sacrifice, altars, cult centres, and priesthood, are to be found in Yahwism, but others not fitting with the Yahwistic pattern are rejected.⁴ As the survey of ANE and AMW societies in the last chapter showed, the cultic figures in Deut 18 were not enigmatic to Israelites or to the various ANE societies in which they were found. I intend to show that they represent various aspects of common daily religion in the ANE from LB Age to just after the exile in 586 BCE. The Hebrew terms in the list allegedly signify Canaanite religious practice, and it will be important in the first instance to understand the meaning which they had in their ancient Yahwistic context.⁵ The HB represents one of the first recorded examples in the ANE of a

¹ See the discussion on time parameters for the study, Chapter 1, p. 2, and dating in Chapter 3, pp. 174-6.

² See definition of the anthropological term 'patterns of meanings' in Chapter 2, pp. 47-8.

³ E. L. Greenstein, "Biblical Law," *Back to the Sources: Reading the Classic Jewish Texts* (ed. B. W. Holtz; New York: Summit, 1984) 83.

⁴ Douglas, *Purity*, 61.

⁵ Malina, *NT World*, 1.

sustained polemic against unacceptable clusters of religious beliefs and practices, far more extensive and prolonged than that of Egyptian Akhenaten. In Chapter 2 we discussed a number of methods such as poetics, social-scientific criticism, and comparative analysis. In Chapter 3 we analysed various relevant aspects of AMW, CW, and ANE religions, and some ethnographic data, to use as comparative material. This chapter will synthesise the theories and the data discussed in the previous chapters. The intention is to move from issues that prepared us to read ‘in front of’ the text to read now ‘within’ it.⁶ The goal of this chapter is to understand better the practitioners and practices mentioned in Deut 18.10-11 by 1.) discussing Yahwistic cosmology, 2.) discussing the literary context of Deut 18, 3.) discussing and defining the three Yahwistic religious figures, the *kōhēn*, the *nābî’*, and the *lēwî*, which Deut 18 describes, 4) and discerning the Yahwistic definition of the forbidden cult practitioners and practices listed in Deut 18.10-11 through a close reading of the text and related texts in the HB.

Yahwistic Cosmology

In order to have a more nuanced understanding of the religious phenomenology rejected by Yahwism in Deut 18 we must start with a closer look at the Yahwistic *Weltanschauung* in Deut and bring out the particular features that are relevant for understanding the religious phenomena in question. We proceed in this way because grasping the whole will better position us to discern the meaning of its parts.⁷ The particular defilement that results from participating in the forbidden religious practices signified in Deut 18 will then be made clearer. Mary Douglas explains:

Defilement is never an isolated event. It cannot occur except in view of a systematic ordering of ideas. Hence any piecemeal interpretation of the pollution rules of another culture is bound to fail. For the only way in which pollution ideas make sense is in reference to a total structure of thought whose

⁶ Thiselton, “The Text,” 108.

⁷ D. Davies, “Sacrifice,” 151–2; Douglas, *Purity*, 35, 51; Wilson, *Sociological Approaches*, 15.

keystone, boundaries, margins and internal lines are held in relation by rituals of separation.⁸

It is probably not accurate to think of Yahwistic beliefs in Deut as a ‘system’, yet there is a discernible and organic coherence about it.⁹ In order to grasp the Yahwistic worldview presented in Deut, the centrality of the one god Yahweh for its pattern of meanings must be understood (Deut 4.35, 39; 5.7; 6.4; 7.9; 10.17; 32.39; 33.26).¹⁰ The kingship metaphor is one example of the emphasis on his centrality in the Yahwistic pattern of meanings (33.5; Exod 15.18; 19.4-6; Num 23.21; Judg 8.23; 1 Sam 8.7; 12.12; Isa 33.22; Pss 96.10; 99.1).¹¹ Issuing from this one deity are a number of key characteristics stated explicitly and/or communicated by the symbolic power of ritual: oneness (5.7; 6.4), life (30.15; cf. 12.23; Lev 17.10-11), relationship (4.7; 7.8), completeness (20.5-7), perfection (15.21; 17.1), separateness (7.3; 22.9-11), justice (4.8; 10.18; 19.14; 24.14), goodness (17.7, 12; 19.19), and morality (11.18-20; 15.3-

⁸ Douglas, *Purity*, 51.

⁹ See the discussion concerning embodiment theory in Chapter 2, pp. 24-28.

¹⁰ The work by Davies and Douglas on the symbolic nature of the Levitical laws reveals the centrality of Yahweh for understanding the complex ritual system. For example, in reflecting on Douglas’ work Davies says “the dietary codes of Leviticus exemplify God’s holiness and perfectness through the ordering of the natural world into recognisable categories which serve as a model for and as a symbolic expression of the unity and completeness of God (D. Davies, “Sacrifice,” 153).” See also Miller, *Religion of Ancient Israel*, xviii, 1, 40; M. S. Smith, *Monotheism*, 78.

¹¹ Miller, *Religion of Ancient Israel*, 10. It is disputed whether or not the ‘king’ referred to in 33.5 signifies Yahweh. The majority opinion is that *melek* refers to *yešurûn*, a designation of Yahweh (Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 285; P. C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy* [NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976] 393–4; Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 72; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 394; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 400; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 469; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 388–9; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 322; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 309–10, 314). But even if this verse does not refer to Yahweh, the concept of Yahweh’s kingship in Deut is clear. Von Rad holds that this does not refer to Yahweh because *melek* is not described as king of Israel, but rather king of the gods and nations (10.17; cf. Pss 95-99; Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 205; cf. A. Phillips, *Deuteronomy* [CBC; Cambridge: CUP, 1973] 227). The way that the structure and style of Deut resembles ANE suzerain treaties is a powerful metaphor for the kingship of Yahweh. Related to this is the concept of covenant which undergirds the book as a whole (4.13, 23, 31; 5.2-3; 7.9, 12; 8.18; 9.9; 11, 15; 10.8; 17.2). For the discussion of the elements of ANE suzerainty treaty form which Deut has incorporated into its structure see R. E. Clements, *Deuteronomy* (OTG; Sheffield: JSOT, 1989) 20–2; Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 22–4; D. J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1981 Revised); McConville, *Law and Theology*, 3–4; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 19; G. E. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh, PA: Biblical Colloquium, 1955); Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 8; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 6–9.

18).¹² These key aspects of Yahweh's character can be summed up in the central concept of holiness.¹³ He is holy and the place where he dwells is holy (32.51; Exod 3.5; 28.35; Lev 11.44-45; 19.2; 20.7). Holiness in its multi-faceted manifestations is what describes the people of Israel (7.6; 14.2, 21; 26.19; 28.9; cf. Exod 19.6, 22.31; Lev 19.2; Num), and they are to reflect holiness through the variety of rituals (Exod 26.33; 28.36; 29.21, 37), and commandments (5.12; 23.14; cf. Exod 20.8). These various symbols and practices represent cosmological concepts that give rise to attitudes and behaviour, all of which create the Yahwistic pattern of meanings.

Related to the discussion of holiness of the one God Yahweh is his antithesis, rival cosmic powers and human societies, which create chaos, instability, and death in the universe. The HB often uses words such as *rā'āh* (evil), *tô'ēbāh* (abomination), and *tāmē'* (to be defiled), to signify this chaos and pollution. Many different types of behaviour and beings are described by these words, but my interest is to explore the way pollution and danger surround other deities, and the people who worship them. *Rā'āh* is used of Israelites worshipping other deities, *'ēlōhīm 'āhērīm* (31.18; Jer 1.16; 11.17; 44.3; Ezek 16.23-25). The term *tô'ēbāh* is also used to describe the chaos inherent in the idolatrous worship of deities (7.25; 12.31; 13.13-15 [ET 13.12-14]; 20.18; 27.15; 32.16-17; 2 Kgs 21.2-3; 23.13; Jer 16.18; 32.35; Ezek 16.36; cf. 18.9, 12), as is *tāmē'* (Lev 20.3; Jer 2.7-8, 23; Ezek 5.11; 20.7, 18; 23.30; cf. Lev 19.31). This relates to the issue of Holy War, the purpose of which is to destroy the various elements of chaos and pollution, including those who worship *'ēlōhīm 'āhērīm* in the 'land' set apart as holy for the dwelling place of Yahweh and his people (7.1-4; 20.16-18). It also brings up the issue of the dualistic cosmology found in Yahwism, which differs from the typically monistic cosmology of most ANE religions reviewed in the last chapter. There it was stated that the monistic cosmological perspective understood the various deities to behave in ways both good and evil, some more good than evil, and others more evil

¹² See Douglas' discussion of the way these passages reveal various aspects of holiness (Douglas, *Purity*, 51–71). See also Davies' complementary study which brings out the aspect of covenant, especially revealed in the sacrifice of atonement, for understanding the Yahwistic pattern of meanings (D. Davies, "Sacrifice," 152–61).

¹³ Miller, *Religion of Ancient Israel*, 131–61.

than good. But no ontological priority was given to the good. A strict separation between good and evil deities did not exist.¹⁴ By way of contrast, a Yahwistic dualism developed which explained the universe in terms of good and evil. Generally speaking, Yahwism poured all non-Yahwistic religions and all non-Yahwistic deities into the category of evil. Three aspects of Yahwistic dualism important for this study, taken from N. T. Wright, are theological/ontological duality, theological/cosmological duality, and moral duality. Yahwistic theological/ontological duality holds that other gods, or spiritual beings, exist, even if they are subordinate to the one supreme God (cf. Exod 15.11; Job 1.6). Yahwistic theological/cosmological duality understands that there is a distinction between Yahweh and his creation (Gen 1.1). Finally, Yahwistic moral duality holds that there is a distinction between good and evil. Yahweh is good, and evil is a reality separate from him (Pss 25.8; 34.9 [ET 8]; 86.5; 100.5; 106.1). The distinction between evil and good has implications for human behaviour.¹⁵ Some dualistic systems such as Zoroastrianism understand evil and good to be two equal powers in conflict. This is not the case in Yahwistic dualism as can be seen from the example of the Job narrative where *śātān* is shown to have clear limits to the chaos that he can create (Job 1.10-12).¹⁶ What is important to maintain concerning Yahwistic monotheism is that contrary evil supernatural beings exist and have a circumscribed range of power inferior to Yahweh's (Exod 15.11; Deut 32.8; Judg 11.24; 2 Kgs 3.27; Pss 82.1; 89.7; 95.3; 97.9).¹⁷

Closely linked to this view of Yahweh as distinct from evil and all rival deities, is his particular omniscience. The concept of fidelity to a single god, to the exclusion of all others, is a novelty in the context of the ANE and the AMW, as can be seen from the survey of societies in Chapter 3. The idea of an omniscient god in this milieu is more

¹⁴ Riley, "Demon," 236.

¹⁵ N. T. Wright, *People of God*, 253.

¹⁶ See the discussion of various types of duality in other religions in N. T. Wright, *People of God*, 252–9.

¹⁷ See W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament 1* (London: SCM, 1969 3rd Impression) 220–7; Hayman, "Monotheism," 5–6; Miller, *Religion of Ancient Israel*, 24, 28–9; Rad, *Old Testament*, 210–2; N. T. Wright, *People of God*, 253.

novel still.¹⁸ The analysis above of the worldviews of Greece, Rome, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Anatolia and Syro-Palestine shows that in their worldviews the gods often lack information, and whatever accessible divine information exists must be collected from a variety of divine sources. Therefore, the unique Yahwistic religious feature in the ANE and AMW milieu is the picture of a god that possesses absolute knowledge and power.¹⁹ This feature is unparalleled in the neighbouring communities. This aspect of Yahwistic epistemology has far reaching significance for its institution of the prophet and the comparison with non-Yahwistic domestic or public religious figures which are found in Deut 18.10-11.

From the Yahwistic pattern explained above come three significant issues germane for understanding the rejection of religious phenomena presented in Deut 18.10-11 which require further elaboration: 1) the oneness of Yahweh, 2) covenant faithfulness, and 3) opposition to evil or abhorrent things and beings. It will be shown that each of these three issues are important for the discrete concept of Yahwistic monotheism.²⁰ Let us begin by looking briefly at the first aspect of the Yahwistic pattern of the oneness and unity of Yahweh in order to understand better the rejection of the religious phenomena in Deut 18.10-11.

It is not possible in this study to treat exhaustively the issue of the oneness of Yahweh, a term used by Nathan MacDonald in preference to the term monotheism.²¹ However, some of the salient points for this study of Deut 18 will be mentioned briefly. First, we must come to terms with the problematic term 'monotheism.' The term was alleged to have been coined in England in the seventeenth century by Henry More in his work *The Grand Mystery of Godliness* to describe his view of Christianity and the Christian God in contrast to the materialism and atheism described in Hobbes' *Leviathan*.²² In

¹⁸ Sternberg, *Poetics*, 12.

¹⁹ Sternberg, *Poetics*, 12.

²⁰ In N. T. Wright's helpful discussion he has organised the Yahwistic concept of monotheism differently by focusing on creation, providence, and covenant as the key aspects which shape Yahwism's unique monotheism (N. T. Wright, *People of God*, 248–59).

²¹ N. MacDonald, *Deuteronomy and the Meaning of Monotheism* (FAT; Mohr Siebeck, 2003) 1.

²² MacDonald, *Monotheism*, 5–11.

contrast to its use in modern biblical studies, its early employment was not for contrasting the Yahwistic understanding of Yahweh with ANE polytheism.²³ We must bear in mind that monotheism is a theoretical term born of modern philosophical reflection.²⁴

The ancient Yahwists were unique in the ANE and AMW for understanding that their deity Yahweh was singular and exclusive in power and authority.²⁵ However, there are various ways this Israelite ‘monotheism’ has been understood by scholarship. The traditional view understands the ancient Israelites as holding to a theoretical monotheism, meaning that beside Yahweh other gods do not exist.²⁶ In recent times this understanding of monotheism has been shown to be more of a modern construct than one which the ancient Israelites actually embraced.²⁷ More recently it has been common to speak of Israelite henotheism or monolatry. Israelite henotheism has been described as a type of polytheistic understanding whereby Yahweh is the chief god who has a council of lesser gods, perhaps also worshipped, who are gathered around him (Judg 18.3-20). In this understanding there are no rival gods challenging Yahweh’s sovereignty.²⁸ Israelite monolatry views the worship of Yahweh as the only worship acceptable, but acknowledges that in non-Israelite communities people have their own very real local deities whom they legitimately worship.²⁹ This view sees Yahweh and other deities bound to geographic localities, which is a common notion seen above in the survey of Mesopotamian and Syro-Palestinian religion. Patrick Miller incorporates some of these views into a different set of categories differentiating between an orthodox, heterodox, and syncretistic Yahwism. Orthodox Yahwism would be best characterised as the Yahwism portrayed by the final canonical form of

²³ MacDonald, *Monotheism*, 11.

²⁴ MacDonald, *Monotheism*, 1.

²⁵ M. S. Smith, *Monotheism*, 78; Sternberg, *Poetics*, 12.

²⁶ For a more recent variation on the traditional view which posits theoretical monotheism developing in the exilic period Israel see Hoffman, “Other Gods,” 115. See the discussion of the traditional view in MacDonald, *Monotheism*, 21–58; Toorn, “Priests,” 2056. For a well argued case against an ancient Israelite philosophical monotheism see Hayman, “Monotheism,” 2; MacDonald, *Monotheism*.

²⁷ M. S. Smith, *Monotheism*, 11–2.

²⁸ See the discussion of Israelite henotheism in M. S. Smith, *Monotheism*, 78.

²⁹ Lang’s framework is the unilinear evolutionary theory eschewed in the social sciences. For discussion see Chapter 2, pp. 11-2, 16-8 (B. Lang, *Monotheism*, 11, 14).

the HB.³⁰ Heterodox Yahwism, which includes some aspects of henotheism, would hold to the tenets of Yahwism but add elements such as the worship of images, forbidden cult practices, and consulting the dead or departed ancestors.³¹ Syncretistic Yahwism, also encompassing some henotheistic elements, adds the worship of other deities and cult rituals.³² Miller acknowledges the difficulty in clearly distinguishing between these various categories and that in reality they would probably overlap.³³ It is plausible that all of the various strains of Yahwism reconstructed above could have existed simultaneously in the heterogeneous Israelite community, each ebbing and flowing at different times and places.

In contrast to the non-orthodox Yahwistic views mentioned above, it appears that the canonical writers of the HB held to a type of phenomenological monotheism, described above as the oneness of Yahweh by MacDonald, and which Wright has called *creational monotheism*.³⁴ This uniquely Yahwistic view sees Yahweh as a universal deity to be worshipped exclusively. But it does not deny the existence of lesser deities (Pss 29.1; 86.8; 95.3; 96.4; 97.7; 135.5). Moreover, a unique aspect of Yahwism's phenomenological monotheism is its view that Yahweh is the sole creator of the gods. As Boyd describes it:

The divine realm is envisaged as a veritable society of gods, though Yahweh is clearly understood to be incomparably greater than all others, for he alone is Creator.³⁵

This is fundamentally different from the theoretical monotheism of modern times. The ancient Yahwistic view sees the lesser gods as possessing real power, which some use

³⁰ Miller, *Religion of Ancient Israel*, 148–51.

³¹ Miller, *Religion of Ancient Israel*, 51–6.

³² Miller, *Religion of Ancient Israel*, 57–62.

³³ Miller, *Religion of Ancient Israel*, 46–8.

³⁴ N. T. Wright, *People of God*, 248–50.

³⁵ Boyd, *God at War*, 117.

to oppose and resist Yahweh and his people Israel.³⁶ But Yahweh's power is believed to be ultimately supreme and triumphant over all other gods. The strong rhetorical polemic of Isaiah (44.6, 8; 45.5, 14, 18, 21) and Jeremiah (2.11; 5.7; 16.20) against the gods is not to be understood as denying their existence³⁷ anymore than referring to nations as 'nothing' and 'without existence' in the HB denies their reality:

All the nations are as nothing before him; they are considered by him as without existence and empty (Isa 40.17).

It is clear that what Isaiah is saying in his impassioned rhetoric is that the nations do not have the power to resist Yahweh. It is not their existence he is denying.³⁸ Both Yahwists and the various shades of perspectives found in Israelite religion saw real power in the various deities, in the practices, practitioners, and the gods sought as represented in Deut 18.10-11. Mark Smith poignantly observes that:

Monotheistic statement attempted to persuade Judeans still unconvinced of this perspective. Perhaps these declarations represent the efforts of a minority of "monotheists" to persuade a majority of Judeans who held Yahweh as the head of a larger group of divinities or divine powers. Perhaps the main point of such statements was not simply to move the later (sic) into the "monotheistic camp" but to convince them of the reality of Yahweh's power in the world.³⁹

Peter Hayman also argues convincingly that a philosophical monotheism never really existed in Yahwism.⁴⁰ The purpose of the oneness-of-Yahweh rhetoric in the HB had

³⁶ Compare the 'power' unleashed against Israel by Mesha's sacrifice of his son on the city walls (2 Kgs 3.27). If the Egyptian reliefs from the temples of Beit el-Wali at Nubia and Merneptah at Luxor are any guide to the practice of child sacrifice by communities in the Canaanite region whose cities were besieged (Spalinger, "Canaanite Ritual," Plates VI, VII), this sacrifice would have been made in petition to a god, probably Chemosh. In this instance *qesep*, or the furious mystical power released, was of such a nature that the Israelites were compelled to back off (Mauser, "One God Alone," 258). Cf. also the power wielded against the cosmic forces of Yahweh by the Prince of Persia (Dan 10.13).

³⁷ For a good discussion of the issue see C. R. Seitz, *Word Without End: The Old Testament as Abiding Theological Witness* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998) 255 and M. S. Smith, *Monotheism*, 154–5.

³⁸ C. F. Keil, and F. Delitzsch, *Isaiah* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980 Reprint) 150.

³⁹ M. S. Smith, *Monotheism*, 155.

⁴⁰ Hayman, "Monotheism," 2.

to do with putting other gods in the subordinate place in which Yahwism deemed they belonged and to elevate Yahweh to the exclusive place of worship and devotion. It is in this way that the first commandment and the *shema* are to be understood (Exod 20.2; Deut 5.6; 6.4). This Yahwistic understanding of the nature of Yahweh and his supreme position among the gods as creator, and possessing ultimate power and authority, are foundational aspects of the discrete Yahwistic understanding of the cosmic warfare worldview which was described in the last chapter. The universe is often a dark place in which Yahweh and his band of gods (angels) do battle with rival deities. Even though the Yahwistic worldview is greatly demythologised and historicised (but not secularised), it shares continuity with the worldviews of various ANE societies.⁴¹

Critical for understanding the way the oneness of Yahweh develops in the HB is the revealing of the divine name, Yahweh (3.14), and the deliverance narrative which flows out from it, and which expound the meaning of the name (3.1-15.21).⁴² This is crucial for the Yahwistic understanding of the oneness and uniqueness of Yahweh, and has deep implications for covenant faithfulness as well (4.34-40). Reference to the deliverance narrative and the divine name is woven throughout Deut (1.30; 4.20, 34, 37, 45; 5.6, 15; 6.12, 21; 7.8, 15; 8.14; 9.7; 10.22; 11.3; 13.5; 15.15; 16.3; 20.1; 24.18; 25.17; 29.16). Through Moses as his intermediary, Yahweh frees the Israelites from oppressive slavery through an astounding series of signs and wonders (Exod 4.1-9; 7.1-11.10; 12.29-40; 14.1-31). Once the Israelites are free, Yahweh presents himself to them as their king (Exod 19.5-6), speaking to them directly from a mountain blazing with fire, and delivering to them laws and regulations in a form similar to ANE suzerainty covenants (Exod 19.2-21; Deut 5.2-33). All nations and peoples have their

⁴¹ As discussed in the previous chapter the unique Yahwistic worldview is seen in the fact that Yahweh is portrayed as a warrior combating the cosmic forces of chaos such as the Leviathan, Rahab, the twisting Serpent, and the Sea (Isa 27.1; Ps 74.14; 89.11 [ET 10]; Job 26.12-13). Although the unique view of the HB is greatly demythologised and the conflict seen as pitted against other ANE societies, rather than rival deities, there is the occasional mentioning of the rival cosmic forces seen to be in conflict with Yahweh. See Boyd, *God at War*, 74–9; Day, *Yahweh*, 98–105; Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*; G. E. Wright, “God the Warrior,” 110.

⁴² For discussion on how the meaning of the divine name, based on the verb *hāyâ* (to be), is given its discrete meaning via the exodus narrative see W. Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1997) 122–6; cf. Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 60–75.

stories of origin which give them their unique identity. For the Romans it was Romulus and Remus; for Arabs Mohammed and his rise to power are key; for Uzbeks the stories of the Mongol warrior Tamerlane are foundational; for the English the stories surrounding St George and William the Conqueror are critical; for Americans it is the Pilgrim Fathers, George Washington, and the War of Independence that are important. The exodus narrative is the powerful nation-creating story of the ancient Israelites and modern Jewish people. It is foundational for building the unique Yahwistic identity of the people of Israel. This powerful story is what lies behind the succinct statement contained in the first commandment: 'There shall not be other gods before me (5.7),' as well as the *Shema*: 'Hear Israel! Yahweh our god is one Yahweh (Deut 6.4).'⁴³ The meaning of the name Yahweh, provided by the narrative of the exodus event, is that he is the God of Israel's ancestors and supreme cosmic warrior king who frees his people from slavery and oppression (Exod 3.6, 8; 15.11, 18).⁴⁴

A key moment in this narrative expounding the oneness of Yahweh is when the people demand gods to worship (Exod 32.1-24). They are nearly destroyed by Yahweh for doing so, for he cannot be represented by an image and will not be replaced by other deities (Exod 32.10).⁴⁵ This dramatically illustrates the type of Yahwistic cosmic conflict which will be discussed in due course. Rather than being made known by an image, Yahweh is known through his narratives, laws, regulations, rituals, and revelations (Lev 11.44-45; 19.2; 20.26).⁴⁶ He is known to his people through direct experience in theophanies such as the column of cloud and fire, or the fiery Mount Sinai/Horeb, which includes an audible voice and a blast of a horn (Exod 13.21-22; 19.16; 33.9; cf. Deut 4.12; 5.4; 31.15). He is known through messages given by the prophets (Exod 4.28-31; Deut 1.3). And he is known through his signs and wonders

⁴³ This statement poses notorious translation difficulties. For a discussion of the various issues and translation possibilities see MacDonald, *Monotheism*, 60–70.

⁴⁴ Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 123–4 n. 17; Moberly, *Old Testament*, 6.

⁴⁵ For the discussion on the demand of the people for gods, *ʾēlōhīm* (Exod 32.1, 4), and Aaron's response by making an idol and seeming to refer to it as *Yahweh* (Exod 32.5) see B. S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster, 1974) 564–7; J. I. Durham, *Exodus* (WBC; Waco, TX: Word, 1987) 419–22.

⁴⁶ G. J. Wenham, *The Book of Leviticus* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979) 16.

(Exod 4.1-9; 15.11). Through Moses it is revealed that Yahweh is to be worshipped exclusively (Deut 4.35; 4.39; 5.7; 6.4-5; 32.39). It is this foundational aspect of the Yahwistic pattern of meanings that has caused de Tarragon to state that Yahweh's oneness, the unique understanding of Yahwistic monotheism, is the cause for construing divination and 'magic' as chaos and danger.⁴⁷ It will be shown below that oneness is a basic reason for excluding the religious phenomena listed in 18.10-11.

A second significant aspect of the Yahwistic pattern of meanings that causes the rejection of the religious phenomena of Deut 18.10-11 is covenant, the "central expression of the distinctive faith of Israel."⁴⁸ The metaphor of covenant flows out of the relational aspect of holiness mentioned above. Because Yahweh is a deity characteristically relational, relationship with him is made possible for humans. Since chaos and evil are realities that cause pollution and defilement, which includes the eroding of relationship, regulations are needed to safeguard it. The covenant is the means given for maintaining relational harmony with Yahweh (as well as maintaining harmony between people within and outside of the community).⁴⁹ The idea of covenant obedience to Yahweh in Deut is expressed in a variety of ways, such as the commands to love (6.5; 10.12; 11.1, 13, 22), to learn (4.10; 5.1), to hear (4.1; 5.1; 6.3, 4; 9.1), to teach (4.9; 11.19), to follow (4.1, 5, 14; 8.1), to keep (4.40; 6.17; 11.1), to fear (6.13; 10.12), to observe (4.6; 5.12; 8.6), not to forget (4.9; 6.12). The relationship is not viewed as one-way, but reciprocal and conditional. Yahweh will be close and faithful to Israel, as it remains faithful and close to Yahweh (4.6-7). The covenant obedience shown by keeping the rituals and regulations in regard to certain days (5.12), objects (12.26; 15.19; 22.9), places (23.15), and the worship and proper reverence of Yahweh (32.51), keeping harmonious and just relationships with people (5.14; 15.2, 7; 16.19;

⁴⁷ Tarragon, "Witchcraft, Magic and Divination," 2075.

⁴⁸ E. W. Nicholson, *God and His People: Covenant and Theology in the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986) 216.

⁴⁹ D. Davies, "Sacrifice," 152-3.

22.1; 22.22), are what makes them holy (7.6; 14.2, 21; 26.19; 9.28).⁵⁰ The exodus narrative, so critical for understanding the oneness of Yahweh, is a foundational reason given for the obligation Israel has to maintain covenant faithfulness with Yahweh (4.20, 34; 6.20-25).⁵¹ Since Yahweh has revealed his name to Israel, and freed it from slavery, and has ‘elected’ it to be his means of destroying chaos and danger and bringing order and wholeness to humanity (7.1-5; 10.18-19; cf. Gen 12.2-3), it is obliged to keep covenant faithfulness with him as his vassal.⁵²

A third significant aspect of the Yahwistic worldview, which causes certain religious phenomena to be rejected, is the reality of evil, or things labelled abhorrent, and the resulting chaos and danger which is then present in the world. This also leads into the discussion of the dualistic cosmology of Yahwism discussed above and defines its unique cosmic warfare understanding. In the Yahwistic worldview evil comes from one of two sources: wrong human choices (Gen 3.6), or evil spiritual beings (Job 1.10-12).⁵³ These two sources can be intertwined, as in the case of the Egyptian *ḥartummîm* (priestly wielders of supernatural power), referred to as *h^akāmîn* (wise men) and *m^ekašš^epîm* (in the Yahwistic perspective, priestly wielders of malevolent powers)(Exod 7.11). The Yahwistic literature is quite subdued, traditionally described as demythologised, in its expression of cosmic conflict when compared to other ANE religions.⁵⁴ Yet a real conflict exists and the HB takes up its concerns. In the process it

⁵⁰ Yahweh’s initiative of choosing Israel to be his covenant people also contributes to their status as holy (26.18-19; see Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 100; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 86–7; Wenham, *Leviticus*, 22). But this status is lost if they become defiled by breaking covenant (11.16-17; see McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 64; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, xvi).

⁵¹ D. L. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1:1–21:9* (WBC; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2001) 151; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 180; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 356–7.

⁵² See Wright’s discussion of covenant as a key part of the Yahwistic understanding of its monotheism. In this understanding relationship is a critical characteristic Yahweh. In this relationship is found the answer to the problem of evil and chaos. “Abraham’s people are to be the means of undoing primeval sin and its consequences (N. T. Wright, *People of God*, 252).”

⁵³ N. T. Wright, *People of God*, 251.

⁵⁴ See for example the Egyptian *Repulsing of the Dragon and the Creation* (ANET, 6-7), the Sumerian *The Deluge* (ANET, 42-4), *Gilgamesh and Agga* (ANET, 44-7), *Inanna’s Descent to the Netherworld* (ANET, 52-7), the Babylonian *Descent of Ishtar to the Netherworld* (ANET, 106-109), *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (ANET, 72-99), the Hittite *The Telepinus Myth* (ANET, 126-29), and the Ugaritic *Baal Cycle* (ANET, 129-42).

produces a unique Yahwistic theodicy. The way the HB describes evil, and the conflict it creates, will now be described briefly.

A number of significant examples of cosmic conflict or warfare are found outside of Deut. I will mention five instances. The first is an example of the evil displayed in the behaviour of humanity (Gen 6.5). One of the characteristics of this evil is destruction and havoc wreaked by violence (Gen 6.11). From the perspective of Yahweh this creates such a chaotic and dangerous state of affairs that the only option is to destroy the cause of the chaos with a flood (Gen 6.13). A second example of chaos conflict is in the exodus event. This conflict reveals more clearly the existence of cosmic powers opposed to Yahweh and his human allies. When Moses and Aaron confront Pharaoh, Yahweh instructs and empowers them supernaturally to work a wonder by throwing down a staff which turns into a snake (7.10). Surprisingly enough, Pharaoh's court officials, which includes the designation *m^e kašš^e pîm* found in Deut 18.10, one by one imitate the same supernatural wonder (7.11). Yahweh's power prevails as Moses' snake consumes those of Pharaoh's officials (7.12; cf. 7.22; 8.7). The text does not state the source of the opposing supernatural power, but the implication from the narrative is that it is not human in origin. This is characteristic of the way that the HB refrains from providing descriptions of the sources of the supernatural powers as other ANE religions do.⁵⁵ Another example of cosmic conflict is the Job narrative. In it we are introduced to the dangerous cosmic personality designated *śātān* (Satan)(Job 1.6). Job is described as someone who avoids pollution and defilement ... he shuns evil (1.8). *Śātān* does his best to bring Job's world to a state of utter chaos and destruction (through events that would seem natural from a human perspective)(1.13-14). But Yahweh places limits on *śātān*'s activities (1.12). These examples are offered to illustrate the uniquely Yahwistic portrayal of cosmic chaos. It is important background for the investigation of the religious phenomena found in Deut 18.10-11.

⁵⁵ Boyd, *God at War*, 79–80.

In conclusion, Yahwistic cosmology is a pattern made up of regulations, rituals, narratives, and poetry, which symbolise beliefs and attitudes about reality. It constitutes a pattern of moral and ethical behaviour.⁵⁶ In that pattern, breaking any covenant regulation is a moral breach causing pollution and defilement, and inviting curse if not atoned for by prescribed sacrificial ritual and penitent heart.⁵⁷ Douglas explains the relationship between holiness and the rules and rituals by which obedience is expressed by saying

The precepts and ceremonies alike are focussed on the idea of the holiness of God which men must create in their own lives. So this is a universe in which men prosper by conforming to holiness and perish when they deviate from it.⁵⁸

As mentioned above, holiness is the nature of Yahweh (Deut 32.51; cf. Lev 11.44-45; 19.1). The holiness which the pollution regulations in the Pentateuch express can be thought of as a diamond in that it is multi-faceted. Its various facets were described above as oneness, life, relationship, separateness, completeness, perfection, purity, moral goodness and justice.⁵⁹ Following that three key concepts critical for understanding the defilement caused by the forbidden religious phenomena in Deut 18.10-11 were further elaborated. They were the oneness of Yahweh, covenant faithfulness, and opposition to abhorrent objects and beings, which explains Yahwism's unique understanding of cosmic warfare. Yahwism's unique dualistic cosmological understanding is foundational for understanding the oneness of Yahweh, his holiness, and those things that are subsequently polluting or defiling. With this worldview in mind, let us look next to the literary context of Deut 18.

⁵⁶ B. S. Childs, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments: Theological Reflection on the Christian Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993) 676.

⁵⁷ Cf. Davies' discussion of the complex moral and ethical system contained in Yahwistic cosmology (D. Davies, "Sacrifice," 152-3).

⁵⁸ Douglas, *Purity*, 63.

⁵⁹ D. Davies, "Sacrifice," 152; Douglas, *Purity*, 63, 66, 67, 71.

The Literary Cotext⁶⁰

Deut 18 and its various religious practitioners and practices do not appear in a vacuum, but are part of a lengthy religious and ideological text which must be understood in order for there to be a proper interpretation. What follows is a brief survey of the literary cotext of this passage.

From ancient times Deut belonged to the pentateuchal corpus comprised of the first five books of the HB. In the early 20th century its relationship to what precedes and follows had been understood as a hexateuch.⁶¹ Through the work of Martin Noth, Deut had been understood to be the beginning of the Deuteronomistic History (*DtrH*).⁶² Whatever one's view of how Deut relates to the historical books, in its canonical form it serves, at the least, as a literary bridge for what comes before and after.⁶³ But more than this, Deut's function in the HB is, following Ska, to serve as the controlling ideological key for subsequent books of the HB.⁶⁴

It seems clear that Deut presents a worldview promoting Yahweh as the universal ruler, not simply over Israel, but over all nations and all creation (2.5, 9, 19; 10.14; 32.8).⁶⁵ From a literary perspective, the development of this worldview begins in Genesis and Exodus. In Genesis, the *creation* points to Yahweh as king of heaven and earth (Gen 2.4; 6.7; 11.8). In Exodus, the dramatic deliverance of Israel from oppression in Egypt presents Yahweh as emancipator and warrior king (Exod 3.7-10; 6.1; 15.18). Edward Greenstein holds that the twin themes of *creation* and *exodus* are foundation aspects of Hebrew *tōrâ*.⁶⁶ These are the foundational elements of the

⁶⁰ As explained in Chapter 1, the linguistic term *cotext* refers to sentences, paragraphs and chapters surrounding a text. The term *context* signifies the sociological or historical setting of the text. See p. 1 n. 4.

⁶¹ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, lxxvii.

⁶² M. Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History* (JSOTSup; Sheffield: JSOT, 1981) 13–7.

⁶³ Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 22; Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, lxxxix.

⁶⁴ See p. 58.

⁶⁵ Nicholson, *God and His People*, 217; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 24.

⁶⁶ I follow Greenstein and Wenham in understanding *tōrâ* to mean more than HB laws and regulations. It includes narrative, poetry, and all the various genres of literature found in the HB (Greenstein, "Biblical Law," 84; G. J. Wenham, *Story as Torah: Reading the Old Testament Ethically* [OTS; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000]; cf. Rad, *Old Testament*, 222). *Tōrâ* is taken to mean *guidance*. This would include the experiential guidance that potentially every devotee of Yahweh could experi-

worldview that Deut builds on and expands, but primarily the latter (Deut 4.20, 32, 37; 6.12, 21-23; 7.18; 9.7, 26; 10.14, 17, 19; 11.3-4; 32.8).⁶⁷ Arising from the midst of these twin themes are the views that Yahweh is the giver of an exceptional quality of life (6.2-3; 7.13-15; 8.7-13; 11.10-12; 30.15), experientially present with his people (4.7, 15; 5.4), a deity concerned with a pure environment in order to provide an atmosphere worthy of his divine presence (7.5-6; 14.1-2, 21; 23.12-14; 26.15), and a suzerain, or king, faithful to his covenant with his people (4.31; 7.9).⁶⁸ As mentioned above, while other gods exist and may even oppose Yahweh, he is their superior in every way (Exod 15.11; Deut 32.8; Judg 11.24; 2 Kgs 3.27; Pss 82.1; 89.7; 95.3; 97.9 cf. Job 1.6).⁶⁹ In broad strokes these are key aspects of the Yahwistic worldview that are present in the Pentateuch, and undergird Deut. These are the broader literary themes which must be kept in mind in order to comprehend the Yahwistic perspective in Deut 18.⁷⁰

Turning specifically to Deut, a close reading reveals its theme to be the opportunity and obligation to live exclusively under the reign of King Yahweh (cf. 4.1-8; 26. 16-19; 27.9-10; 30.15-16),⁷¹ with the goal of convincing a nascent Israelite community (with an ambiguous commitment to Yahweh),⁷² that they are to be devoted to him

ence (Deut 1.5ff; cf. Exod 40.36-38).

⁶⁷ Greenstein, "Biblical Law," 83.

⁶⁸ This summary of the primary themes of the *tōrâ* comes from Greenstein (Greenstein, "Biblical Law," 85–95; cf. also Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 17).

⁶⁹ See the discussion of Yahwistic monotheism and dualism, pp. 193-202.

⁷⁰ These main themes residing in Deut are mentioned in whole or in part by Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 17.

⁷¹ Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 21; R. E. Clements, *Deuteronomy Guide*, 50–1; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 20, 50; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 8–9.

⁷² The application of this message would be suitable for any time in the pre-exilic history of Israel. The prevailing opinion in biblical scholarship is that the social setting of Deut is Josianic (7th century BCE) or Northern Kingdom (8th century BCE). Both are reconstructions that assume an evolutionary social theory which originated with Wellhausen. However, as mentioned above, a century ago sociological and anthropological theory had repudiated the evolutionary social theory (Sharpe, *Comparative Religion*, 178–9, 193–4; Stocking, *Ethnographer's Magic*, 352–4). This study calls into the question the use of that theory in biblical studies. However, whether one views the social setting as 8th-7th century BCE, or whether parts of Deut gives witness to an earlier formative period of Yahwism in the early monarchy or even premonarchical times, varying degrees of syncretism and idolatry were prevalent from the early to late periods as Israel was not a homogenous community (Braulik, *Theology of Deuteronomy*, 100; E. S. Gerstenberger, *Leviticus: A Commentary* [OTL; Louisville:

alone, and thereby serve as a model for the nations round about them (4.6-8; 28.10; cf. 29.22-24).⁷³ This theme can be further clarified by the understanding that Yahweh alone is God and King (6.4; 33.5); Israel has been chosen by Yahweh to be his people based on his lovingkindness. But in order to enter into the blessing of living under the rule of King Yahweh, Israel must exercise an active faith by taking the initiative to realise Yahweh's promises, and simultaneously to demonstrate its unique status as his people by obedient behaviour.⁷⁴ Of particular emphasis is the danger of heterodox or syncretistic cult practice, such as idolatry, which is viewed as causing pollution and a source of cosmic conflict.⁷⁵ Dialoguing with the text reveals ubiquitous warnings and exhortations to cease from faithless behaviour in general, and idolatry in particular. The parenetic style indicated that the grassroots of society needed much coaxing and convincing (1.34-36; 4.3, 9, 26; 6.16; 10.16; 11.18-20). Generally speaking the Israelites portrayed in Deut did not have a firm commitment to Yahweh, at least not in orthodox Yahwistic terms (4.3; 5.7f; 9.12; 11.16).⁷⁶ This is evidenced by the lack of will to attack the Amorites (1.26, 32), and the recounting of the construction and worship of the calf idol at Horeb (9.6-27). Deut informs the reader that Israel will not be obedient, and will suffer the devastating consequences of breaking covenant with Yahweh (31.20f, 27, 29). But Yahweh's lovingkindness will prevail at some eschatological time when the problem of Israel's faithlessness will be resolved by Yahweh's initiative in empowering them to live a life of covenant faithfulness by 'circumcising their hearts

Westminster John Knox, 1996] ; Miller, *Religion of Ancient Israel*, 51). Archaeology seems to support this view (R. E. Clements, *Deuteronomy Guide*, 55).

⁷³ For the argument that Deut envisions a community with a worldwide spiritual and moral purpose see Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 52; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 8-17. This global or universal purpose for the community of Israel first appears explicitly in Gen 12.3 where it is stated that through Abraham's progeny all the families of the earth are to find blessing. Commentators often acknowledge that Deut intends to communicate that a committed Yahwism will be the envy of the nations (cf. Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 64-5; Phillips, *Deuteronomy*, 32; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 44-5; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 202), but do not go so far as to say that Deut actually has a universal purpose in mind for the community of Israel. Yet this seems to be an important part of Deut's message.

⁷⁴ Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 32; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 64.

⁷⁵ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, xix.

⁷⁶ cf. R. E. Clements, *Deuteronomy Guide*, 55.

(30.6).⁷⁷ Deut's rhetorical strategy for driving home its message is to use the parenetic speeches of Moses, his imminent departure,⁷⁸ and a form that resembles ANE law codes and/or vassal treaties which communicates royal authority.⁷⁹ In addition to this, the most important controlling symbol in Deut which mediates this steady focus on the oneness of Yahweh is the *nābî'* (18.18-19), especially as embodied in the person of Moses (34.10-12). Throughout the narrative of Deut, the ubiquitous voice mediating the vision for the Yahwistic community is the *nābî'* Moses (1.1, 5; 4.1; 5.1; 6.4-6; 8.1;). Within every rhetorical strategy employed in Deut, whether narrative (1.6-3.29; 5.22-30), parenetic (4.1-40; 7.1-26), poetry (32.1-43; 33.1-29), or law (5.1-5; 6.1; 18.15, 18), is the *nābî'* Moses. More than any other figure presented in Deut, Moses embodies the ideals, however imperfectly, of Israelite society. Above all, Moses symbolises the imminence of Yahweh ... his ever present voice speaking to and giving guidance to the community of Israel (Deut 18.18-19). This will be developed further below.

Drawing closer to the immediate context, Deut 18 is found situated in a section concerned with identifying authority in the community (16.18-18.22). Building on the work of Hermann Schulz, Stephen Kaufman, and others following him, have held that this section is an exposition of the fifth commandment of the Decalogue⁸⁰ which calls on Israel to honour father and mother (5.16).⁸¹ In this view, the core of the laws and

⁷⁷ J. G. McConville, *Grace in the End: A Study in Deuteronomistic Theology* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1993) 136–7.

⁷⁸ For the importance of the death of Moses as a controlling literary device throughout Deut see Olson, *Death of Moses*.

⁷⁹ McCarthy, *Treaty*, 4, 10, 277.

⁸⁰ Georg Braulik refers to it as the fourth commandment based on the alternate decalogue numbering system used in his tradition (G. Braulik, "The Sequence of the Laws in Deuteronomy 12 - 26," *A Song of Power and the Power of Song* [ed. D. L. Christensen; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1993] 313–35). The Roman Catholic and Lutheran traditions consider the first commandments to be vv. 7-10. V. 21 is then divided into two parts to make up the ninth and tenth commandments: "You shall not covet your neighbour's wife (ninth). You shall not set your desire on your neighbour's house or land, his male servant or female servant, his ox or donkey, or anything that belongs to your neighbour (tenth)." Augustine is the source of this tradition which began in the 4th century. Other Protestants and the Eastern Orthodox traditions consider the first commandment to be v. 7, and then vv. 8-10 to be the second commandment. Judaism considers v. 6 to be the first commandment and vv. 7-10 as the second. See Keil, *Pentateuch*, 108–10; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 121.

⁸¹ Braulik, "Laws," 321; R. E. Clements, *The Book of Deuteronomy* (NIB; Nashville: Abingdon, 1998) 416; Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 107, 393; S. Kaufman, "The Structure of the Deuteronomistic Law," *Maarav* 1/2 (1978) 113–4.

regulations of Deut (12-25) are arranged in a systematic exposition of the Decalogue (5.7-21). The way that Kaufman and Braulik organise Deut 12-25 to correlate with the Decalogue differs.⁸² But they are both agreed that 16.18-18.22 is an application of the Decalogue command to respect parents (5.16). However, it has been shown that the regulations found in chapters 12-25 do not always fit neatly into the order of the Ten Words.⁸³ One example would be the law concerning the rebellious son (21.18-21), which would naturally relate to the fifth commandment, but in the schemes suggested by Kaufman and Braulik it falls into the sixth.⁸⁴ It may be that chapter 18 was intentionally designed to reflect the fifth commandment. But it also expresses the concerns of the first four Words, which call Israel to worship no god but Yahweh (5.7), not to make and worship images (5.8-10), and not to use Yahweh's name inappropriately (5.11). Raymond Dillard and Tremper Longman express the hesitation vis-à-vis viewing Deut 12-26 as a systematic exposition of the Ten Words:

This sort of approach to Deuteronomy is fertile ground for reflection on ethical questions. It shows how all parts of the law are to varying degrees mutually implicit and interpenetrating in any of the commandments. Yet it is not clear that this structure was actually intended by the author-compiler of the book ... for example, struggles with the thematic connections needed for this system of classification particularly in reference to the seventh commandment. The book does not provide explicit signals that this was the author's intention, and it would naturally be the case that individual laws would be particular legal enactments of the more general commandments.⁸⁵

⁸² Braulik, "Laws," 321-2.

⁸³ This is a problem which Kaufman and Braulik acknowledge (Kaufman, "Deuteronomic Law," 114; Braulik, "Laws," 321).

⁸⁴ Other examples of regulations that do not fit the scheme are as follows: the first commandment can be seen behind any of the regulations which speak of the majesty and worship of Yahweh, forbid the worship of other gods, and creating idols (16.9-17, 21-22; 17.3; 18.9-14; 19.9). The second commandment can be seen in any command to give glory and honour to the name of Yahweh (21.5). Elements of the third commandment concerning the Sabbath can be seen in the various regulations that guard against oppressing the vulnerable of society (24.14, 17, 19-21).

⁸⁵ R. B. Dillard, T. Longman III, *An Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994) 100.

Therefore, without seeing a strict orderly exposition of the Ten Words in Deut 12-26, it is natural that the various laws and regulations found there are linked to the general laws of 5.7-21. As mentioned above, in chapter 18 the fifth commandment as well as the first three find expression. The third commandment to use Yahweh's name in a way keeping with the Yahwistic concept of holiness also may have importance for Deut 18. It seems reasonable to assume that, among other things, the embodied intention of the third commandment was to preclude the use of Yahweh's name in mechanical, 'magical' or manipulative formulas (5.11).⁸⁶ On this latter point Walter Brueggemann comments:

The wrong use of YHWH's name seeks to draw YHWH's power into more frivolous modes of life where human beings retain control. Thus instead of honoring YHWH, YHWH is put to use, so that the right relationship of God and the human partner is inverted.⁸⁷

Thus the human propensity, found in numerous communities across space and time, to find the 'quick fix' for a problem by using the right words or names in an incantation is deterred by this commandment which is designed to give guidance to a certain quality of relationship with Yahweh.

Another striking feature of Deut 18 is its novel leadership context. Deut 16.18-18.22 reveals an unconventional division of powers, in the ANE setting, which are shared by four types of leaders: judges, kings, priests (*kōh^a nīm*), and prophets (*n^e bī'im*). Many have perceived it to be a constitution.⁸⁸ However, it lacks the definition necessary to

⁸⁶ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 115; Durham, *Exodus*, 228; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 128; Phillips, *Deuteronomy*, 46-7.

⁸⁷ Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 68.

⁸⁸ For the discussion of Deuteronomy 16.18-18.22 as a constitution for the nation of Israel see F. Crüsemann, *The Torah: Theology and Social History of Old Testament Law* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996) 234-49; N. Lohfink, "Die Sicherung der Wirksamkeit des Gotteswortes durch das Prinzip der Schriftlichkeit der Tora und durch das Prinzip der Gewaltenteilung nach den Ämtergesetzen des Buches Deuteronomium (Dt 16,18-18,22)," *Studien zum Deuteronomium und zur deuteronomistischen Literatur, I* (SBAB 8; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1990) 305-23; S. D. McBride, "Polity of the Covenant People: The Book of Deuteronomy," *A Song of Power and the Power of Song: Essays on the Book of Deuteronomy* (ed. D. L. Christensen; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1993) 62-77; J. G. McConville, "King and Messiah in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History," *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (ed.

be understood in this way.⁸⁹ It presents the reader with ideals, but lacks a comprehensive set of instructions defining the roles of the various leaders. For example, the kind of responsibilities regarding the king which Samuel presents the people are absent here (cf. 1 Sam 8.10-17). But it does add strong elements to the Yahwistic pattern of meanings in its view of human authority, that is, that Yahweh is ultimately in control. This is born out by circumscribing the power of the king and giving generous authority to the mouthpiece of Yahweh, the *nābî'*. In the Yahwistic view expressed in Deut, authority cannot be situated in a single individual, but must be distributed among a number of leaders. Each of these leaders has his limit of power. In this way a type of accountability in governing the community is introduced. The *nābî'*, as the mouthpiece of Yahweh, and most prominent symbol of Yahwistic religion, provides a powerful source of balance and accountability to the king, *kōhēn*, and judge. The fact that Deut is addressed to the people of Israel, and that it informs them of the responsibilities and limits of its leaders, places them in a position of exercising accountability as well.⁹⁰

The world-constructing vision of Deut is very much a comprehensive one which integrates religion and politics, in typical ANE fashion. Berger's theory of world-construction⁹¹ which explains the dynamics of both social change and shaping is helpful in understanding the social process at work in Deut. A process is initiated by Deut by which a new reality of exclusive devotion to Yahweh is being presented to the community, a reality which contends with the polytheistic or monolatristic tendencies of the Israelites (Deut 9.16; 31.20; 32.17, 21; Josh 24.23). The part of the world-constructing process witnessed in Deut is what Berger terms *externalization*. The view of Deut, mediated through both its intradiegetic narrator Moses, and also its anonymous covert narrator,⁹² hopes that a process of *internalisation* will begin. This is

John Day; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998) 277; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 213.

⁸⁹ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 159.

⁹⁰ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 159.

⁹¹ See the definition of world-construction, pp. 48-9.

⁹² For definitions of intradiegetic narrator and covert narrator see p. 58.

where the Israelites will accept into their social consciousness the attempts of Yahwistic leadership to change their view of reality, resulting in a new and vigorous Yahweh-centred worldview. As we shall see, the *internalisation* process in Israel was not successful, and in fact the failure was anticipated.⁹³ However, the rhetoric of Deut is a call to build a new social order with Yahweh at the centre, his holiness radiating out from him and being reflected in society, with the *nābî*’ more than any other authority figure embodying the holiness and imminence of Yahweh.⁹⁴ In this way the ethical call of Deut to the community of Israel is as Brueggemann describes it: A call for a very “public theology.”⁹⁵ Elsewhere he describes Deut as a situation where “Moses, covenantor and shaper of Israel, speaks and in his speaking defines the shape and character of new Israel, of Israel in the land and for the land and over the land.”⁹⁶ No doubt, the Israelite tribes have beliefs and cult traditions from the past about Yahweh, bequeathed to them from their forefathers. Deut assumes this. But in Deut Moses gives the Israelites new symbols and traditions, which will shape and build their society in new ways. Let us now turn to the three primary religious figures in Yahwism discussed in Deut 18.

The Yahwistic *Kōhēn* and *Lēwî*

Introduction

The organisation of the Yahwistic priests, and the pattern of meaning it creates for the Yahwistic vision of reality, is strikingly unique in its lack of variety. By way of contrast, the priestly personnel of the different ANE communities and societies surveyed in Chapter 3 are described by a variety of terms, usually indicating a variety of priestly roles. This section will take up the discussion of the two cult personnel designated in the HB generally as *kōhēn* and *lēwî*. The discussion will centre on their role as intermediaries of divine revelation.

⁹³ Berger, *Social Reality*, 4–28.

⁹⁴ Braulik, *Theology of Deuteronomy*, 99.

⁹⁵ Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 19.

⁹⁶ Brueggemann, *The Land*, 46.

The traditional unilinear evolutionary understanding of the development of the Yahwistic priesthood from simple beginnings in early Israel when anyone could be a priest in his own household, to a more complex exilic development involving two branches of cult officials consisting of a specialised ‘Aaronid’ priesthood and subservient Levites, will not be assumed here for the reasons discussed above. Following the anthropological theory described above, movement toward an emic or competent understanding of the Yahwistic worldview and religious beliefs will be achieved by allowing the text to inform us.⁹⁷ Anthropological epistemology is discerning, but does not begin in the first instance with a hermeneutics of suspicion. The goal is to enter and embrace the Yahwistic universe in order to understand its own concept of *kōhēn* and *lēwî*.⁹⁸ The *kōhēn* will be discussed first.

The books of the Pentateuch provide the etiology of the institution of the *kōhēn*, which has its source in Aaron. Exod and Num name the father of Moses and Aaron as Amram from the Kohathite clan of Levi (Exod 6.18; Num 3.19; cf. Exod 6.20). The *kōhēn* is to be from the tribe of Levi, of the clan of Kohath, of the family of Aaron (Exod 28.1; Lev 8; Deut 10.6). The priesthood is an hereditary office, a permanent ordinance for the family of Aaron (Exod 29.9, 29). He is to be male. In Num it is stated that the remainder of the clan of Kohath, and the other two clans, Gershon and Merari, generally signified by the term *l^ewiyyîm* in Num, are to stand and minister before Yahweh by carrying out the logistical functions of the cult under the direction of the Aaronid *kōh^anîm* (Num 3.5-10).

The HB ascribes various roles to the Yahwistic *kōhēn*.⁹⁹ I have organised the roles into five main categories:

- 1) Serving as an intermediary using *’ûrîm* and *tummîm* for divine revelatory guidance (17.9, 12; 19.17; 20.2; 21.5; 24.8).
- 2) Teaching the *tôrâ* of Moses (17.18; 27.9-10; 31.9-11, 24-26).

⁹⁷ Douglas, *Purity*, 62.

⁹⁸ See the explanation of anthropological and literary epistemology in Chapter 2, pp. 44-58.

⁹⁹ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 395; Grabbe, *Priests*, 43; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 213.

- 3) Serving in the various cult and ritual functions (10.7-8; 18.1, 3; 26.4; 31.9, 25).
- 4) Serving as judges for arbitration (21:5; 17:8-13; 19.17).
- 5) Serving as a *nābî'* intermediary, though this is not a prescribed role (Jer 1.1, 5; Ezek 1.3).¹⁰⁰

Of the roles listed above, the revelatory ones are of particular interest for this study. The *kōhēn* uses the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm*, and the *'epod* which is closely associated with them, and he can assume the role of a *nabî'*. Let us look at these three roles in turn, beginning with the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm*.

In the Yahwistic pattern, the revelatory functions of the *kōhēn* using the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* are limited in comparison to that of the *nābî'*. The *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* are only mentioned explicitly eight times in the HB, if the LXX variant in 1 Sam 14.41 is included (Exod 28.30; Lev 8.8; Num 27.21; Deut 33.8; 1 Sam 14.41 [LXX]; 28.6; Ezra 2.63; Neh 7.65). Victor Hurowitz has observed:

It might seem that such a significant and singular medium would be well attested and that much could be said about it with certainty. Unfortunately, this instrument is mentioned by name no more than ten times in the entire Hebrew Bible, and the occurrences reveal little about its nature.¹⁰¹

However, one must avoid a common evolutionary assumption that the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* were replaced by prophecy in a unilinear developmental process. The *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* seem to have fallen into disuse early, but other explanations can be found for this. In the Yahwistic pattern, *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* existed simultaneously with prophecy, but the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* took a secondary role, as seen from the paucity of attestations, contrasted with the abundant references to prophecy. The HB informs us that Moses, the greatest of all Israelite prophets, and the embodiment of the prophetic ideal (Deut 34.10), prescribed the cultic use of the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* for the Israelites (Exod 28.30; Lev 8.8; Num 27.21). During the period of the monarchy,

¹⁰⁰ See Grabbe, *Priests*, 112–3.

¹⁰¹ V. A. Hurowitz, “True Light on the Urim and Thummim,” *JQR* 88/3–4 (January–April 1998) 264.

after the reign of David, there is silence concerning their use.¹⁰² However, even before this time, they did not seem to enjoy a prominent revelatory role.¹⁰³ Their use was not significant for Moses, who received revelation directly from Yahweh (Deut 1.3; 2.2ff; 3.26-28; 5.28-33; etc.). In fact, there is no attestation of Moses' (or Aaron's) use of the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* in the HB. For the national leaders subsequent to Moses, the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* had less significance than direct divine speech. Joshua received direct divine speech for guidance during critical personal and national moments (cf. Josh 1.1ff; 3.7ff; 4.1-3, 5.13-15; 6.2-5; 7.10-15; 8.1-2; etc.).¹⁰⁴ By way of contrast, the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* are not mentioned explicitly in Joshua at all. One may entertain the possibility that in Josh the use of *gôrāl* (lot) or the stock phrase *š'aral b^e*, may refer to the use of *'ûrîm* and *tummîm*. However, *š'aral b^e* is not used at all in Josh and the *gôrāl* is used only for decisions regarding the parcelling out of land among the tribe (Josh 14.2; 15.1; 16.1; 17.1, 14, 17; 18.6, 8,10,11; 19.1, 10, 17, 24, 32, 40, 51; 21.4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 20, 40). This cannot compare qualitatively to the significant personal revelations that mark out Joshua as a divinely chosen leader with an exceptional histor-

¹⁰² By way of contrast with *'ûrîm* and *tummîm*, the use of *gôrāl*, lot, continues after the davidic period, but it is limited and often used metaphorically in prophetic messages (Isa 34.17; 57.6; Jer 13.25; Ezek 24.6; Neh 10.35; 11.1). See Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 403.

¹⁰³ The use of the more general type of lot, *gôrāl*, is found more often. In the vast majority of cases it is found in Josh referring to the parcelling out of land to the various Israelite tribes (Josh 14.2; 15.1; 16.1; 17.1, 14, 17; 18.6, 8,10,11; 19.1, 10, 17, 24, 32, 40, 51; 21.4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 20, 40; Judg 1.3; 20.9).

¹⁰⁴ It has been common to read Num 27.21 as meaning that after Moses, Joshua and subsequent prophets relied primarily on the priestly use of the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* for divine guidance (P. J. Budd, *Numbers* [WBC; Waco, TX: Word, 1984] 307; G. B. Gray, *Numbers* [ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1903] 402; Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 213; M. Noth, *Numbers* [London: SCM, 1968] 215; G. J. Wenham, *Numbers* [TOTC; Leicester: IVP, 1981] 194–5). While it is clear from the text that Moses was unique among the prophets of Israel, it does not seem to be the case that Joshua and other prophets after Moses relied primarily on the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* for divine guidance, and not on receiving direct revelation from Yahweh himself. The verses given above as examples of the revelation that Joshua received from Yahweh do not fit into a simple binary or trinary pattern of the sacred lot (But others suggest that the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* give more than a trinary answer. See Milgrom, *Numbers*, 485–6). Neither are they a response to a formulaic oracle inquiry using *š'aral b^e* (never used in the book of Josh), which Van Dam understands signals a consulting of the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* (Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 109). Rather they are lengthy messages of direct divine speech from Yahweh to Joshua (Josh 1.1-9. See T. C. Butler, *Joshua* [WBC; Waco, TX: Word, 1983] 5; R. D. Nelson, *Joshua: A Commentary* [OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1997] 32; Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 166), or direct divine speech giving detailed instruction concerning the war strategy for conquering Jericho (Josh 6.1-5), or revelation concerning the reason why Israel was defeated at Ai and instructions concerning the process for finding out who had violated Yahweh's instructions (Josh 7.10-15). Of course, the prophecies of Elijah (1 Kgs 17.2-4, 8f; 19.9-18), Isaiah (Isa 6.1-13; 7.3-9), and Jeremiah (1.4-19) are recorded as direct divine speech.

ical calling (Josh 1.1-18; 5.13-15), or the revelations he received giving him the extraordinary battle plans for the sacking of Jericho (6.2-5). Prophecies continue to play a deeply significant role in the narratives in Sam (1 Sam 2.27-36; 3.11-14; 8.7-9; 2 Sam 12.7-12). Prophetic revelatory experiences in the period of the judges likewise play a deeply important role in the narratives of the Israelites (Judg 6.11-27; 10.11-14; 13.3-20).

It may be that the most significant function of the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* is its role as symbol. Even though in practice the actual usage of the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* for divine guidance is not as prominent as prophecy, the symbolic function in the cult, which communicated Yahweh's presence in judgment, and the decisive guidance he provides for his people, is a significant aspect of the pattern which makes up the Yahwistic universe.¹⁰⁵ Based on the HB, a modest reconstruction of what the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* were and how they were used will follow.

The *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* seem to consist of a single set of objects.¹⁰⁶ Since there is no description of them given in the HB, many understandably resist speculation on what the objects may have been.¹⁰⁷ Others have reckoned them to be some type of stone,¹⁰⁸ thus the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* would be a type of psephomancy.¹⁰⁹ The *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* were held by a single priest, the high priest (Lev 8.8; Num 27.21).¹¹⁰ However

¹⁰⁵ Durham, *Exodus*, 390.

¹⁰⁶ Van Dam reads *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* as a hendiadys, meaning "perfect light," which signifies a single oracular object. He suggests that it is a type of gem through which Yahweh gives a divine message (Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 230). This reading is influenced by the LXX which uses *dēlos*, meaning 'clear' or 'visible,' for *'ûrîm* and for *tummîm*, the word *osiotēs*, 'holiness' or 'piety,' is used.

¹⁰⁷ Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 403; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 470.

¹⁰⁸ Since the overarching idea of holiness created in Yahwistic pattern of meanings seemed to carefully and explicitly exclude in its pattern specific types of revelatory phenomena found in neighbouring cultures, it seems one should be more cautious about suggesting that the form of the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* was similar to those near cultures. So de Vaux is probably correct when he suggests that since the Babylonian practice of using arrow head lots is referred to as forbidden *q^o samîm* (Ezek 21.26-27), then this form was probably not used in the Yahwistic cult (R. d. Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* [London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1961] 352). Some type of lot-stone is suggested by A. Cole, *Exodus* (TOTC; Leicester: IVP, 1973) 200-1; Gerstenberger, *Theologies*, 132; B. A. Levine, *Numbers 21-36* (AB; London: Doubleday, 2000) 351; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 315. Based on an Akkadian text published by Erich Ebeling, it is suggested that the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* could be a white (alabaster) stone and a black (hematite) stone signifying a 'yes' or 'no' answer (E. Lipiński, "'Ûrîm and Tummîm," *VT* 20/4 [1970] 496).

¹⁰⁹ Divination by means of reading stones.

¹¹⁰ Milgrom, *Numbers*, 485.

Deut states that the *tummîm* and *'ûrîm* (appearing in this order only in Deut) belong to the Levites (33.8). The view in Deut could be considered an apparent contradiction and not truly in conflict with the tradition from Lev and Num. This is because of the tendency in Deut to view the Levitical tribe, and the discrete branches found within it, as a whole.¹¹¹

In Exod Moses was instructed that Aaron, the high priest, would wear the ceremonial pouch of judgment, *ḥōšen hammišpāt*, on his chest. In this decorative ceremonial pouch made with gold, blue, purple and scarlet thread were kept the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* (Exod 28.15-30). Most scholars regard the etymology of the words to be unclear.¹¹² Traditionally it has been observed that the word *'ûrîm* is similar in form to the Hebrew word for light, *'ôr*, and *tummîm* is similar to the Hebrew word for perfection or completion, *tām*.¹¹³ Both of these words are plural in form, but each seems to refer to a single object.¹¹⁴ Using a comparative method involving 13th century BCE Hittite KIN oracles, as well as seventh century BCE Assyrian lot oracles, Ann Kitz suggests the plural form derives from the combined results of multiple throws of the lots.¹¹⁵ Some view the answers possible from the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* as purely binary.¹¹⁶ But from the evidence in the HB the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* could provide at least three possible answers. They could signify a 'yes' or 'no' (cf. 1 Sam 14.41-42 [LXX]), and could also yield a neutral result (1 Sam 28.6; cf. 14.37).¹¹⁷ Hurowitz is a more recent advocate of a theory put forward earlier by Eduard Lipiński,¹¹⁸ that the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* may be similar to the psephomancy¹¹⁹ technique recorded in the seventh century BCE Assyrian text LKA 137. By means of comparison with the

¹¹¹ McConville, *Law and Theology*, 135–53. Cf. Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 395; Grabbe, *Priests*, 43; Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 53.

¹¹² Childs, *Exodus*, 527 n. 30; Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 209; Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 352.

¹¹³ Childs, *Exodus*, 527 n. 30; Levine, *Numbers*, 351; Milgrom, *Numbers*, 485; Wenham, *Leviticus*, 139. The choice of words in the LXX helped to inform the traditional understanding.

¹¹⁴ Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 352.

¹¹⁵ A. M. Kitz, "The Plural Form of *'ûrîm* and *Tummîm*," *JBL* 116/3 (1997) 407.

¹¹⁶ Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 403.

¹¹⁷ Cole, *Exodus*, 201; Gerstenberger, *Theologies*, 132; Milgrom, *Numbers*, 485. Roland de Vaux suggests that the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* did not have a fixed positive and negative significance, but that the significance each object had was determined at the time of usage (Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 352).

¹¹⁸ Lipiński, "Urim and Tummim," 496.

¹¹⁹ Divination using marked stones or beans.

Assyrian technique, he makes a plausible suggestion that the ceremonial breast pouch of the high priest, the *ḥōšen*, with its twelve embroidered semi-precious stones, may have been used in conjunction with the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* to give a more complex answer that would go beyond a simple binary one. He makes the point that the naming of the high priestly breast pouch, *ḥōšen hammišpāt*, or 'pouch of judgment,' would indicate that it was actually used along with the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* in the divination process.¹²⁰ In the HB only kings and national leaders, people in positions of high political authority who were in need of divine guidance for situations of grave national importance, made use of the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* (Num 27.18-21; 1 Sam 28.6; cf ephod as well 1 Sam 14.18-19; 22.10, 13, 15; 23.9-12; 30.7-8).¹²¹ Although it is an argument from silence, there is no evidence of common Israelites making use of them. This reconstruction is necessarily speculative due to the paucity of textual evidence. Let us turn our attention now to the *'ēpôd*.

The Yahwistic *'ēpôd* is found closely linked to the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* in Exod (28.6-14),¹²² and in its orthodox usages is a euphemism for it, as will be shown below. There are a number of occasions recorded in the HB which describe the *'ēpôd* as an idol or an image (Judg 8.24-27; 17.5; 18.14-20; 1 Sam 21.10; 23.6; 30.7; Hos 3.4).¹²³

Cornelis Van Dam has argued that these are imitations of the high priestly *'ēpôd* described in Exod.¹²⁴ But the concern in this study is not with the non-orthodox usage of the *'ēpôd*, but with its Yahwistic usage.

The design of the Yahwistic *'ēpôd* was given in Exod 28.6-14. It was a single sleeveless garment, worn over the priestly tunic, made up of gold, blue, purple and scarlet thread. Gold was its predominant colour, and as such, would have been quite striking in appearance. On its shoulders were two onyx stones with the names of the twelve tribes engraved in them, six on each (Exod 28.9-12). The pouch of judgment, *ḥōšen*

¹²⁰ Hurowitz, "Urim and Thummim," 272-4.

¹²¹ Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 243.

¹²² Eichrodt, *Theology*, 113; Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 209.

¹²³ Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 202.

¹²⁴ Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 146.

mišpāt, which contained the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm*, was attached to the shoulder stones of the *'ēpôd* from which it hung on the chest of the *kōhēn* (Exod 28.25-28). A number of texts speak of the oracular Yahwistic use of the *'ēpôd*, all of which are found in Sam. Some scholars maintain that the *'ēpôd* of Exod differs from the *'ēpôd* referred to in Sam because when found in the latter it is carried, *nāsā'*, and not worn.¹²⁵ However, Van Dam has argued persuasively that *nāsā'*, normally meaning to lift, carry, or bear, is flexible enough to signify 'to wear.' In 1 Sam 22.18 it clearly refers to the wearing of a 'linen' garment, *'ēpôd bad*.¹²⁶ So the texts mentioning that the family of Eli would wear (*nāsā'*) the *'ēpôd* (1 Sam 2.28), and that the priest Ahijah wears (*nāsā'*) the *'ēpôd* (1 Sam 14.3), show continuity with Exod. In each instance in Sam it is a *kōhēn* that administers it on behalf of the king. Ahijah consulted the *'ēpôd* for Saul (1 Sam 14.18-19). David had Abiathar (1 Sam 23.9-12; 1 Sam 30.7-8) and Ahimelech (1 Sam 22.10, 13, 15) consult the *'ēpôd* for him. It is the view in this study that the oracular use of the Yahwistic *'ēpôd* is in actuality an indirect reference to the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm*.¹²⁷

When the texts concerning the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm*, the *'ēpôd*, as well as the texts containing the oracular formula *šā'al b^e*, are combined, it gives only a partial picture of the revelatory function of the *kōhēn* in the Yahwistic cult. Not only did the use of the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* function simultaneously with the Yahwistic *nābî'* in pre-monarchical and early monarchical Israel, the *kōhēn* could also function in the role of a *nābî'*. But this does not seem to be connected to the priestly position, but rather from the fact that Yahweh spontaneously chooses any one, male or female, from the Israelite community to be his *nābî'*, including the *kōhēn*. Sigmund Mowinckel and A. R. Johnson have written definitively on the issue of cult prophecy.¹²⁸ But the view here is that Yahwism does not have an official order of cult *n^e bî'im*. Rather it has *kōh^a nîm*

¹²⁵ J. Jirku, *Mantik in Altisrael* (Rostock: Universitätsbuchdruckerei von Alders Erben, 1913) 10–2; H. P. Smith, *The Books of Samuel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1977 Reprint) 104.

¹²⁶ Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 143–5. Smith holds that the meaning 'wear' for *nāsā'* is correct in this verse but dismisses this meaning for 1 Sam 14.3 (H. P. Smith, *Samuel*, 208).

¹²⁷ Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 145.

¹²⁸ For discussion see Grabbe, *Priests*, 112–3.

that are occasionally charismatically endowed with divine revelation (2 Kgs 23.2; cf. 2 Chron 34.30 which has *l^e wiyyim* instead of *n^e bi'im*; 2 Chron 25.1-6).¹²⁹ The prophetic potential of the *kōhēn*, and the reason why the *kōhēn* is discussed separately from the *nābī'*, will be picked up in the discussion concerning the *nābī'* below.

What can be seen thus far in terms of the revelatory function of the two cult officials, the *kōhēn* and the *lēwī*, is that in the discrete Yahwistic organisation of religious functionaries, they hardly have any revelatory role. The lions share of that role is placed into the hands of one who is the primary symbol of Yahwistic holiness, described usually as a non-cultic religious official, the male *nābī'* or less often, the female *n^e bi'ā*. As we now move from the broad overview of the *kōhēn* in the HB to a more specific description in Deut, we find him placed in a plurality of national and community leaders. Let us now look at the *kōhēn* in Deut.

The *Kōhēn* in Deuteronomy

Deut has a unique perspective on the relationship between *kōhēn* and *lēwī* when compared with Exod-Num.¹³⁰ Since Wellhausen these differences have generated much discussion.¹³¹ In the latter biblical books mentioned there is a clear distinction between the Aaronid priestly branch of the tribe of Levi called *kōh^a nīm*, priests, and the other clans of the tribe, normally designated *l^e wiyyim*, Levites (Num 3.1-10). This distinction is never explicitly mentioned in Deut.¹³² At times in Deut, the word *l^e wiyyim* seems to be used synonymously with *kōh^a nīm* (10.8; 27.9-14; 31.9, 25).¹³³ But there remains a distinction in Deut between the two groups of cult officials. Some read a dis-

¹²⁹ For the 'cultic prophets' view of these verses see Grabbe, *Priests*, 112.

¹³⁰ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 213; McConville, *Law and Theology*, 124, 136.

¹³¹ J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1994 Reprint) 124, 146-7.

¹³² Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 106.

¹³³ Gordon McConville, who argues that the Aaronic priesthood is known in Deut 10.6-8, reads *kōhēn* and *lēwī* in 27.9-14 and 31.9, 25 as synonymous terms. He sees an analogy with the usage in Josh which knows the distinction between the *kōhēn* and *lēwī*, but at times uses the terms synonymously (Josh 8.33, 21.1, 4). The result is that while Deut knows the distinction between the *kōhēn* and *lēwī*, the terms are not used the way they are in Exod-Num (McConville, *Law and Theology*, 137-42). However others read a distinction between the two terms in 31.9, 25. In 31.9 the *kōhēn* 'reads' the law, and in 31.25 the *lēwī* 'stores' the law in the ark and carries it. Cf. Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 359, 361.

inction between those designated by the term *kōhēn* (18.3), or *kōh^a nīm hal^e wiyyîm* (18.1), and others designated by the term *lēwî* (18.6).¹³⁴ A discrete priestly branch of Aaron along the lines of Exod-Num is also known in Deut (10.6; cf. 18.3-5 with 6-8).¹³⁵ This discussion will be taken up in the following section analysing Deut 18.1-8.

Of the five types of priestly responsibilities found in the HB outlined above, the priestly role in Deut is primarily concerned with three of them: sacrificial ritual and cultic functions (10:8; 18.5, 7; 20.1-4; 21:5; 24.8; 26.3-4; 27.9, 14; 31.9, 25), religious instruction (17.18; 33:10), and judicial arbitration (21:5; 17:8-13; 19.17). The main cultic function of the *kōh^a nīm hal^e wiyyîm* seems to be to ensure the ritual purity necessary that will facilitate the presence of Yahweh in the community. Priestly revelatory activity is not specifically mentioned in Deut apart from a single obscure reference to the ‘sacred lots,’ *’ûrîm* and *tummîm* (33:8; cf. Exod 28:30; Lev 8.8; 1 Sam 14.41-42 (LXX); 28.6; Ezra 2.63).¹³⁶ This is in contrast to elsewhere in the Pentateuch where the potential prophetic function of a *kōhēn* is seen with Aaron (Exod 7.1), and especially with Moses (Lev 8.10-30). As mentioned above, the lack of a priestly focus on revelation is in contrast to other religious systems in the ANE which we surveyed in Chapter 3. There, the cultic priests are the primary channels of divine power and revelatory guidance. The most important symbol embodying the ideals of Yahwistic religion is neither priest nor king, it is the prophet, *nābî’*. Let us now turn to the specifics of the *kōhēn* in Deut 18.1-8.

¹³⁴ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 395; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 231; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 35.

¹³⁵ R. Abba, “Priests and Levites in Deuteronomy,” *VT* 27/3 (1977) 257–67; McConville, *Law and Theology*, 138; G. E. Wright, “The Levites in Deuteronomy,” *VT* 4 (1954) 330.

¹³⁶ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 398; Levine, *Numbers*, 351; Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 206; Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 352. But Van Dam has argued that the *’ûrîm* and *tummîm* cannot be a mechanical or objective type of divination, but rather is a species of subjective revelation or prophecy. His conclusion is based on the fact that a number of inquiries of Yahweh resulted in more than a simple binary answer (cf. Judg 1.1-2, 20.18; 1 Sam 10.22; Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 210. See also Grabbe, *Priests*, 120–1). But Victor Hurowitz has refuted Van Dam’s theory by maintaining that lot oracles can have complex interpretations. He gives an example of a complex interpretation of lot oracles from the inscriptions of Esarhaddon. In one inscription, it is said that Esarhaddon received permission to build a temple by lot oracle. In another inscription a prophetic divine speech from the god Assur is recorded which is in regards to giving Esarhaddon permission to build the same temple (Hurowitz, “Urim and Thummim,” 263–8).

The Provision for the *Kōhēn* and *Lēwî* Expressed in Deuteronomy 18.1-8

As already mentioned, Deut 18 is a part of a larger section spanning 16.18-18.22, identifiable by its focus on key national leadership, some referring to it as a constitution for the Israelite nation.¹³⁷ Chapters 16 and 17 have described some functions of the judge (16.18-20; 17.9-13), *kōhēn* (17.9-13), and king (17.14-20). In Deut 18 the attention is turned to the whole priestly tribe of Levi, *kōh^anîm hall^ewiyyîm* (18.1-8), and the *nābî'* (18.15-22). The latter two are the religious and judicial leaders in the Yahwistic construction of authority for the community (17.9, 12; 18.5, 7). Having said that the *nabî'* is the most important symbol in Israelite religion does not discount the fact that there are many other significant symbols to be found in the Yahwistic pattern of meanings. Chapter 18 provides us with the symbolic significance of the *kōh^anîm hall^ewiyyîm* for the Yahwistic view of reality. Deut gives a unique portrayal of the whole of the tribe of Levi functioning as a symbol of the abundance and prosperity that results from service to and dependent obedience on Yahweh (18.1).¹³⁸ Inheritance becomes a metaphor for describing the special relationship the *kōhēn* and the *lēwî* have with him. The various religious, political, and social functions they perform, which all serve to facilitate the presence of Yahweh in the community, as well as the unique lifestyle they are to lead, are a metaphor for an ideal life in the presence of Yahweh which Yahwism seeks to promote. The *kōh^anîm hall^ewiyyîm* are the symbolic 'first-born' of all the tribes of Israel, dedicated to the service of Yahweh (Num 3.40ff.).

As we come nearer to the forbidden religious phenomena listed in Deut 18.10-11, with its strong association with supernatural power and revelatory guidance, we are surprised to find that the revelatory functions mentioned of the *kōhēn* above are of no interest in this context. Norbert Lohfink observes that Yahweh provides a intermediary for his people so that they can communicate with him, but Deut 18 places this role in

¹³⁷ Crüsemann, *Torah*, 234–43; Lohfink, "Die Sicherung," 305–23; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 280–1; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 213.

¹³⁸ McConville, *Law and Theology*, 150–2; Olson, *Death of Moses*, 83.

the hands of the *nābî*', not the *kōhēn*.¹³⁹ In fact 18.1-8 is not primarily concerned with the *role* of the *kōhēn*. Any issues regarding role seem to be incidental to the main issue, which is provision and dependence.¹⁴⁰ This section consists of three parts:¹⁴¹ The unique inheritance of the whole tribe of Levi (vv. 1-2), the specifics of the provisions for the *kōhēn* (vv. 3-5), and the right of the *lēwî* to serve at the chosen sanctuary and receive equal provisions (vv. 6-8). These parts are bracketed at the beginning and the ending by a chiasmic frame created by the key words *hel^eq* (portion), *'ākal* (to eat), and *'āḥ* (brother).¹⁴² The chiasmus appears in the following way:

v. 1 *hel^eq*, *'ākal*
 v. 2 *'āḥ*
 v. 7 *'āḥ*
 v. 8 *hel^eq*, *'ākal*

The key words forming this chiasmus focus on its theme, which is provision for the whole priestly tribe of Levi (v. 1).¹⁴³ The entire tribe of Levi, whether *kōh^anîm* or *l^ewiyyîm*, are dependent on Yahweh for their inheritance (vv. 1-2). They are brothers, *'āḥ*, regardless of the different functions that the *kōhēn* and *lēwî* have in the cult (cf. 10.6-8). The intent of this particular literary unit is to underscore the unity of the priestly tribe, and their provisions. Let us now look more closely at each of the three sections into which 18.1-8 is divided to see what light they shed on the revelatory nature of the cotext (cf. 18.9-22).

The unique inheritance of the whole tribe of Levi (vv. 1-2)

The BHS text of vv. 1-2 reads as follows:

¹³⁹ N. Lohfink, "Distribution of the Functions of Power: The Laws Concerning Public Offices in Deuteronomy 16.18–18.22," *A Song of Power and the Power of Song* (ed. D. L. Christensen; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1993) 342, 348.

¹⁴⁰ R. K. Duke, "The Portion of the Levite: Another Reading of Deuteronomy 18:6–8," *JBL* 106/2 (1987) 197; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 275; McConville, *Law and Theology*, 142–7; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 228; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 169.

¹⁴¹ Duke, "Levite," 200; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 229; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 169; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 213–4.

¹⁴² The observation of the chiasmus comes from McConville (McConville, *Law and Theology*, 143). I have added *'ākal*. Cf. Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 229.

¹⁴³ McConville, *Law and Theology*, 144.

1 לֹא־יִהְיֶה לְכַהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם כָּל־שֶׁבֶט לְוִי חֵלֶק וְנַחֲלָה עִם־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁי יְהוָה
 וְנַחֲלָתוֹ יֹאכְלוּן:
 2 וְנַחֲלָה לֹא־יִהְיֶה־לוֹ בְּקָרֵב אָחָיו יְהוָה הוּא נַחֲלָתוֹ כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר־לוֹ: ס

Translation:

1. There shall not be for the *kōh^a nîm hall^e wiyyîm*, the whole tribe of Levi, a portion or inheritance with Israel. They shall eat the gifts to Yahweh that are his share.
2. And he shall not have an inheritance from among his brothers, Yahweh is his inheritance, as he has told him.

Since the interest of this chapter is to define better the religious phenomena in 18.10-11 by contrasting it with Yahwistic religious phenomena mentioned in the surrounding context, the exploration of the many issues in these verses which have been at that heart of attempts at the historical reconstruction of the Israelite cult will be severely limited. Also lacking time and space is the textual problem concerning the use of third person singular pronominal suffixes (*naḥ^a lātô*, v. 1; *lô*, *'ehāiw*, *naḥ^a lātô*, *lô*, v. 2) which in most instances refers back to the plural noun *kōh^a nîm hall^e wiyyîm*. Because of this a particular problem is posed in the interpretation of the word *naḥ^a lātô* at the end of v.

1. Does it refer to Yahweh's share or to the share belonging to *kōh^a nîm hall^e wiyyîm*?¹⁴⁴ However, we must press on with the goal to find in these verses hints of power and guidance that will help us in comparison with the religious phenomena of 18.10-11.

For the purposes of this study it will not be necessary to discuss thoroughly the tension concerning the issue of membership in the priesthood which arises in these verses. The

¹⁴⁴ Grammatically, the pronominal suffix found in v. 1 with the word *naḥ^a lātô* could refer back to either Yahweh or the 'Levitical priests, the whole tribe of Levi (Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 227 n. b). I take it to refer to the tribe of Levi based on the context and on 10.9 which clearly refers to Levi (Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 276; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 227 n. b). For the argument that it refers to Yahweh see Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 214.

main issue in this study is to understand the revelatory guidance and power functions of the Yahwistic priesthood. However, some brief observations will be given concerning priestly membership.¹⁴⁵

V. 1 contains the difficult phrase which has raised many questions about the definition of the *kōhēn* in Deut. It centres on the phrase *lakkōh^a nīm hall^e wiyyîm kol šebēt lewî*. In this study the phrase *lakkōh^a nīm hall^e wiyyîm* is understood to be an appositional one.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, as the LXX has understood it, the following phrase *kol šebēt lewî* stands in apposition to the phrase *lakkōh^a nīm hall^e wiyyîm*.¹⁴⁷ But the kind of appositional phrase found here does not mean that the terms *lakkōh^a nīm hall^e wiyyîm* and *kol šebēt lewî* are equivalent.¹⁴⁸ Following Duke it seems better to understand this as an explanatory apposition, otherwise the second phrase would simply be redundant and superfluous.¹⁴⁹ Driver has noted a number of examples of the ‘explanatory apposition’ in Deut (2.37-38; 3.4, 13, 18; 4.19; 5.8; 15.21; 16.21; 17.1; 20.14; 23.20 [ET 19]; 25.16; 29.9 [ET 10]). He defines it as a phrase indicating a group as a whole in which particular parts of it are signified by a preceding phrase.¹⁵⁰ This yields the meaning “the Levitical priests, members of the whole tribe of Levi.” As will be shown, this phrase introduces the discussion of provision for the tribe of Levi, first for the *kōhēn*, then for the *lēvî*.¹⁵¹

As a result of the 19th century social-evolutionary paradigm, discussed in Chapter 2 above, complex aspects of the priesthood were forced into late periods and simple characteristics into early periods. Because of this theory, as well as because of the looseness of the priestly terminology in Deut, many hold that Deut portrays earlier days of a simpler priestly system when no distinction between the *kōhēn* and the *lēwî*

¹⁴⁵ Abba, “Priests and Levites,” 262; J. A. Emerton, “Priests and Levites in Deuteronomy,” *VT* 12 (1962) 131.

¹⁴⁶ *GKC*, 425.

¹⁴⁷ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 214; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 296; J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy* (SBLSCS; Atlanta: Scholars, 1995) 292.

¹⁴⁸ Pace McConville who has argued that the two phrases are equivalent. See McConville, *Law and Theology*, 144.

¹⁴⁹ Duke, “Levite,” 197–8; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 220.

¹⁵⁰ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 214.

¹⁵¹ Abba, “Priests and Levites,” 266.

existed, in other words when anyone in the tribe of Levi could be a *kōhēn*.¹⁵² This then contrasts with a later period of social evolution marked by a more complex system and precise usage of the terms *kōhēn* and the *lēwī* in Lev and Num, where the *lēwī* is understood to be in the service of the *kōhēn* (Lev 1.5, 8, 11; 2.2; Num 3.5-10).¹⁵³ Many scholars since Wellhausen have maintained that Deut does not know of an exclusive priestly branch of the tribe of Levi descended from Aaron.¹⁵⁴ The Wellhausian evolutionary theory posited three distinct phases in the growth of the priesthood which began with a pre-monarchical situation in which anyone could preside over sacrifices, to the monarchic period when a class of priests were formed from the ‘tribe’ of Levi, and finally a post-exilic situation where only the Aaronic segment of the Levite tribe, in actuality the clan of Zadok, served as *kōh^anīm*.¹⁵⁵ But the paradigm undergirding this view is lacking in credibility for reasons already discussed. A poetics and social-scientific lense offers a more plausible point of view.

McConville, following von Rad, has pointed out that Deut is keen to promote a theological emphasis on the unity of ‘all’ Israel.¹⁵⁶ As such it downplays precise distinctions between the *kōhēn* and the *lēwī*. At times both groups are referred to corporately, at other times separately. They are referred to corporately in v. 1 with the intent of expressing the theme of vv. 1-8 which is that the whole tribe of Levi, while receiving no land inheritance like the other tribes, is to be abundantly provided for by the offerings of the Israelites.¹⁵⁷ This is not an isolated way of referring to the two groups. Referring to the *kōhēn* and the *lēwī* as a whole in the matter of territorial inheritance is repeated in other places in the Pentateuch and *DtrH* (Num 26.62; Josh 13.14; 14.4; 18.7; cf. Deut 10.9). McConville demonstrates that Deut’s usage of the term Levite is more analogous to Josh than Exod or Num. In Josh “a use of ‘Levites’ to designate the whole tribe (Josh 14.4) co-exists with a more precise usage that distinguishes priests

¹⁵² Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 214; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 274; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 169–70.

¹⁵³ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 296.

¹⁵⁴ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 219; Emerton, “Priests and Levites,” 133; Grabbe, *Priests*; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972) 228.

¹⁵⁵ Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 361–6; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 141–51.

¹⁵⁶ McConville, *Law and Theology*, 147–9.

¹⁵⁷ McConville, *Law and Theology*, 144.

from non-priests (Josh 21.4).”¹⁵⁸ In support of the idea that precise terminology is not being used in reference to *kōhēn* and *lēwî* is that the portions of the sacrifices they are to receive (v. 3) do not conform to the entitlements outlined in Lev 7.28-34 or Num 18.9-24. The portions mentioned here may be a general and imprecise way of saying that all the members of the tribe involved in cultic service are given basic provisions, or as McConville suggests, that the list is a summary of portions given in a specific ‘first fruits’ practice.¹⁵⁹ It will become clear from looking at the discussion of vv. 3-5 and 6-8 that it is best to understand that Deut maintains a distinction between *kōhēn* and the *lēwî*, but has an overarching interest in its rhetoric to emphasise the unity and brotherhood of the whole of Israel, and the whole of the tribe of Levi.

In these first two verses there is one issue concerning divine power and revelatory guidance needing discussion. Ann Jeffers has suggested that the sacrifice, *’iššeh*, in v. 1 involves the divinatory practice of reading the entrails. However, this would not seem to be the case for the following reasons. *’iššeh* is often a general term for the edible portion of a variety of different sacrifices including the meal offering (Lev 2.3, 10), the peace or thank offering (3.3; 7.30), and the guilt offering (7.5).¹⁶⁰ But it is also used of the burnt offering (1.9), which would be completely consumed in the flames.¹⁶¹ Because this term is often used for offerings which are not actually burned, and in this particular passage cannot be completely consumed, a number of scholars hold that the word ‘gift’ is the most appropriate description.¹⁶² It is only found in Yahwistic contexts in the HB, with no divination practice mentioned. There does not seem to be any room in the description of the *’iššeh* given in the HB for extispicy, for in the thank offering, guilt offering, and burnt offering all the offal are consumed (1.9; 3.3-5; 7.4-5). Jeffers does not offer an example in the HB of such a divinatory sacrifice. So the evidence from the HB, which opposes extispicy and other forms of divination in sacrifice, does

¹⁵⁸ McConville, *Law and Theology*, 140–2; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 297.

¹⁵⁹ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 298.

¹⁶⁰ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 396; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 214; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 276; J. W. Wevers, *Deuteronomy*, 292.

¹⁶¹ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 396.

¹⁶² Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 258; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 276; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 227 n. a.

not support her view. As we leave these verses there is nothing which gives us any clues to roles of power and guidance for the *kōhēn*. The following verses (vv. 3-5) are concerned with provision for the *kōhēn*.

The specifics of the provisions for the kōhēn (vv. 3-5)

3 וְזֶה יִהְיֶה מִשְׁפֹּט הַכֹּהֲנִים מֵאֵת הָעָם מֵאֵת זִבְחֵי הַזֶּבַח אֶם־שׁוֹר אֶם־שֶׁה וְנָתַן
 לַכֹּהֵן הַזֶּרֶע וְהַלְחִימִים וְהַקֶּבֶה:
 4 וְרֵאשִׁית דְּגָנְךָ תִּירְשָׁךְ וְיִצְהָרְךָ וְרֵאשִׁית גֶּזַע צֹאנְךָ תִּתֶן־לוֹ:
 5 כִּי בּוֹ בָחַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ מִכָּל־שִׁבְטֶיךָ לְעֹמֵד לְשֵׁרֵת בְּשֵׁם־יְהוָה הוּא וּבָנָיו
 כָּל־הַיָּמִים: ס

Translation:

3. For this is the due of the *kōh^anīm*, from the people, from those sacrificing the sacrifice, either an ox or a sheep, and he shall give to the *kōhēn* the shoulder, the jowl, and the stomach.
4. You shall give to him the firstfruits of your grain, your new wine, and your oil, and the first of the fleece of your sheep.
5. For Yahweh your God has chosen him and his sons always, from all of your tribes to stand and serve in the name of Yahweh.

As has been clear from the first two verses and the chiasmus discussed above which focuses the reader's attention on provision, these verses inform the reader of specifics which are to be given to the *kōhēn*. The critical point, from the view of Yahwistic cosmology, is made that the *kōhēn* and their progeny have been chosen by Yahweh to serve him in the cult (v. 5).¹⁶³ We have left the general reference to the whole tribe of Levi (v. 1), and now move to discussing provisions, *nah^alāh*, for the *kōhēn* (vv. 3-5).¹⁶⁴ Discussion will then move to the larger branch of Israelite clergy, the *lēwī*, in the

¹⁶³ Yahweh has chosen the king (17.15) and the *nābī'* (vv. 15, 18) as well.

¹⁶⁴ McConville argues that the essential organising point of vv. 3-5 is provision expressed by the term *nah^alāh*, inheritance. The essential organising point of vv. 6-8 is provision as expressed by the term *hēleq*, portion (McConville, *Law and Theology*, 144).

next set of verses (vv. 6-8). It seems that even while focusing on the issue of the inheritance of the whole of the tribe of Levi, the presence of a distinction in the two branches of the clergy is felt.¹⁶⁵ This can be seen not only in the use of the term *kōhēn* (vv. 3-5) as opposed to *lēwî* (vv. 6-8), but in reference to Yahweh's choosing of the sons of the *kōhēn* to minister forever where in v. 5 there is an allusion to the hereditary Aaronid priesthood (Exod 28.1; Lev 1.5, 8, 11; 2.2; Deut 10.6; 1 Sam 2.27-36).¹⁶⁶

These verses have been viewed as part of an old tradition based on the unique provisions listed in v. 3.¹⁶⁷ They are not found in any other list of provisions for the *kōhēn*. Here the provisions consist of *z^erōa'*, (shoulder), *l^e ḥāyayîm*, (cheeks or jowl), and *qēbāh*, (stomach). In Lev more desirable parts of the animal are prescribed: *šōq* (thigh) and *h^azēh* (breast)(Lev 7.32-34).¹⁶⁸ But these issues do not provide any light on issues of power and guidance concerning the *kōhēn*, so we will move on to the next set of verses.

The right of the lēwî to serve at the chosen sanctuary and receive equal provisions (vv. 6-8)¹⁶⁹

6 וְכִי־יָבֹא הַלְוִי מֵאֶחָד שַׁעְרֶיךָ מִכָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר־הוּא גָר שָׁם וּבָא בְכָל־אֹתוֹת
 נִפְשׁוֹ אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־יִבְחַר יְהוָה:
 7 וְיָשַׁרְתָּ בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה אֱלֹהָיו כְּכָל־אֲחָיו הַלְוִיִּם הָעֹמְדִים שָׁם לִפְנֵי יְהוָה:
 8 חֶלֶק כְּחֶלֶק יֹאכְלוּ לֶבֶד מִמִּכְרֵיו עַל־הָאָבוֹת: 8

Translation:

6. Now if the *lēwî* comes from one of your gates from anywhere in Israel which he lives, and comes with the earnest desire to the place which Yahweh will choose.

¹⁶⁵ Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 258; Duke, "Levite," 198; McConville, *Law and Theology*, 145.

¹⁶⁶ McConville, *Law and Theology*, 145.

¹⁶⁷ Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 277.

¹⁶⁸ Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 277.

¹⁶⁹ Wellhausen maintained that in Deut 16.18-18.22 the priest was given prominence over the prophet. This is a curious understanding that cannot be maintained from a literary or anthropological reading. It must have arisen out of his particular *a priori* framework for understanding the priestly origins of Deut (Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 141).

7. And he serves in the name of Yahweh his God like any of his brothers, the Levites, who stand there before Yahweh.

8. They shall eat equal portions, without regard to the sale of his ancestral property.

The section in which this text is found began with the provisions for the tribe of Levi as a whole (vv. 1-2), then moved to specific provisions, *naḥ^alāh*, for the *kōhēn* (vv. 3-5), and now finishes with specific provisions, *ḥēleq*, given for the *lēwī*.¹⁷⁰ The traditional interpretation of this text is that these verses speak of a conflict between country priests and the powerful Zadokite clan in Jerusalem during Josiah's seventh century BCE reformation when the non-orthodox cult centres in Israel were destroyed and country priests came to the central sanctuary to serve (2 Kgs 23.8-9; Ezek 44.10-27).¹⁷¹ But this evolutionary interpretation can no longer be assumed.¹⁷² The literary and social-scientific method explained in Chapter 2 requires us to enter the Yahwistic universe through its text. The text stresses that the *lēwī* who resides at a distance from the chosen sanctuary can come and serve in the cultic functions, and should receive a wage equal to the other *l^ewiyyîm* who serve there. Any income that he has received from his ancestral property¹⁷³ should not be considered as a reason for not giving him 'equal pay for equal work.' The use of the term *lēwī* shows that a distinction is known between him and the *kōhēn* discussed in vv. 3-5.¹⁷⁴ But as McConville has warned, any distinction in these verses between *kōhēn* and the *lēwī* should not be pressed too far, as the emphasis on vv. 1-8 is on the tribe of Levi as a whole (v. 1).¹⁷⁵ Those who

¹⁷⁰ Abba, "Priests and Levites," 266; McConville, *Law and Theology*, 144.

¹⁷¹ Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 190; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 220; Phillips, *Deuteronomy*, 123; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 171-2; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 141-51.

¹⁷² Others, for their own reasons have rejected the connection between vv. 6-8 and 2 Kgs 23.9. Cf. Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 397; Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 122; N. Lohfink, "The Cult Reform of Josiah of Judah: II Kings 22-23 as a Source for the History of Israelite Religion," *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* (eds. P. D. Miller, P. D. Hanson and S. D. McBride; Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1987) 474 n. 37.

¹⁷³ For the problem in translating *mimkār* and 'ābôt see BDB, 569; Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 397-8; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 218; Keil, *Pentateuch*, 391; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 279; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 228 n. i; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 172; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 221.

¹⁷⁴ See the similar distinction shown between the two in 10.6 and 10.8 (Abba, "Priests and Levites," 258-9), and 31.9 and 31.25 (Abba, "Priests and Levites," 261).

¹⁷⁵ McConville, *Law and Theology*, 145.

acknowledge a distinction between the *kōhēn* and the *lēwī* in Deut fall into two camps. Those who maintain the distinction is one of function, and that any *lēwī* is potentially a *kōhēn*,¹⁷⁶ and those who maintain that the office of *kōhēn* is hereditary, occupied by the progeny of Aaron as found in Exod-Num.¹⁷⁷ The cultic phrases *šērēt b^e šēm* (Num 1.50; 3.6, 31; 4.9; 16.19; Ezra 8.17; 1 Chron 15.2; 16.37; 2 Chron 23.6; 29.11; 31.2) and *‘āmad lipnê* (Neh 12.44; 1 Chron 15.16; 2 Chron 29.25-26) are both used of non-priestly Levites in P, Chronicles, and Ezra-Nehemiah, and so is not restricted to priestly usage as Driver had maintained. If Deut intended the *lēwī* in vv. 6-8 to come to join his ‘brothers’ employed in the service of the *kōhēn* at the central sanctuary, the key phrase *kōh^a nīm hall^e wiyyîm* should have been used of this latter group rather than the general term *hall^e wiyyîm* (v. 8).¹⁷⁸

Normally, in a conditional statement in biblical Hebrew the protasis begins with a *kî* or an *’im* followed by a non-perfective verb. The apodosis begins with an “apodosis *waw*” followed by a perfect verb.¹⁷⁹ In v. 6 the protasis begins with *kî-yābō’* and the apodosis seems to begin with *w^e šērēt* at the start of v. 7.¹⁸⁰ Read in this way the emphasis is on the role of the *lēwī* at the sanctuary: ‘If he comes ... then he may serve.’ However, another reading makes better sense syntactically. It reads the string of *waw*-consecutives as continuing the protasis until the appearance of the simple perfect *yō’kēlû* in v. 8.¹⁸¹ As McConville points out:

The succession of verbs is *w^e kî-yābō’ ... ûbā’ ... w^e šērēt ... yō’kēlû*. The natural syntactical break comes where the *waw*-consecutives cease. The simple

¹⁷⁶ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 219; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 231.

¹⁷⁷ Abba, “Priests and Levites.”; Duke, “Levite.”; McConville, *Law and Theology*, ; G. E. Wright, “Levites”.

¹⁷⁸ McConville, *Law and Theology*, 128.

¹⁷⁹ B. Waltke, and M. O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 526.

¹⁸⁰ See also the translations in the following versions: ASV, AV, NASB, NIV, NJB, NKJV, NRSV, RSV.

¹⁸¹ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 391; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 217; Duke, “Levite,” 196–7; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 278; McConville, *Law and Theology*, 146; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 221; cf. ESV, LXX, NEB, TEV.

imperfect *yō'kēlû* makes the statement that the phrase *w^ekî-yābō* 'led us to expect.'¹⁸²

In this way the focus of the statement is on the theme of provision in this section: 'If he comes ... then he may eat.'

Once again, however, we are left without any information concerning Levitical or priestly use of divine power and revelatory guidance in these verses. So let us now summarise what this passage yields for this study.

The importance of this section in relation to the practices causing pollution that follow (vv. 9-14) is important for understanding the Yahwistic worldview in a more general way. The tribe of Levi, both *kōhēn* and *lēwî*, symbolise for Israel a life intimately bound to Yahweh. Inheritance is the key metaphor which defines this life. Yahweh is Israel's inheritance.¹⁸³ The tribe of Levi possesses a special relationship to Yahweh, and as such must be provided for by the nation. Brueggemann's description of this relationships is especially *apropos*:

First, YHWH is the inheritance of the tribe of Levi, not YHWH's goods or properties, but YHWH's own self. Thus the phrasing of verse 2 suggests a peculiar intimacy with YHWH that is regarded as a great gift, perhaps greater than a parcel of land.¹⁸⁴

Elsewhere, it is made known that the *kōhēn* has revelatory functions that have a bearing on issues of guidance and power, issues that are taken up in the verses that follow. But these revelatory functions are not mentioned here, and only rarely elsewhere. In chapter 18 the focus of all legitimate exercise of divine power and revelatory guidance is discussed only in connection with the *nābî*' who can be anyone in the Yahwistic community, including the *kōhēn*. This is quite different from the ANE in general, as

¹⁸² McConville, *Law and Theology*, 146.

¹⁸³ Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 190–1; Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 396; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 297; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 214.

¹⁸⁴ Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 189.

seen in Chapter 3. There the various priestly cult officials played the primary role in issues concerning power and guidance. We now turn to the analysis of the *nābî'*.

The Yahwistic *Nābî'*

Introduction

The secondary literature dealing with the Yahwistic *nābî'* is enormous. It is beyond the scope of this study to properly review this literature. Therefore this investigation will be limited to the original texts and select secondary sources. In a conspicuous change from other ANE religions and political systems, in Deut's construction of government prominence is given to a non-hereditary, and often non-cultic religious figure, the *nābî'*.

The Yahwistic *nābî'* was at times a very powerful figure firmly centred in the societies of Israel or Judah (2 Kgs 22.14-20) and at other times relegated to the margins (2 Kgs 19.2-3). But the *nābî'* seems usually to be broadly influential, whether operating from the centre (2 Sam 12.7) or the margins of society (2 Kgs 17.1). In contrast to the *kōhēn*, the *nābî'* could be male or female (*n^e bî'â*). While the female *n^e bî'â* is not attested often, of the ones mentioned (Miriam, Deborah, Huldah, the unnamed prophetess who may have been Isaiah's wife, and Noadia), Huldah especially played a significant role in Israel's history (2 Kgs 22.14; cf. Exod 15.20; Judg 4.4; Isa 8.3; Neh 6.14).¹⁸⁵

The *nābî'* was a charismatic figure, chosen by Yahweh, and did not hold a hereditary position. John Barton explains:

Men and women were inspired by the Spirit of Yahweh to utter reliable predictions of future events, and to exhort and warn the people to repent and remain loyal to him ... Prophets are seen as people raised up by God to

¹⁸⁵ Grabbe, *Priests*, 115.

monitor his people's progress (or decline) in obedience, and to strive to keep the nation on the course originally intended by him for its good.¹⁸⁶

A distinctive feature of the Yahwistic *nābî'* was the moral role he played in the community. But the receiving of divine revelation and exercising divine powers cannot be underestimated or downplayed by an *a priori* theory that relegates it to an early part of Israelite development, and which gradually dissipates in a process of increasing enlightenment resulting in an ethical and theoretical monotheism.¹⁸⁷ Rather, the more recent theories in anthropology and religious studies posit that belief in supernatural power and related transcendent phenomena have always existed in religion, modern societies included, and indeed is a basic characteristic of religion in general.¹⁸⁸ Also, a literary reading of the HB supports the view that guidance and power characterise the *nābî'* throughout the history of Israel and Judah.¹⁸⁹ For example, one can look to the early manifestations of divine power and revelation through Moses (Exod 3-15) or Gideon (Judg 6.34), or to the visions of Ezekiel (Ezek 1.4-28) or Daniel (Dan 2.17-45) in the late period as examples. Jacob Milgrom observes:

In Israel, God frequently communicated with the prophets by possession, as attested by the following expressions: "the hand of the Lord God fell upon me" (Ezek. 8:1), "a spirit lifted me up" (Ezek. 8:3), "a spirit entered into me" (Ezek. 2:2), "the word of the LORD came to me" (Jer. 1:4), "the spirit rest upon them" (Num. 11:25-26), "the spirit of the Lord God is upon me" (Isa.61:1) "the spirit [of the LORD] enveloped Gideon/Amasai/Zechariah" (Judg. 6:34; 1 Chron. 12:19; 2 Chron. 24:20).¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶ J. Barton, "Prophets and Prophecy," *DBI* (London: SCM, 1992 Reprint) 556.

¹⁸⁷ For a good discussion of the way 19th century evolutionary theory continues to control interpretation of the Yahwistic *nēbî'im* see Grabbe, *Priests*, 107; Cf. Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 196; Y. Hoffman, "Prophecy and Soothsaying," *Tehillah le-Moshe: Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Moshe Greenberg* (eds. M. Cogan, B. L. Eichler; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997) 221-3, 242-3. The artificial distinction between ethical/canonical *nēbî'im* and those that work wonders and reveal hidden knowledge cannot be maintained from either the text or from comparative religion (Pace Orlinsky, "Seer," 156).

¹⁸⁸ See discussion in Chapter 2, p. 18.

¹⁸⁹ Grabbe, *Priests*, 117.

¹⁹⁰ Milgrom, *Numbers*, 380.

Thus prophetic experiences of the transcendent dimension were found throughout the existence of Israel and Judah.

One characteristic of the Yahwistic *nābî'* was their banding together in various 'orders.' Mowinckel, Johnson, and others have attempted to explain these orders as cultic prophets.¹⁹¹ But a certain identification with the cult is difficult to establish.¹⁹² There are orders of prophets found in various parts of the northern tribes of Israel. They are described as *hebel-n^e bî'im* in Gibeah (1 Sam 10.5, 10), *lah^a qat hann^e bî'im* in Ramah (1 Sam 19.19-20), or *b^e nê hann^e bî'im* in Bethel (2 Kgs 2.3), Jericho (2 Kgs 2.5), and Gilgal (2 Kgs 4.38-44). The *nābî'* Ahijah lived in Shiloh (1 Kgs 14.4) and there were *n^e bî'im* in Samaria (1 Kgs 18.3-4).¹⁹³ The widow whom Elisha miraculously helped was the wife of a member of the *b^e nê hann^e bî'im* (2 Kgs 4.1). There is little description concerning them, but some were quite numerous, at least a hundred that Obadiah hid, fifty associated with Jericho, and a hundred at Gilgal if it is separate from the order at Jericho (cf. 1 Kgs 18.3-4; 2 Kgs 2.7; 4.43).¹⁹⁴ These could have served the people's needs for revelatory guidance (Deut 18.15) in the same way that *kōh^a nîm* and *l^e wîyyîm*, scattered in forty-eight cities throughout Israel (21.1-42), fulfilled the need for ongoing instruction from the *tôrāh* (24.8; 33.10).

There is a desire and expectation expressed in the HB that the prophetic experience that Moses and the prophets had would be experienced more broadly by the people of Yahweh (Joel 3.1-5 [ET 2.28-32]).¹⁹⁵ The first instance of this desire is seen in Num 11.26-29 which seems to be a foreshadowing of the passage in Joel (Joel 3.1-5 [ET

¹⁹¹ See Grabbe and explanation in section above entitled The Yahwistic *Kōhēn* and *Lēwî*: Introduction, pp. 217-8 (Grabbe, *Priests*, 112-3; cf. S. Mowinckel, *The Spirit and the Word* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002] 100-21).

¹⁹² Grabbe, *Priests*, 113; Lindblom, *Prophecy*, 208-10.

¹⁹³ Lindblom, *Prophecy*, 69-72; Orlinsky, "Seer," 164; Wilson, *Prophecy*, 141.

¹⁹⁴ The notion that the *b^e nê hann^e bî'im* simply 'rave' and do not 'prophecy' is to be rejected (Pace S. B. Parker, "Possession Trance and Prophecy in Pre-Exilic Israel," *VT* 28/3 [1978] 274-5, 281). The idea that early *n^e bî'im* were characterised strictly by ecstatic experiences, not revelatory ones is also to be discarded (Pace J. Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983] 66). It ignores the revelational phenomena in the cotext (1 Sam 10.16; 2 Kgs 2.3; 4.43), and is based more on an evolutionary understanding of the development of prophecy in Israel than on the actual Yahwistic pattern communicated in its ideological texts. For a more accurate assessment of the mediatorial role of the *nābî'* in early Israel see Lindblom, *Prophecy*, 49, 89; Wilson, *Prophecy*, 176.

¹⁹⁵ Lindblom, *Prophecy*, 202.

2.28-32]). In the former, Moses expresses the desire that all would prophecy. In the latter Joel looks forward to a time when a spirit of prophecy would be broadly distributed among Yahweh's people. Stuart aptly describes this eschatological vision as the "democratisation of the Spirit."¹⁹⁶ This underlines a view of the *nābî'* as symbolic of the ideal Israelite. This survey indicates that in the Yahwistic pattern of meanings, the *nābî'* was essentially a charismatic figure, functioning as the moral and eschatological mouthpiece of Yahweh, who performed acts of divine power to counteract the cosmic chaos caused by pollution causing rival transcendent powers and wrong human choices.¹⁹⁷ With this brief review of the *nābî'* as a background, let us look at the *nābî'* in Deut.

The *Nābî'* in Deuteronomy

There are two main texts in Deut which give explicit definition to the unique Yahwistic *nābî'*. The first is Deut 13.2-6 (ET 1-5), and the second is the primary passage under consideration in this study, Deut 18.9-22. Of course, the whole narrative of Deut is focused on Moses as the *nābî' par excellence*, and primary symbol of Yahwistic religion and values, mediating the holiness of Yahweh to the Israelite community.

As has been mentioned above, the dominant features of the Yahwistic pattern of meaning include the oneness of Yahweh, his holiness, and covenant. The *nābî'*,¹⁹⁸ is one element, albeit a primary one, in this pattern. According to anthropological structural theory, what is included in a social or religious system is not arbitrary, but is included according to a logical whole, a discernible pattern. In Deut, the canonical Yahwistic writers have given preeminence to the *nābî'* as the dominant symbol of Yahwistic faith. This contrasts with most other ANE religions surveyed in the last chapter where we saw that it was usually the king who embodied the ideals of faith. In Deut, the

¹⁹⁶ D. Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah* (WBC; Waco, TX: Word, 1987) 260 Cf. E. Achtemeier, *Minor Prophets I* (NIBC; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996) 149; L. C. Allen, *Joel, Obadiah, Jonah and Micah* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1976) 99.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. the description of *nābî'* as a "a channel of God's power" given by Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 81-95.

¹⁹⁸ The English word used to translate *nābî'* is derived from the Greek term *prophētēs*. This tradition is an ancient Jewish one, originating with the LXX.

nābî' is the key element in the cosmic pattern which understands Yahweh to be holy. Yahweh's holiness means oneness, unity, and integrity. His holiness also means moral goodness, justice, and harmony in relationship. Yahweh's holiness includes notions of perfection, purity, completeness, and separation. The Israelites are to be a people who mirror Yahweh's holiness. They do this by maintaining faithful covenant obedience to Yahweh. By remaining faithful, Yahweh's blessing is assured. Breaking covenant with Yahweh brings curse, chaos, and death. The regulations for covenant life are found in Lev-Deut. In a coherent manner, the regulations symbolically reflect the various facets of holiness. Into this pattern the *nābî'* is inserted and given primacy.

The context of Deut has features which distinguish it from Lev and Num. As has been mentioned above, the key role of the *kōhēn* in maintaining holiness in the Yahwistic community was described in detail in Lev. In that corpus, the *kōhēn* takes centre stage, and the role of the *nābî'* is not mentioned. In fact the term *nābî'* does not appear at all in Lev. By way of contrast, in Deut the *kōhēn* does not receive focused attention. Rather the reader now is informed that the *nābî'* is given the most important role in maintaining the Yahwistic cosmic order. One should not jump to the conclusion that an incongruity is to be found here. Lev and Deut complement one another. They are parts of a literary whole. Together the texts create the Yahwistic universe and inform the reader of its structure and pattern of meanings.

The discrete message of Deut is that the exodus is the primary event which gives Israel their unique identity as a people owing allegiance to Yahweh (4.34-38; 6.20-23; 9.26; 10.21-22; 11.2-7; 13.5; 15.15; 16.1-6, 12; 24.18). It is this same event which gives birth to the Yahwistic *nābî'* (Exod 3-15, 19-20.21). Yahweh is viewed as king and covenant initiator. He is the one who gives Israel the gift of land. But in order to maintain blessing in the land Israel must remain holy and undefiled. A striking feature of Deut is that it anticipates that Israel will not remain holy and that one day Yahweh will provide the provision to remain holy and undefiled.

The *nābî'* in Deut is described solely in terms of a male. The female *n^e bî'â* appears elsewhere (Exod 15.20; Judg 4.4; 2 Kgs 22.14; Isa 8.3; Neh 6.14). A closer inspection of the role of the *nābî'* described in Deut 18 will yield information which will be useful in comparing him with the religious phenomena listed in 18.10-11, which are considered polluting and defiling in the Yahwistic pattern of meaning. Let us now turn to Deut 18.15-22.

The Role and Authority of the *Nābî'* Expressed in Deut 18.15-22

The climax to the entire leadership section (16.18-18.22) is found here in the description of the role of the *nābî'*.¹⁹⁹ Deut is the only book in the Pentateuch that gives a description of the role and authority of the *nābî'*, and in the same context gives the most extensive enumeration of abhorrent cult officials (cf. Exod 22.17; Lev 18.21; 19.26, 31; 20.2-6, 27).²⁰⁰ The role the *nābî'* plays gives support to and preserves the integrity of the first three (5.7-11) of the Ten Words, just as the forbidden religious phenomena undermine them. The first three commandments express the concern for issues surrounding the oneness of Yahweh mentioned above (5.7-11). It has already been mentioned that this section also stresses the importance of authority which expresses the intent of the fifth Word to honour parents (5.16).²⁰¹

The structure of chapter 18 has two parts. The first part, dealt with above, concerns provision for members of the tribe of Levi (vv. 1-8). The second half of the chapter deals with the authority and role of the *nābî'* (vv. 9-22).²⁰² The latter section is further divided into two parts, vv. 9-14 deal with religious phenomena which pollute,²⁰³ and vv. 15-22 concern the authority and role of the *nābî'*, who brings cosmic order to

¹⁹⁹ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 172; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 216.

²⁰⁰ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 221.

²⁰¹ Braulik, "Laws," 321; R. E. Clements, *Deuteronomy*, 416; Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 107, 393; Kaufman, "Deuteronomical Law," 113-4.

²⁰² Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 192; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 221; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 274, 279; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 296, 299, 302; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 213, 216.

²⁰³ BHS indicates that v. 14 begins a new paragraph by placing the *setûmâ* at the end of v. 13. However, v. 14 seems to carry on the previous discussion concerning foreign religious phenomena that are considered defiled and defiling in the Yahwistic pattern of meaning. V. 15 begins the new topic concerning the *nābî'*. Cf. Mayes who holds that v. 14 is a transitional link between the two sections (Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 279).

society, and makes a significant contribution to the Yahwistic notion of holiness.²⁰⁴ It will be shown in due course, that the main issue linking the various practitioners and practices in vv. 9-14 is that of cosmic power and divine guidance in the cult of non-Yahwistic religious beliefs. Keeping this in mind is critical because those concerns prepare the reader for their antithesis, the Yahwistic *nābî'*.²⁰⁵ Because of the particular interest of this enquiry being that of a better understanding of the religious phenomena of vv 10-11, I have chosen to analyse the *nābî'* first in order to provide the forbidden religious cult officials with their richest and most important contrast. So we now turn to the section describing the *nābî'*. Nelson has summed up this next section as three concerns: 1) obedience to legitimate prophets (vv. 15, 19); 2) an etiology for the institution of prophecy (vv. 16-18); 3) a warning with respect to, and the way to discern, illegitimate prophets (vv. 20-22).²⁰⁶ Each of these three concerns will now be taken up in turn.

Obedience to the Yahwistic Nabi' (vv. 15, 19)

15 נְבִיא מִקִּרְבְּךָ מֵאֶחֶיךָ כָּמֹנִי יָקִים לְךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֵלָיו תִּשְׁמָעוּן:

19 וְהָיָה הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר לֹא-יִשְׁמַע אֶל-דְּבָרֵי אֲשֶׁר יִדְבֹר בְּשֵׁמִי אֲנֹכִי אֲדַרֵּשׁ מֵעֵמוֹ:

Translation:

15. Yahweh your God shall raise up for you a *nābî'* like me from among you, from your brothers; you shall listen to him.

19. And it will be that the man who does not listen to my words which he will speak in my name, I will require an account from him.

In reflection on the obedience due the *nābî'* in vv. 15 and 19, there are two key issues for understanding the Yahwistic pattern of meanings which will be discussed: the sig-

²⁰⁴ Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 192, 194; Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 259; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 279; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 299, 302; Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 122.

²⁰⁵ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 221; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 234; Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 123; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 175; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 216.

²⁰⁶ Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 234.

nificance of the *nābî'* in national leadership, and the distinction that Yahwism envisions for the *nābî'* vis-à-vis the religious phenomena in vv. 10-11. First we will look at the significance of the *nābî'*.

The *nābî'* is the most significant of the four leadership roles Deut describes.²⁰⁷ This is true in spite of the fact that the four leadership roles discussed are not seen as a hierarchy, but more of various leadership roles functioning in parallel.²⁰⁸ Among the various leaders and the distribution of their responsibilities, the *nābî'* has the most significant, or at least most distinctive role.²⁰⁹ This is shown in the literary design of the larger section on leadership. The discourse builds up to a climax from its beginning with *šōpēt* (16.18-17.13) and *kōhēn* (17.8-13), the *melek* (17.14-20), then returning again to the *kōhēn* (18.1-8), and finally finishing with the climax focusing on the *nābî'* (18.9-22).²¹⁰ Christopher Wright describes the relationship of the *nābî'* to the other leaders in this way:

Judge and king must both submit to the law of God, just as the priest must faithfully teach it. But what if those entrusted with such forms of leadership were themselves to go astray? Then the last word was God's. And God would put that word in the mouth of God's prophet.²¹¹

The *nābî'* is the only one of the four who receives inspired words directly from Yahweh. For this reason the prescription for obedience is qualitatively differently in comparison to the *šōpēt* and the *kōhēn* (cf. 17.10,12). In the case of the *šōpēt* and *kōhēn*, the people are to obey their judicial decisions because of the authority Yahweh has delegated to them. In the case of the *nābî'* he is given the direct words of Yahweh which the people are to obey.²¹² The divine origin of the words of guidance of the

²⁰⁷ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 172; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 216.

²⁰⁸ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 305; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 213–4.

²⁰⁹ Lohfink, "Power," 351; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 305; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 177.

²¹⁰ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 285.

²¹¹ C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 216.

²¹² The penalty for disobeying the word of the *nābî'* is found in the phrase *'ānōkî 'edrōš mē'imô* (v. 19). I have translated it 'I will require an account from him.' It is a phrase used to indicate divine punishment which is used elsewhere (cf. Gen 9.5; Ezek 33.6; 34.10; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 283).

nābî' places him in a special authoritative category which is fleshed out in the narrative texts of the *DtrH* and the later prophets.

To Deuteronomy the prophet is the most important and authoritative leader. In contrast to the king, whose power it limits, Deuteronomy strengthens the authority of the prophet. It affirms that he is the successor of Moses, the highest authority during the desert period (v. 15). His word is God's word, and whoever disobeys it is threatened with divine punishment (v. 19). Prophecy is the only office whose legal basis Moses describes by quoting the words of God rather than using his own words (vv. 17-20).²¹³

So it is that in Yahwistic leadership the *nābî*' has the prominent role among the leaders. The king is subordinate to the *nābî*' in the Yahwistic worldview because Yahweh in reality is king, and the *nābî*' is his spokesman (cf. Judg 8.23).²¹⁴ The other leaders in the Israelite community, the king, the judge, and the *kōhēn*, are dependent on him, to a large extent, as the source of Yahweh's will or guidance. The king, for example, is often chosen or removed according to the divine word of the *nābî*'.²¹⁵ The choosing of the king by the *nābî*' is implied by the statement that Yahweh chooses him (17.15). In practice this 'choosing' is carried out by the *nābî*' as was the case in the selecting of Saul (1 Sam 9.16-17; 10.20-24), David (16.1-13), Jeroboam (1 Kgs 11.29-39), and Jehu (2 Kgs 9.1-13. Cf. Hosea 8.4).²¹⁶ Similarly, through the divine word of the *nābî*' the announcement is given that the rule of the king will be terminated. This was the case with Saul (1 Sam 15.23), Rehoboam (1 Kgs 11.31), Jeroboam (1 Kgs 14.10), Baasha (1 Kgs 16.3), and Ahab (1 Kgs 20.42).

McConville mentions that Yahweh's act of 'raising up', *yāqîm*, a king (v. 15), contrasts with the 'choosing', *bāḥar* (v. 5), of the *kōhēn*. The selection of the *nābî*' is more charismatic and less institutionalised.²¹⁷ McConville says

²¹³ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 172.

²¹⁴ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 410.

²¹⁵ R. E. Clements, *Deuteronomy*, 431.

²¹⁶ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 166.

²¹⁷ R. E. Clements, *Deuteronomy*, 429; Lohfink, "Power," 349; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 236; Olson,

In the case of king and priest, Yahweh affirms his right to choose in relation to official public ceremonies performed by the people. In the case of the prophet, in contrast, it seems that there is no corresponding ceremony of institution; rather, the prophet will be appointed by Yahweh as need arises; the question of the recognition of the true prophet (20-22) then follows from this.²¹⁸

In addition to the literary design which climaxes with the *nābî'*, there are other rhetorical devices employed in the text which point to the significance of this role. Syntactically, *nābî'* is marked in a special way in v. 15.²¹⁹ Rather than the common verb-subject-object word order, *nābî'* is placed first — object-verb-subject — focusing the reader's attention on the critical centre of discussion (*nābî' ... yāqîm l' kâ yhw h' lōhēka*).²²⁰ The concluding clause has a similar structure. The pronominal object referring to *nābî'* is once again placed first, before the verb and subject (*ēlāw tišmā 'ûn*). Another rhetorical device found is the use of the term *š' m' a*, hear (vv. 14, 15, 19). The frequent commands in Deut emphasising *š' m' a* contributes to the significance of the social symbol of the *nābî'* as mouthpiece and representative of Yahweh (4.1; 5.1; 6.4; 9.1; 20.3). In v. 15 the people are commanded to 'hear' the prophet (*'ēlāyw tišmā 'ûn*). The word *š' m' a* in the command to 'hear' the *nābî'* is repeated in v. 19, this time negatively (*hā 'iš 'a šer lo-yišma'*). This is in contrast to those in v. 14 who 'hear' the practitioners found in vv. 10-11 (*haggōyîm hā 'ēleh ... yišmā 'û*).²²¹ *Š' m' a* highlights Yahweh's concern that his people be faithful and obedient to the covenant,²²² receiving revelation only from him, and through appropriate channels. *Š' m' a* also throws light on the concern of the *people* to 'hear' or to have access to revelation from Yahweh. The primary concern in 'hearing' in this context (vv. 9-14, 20-

Death of Moses, 79.

²¹⁸ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 302.

²¹⁹ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 302; Olson, *Death of Moses*, 84.

²²⁰ C. H. J. v. d. Merwe, J. A. Naudé and J. H. Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999) 336–7, 346–8.

²²¹ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 302.

²²² Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 195.

22) is not for receiving eternal principles by which the people should guide their lives (i.e., the Ten Words and the regulations flowing from them). What is in focus is the more personal and specific guidance that drove Saul or Ahab, in situations of desperation, to seek the divine (1 Sam 28.6-7; 1 Kgs 22.6-7). The commandments and regulations given by Moses in Deut provide principles and instructions for behaviour which concern the mundane affairs of life, but they do not deal with very specific ad hoc situations and decisions of grave national importance that arise. So the *tôrâ* also provides for specific needs in these ad hoc situations. The *nābî'* is the provision for this need (1 Kgs 22.7, 28; 2 Kgs 19.1-7; cf. Deut 18.22). The people of Israel must *hear* him.

A third rhetorical device used in this passage is Moses' use of a direct quote from Yahweh to describe the succeeding *nābî'* (vv. 17b-22). The attention of the reader is drawn to this because it is the only time in the pericope on leadership (16.18-18-22) where a direct quote from Yahweh is used to describe a key leadership role.

Not only are there examples of national leaders receiving guidance from the *nābî'*, but there are also examples of common people receiving revelatory guidance from the *nābî'*. One example is young Saul's servant who suggested asking Samuel to help them find their lost donkeys (by means of supernatural revelation)(1 Sam. 9:6). Elisha and the widow on the verge of economic ruin is another example (2 Kgs 4:1-7). By means of revelatory power granted him by Yahweh, Elisha gave her instructions whereby she was able to miraculously fill numerous jars of oil, sell them, and be free from her creditors. A third case involved Elisha and a barren woman (2 Kgs 4:11-16). Elisha prophesied that she would have a son, which she later did. Elijah had a similar experience with the widow at Zarephath in Sidon (1 Kgs 17:9-24). As mentioned above, there were orders of prophets found in various parts of the northern tribes of Israel such as the *hebel-n^e bî'im* (1 Sam 10.5, 10), the *lah^aqat hann^e bî'im* (1 Sam 19.19-20), and the *b^e nê hann^e bî'im* (2 Kgs 2.3, 5; 4.38-44).²²³

²²³ Lindblom, *Prophecy*, 69–72; Orlinsky, "Seer," 164; Wilson, *Prophecy*, 141.

The second issue to take up in these two verses is the Yahwistic notion that makes the *nābî'* distinct from the religious phenomena in vv. 10-11. The crucial phrase which highlights this distinction is *kāmōnî*, 'like me (v. 15; cf. v. 18).' The distinction between the religious practices and practitioners in vv. 10-11 and the Yahwistic *nābî'* is to be found in Moses' character, as well as in his prophetic activities. In this phrase Moses' self-awareness as a *nābî'* is seen. More importantly, it draws Moses very personally into the definition of a *nābî'*. He becomes the symbol, or model, of what it means for the children of Israel to receive divine revelation and to continue in close relationship with Yahweh as his covenant people. Who Moses is, as well as his role in Deut, is paradigmatic for the people of Israel.²²⁴ Moses' character, the covenant he mediates, the ethical force of his divine message, and the power demonstrated in supernatural signs and wonders, are germane here. Added to these is the revelational aspect of his role which bespeaks an intimacy with Yahweh:²²⁵ Yahweh 'puts his words in his mouth (18.18).'

It is clear that there are ways in which no successive *nābî'* will be equal to Moses.²²⁶ No *nābî'* will lead the Israelites out of Egypt, nor perform the unique string of emancipating signs and wonders, nor mediate a covenant at Horeb accompanied by the dramatic theophany on that mountain. The name of no other *nābî'* will be associated with establishing the nation of Israel. It is in this way that there will not arise a *nābî'* like Moses (34.10-12; cf. Num 12.6-8).²²⁷

But there are other ways in which successive *nēbî'im* will be 'like Moses' (vv. 15, 18) and which create a distinction and antithesis to the cult practitioners of the preceding verses (vv. 10-11).²²⁸ The *nābî'* like Moses is characterised by a commitment to the ethics and morals of the covenant with Yahweh which Moses mediated.²²⁹ He is char-

²²⁴ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 304.

²²⁵ Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 196.

²²⁶ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 228; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 235; J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy* (TOTC; Leicester: IVP, 1974) 213.

²²⁷ Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 282; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 175.

²²⁸ Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 235.

²²⁹ R. E. Clements, *Deuteronomy*, 429.

acterised by an ethical commitment to exclusive and right worship of Yahweh (5.7-11: 6.5; 12.31), right relationships (4.7; 7.8), reverence for life (12.23; 30.15; Lev 17.10-11), completeness (20.5-7), perfection (15.21; 17.1), separateness (7.3; 22.9-11), justice (4.8; 10.18; 19.14; 24.14), goodness (17.7, 12; 19.19), and morality (11.18-20; 14.3-20; 20.5-7; 28.1-24; cf. Lev 11.2-42; 18.23; 21.17-21).²³⁰ These various issues, which can be summed up in the definition of holiness given above, are a part of the Yahwistic pattern of meanings. But the *nābî'* like Moses will be more than an ethical monotheist.

The emphasis in this passage is clearly on the revelatory role of the *nābî'*. The successive, and implicitly plural *n^e bî'im* will be like Moses in that they will be Yahweh's representatives, intermediators, and will give the people Yahweh's words.²³¹ Other supernatural prophetic functions such as healing (Num 12.13; 21.7-9) and various other signs of divine power (Exod 4-14), will also be evidence of a likeness to Moses' role.²³² The emphasis on the revelatory function of the *nābî'* is made clear by the antithesis to the religious practitioners in vv. 10-11, as well as the evidence given for a legitimate *nābî'* in vv. 20-22.²³³ Examples of the way the Yahwistic vision of the *nābî'* found fulfilment can be seen in Samuel (1 Sam 3.19; 9.6, 20; 10.1-7),²³⁴ Nathan (2 Sam 7.1-17),²³⁵ Elijah (1 Kgs 19.5-8; 2 Kgs 2.8),²³⁶ Micaiah (1 Kgs 22.28),²³⁷ and Elisha (2 Kgs 2.14).²³⁸ The canonical *n^e bî'im* Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel portrayed themselves as filling the requirement of a *nābî'* like Moses set forth in 18.18 (2 Kgs 20.8-11; Jer 1.9; Ezek 14,3; 20.1).²³⁹ The HB indicates that a succession of *n^e bî'im* were 'raised up' by Yahweh (Amos 2.11).²⁴⁰ These examples indicate the various

²³⁰ Cf. Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 236; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 217-8.

²³¹ Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 192; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 228; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 302; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 216-8.

²³² Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 172.

²³³ Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 236; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 172; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 216.

²³⁴ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 172, 375 n. 23; Wilson, *Prophecy*, 178-9.

²³⁵ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 172, 375 n. 23.

²³⁶ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 413; Orlinsky, "Seer," 161-2.

²³⁷ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 172, 375 n. 23.

²³⁸ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 172.

²³⁹ R. L. Kohn, "A Prophet Like Moses? Rethinking Ezekiel's Relationship to the Torah," *ZAW* 114 (2002) 247, 249; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 303.

²⁴⁰ Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 235.

aspects of prophecy characteristic of Yahwism. They are ‘raised up’ by Yahweh, carry with them an ethical authority, are often empowered by Yahweh to work various types of signs and miracles, and have ‘the words of Yahweh placed in their mouths.’

The *nābî*’ that Yahweh will raise up is spoken of in the singular. As a result this passage has been read in later Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, as having a single messianic referent.²⁴¹ However, the context shows that it cannot be limited to a single fulfilment. King (17.14-20) and *lēwî* (18.6) are also spoken of in the singular, but with a distributive meaning.²⁴² This is in keeping with the thrust of the whole of Deut which looks forward to leadership in the near future in the land.²⁴³ In each case of leadership mentioned in Deut 16.18-18.22 it refers to a succession of *nē bî’îm*, kings (*melekîm*), and *lē wiyîm*.²⁴⁴ Actually, there is room for the *nābî*’ ‘like Moses’ to be understood on at least two different levels. The context indicates circumstances which demand an immediate and ongoing role in the Yahwistic community for a *nābî*’ like Moses (vv. 10-11).²⁴⁵ But the grammar and the uniqueness of Moses also allows for an eschatological “ideal prophet” to be read by later generations (cf. 34.10).²⁴⁶ These two readings are not mutually exclusive. McConville explains, however, that the emphasis is on the continuation of Moses’ role through subsequent *nē bî’îm*:

Rather, the provision for Moses’ role to continue is consistent with the orientation of the book towards the future life in the land, with all its changing scenes. The ‘raising up’ of the prophet need not mean a single act, or a single

²⁴¹ In Acts 3.22-23 Peter states that Jesus is the fulfilment of this verse. Cf. John 1.21, 45; 6.14; 7.40; Acts 7.37 (Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 282; J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy*, 213). Qumran literature attests the expectation of an eschatological prophet: 1QS 9.1, 4QTestimonia (Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 263 n. 20). Early Christian writers such as Origin and Augustine saw Jesus as the exclusive fulfilment here (J. T. Lienhard, ed., *Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy* [ACCS; Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2001] 304).

²⁴² Pace Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 194–5; Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 123–4.

²⁴³ Keil, *Pentateuch*, 394–5; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 303.

²⁴⁴ Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 262 n. 18; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 234–5.

²⁴⁵ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 409; R. E. Clements, *Deuteronomy*, 429; Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 262; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 229; Keil, *Pentateuch*, 394–5; Lohfink, “Power,” 342, 347; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 282; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 285, 303; J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy*, 212; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 175; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 217–8.

²⁴⁶ Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 262; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 229; Keil, *Pentateuch*, 395; Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 123–4; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 218.

individual, therefore. It rather envisages a succession of prophets, as and when the LORD deems it right. His freedom in this regard *could* result in an Elijah passing on his mantle to an Elisha (2 Kgs 2.1-14). But the role of the prophet is neither essentially dynastic nor a permanent office in the deuteronomic view. In Samuel's time it could be said, 'The word of the LORD was rare in those days' (1 Sam 3.1). But when the prophets spoke, they did so because the LORD had 'put his words in their mouth', as with Moses.²⁴⁷

This indicates that the desire Moses expressed in Num 11.26-29 that all would prophesy will have fulfilment in a very limited way. Certain others will follow who will be given revelation, the word of Yahweh for the people. By way of contrast, the latter prophet Joel envisions an eschatological democratisation of the spirit of prophecy more in keeping with the Mosaic desire (Joel 3.4-1).

An Etiology for the Institution of Prophecy (vv. 16-18)

16 כָּכֵל אֲשֶׁר-שָׁאַלְתָּ מֵעַם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּחֹרֵב בְּיוֹם הַקֶּהֶל לֵאמֹר לֹא אֶסָּף לִשְׁמֹעַ
 אֶת-קוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי וְאֶת-הָאֵשׁ הַגְּדֹלָה הַזֹּאת לֹא-אֶרְאֶה עוֹד וְלֹא אָמוּת:
 17 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי הֵיטִיבוּ אֲשֶׁר דִּבְרוּ:
 18 נָבִיא אָקִים לָהֶם מִקֶּרֶב אֲחֵיהֶם כַּמִּוֶּךְ וְנִתְּתִי דְבָרִי בְּפִיו וְדִבֶּר אֵלֵיהֶם אֶת
 כָּל-אֲשֶׁר אֶצְוֶנוּ:

Translation:

16. Just as all of you requested from Yahweh your God at Horeb on the day of the assembly saying to me, Let me hear the voice of Yahweh my God no longer, nor see any longer this great fire, that I may not die.

17. So Yahweh said to me They have done well in what they have spoken.

²⁴⁷ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 303. See also Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 175; Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 117; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 234-5.

18. A *nābî'* like you I will raise up for them from among their brothers and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak to them all that I command him.

This next section is concerned with the reason for and origins of the role of the Yahwistic *nābî'*. The event surrounding the start of this role is bound up in the issue of the oneness of Yahweh and has deep implications for the Yahwistic pattern of meanings, and subsequently for the contrast with the religious phenomena in vv. 10-11. These verses actually focus on a number of significant and powerful elements which constitute material for world-construction and distinct ethnic identity. Five key identity defining elements which overlap with general ethnic boundary markers²⁴⁸ can be observed from these verses: 1) a specific god, Yahweh;²⁴⁹ 2) a specific geographical location, Horeb;²⁵⁰ 3) a specific memory of an extraordinary past history;²⁵¹ 4) a specific extraordinary person, Moses; 5) a specific community of 'brothers,' designated elsewhere by the name Israel (Deut 1.1; 6.4).²⁵² Let us now review this world-constructing narrative summarised in Deut 18.16-17.

Vv. 16-17 are a commentary on the Horeb covenant event recounted earlier in the book, with the specific focus on Yahweh, king and covenant maker (5.23-27).²⁵³ The voice of Yahweh and the remarkable display of power and might by means of the blazing, smoking mountain at Horeb was too overwhelming for them. They were so terrified they thought they would die. The order of the 'sight' and the 'sound' (v. 16) has been reversed from the original recounting (5.24). The purpose of this reversal may be, as McConville has suggested, to emphasise the aspect of verbal revelation which is at the heart of this section.²⁵⁴ There is stress in vv. 16-17 on the fact that the intermediary

²⁴⁸ Pitkänen, "Ethnicity," 166–7.

²⁴⁹ Bloch-Smith, "Israelite Ethnicity," 425; Pitkänen, "Ethnicity," 171.

²⁵⁰ Pitkänen, "Ethnicity," 167.

²⁵¹ Pitkänen, "Ethnicity," 170; Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan*, 19.

²⁵² Pitkänen, "Ethnicity," 169.

²⁵³ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 302 The mediaeval rabbinic scholar Ramban notes that in this summary we have an example of what later became a common midrashic quotation technique. Only the first part of a quote is given, as it is assumed that the reader knows the rest (Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 175–6).

²⁵⁴ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 302.

is given to them at their initiative. It is their request which Yahweh approved of and granted.²⁵⁵ In this case Yahwism is distinctive in giving the people as a whole the ability to participate in making decisions about their national leaders. This ability is to be seen again in their request for and granting of a king (1 Sam 8.4-7). Yahweh promises to provide them with a brother, 'ah, like Moses who will hear Yahweh directly and speak his words to the people (v. 18). The Israelites asked Moses to be their intermediary so that they would not have to be exposed to the terrifying voice they had heard and the dreadful sights they had seen (Exod 20.19; Deut 5.25). Yahweh agrees that the people are right in not wanting to hear his voice directly (v. 17). This is the only place in the larger leadership section (16.18-18.22) where Moses quotes Yahweh's own words in the matter, indicating once again, the value and importance placed on the revelatory role of the intermediary who communicates the words of Yahweh.

From a purely phenomenological sense, the contrast between Yahwistic prophecy and the practices and practitioners described in vv. 10-11 would not be so dramatic if the *nābî'* were simply a miracle worker (13.2) and an oracle giver (18.18). But the Horeb experience gives the *nābî'*, as opposed to cult practitioners in vv. 10-11, a different shape. At Horeb Moses is clearly recognised not only as the spokesman for Yahweh, but the channel of delivering the sweeping moral and ethical principles of the covenant, and a means of keeping the people accountable to it.²⁵⁶ It is this function in the moral role as the spokesperson for Yahweh and the distinctive worldview of holiness, that gives the Yahwistic *nābî'* the characteristic that provides the starkest contrast when compared to the phenomena of vv.10-11.²⁵⁷ Tigay refers to the discrete nature of the

²⁵⁵ The comment in Deut 18.17 (cf. 5.28) stating that Yahweh regarded the request of the people for Moses to be their mediator as a good one is not found in Exod 20. 18-21 (Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 173). Deut 18.17-18 extends the original granting of the request for Moses as mediator (5.27) to a succession of *nēbî'im* who will be mediators 'like Moses (Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 282).'

²⁵⁶ At Horeb, Moses' role is taken a few steps beyond what it was when he first encountered Yahweh in the burning bush (Exod 3.10). In Egypt Moses played the role of the divinely guided deliverer. It was a situation that came about without the involvement of the Hebrew people. At Horeb Moses becomes the spokesman. It is at Horeb that the people recognize that Moses is uniquely positioned for this role as spokesman for Yahweh and they actually make the request that he take up this role (5.27-28) (cf. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 176).

²⁵⁷ C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 217.

Yahwistic prophetic role as “apostolic.” Horeb “is cited to show that the prophets are not merely the counterpart of diviners and magicians.” Rather they are

God’s messengers, communicating His will in all areas of national life ... The prophets served, in sum, as the monitors of Israel’s fulfilment of its covenant obligations to God and as the primary bearers of Israel’s religious and moral ideology.²⁵⁸

In contrast to the religious phenomena listed in vv. 10-11 Yahwism provides a world-constructing narrative that is focused on the sole god of the covenant, Yahweh. This is the most distinctive element in defining an Israelite according to Yahwism.²⁵⁹ It is a more important ethnic boundary marker than language or birth. For this reason it may have been relatively easy for the *ger*, or sojourner, who embraced Yahwism, to become a part of the Israelite community (23.7-8; cf. 5.14; 10.18-19; 16.14; 24.14, 17).²⁶⁰ It has already been shown how foundational the aniconic worship of the one god Yahweh was for the Yahwistic pattern of meanings. This aspect of the Yahwistic pattern is buttressed by a unique collective memory highlighting a specific extraordinary leader and founder, and an exceptional series of miraculous events, at very specific geographical locations.²⁶¹ This serves to further separate the religious phenomena in vv. 10-11 from the identity created in Yahwism. The narrative in which the unique etiology of Yahwistic prophecy is found (vv.16-18) creates a discrete community. Next, we turn to the existence and test of the false *n^e bî’îm*.

Illegitimate N^e bî’îm (vv. 20-22)

20 אַךְ הַנְּבִיא אֲשֶׁר יִזִּיד לְדַבֵּר דְּבַר בְּשֵׁמִי אֵת אֲשֶׁר לֹא-צִוִּיתִי לְדַבֵּר וְאֲשֶׁר יִדְבֹּר

בְּשֵׁם אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים וּמֵת הַנְּבִיא הַהוּא:

21 וְכִי תֹאמַר בְּלִבְבְּךָ אֵיכָה נִדְעֵ אֶת-הַדְּבַר אֲשֶׁר לֹא-דִבְרוּ יְהוָה:

²⁵⁸ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 176, 376 n. 49.

²⁵⁹ Bloch-Smith, “Israelite Ethnicity,” 425.

²⁶⁰ K. L. Sparks, *Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Israel: Prolegomena to the Study of Ethnic Sentiments and Their Expression in the Hebrew Bible* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1998) 264.

²⁶¹ For the importance of collective memory for establishing religious belief and ethnic identity see Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan*, 19.

22 אֲשֶׁר יִדְבַר הַנְּבִיא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה וְלֹא יְהִי הַדְּבָר וְלֹא יָבֹא הוּא הַדְּבָר אֲשֶׁר
 לֹא־דָבְרוּ יְהוָה בְּזִדּוֹן דְּבָרוּ הַנְּבִיא לֹא תִגּוֹר מִמֶּנּוּ: ס

Translation:

20. However, the *nābî'* who presumes to speak a word in my name which I have not commanded him to speak or if he speaks in the name of other gods, that *nābî'* shall die.

21. And if you say to yourself How will we know the word which Yahweh has not spoken?

22. That which the *nābî'* spoke in the name of Yahweh and the word did not happen or come to pass, that is the word which Yahweh did not speak. The *nābî'* spoke it in presumption. You shall not fear him.

In vv. 20-22 the penalty for being a false *nābî'*, and the signs to look for in order to identify a false prophet are given. False prophecy was a capital crime (cf. 13.1-5). Two cases which identify a false *nābî'* are given. The first is prophesying something in the name of Yahweh which he has not said (v. 20). The second is prophesying something in the name of a god other than Yahweh (v. 20). A test for discerning the first case is then given, that of the fulfillment of a prophecy (v. 22). This places an emphasis on the future-telling characteristic of the *nābî'* like Moses, although it is not its only characteristic.²⁶² Others have already been mentioned above. The Israelites are exhorted not to be afraid of a false *nābî'* (v. 22).

The second case, in which a *nābî'* speaks in the name of another god, is the easier of the two to discern (v. 20). In speaking in the name of other gods the false *nābî'* is related in certain ways to some of the rejected religious phenomena listed in vv. 10-11.²⁶³ But the first case is potentially ambiguous. How could one be assured that when a *nābî'* speaks in Yahweh's name it is actually from Yahweh? Examples of prophecies

²⁶² Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 283; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 218.

²⁶³ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 404-5.

can be given which are viewed as true prophecy but which probably did not have fulfillment in the lifetime of the hearers. Jeremiah prophesied the fall of Judah which did not happen till years afterward (Jer 1.15; cf. Isa 9.7; Mic 4.3; Zech 14.4).²⁶⁴ The solution implied is that fulfillment is not the only criterion. Other authenticating features are important, such as character (i.e., ‘like Moses,’ vv. 15, 18), and conformity to the *tôrâ* given by Moses at Horeb (v. 16).²⁶⁵ Craigie probably has the correct understanding of the matter by seeing the discernment of false prophecy as a process happening over time:

It would probably be wrong to take these criteria as rules to be applied rigidly every time a prophet opened his mouth ... Rather the criteria represent the means by which a prophet gained his reputation as a true prophet and spokesman of the Lord. Over the course of a prophet’s ministry, in matters important and less significant, the character of a prophet as a true spokesman of God would begin to emerge clearly. And equally, false prophets would be discredited and then dealt with under the law.²⁶⁶

It is significant that the tests for discerning the false *nābî’* are not positive. It does not automatically follow that if a *nābî’* gives prophecies which are fulfilled that he or she is a true Yahwistic prophet.²⁶⁷ Earlier it was stated that a false *nābî’* may be capable of working miraculous prophetic phenomena (13.2-3 [ET 13.1-2]). The ability to work such wonders also has implications for the Yahwistic understanding of the existence and powers of other gods.

The sign of a false *nābî’* being that his prophecies go unfulfilled raises an issue about a certain characteristic of the Yahwistic perception of reality. Yahwistic prophecy, especially judgment oracles, are often conditional. For example, a judgment or disaster is

²⁶⁴ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 303; Phillips, *Deuteronomy*, 126. cf. P. D. Miller, *The Book of Jeremiah* (NIB; Nashville: Abingdon, 2001) 573–4.

²⁶⁵ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 303; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 219.

²⁶⁶ Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 263 Cf. Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 410; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 303; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 236; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 178.

²⁶⁷ C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 218–9.

propheesied for those who persist in living in a realm considered impure. However, should one intercede on behalf of the objects of judgment, or those under judgment make the changes necessary and step back into the realm of purity and holiness. the judgment, and subsequently the future, changes (Exod 32.14; Jonah 3.9-10). This gives Yahwism at least a measure of openness to freedom for the future, even while all remains under the sovereignty of Yahweh.²⁶⁸ This is different from the more deterministic view of reality embraced in many of the surrounding ANE cultures.²⁶⁹ Yet this difference between a Yahwistic ‘open’ universe, and a ANE ‘closed’ or ‘deterministic’ one must not be pressed too far. In the various ANE belief systems the future could also be changed with a successful incantation or amulet.²⁷⁰ The implication for v. 22 is that such a prophecy would not be considered a false one if the party incurring pollution makes right choices, resulting in a passing from pollution to purity, and thereby averting the fore-told disaster (cf. Jer 18.7-10; 26.19; Exod 32.14; Joel 2.13-14; Amos 7.3, 6; Jonah 3.9-10).²⁷¹

From the above evidence the Yahwistic *nabi*’ is shown to be distinct for the following reasons:

- 1) He symbolically embodies both the ideal Israelite, and Yahweh himself.
- 2) His revelations come from Yahweh alone, in accordance with the covenant.²⁷²
- 3) His choosing is initiated by Yahweh, and in a sense the role is an ad hoc one.²⁷³
- 4) His role is not limited to power and guidance, but is significantly moral and ethical as well. More specifically it promotes and maintains the Mosaic covenant.²⁷⁴
- 5) His role is not essentially a cultic one, although a male *nābî*’ may incidentally be a member of the cult.²⁷⁵ The *nābî*’ is more independent of cult and political institutions

²⁶⁸ Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 196–7.

²⁶⁹ Cf. Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 193–4, 196–7; Hoffman, “Prophecy and Soothsaying,” 221–2.

²⁷⁰ Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 207; M. S. Smith, *Monotheism*, 12.

²⁷¹ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 230.

²⁷² Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 196; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 285.

²⁷³ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 302; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 235; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 217.

²⁷⁴ Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 195; R. E. Clements, *Deuteronomy*, 429; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 176.

²⁷⁵ Mowinckel, *Spirit*. 102.

than its parallels in other ANE societies.²⁷⁶

6) His role does not entail an exercise of control over Yahweh, but Yahweh can respond to intercession, implying a conditional sense to prophecy and involving a certain degree of openness to the future.²⁷⁷

With the preceding context firmly in mind, let us now proceed to the text at the heart of this study.

The Forbidden Religious Phenomena

Introduction

Understanding the forbidden practices and practitioners listed in vv. 10-11 depends on a number of things. Two important ones will be mentioned at the outset. First, one must understand the universe as construed by Yahwism, discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Secondly, one must understand the worldviews of the various societies in the ANE, discussed in the previous chapter. I will first make some brief comments on the Yahwistic universe.

Often there is confusion in scholarship as to why some ANE religious practices are accepted in Yahwism and others rejected. A key insight which comes from anthropological and sociological epistemology is to understand the various parts in terms of the whole.²⁷⁸ Understanding the whole is usually the key to grasping the various elements, even of foreign origin, which make up the Yahwistic pattern of meanings. Douglas explains:

Of course no culture is created out of nothing. The Israelites absorbed freely from their neighbours, but not quite freely. Some elements of foreign culture

²⁷⁶ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 176–7.

²⁷⁷ Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 196–7; Phillips, *Deuteronomy*, 125; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 178.

²⁷⁸ More recently Rappaport has described this by way of analogy with biological systems. Every organism has a set of genetically coded descriptions which cause it to function properly. Social systems likewise have various genetic codes that make them function as they do and giving it a discrete character (Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion*, 6).

were incompatible with the principles of patterning on which they were constructing their universe; others were compatible.²⁷⁹

Clifford Geertz offers a definition of culture which I will employ in order to help clarify the distinctions of the Yahwistic worldview and culture, which will in turn help in the process of discovering why some religious phenomena in neighbouring cultures were accepted and others rejected. Geertz' definition of culture is as follows:

[A]n historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life.²⁸⁰

As explained above, the concept of holiness explains the Yahwistic universe. Based on the rituals and regulations of the laws contained in Exod, Lev, Num, and Deut, holiness is defined in terms of the values of life, oneness, unity, purity, wholeness, perfection, separateness, justice, and moral goodness.²⁸¹ These are the essential characteristics of the one God Yahweh. The Yahwistic community is then to mirror Yahweh's character in its behaviour. Their cult and society are to symbolise these characteristics in ritual and regulation.²⁸² Maintaining holiness in the Yahwistic community means purity and life. Violating holiness means pollution, chaos, and death.²⁸³ In this understanding the key people who symbolically embody these ideals are the collective leadership consisting of judges, kings, *kōh^a nîm*, and *n^e bî'îm*. Primary in this symbolic embodiment of ideals is the *nābî'*. He is the primary channel for communication with Yahweh and the primary moral and ethical authority acting as the conscience of the nation, and communicating its pattern of meanings. As will be shown, the key Yahwistic concept tying this list together is *tô'ēba*. A second important Yahwistic concept is the role of the *nābî'*. For the Western reader to understand more fully, the Yahwistic

²⁷⁹ Douglas, *Purity*, 61.

²⁸⁰ C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (London: Fontana, 1973) 89.

²⁸¹ Douglas, *In the Wilderness*, 24; Douglas, *Purity*, 51, 62–71.

²⁸² Douglas, *Purity*, 63.

²⁸³ Douglas, *In the Wilderness*, 24; Douglas, *Purity*, 63.

nābî’ embodies two key concepts which have been repeated frequently already: divine power and revelatory guidance. These terms correspond roughly to Western notions of magic and divination respectively, but are richer in local meaning. The divine power and revelatory guidance are symbolic of the way Yahweh relates to his people. In short, the *nābî*’, as opposed to the king in other ANE religions, is the preeminent symbol of the dynamically speaking and acting God Yahweh, and of the ideal Israelite in the Yahwistic pattern of meanings.

Secondly, we must understand the worldviews of the ancient societies near to the time of Israel, as they provide important ‘behind’ the text information which give a clearer understanding of the religious phenomena mentioned here. In ancient ANE religion, there is not normally a distinction between illegitimate and legitimate worship of the gods as found in Yahwism. The ANE worldview is different from that of belief systems such as Western secularism and certain forms of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, which attempt to separate out supernatural phenomena as antithetical to reality or religion. The failure to understand the comfortable union of elements in the worship of the gods, along with divination and magic, into one coherent cultic system can be found in the interpretations of Deut 18.10-11 of a number scholars.²⁸⁴ But others like H.-J. Müller are able to see that in both P (Lev 20.5f), and D material (Deut 18.10f), child sacrifice does appear in close association with ‘magic,’ or supernatural power.²⁸⁵ Some like Driver are able to understand that the ritual described in the phrase *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bittô bāēš* in Deut 18.10 can function in, what is in a Western sense, the twin categories of divination and idolatry.²⁸⁶ Weinfeld also seems to understand that these two Western categories are seen as a unified whole in the ANE. He uses a descriptive phrase that shows the type of ANE outlook which is being suggested here when he describes the list found in Deut 18.10-11 as a list of “idolatrous mantic practices” and “the practice of idolatrous mantology to discover the word of Yahweh.”²⁸⁷ However,

²⁸⁴ Braulik, *Theology of Deuteronomy*, 195; I. Cairns, *Deuteronomy: Word and Presence* (ITC: Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992) 171; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 280.

²⁸⁵ Müller, “מלך,” 387.

²⁸⁶ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 221–3.

²⁸⁷ Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 268–9.

modification of Driver's and Weinfeld's description is necessary in order to bring out a more complete Yahwistic description. Generally speaking, words associated with divination such as *mantic* or *mantology* will tend to lead readers into a category narrowed to seeking divine information, and not encompass the working of supernatural power. Sacrifice also, has been shown above to have functions of supernatural power, not only in the ANE, but in many societies analysed by anthropologists as well. The ANE understanding of sacrifice often includes both divination and elements of supernatural power. The divination and power aspects of ANE ritual and religion must be understood when approaching Deut 18.10-11. Let us now begin to elucidate the section comprising vv. 9-14.

The *Tô'ēbōt* (vv. 9-14)

9 כִּי אַתָּה בָּא אֶל-הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נָתַן לְךָ לֹא-תִלְמַד לַעֲשׂוֹת כְּתוֹעֵבֹת
הַגּוֹיִם הַהֵם:
10 לֹא-יִמָּצֵא בְּךָ מַעֲבִיר בְּנוֹ-וּבִתּוֹ בָּאֵשׁ קִסֵּם קְסָמִים מְעוֹנֵן וּמְנַחֵשׁ וּמְכַשֵּׁף:
11 וְחֹבֵר חֶבֶר וְשׂוֹאֵל אוֹב וַיִּדְעֵנִי וְדַרְשׁ אֶל-הַמֵּתִים:
12 כִּי-תוֹעֵבֹת יְהוָה כָּל-עֲשֵׂה אֵלֶּה וּבְגִלְלַת הַתּוֹעֵבֹת הָאֵלֶּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ מוֹרִישׁ
אוֹתָם מִפְּנֵיךָ:
13 תָּמִים תִּהְיֶה עִם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ: ס
14 כִּי הַגּוֹיִם הָאֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה יוֹרֵשׁ אוֹתָם אֶל-מְעַנְנִים וְאֶל-קְסָמִים יִשְׁמְעוּ
וְאַתָּה לֹא כֹן נָתַן לְךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ:

Translation:

9. When you have come to the land which Yahweh your God is giving you, you shall not learn to do the abhorrent things of the nations there.

10. Let there not be found among you someone causing his son or daughter to pass through the fire, practising *q^e sāmîm*, *m^e 'ônēn*, *m^e nahēš*, *m^e kaššēp*,

11. doing *hāber*, seeking *'ôb* and *yidd^e 'ônî*, and consulting the dead.

12. For everyone doing this is abhorrent to Yahweh, and because of these abhorrent things Yahweh your God is dispossessing them before you.

13. You shall be perfect with Yahweh your God.

14. For these nations which you are dispossessing listen to *m^e 'ônēn* and *qōsēmîm*: Yahweh your God has not given thus to you.

Tô'ēbâ (vv. 9, 12), *tāmîm* (v. 13), and *gōyîm* (vv. 9, 14) frame this section conceptually. The formulaic phrase emphasising the gracious gift of land, *kî 'attâ bā' 'el-hā'āreṣ 'a šer yhw' 'elōhekā nōtēn lāk* (v. 9, cf. v. 14), also carries key notions about Yahwistic ontology, that must be taken together with the ideas of *tô'ēbâ*, *tāmîm*, and *gōyîm*.²⁸⁸ Jointly these provide the conceptual framework for understanding the pollution causing nature of the religious phenomena of vv. 10-11, which will be shown to be above all a violation of loyalty to Yahweh caused by seeking guidance and power from other gods.²⁸⁹ *Tô'ēbâ* is the antithesis of the essence of the Yahwistic worldview, *qōdeš*, that which is holy. Generally *tô'ēbâ* means something abhorrent, loathsome, or detestable.²⁹⁰ There is an emphasis here, consistent with the rest of Deut, that the abhorrent ritual and revelatory pollution come from the nations in the land, *gōyîm* (vv. 9, 14; cf. 7.1-7). The *gōyîm* of the land have been described as “indigenous outsiders.” Many of these *gōyîm* make up the community of Israel (5.14; 10.19; 23.3-8; cf. Exod 12.38;²⁹¹ Josh 6.25; 9.22-27; Judg 3.5-6).²⁹² *Tô'ēbâ* is used to describe many elements antithetical to the explicit Yahwistic pattern of meanings. These antithetical elements can be seen to be a part of an implicit ideology held by many in the Israelite community (cf. 4.3; 9.16; 31.20; Josh 24.14; 1 Sam 28.3-7; 2 Kgs 16.3; 17.16-17; 21.6; Isa 3.2-3; 8.19; Jer 27.9; Mic 5.11 [ET 12]; Zech 10.2; Mal 3.5). Yahwism seeks to replace and destroy this implicit ideology at variance with the pattern that makes up the Yahwistic

²⁸⁸ Cf. McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 299; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 232.

²⁸⁹ Braulik, *Theology of Deuteronomy*, 195; Olson, *Death of Moses*, 84.

²⁹⁰ Cf. McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 162.

²⁹¹ Durham, *Exodus*, 172.

²⁹² L. Stulman, “Encroachment in Deuteronomy: An Analysis of the Social World of the D Code,” *JBL* 4 (1990) 615.

view of holiness. The leading example of *tô 'ēbâ* in this section is child sacrifice (cf. 12.31). In both 18.10 and 12.31 child sacrifice is used to symbolise the worst kind of pollution.²⁹³ In this way *tô 'ēbâ*, imbued here with the horror of child sacrifice, conjures up an image of death, injustice, and infidelity—chaos and confusion—the opposite of life in the Yahwistic definition of holiness. Moses, the intradiegetic narrator in this passage, intends that all the phenomena listed are to be viewed in this way.²⁹⁴ The command not to learn, *lô tilmad* (v. 9), the loathsome practices about to be listed, places it in an ethical dimension ... expressed in relational and covenantal terms with Yahweh (vv. 9, 12-14; cf. 4.1; 5.5-6; etc.).²⁹⁵ Elsewhere in Deut *tô 'ēbâ* is used to describe idolatry (7.25-26; 27.15), the general worship of other gods (13.15; 17.4; 32.16), defective sacrificial animals (17.1), sexual pollution (23.19; cf. Lev 18.22; 19.1; 20.13), injustice (25.16; cf. Prov 11.1), the eating of forbidden foods or cross-dressing which symbolise separateness (14.2-3; 22.5). The list of things (vv. 10-11) considered *tô 'ēbâ* relates to the violation of the first three of the Ten Words concerning the oneness of Yahweh and his worship (5.7-11).²⁹⁶ It covers issues dealt with in a number of the other Ten Words as well (5.17-19). By way of contrast, the Israelites are to be *tāmîm*, perfect or complete, a term used elsewhere to describe a worthy sacrifice (Lev 1.3; 3.1), truth (Amos 5.10), or ethical integrity in relationship with Yahweh (Gen 17.1; Ps 18.23 [ET 24]).²⁹⁷ The idea of *tāmîm* in this context is one of complete or perfect *loyalty* to Yahweh and his covenant.²⁹⁸ *Tāmîm* is another way of indicating holiness. By not practising the religious phenomena described as *tô 'ēbâ* in vv. 10-11, the Israelites will be holy.

The formulaic expressions repeated throughout Deut concerning Yahweh's giving of land to Israel focus the attention of the reader on the gift of land (vv. 9, 14; cf. 6.20-23; 7.1; 8.7) and provide the basic reason for covenant faithfulness and holiness.²⁹⁹

²⁹³ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 228, 300.

²⁹⁴ C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 216.

²⁹⁵ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 300; Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 123.

²⁹⁶ Cf. Braulik, *Theology of Deuteronomy*, 195; Olson, *Death of Moses*, 84.

²⁹⁷ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 227; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 281-2; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 301-2.

²⁹⁸ Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 194; Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 409.

²⁹⁹ Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 271; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 299-300.

Yahweh has provided Israel with a land which will provide them with more than they will ever need, a land ‘flowing with milk and honey (6.3; 11.9; 26.15).’ In the land there will be an abundance of children, crops and livestock, fresh water, freedom from sickness and disease, gold and silver, victory over all enemies, and Yahweh the Great King will reign in the land (Deut 7.13-15; 8.7-9; 33.2-5). The gift of land is an expression of Yahweh’s grace. Consequently, as recipients of Yahweh’s gracious generosity, the Israelites are ‘obliged’ to meet some basic expectations or ‘conditions.’³⁰⁰ They must preserve the unique relationship they have with Yahweh by means of a complete loyalty to him.³⁰¹ If they do not, they will forfeit the land and be subject to the curses of the covenant (27.15-26; 28.15-68). In this Yahwistic universe, there is no room for manifesting a divided loyalty by communication and guidance from other gods, accessing supernatural power from any other than Yahweh, or any concept of the control or manipulation of Yahweh.³⁰² Let us now look, at the various religious elements that are deemed ill-suited in the Yahwistic pattern.

There are eight items in the list in vv. 10-11.³⁰³ Five are in v. 10 and three are in v. 11. From the general command expressed by Yahweh in v. 9 that Israel not learn to do the abominations practised by the nations in Canaan, the passage moves on to a list of specific abhorrent practices. Joanne Kuemman-McLean’s comment that technical terms indicating divine power and revelatory guidance appear mostly in the legal materials does not seem to be the case, as will become clear below.³⁰⁴ But it does seem clear that the *DtrH* and prophetic writings are dependent on the legal material for the terms. This will be discussed in due course. Let us begin with the first phrase concerning child sacrifice in v. 10.

³⁰⁰ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 299–300.

³⁰¹ Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 194.

³⁰² Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 194; Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 409; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 300; Phillips, *Deuteronomy*, 125; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 172.

³⁰³ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 172–3.

³⁰⁴ J. K. Kuemmerlin-McLean, “Magic: Old Testament,” *ABD 4* (London: Doubleday, 1992) 468.

Ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bitô bāēš (v. 10)

The first phrase in the list of forbidden practices is a curious one which has generated many questions and few satisfactory answers. The reason for this is that, for many, it does not seem to fit well with the practices which follow it. The discussion generated by this term reaches back to 19th century biblical scholarship. R. W. Smith understood the phrase to be suitable in this context but mentions that it “appears” to be an “accidental” placement.³⁰⁵ Mayes provides an example of the common opinion in 20th century scholarship that the phrase is ill-placed.³⁰⁶ I would suggest that the reason for this is that interpreters understand this phrase, and the practices subsequent to it, in terms of Western categories. A Western perspective would understand *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bitô bāēš* as belonging to a category of cult ritual, some type of oblation to a deity. According to evolutionary social theory it belongs to ‘religion,’ while the phenomena following it represent a separate and earlier stage in human development understood as ‘magic.’³⁰⁷ A more current anthropological analysis seeks to understand the Yahwistic perspective and its pattern of meanings. Similarly a literary analysis would seek to understand the purpose of the text in organising this list in this particular way. There are two issues that I seek to clarify regarding this phrase: First, I intend to show that there is a single conceptual Yahwistic category to which all of these phrases and terms belong. As has already been shown, ‘magic’ and divination are a normal part of the cult in the various ANE systems, as well as many modern communities studied by anthropologists. Sacrifice, a basic element of cult ritual (both domestic and official cult), commonly has ‘magic’ and divination elements intertwined with it. My hypothesis is that the religious phenomena listed here, beginning with *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bitô bāēš*, are all elements which are found in various ANE cult practices which especially focus on aspects of divine power and revelatory guidance. Moses, the overt narrator in this passage, and controlling symbol of Yahwistic values, categorises it in its broadest sense as *tô ‘ēbā* (18.9, 12; cf. 12.31), but more narrowly the various

³⁰⁵ R. W. Smith, “Divination and Magic I,” 18.

³⁰⁶ Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 280.

³⁰⁷ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 48–60.

phenomena would be understood by Yahwists as various aspects of cult ritual (official, domestic or otherwise). Secondly, I propose that the phenomena are examples of the implicit ideology, or more probably ideologies, of many in the Israelite community, which are at odds with the explicit ideology of Yahwism. I speak of implicit ideologies in the plural because of the reality of clusters of belief present in the community.³⁰⁸

Eickelman's notions of implicit and explicit ideology were discussed in the last chapter. Implicit ideologies in Israel would be the various common assumptions found in the community. They are unwritten because they are simply the 'way things are.' The explicit ideology of Yahwism does not share this privileged position, but intends to. It is reformist in nature, attempting to bring about a change that will one day become the implicit understanding of reality. Because explicit ideology is polemical and seeks to change a worldview, it is clearly articulated.³⁰⁹ Deut's explicit ideology is also an example of Berger's world-construction activity, an example of a society developing and/or modifying its particular Yahwistic worldview.³¹⁰ More on this will be discussed below. Let us focus now on issues pertaining to the phrase *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bitô bāēš*.

The first issue to explore is whether *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bitô bāēš* refers to child sacrifice or not. Secondly, the issue of its relationship to divine power and revelatory guidance will be discussed. I will argue that the phrase does concern child sacrifice, and that in the present context it includes issues of both divine guidance and power. I follow Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss in understanding sacrifice as a religious ritual (domestic or royal) in which the victim is slain, which through the consecration of the victim, the condition of the ritually and morally pure person initiating the sacrifice, and/or the object with which he is concerned, is modified. The reason for mentioning a third party "object of the sacrifice" is that sacrifice ritual is often performed in order to bring a positive effect to any number of things including the building of a house, a temple, an altar, a field, a covenant.³¹¹ In ancient Indian Vedic sacrifice ritual the sacrifice made

³⁰⁸ See discussion, pp. 25-7.

³⁰⁹ Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam*, 153.

³¹⁰ Berger, *Social Reality*, 3-4.

³¹¹ H. Hubert, and M. Mauss, *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Functions* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1981 Reprint) 10-3.

for a new house or altar was understood to release a guardian spirit who would inhabit, protect, and empower it.³¹² The belief that sacrifice releases supernatural power to effect positive changes may be behind ancient Syro-Palestinian human sacrifice, such as the son sacrificed by Mesha (2 Kgs 3.27), or the ostensible sacrifice of children in the reliefs at Nubia and Luxor shown in the last chapter.³¹³ Let us now look at how *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bitô bāēš* has been understood by biblical scholars.

Generally speaking, *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bitô bāēš* has been understood in one of two ways: either a dedication ceremony, or an actual child sacrifice. English versions generally render it in one of two ways: either a literal translation which preserves the ambiguity of the original phrase (AV, ASV, JB, JPS, NRSV, NAS, NKJV), or a translation interpreting the phrase explicitly as a sacrifice (ESV, NIV, NJB, NLT, RHE, RSV, TEV).³¹⁴ The LXX translates it *perikathairōn ... en puri*, to purge in the fire. Roughly half of the samplings above commit themselves to a sacrificial meaning. The translations indicate a reluctance to venture into non-traditional interpretations, such as using a phrase which would give an explicitly non-sacrificial meaning.

Comments of scholarship on the phrase show much more colour and diversity than the translations would lead us to imagine. The majority view of the phrase has been to associate it with a sacrifice of children by fire.³¹⁵ As stated a number of times pre-

³¹² Hubert, *Sacrifice*, 65.

³¹³ See Plates 1 and 2, pp. 164-5.

³¹⁴ The RHE renders it “any one that shall expiate his son or daughter, making them to pass through the fire ...” The ESV and RSV translate it “anyone who burns his son or his daughter as an offering ...” The NIV has “no one ... who sacrifices his son or daughter in the fire...” The TEV renders it “don’t sacrifice your children in the fires on your altars ...” The NJB reads “There must never be anyone among you who makes his son or daughter pass through the fire of sacrifice ...”

³¹⁵ G. Braulik, *Deuteronomium 1–16, 17* (Würzburg: Echter, 1986) 101; G. Braulik, *Deuteronomium II: 16, 18–34, 12* (Würzburg: Echter, 1992) 134; Cairns, *Deuteronomy*, 99, 132–3; R. E. Clements, *Deuteronomy*, 428; Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 260; J. Day, *Molech: A God of Human Sacrifice in the Old Testament* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989) 67–8; Gerstenberger, *Leviticus*, 292; V. Hamp, “שׂא,” *TDOT I* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977) 242; J. E. Hartley, *Leviticus* (WBC; Dallas: Word, 1992) 337; Johnston, *Shades of Sheol*, 35; B. A. Levine, *Leviticus* (JPSTC; New York: JPS, 1989) 258–9; N. Lohfink, “Kerygmata Des Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerks,” *Studien zum Deuteronomium und zur deuternomistischen Literatur II SBAB 12* (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1991) 137–8; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 300; Müller, “מלך,” 386; S. Niditch, *Ancient Israelite Religion* (Oxford: OUP, 1997) 84; J. R. Porter, *Leviticus* (CBC; London: CUP, 1976) 161; Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 123; C.-L. Seow, *The First and Second Books of Kings* (NIB; Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1999) 250; M. Smith, “Burning Babies,” 477–9; Toorn, “Priests,” 2054; Wenham, *Leviticus*, 258–9; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 216.

viously, some holding this view perceive the phrase to be an intrusion ill-suited to the context, and perhaps a clumsy late addition.³¹⁶ However, this judgment is premature. As has already been mentioned, from both a poetics, as well as an anthropological point of view, the first order of business is to engage the world of the text in dialogue and allow it to communicate its embodied intention and meaning.³¹⁷ To separate and isolate various parts from the whole is an indication that the purpose and the coherence of the book and its worldview has not been grasped.³¹⁸ Rather than dismissing the phrase in this text as an awkward intrusion, more vigorous work needs to be done to understand the contribution it makes to the meaning of the whole.

Some who feel that the phrase *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bittô bāēš* refers to child sacrifice associate the ritual with the god mentioned in the HB, *mōlek* (Lev 18.21; 20.2-5; 2 Kgs 23.10; Jer 32.35).³¹⁹ There have been a string of scholars beginning with Eissfeldt who have felt that *mōlek* is not a proper name of a god, but a technical term used to designate a sacrifice. They cite as an example the Punic cognate *molk*, a noun signifying ‘sacrifice.’³²⁰ But this view of the meaning of *mōlek* in the HB has been convincingly rejected, most recently by George Heider and John Day.³²¹ However, the “timeless quality” of Deut seems to support a purpose of Deut to communicate an ideology for the future in the land which will cover situations yet unknown (cf. 4.9; 5.2-3; 32.47).³²² Deut 18 covers broadly those aspects of divine guidance and power which are considered *tô ‘ēbâ*, and seems to have the goal of covering this issue as

³¹⁶ Cairns, *Deuteronomy*, 171; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 280.

³¹⁷ Okely, *Traveller-Gypsies*, 34.

³¹⁸ Sternberg, *Poetics*, 2.

³¹⁹ Cairns, *Deuteronomy*, 132; Eichrodt, *Theology*, 197; Gerstenberger, *Leviticus*, 292; Levine, *Leviticus*, 258; Seow, *Kings*, 250; R. d. Vaux, *Studies in Old Testament Sacrifice* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1964) 74.

³²⁰ Albright, *Yahweh*, 205–6; R. Dussaud, *Les origines cananéennes du sacrifice israélite* (Paris: E. Leroux 2nd edition, 1941) 352–4; O. Eissfeldt, *Molk als Opferbegriff im Punischen und Hebräischen und das Ende des Gottes Moloch* (Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums; Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1935) 36–44; Müller, “מֹלֵךְ,” 385; L. E. Stager, and S. R. Wolff, “Child Sacrifice at Carthage: Religious Rite or Population Control?” *BA Review* 10/1 (1984) 47.

³²¹ A. Bea, “Kinderopfer für Moloch oder für Jahwe?” *Bib* 18 (1937) 95–107; Day, *Molech*, 9–13; K. Dronkert, *De Molochdienst in het Oude Testament* (Leiden: Drukkerij ‘Luctor et Emergo,’ 1957); Heider, *Cult*, 45–65; A. Jirku, “Gab es im Alten Testament einen Gott Molek (Melek)?” *ARW* 35 (1938) 178–9; W. Kornfeld, “Der Moloch: Eine Untersuchung Zur Theorie O. Eissfeldts,” *WZMK* 51 (1952) 287–313.

³²² Cf. McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 41.

broadly as possible. Perhaps for this reason *mōlek* is not specifically mentioned. Its intention is to be inclusive of any such repulsive practices, and not be limited to *mōlek* sacrifice. This point is made by both Heider and Day.³²³ Heider goes on to observe however, that it must be acknowledged that the phrase has close formal ties with biblical descriptions of the *mōlek* cult.³²⁴

The second view held by many scholars, although a minority one, is that this phrase describes some type of dedication or divinatory ritual, and not child sacrifice.³²⁵ Some identify the ritual as an ordeal or ceremony for *mōlek*.³²⁶ Others do not feel that there is enough evidence to warrant a connection to *mōlek*, or any other specific connection, whether a dedication of the first-born, or some other type of Canaanite rite.³²⁷ Some suggest that this may refer to a lethal oracle ordeal, which could result in the death of the child, but not necessarily so.³²⁸ Let us now look elsewhere in the HB for how this phrase may be conceptually tied to divine guidance and power.

The two passages (Lev 18.21; 20.1-5) in the Holiness Code (Lev 17-26) are a good place to begin exploring the issues of the nature and function of the phrase *ma^a bir b^e nō û-bittô bāēš*. Synchronically, these verses are the first references to the phrase in the HB. Both of these references are also explicitly linked to the cult of *mōlek*.³²⁹ Lev 18.21 is found in a cotext of sexual deviation and probably is related to the general theme of sexual pollution in a number of ways. Firstly, it is linked by the term *zera* ‘, literally ‘seed’, which commonly signifies ‘offspring’ or ‘children.’ Secondly, *mōlek* worship is metaphorically conceived of as prostitution (20.5). Thirdly, both *mōlek*

³²³ Day, *Molech*, 15; Heider, *Cult*, 258–70.

³²⁴ Heider, *Cult*, 258–70.

³²⁵ M. Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion: Assyria, Judah and Israel in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.E.* (Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1974) 77–8; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 222; H. F. Fuhs, “עבר,” *TDOT X* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1999) 417; Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 124; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 233; D. Plataroti, “Zum Gebrauch des Wortes *MLK* im Alten Testament,” *VT* 28 (1978) 286–300; N. H. Snaith, “The Cult of Molech,” *VT* 16 (1966) 123–4; J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy*, 210; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 216 n. 1.

³²⁶ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 222; Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 124.

³²⁷ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 408; J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy*, 210; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 464–5.

³²⁸ J. K. Kuemmerlin-McLean, “Divination and Magic,” 67–8; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 233.

³²⁹ Eissfeldt and others have suggested that the word *mōlek* is not a proper name, but rather a technical term, parallel to the Punic *molk*, meaning sacrifice. See Eissfeldt, *Molk*.

worship and sexual perversion are both explicitly described as *tô 'ēbā*, the direct antithesis of the Yahwistic worldview of holiness. There is no evidence in the HB that *mōlek* worship actually involved a sexual ritual.

The use of the two verbs *nātan*, 'give' or 'put', and *'ābar*, 'pass', are ambiguous in this context. They do not tell us how they act in the *mōlek* ritual. But these verbs cannot be considered in a theoretical environment divorced from their context. These two otherwise equivocal verbs are components of a phrase that can be shown to be a recognisable and repeated idiomatic expression in the HB. As Sternberg has put it, the question as to whether a metaphor is "stereotyped or newly coined, dead or live, obviously will make an enormous difference to its meaning and effect."³³⁰ Even though contested, many interpreters have recognised that this phrase is a recognisable idiom referring to child sacrifice.³³¹ The failure to acknowledge the pattern of sacrificial contexts in which this phrase is used in the HB has resulted in interpreters suggesting that the *mōlek* ritual is not an actual child sacrifice. If these verses in the Holiness Code were the only instances of the phrase, then its ambiguity would most likely remain. However, the expression is found in a string of references to the *mōlek* cult, and at the same time to clear references of human sacrifice elsewhere in the HB. The table on the following page, which is a modification and expansion of that presented by Domenico Plataroti, serves to make the idiom found in its various forms and contexts clearer.³³² The table shows the connection between the core phrase *ma^a bîr bēn û-bāt bā 'ēš* with child sacrifice and with the *mōlek* ritual. Also, the key pollution term *tô 'ēbā* is often found in the context of the phrase, and this is also noted in the table. The various citations have been ordered in such a way as to focus the attention visually on the clear connection of the various occurrences of the phrase with each other.

³³⁰ Sternberg, *Poetics*, 12.

³³¹ Cairns, *Deuteronomy*, 132–3; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 222; Gerstenberger, *Leviticus*, 292; Heider, *Cult*, 258; Levine, *Leviticus*, 258–9.

³³² Plataroti, "Wortes *MLK*," 286.

Table

1. <i>nātan</i>	_____ <i>zāra'</i>	_____ <i>lamōlek</i>	Lev 20.2-4	(<i>tô'ēbā</i> , 20.13)
2. <i>nātan</i>	<i>l^e ha^a bîr zāra'</i>	_____ <i>lamōlek</i>	Lev 18.21 ³³³	(<i>tô'ēbā</i> , 18.22)
3. _____	<i>l^e ha^a bîr bēn û-bāt</i>	_____ <i>lamōlek</i>	Jer 32.35	(<i>tô'ēbā</i> , 32.35)
		<i>et haba'al</i>		
4. _____	<i>ha^a bîr bēn û-bāt</i>	<i>bā'ēš lamōlek</i>	2 Kgs 23.10	(<i>tô'ēbā</i> , 23.13)
5. _____	<i>ma^a bîr bēn û-bāt</i>	<i>bā'ēš</i>	Deut 18.10	(<i>tô'ēbā</i> , 18.9. 12)
6. _____	<i>ha^a bîr bēn û-bāt</i>	<i>bā'ēš</i>	2 Kgs 17.17	—
7. _____	<i>he^e bîr bēn</i>	<i>bā'ēš</i>	2 Kgs 16.3	(<i>tô'ēbā</i> , 16.3)
8. _____	<i>he^e bîr bēn</i>	<i>bā'ēš</i>	2 Kgs 21.6	(<i>tô'ēbā</i> , 21.2)
9. _____	<i>b^e ha^a bîr bēn</i>	<i>bā'ēš</i>	Ezek 20.31	(<i>tô'ēbā</i> , 20.4)
10. _____	<i>he^e bîr bēn</i>	<i>l^e 'okhlâh</i>	Ezek 23.37-39	(<i>tô'ēbā</i> , 23.36)
11. <i>zāba</i>	_____ <i>bēn û-bāt</i>	<i>le^e kôl ham^e 'at</i>	Ezek 16.20	(<i>tô'ēbā</i> , 16.22)
12. <i>šāḥaṭ</i>	<i>b^e ha^a bîr bēn</i>	_____	Ezek 16.21	(<i>tô'ēbā</i> , 16.22)
	<i>nātan</i>			
13. <i>šārap</i>	_____ <i>bēn û-bāt</i>	<i>bā'ēš le'lohîm</i>	Deut 12.31	(<i>tô'ēbā</i> , 12.31)
14. <i>šārap</i>	_____ <i>bēn</i>	<i>bā'ēš l^e 'adadmlk³³⁴</i>	2 Kgs 17.31	—
		<i>le^a namlk</i>		
15. <i>šārap</i>	_____ <i>bēn</i>	<i>bā'ēš labā'al</i>	Jer 19.4-6	—
16. <i>šārap</i>	_____ <i>bēn û-bāt</i>	<i>bā'ēš</i>	Jer 7.31	(<i>tô'ēbā</i> , 7.10)

The core elements of the idiomatic phrase which the table highlights are *'ābar*, 'passing', *bēn û-bāt*, literally 'son and daughter', or 'children', and *ēš*, 'fire.' These elements and the pattern they create, their repetition throughout the HB, and the sacrificial context in which the majority are found, give it a distinct identity as a recognisable metaphorical phrase. This sacrificial context will be described next.

A critical verse which gives the most explicit historical reference for the Israelite cult of *mōlek* also serves as a terminological nexus for the variations of the phrase *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bittô bā'ēš* scattered throughout the HB is 2 Kings 23.10. It also establishes the

³³³ In Lev 18.21 the LXX has rendered *mōlek* as the appellative *archōn*, 'ruler' or 'prince'. However, the later Aq, Sym and Theod understood it as a proper noun and transliterated it *Moloch*. Wevers also notes that in a third century BC Egyptian setting, it would not have been surprising to use *archōn* instead of the expected *basileus* (J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus* [SBLSCS; Atlanta: Scholars, 1997] 282 n. 31). Day mentions that there is no example from the ancient versions of *mōlek* being translated as a term meaning sacrifice. This means that no parallel in the Versions can be found to the Punic term *molk*, 'sacrificial offering' (Day, *Molech*, 12–3).

³³⁴ Many interpreters follow Albright in favour of emending Adrammelek to Addadmelek.

strong relationship between this phrase and the worship of *mōlek*.³³⁵ In this passage it mentions that the ritual and cult centre which Josiah destroyed was found at Topheth in the Valley of Ben Hinnom, the established location of child sacrifice in Jerusalem (cf. Jer 7.31; 19.5). Day has pointed out that the dreadful and fiery nature of the place gave rise to the Aramaic translation Gehenna, which became a term to signify hell in the second temple period (cf. 2 Esdr 7.36; 2 Bar 59.10; 85.13; Mark 9.43, 45, 47).³³⁶ As shown in the table above, 2 Kgs 23.10 contains the three essential elements of the idiom: the euphemistic word *passing*, a ritual of fire, with children as the object. It simply adds *mōlek* as an indirect object. When compared with Deut 18.10, it can also be seen that 2 Kgs 23.10 echoes its phraseology formally (with the exception of Deut's omission of a reference to *mōlek*). This has led a number of scholars to maintain that the two passages refer to the same phenomenon.³³⁷ Because Israelite and Judean rulers are consistently measured against Deuteronomic laws throughout 2 Kgs, it makes sense that *DtrH* knows of and is dependent on Deut for these laws (cf. 2 Kgs 23.9 with Deut 18.6-8; 2 Kgs 16.3; 17.1; 21.2 with Deut 12.29-31. 2 Kgs 17.17; 21.6 with Deut 18.9-14. 2 Kgs 23.1-3 with Deut 5.1-5; 6.5; 29.2-28; 31.9-13).³³⁸

There are other important passages which clearly link the phrase to child sacrifice. Jer 32.35 is unambiguous in its association of the term *'ābar* with child sacrifice in the Jerusalem cult centre of Ben Hinnom. A very important passage for establishing the phrase as intending consummation in fire is Num 31.22-23. It is the only passage in the HB which uses the phrase without reference to human sacrifice. In this passage instructions are given as to what to do with the spoils of war taken from the Midianites. There are two symbolic purification rituals which the Israelites are to perform. One consists of fire for those things which can withstand the flame, such as precious metals, iron, and lead. The second consists of water for those things that would

³³⁵ Levine, *Leviticus*, 258; Vaux, *Sacrifice*, 74.

³³⁶ Day, *Molech*, 52-5.

³³⁷ Day, *Yahweh*, 211; Heider, *Cult*, 258; Levine, *Leviticus*, 258.

³³⁸ R. L. Cohn, *2 Kings* (BO; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2000) 147, 160-2; M. Cogan, and H. Tadmor, *II Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; USA: Doubleday, 1988) 266, 267, 294; S. Nakanose, *Josiah's Passover: Sociology & the Liberating Bible* (BLS; NY: Orbis, 1993) 29; Seow, *Kings*, 257, 276, 284-5.

be damaged in any way by fire. This is one example which establishes the usage of *he* ^a*bîr bā'ēš* as that of being immersed in fire. There are other examples as well. In Ezek 23.37-39 the verb *'ābar* is used to describe the giving of sons to be *consumed* as food, *'āklā* (v. 37). It is also spoken of as a *slaughter*, *šāḥaṭ*, of children, which is performed in ritual worship of idols (v. 39).³³⁹ This latter passage unequivocally speaks of the destruction of children in ritual worship of the gods represented by idols.³⁴⁰ Deut 12.31 should be added to the evidence gathered here, as it uses the general pattern of the idiomatic phrase, but substitutes the verb *šārap*, 'burning'. In summary, when the biblical evidence is weighed the phrase *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bittô bā'ēš* and its variations are all found in ritual contexts, referring to burning or immersion in fire, and all except Num 31.22 refer to child sacrifice. But are there any links this phrase has with divine guidance and power? Let us turn to this issue now beginning with the Yahwistic understanding of sacrifice.

It is beyond the scope of this study to go into the details of Yahwistic sacrifice. Rather I will limit the analysis to a sampling of Yahwistic blood sacrifices, so as to be able to prepare for a comparative analysis with child sacrifice in the wider ANE context. The Yahwistic blood sacrifice does not carry with it explicit or implicit references to divine revelatory guidance (i.e., divination). A distinctive aspect of Yahwistic sacrifice in comparative analysis is the fact that in all blood sacrifices the liver and entrails, those parts commonly used for divinatory analysis in other parts of the ANE, are completely consumed and so cannot be used in one of the most typical mantic methods of the region (Lev 3.3-4; 4.8-9).³⁴¹ However, the accessing of divine power for blessing is an aspect of Yahwistic sacrifice shared broadly in the ANE, but with its own uniquenesses. Maurice Godelier has argued that the primary characteristic of sacrifice presented to creator deities is that of a debt owed for an existence never requested, a gift that can never be repaid in any sacrifice. He argues against the contractual idea put

³³⁹ Levine, *Leviticus*, 258–9.

³⁴⁰ A. R. W. Green, *Human Sacrifice*, 176–7.

³⁴¹ N. H. Snaith, "Sacrifices in the Old Testament," *VT* 7 (1957) 310.

forward in Marcel Mauss' concept of sacrifice as gift exchange.³⁴² Godelier has rightly focused on an important aspect of Yahwistic sacrifice. But sacrifice in various cultures becomes quite complex, and Yahwistic sacrifice is no exception. Its discrete qualities are in keeping with its pattern of meanings, which is summed up in its concept of holiness and covenant. The various Yahwistic sacrifices are much concerned with maintaining Yahwistic holiness: life, purity, completeness, separateness, relationship, covenant commitment and gratitude.³⁴³ The *'ôlâ*, burnt sacrifice (Lev 1), is used on many different occasions, but is the foundational daily morning and evening sacrifice made on behalf of the nation (Exod 29.38-43). This sacrifice can rightly be understood in the way expressed by Godelier, a "primordial debt" owed to Yahweh because he has created them and given them life and land.³⁴⁴ But it goes beyond this to indicate more specifically purification from sin (1.4; 16.24), cleansing from ritual pollution due to disease (Lev 14.20), contamination by blood or bodily discharge (Lev 12.6, 15.15), restoration and maintenance of relationship with Yahweh (1.3; 5), and is a significant gesture showing covenant commitment (5.17).³⁴⁵ The sacrifice is not automatically effectual, but must be presented under the condition that the offerer has the proper heart attitude (Jer 14.12; Amos 5.22; Hos 8.3; Ps 51.18-19 [ET 16-17]). The purification sacrifice, *ḥattā't* takes away any pollution, whether ritual (12.6), moral (5.1, 4), or by disease (14.9). It purifies the impure or the sinner, restoring relationship with Yahweh (Lev 4.1-3). The blood of this offering is used to consecrate the *kōhēn* (Exod 29.20-21; Lev 8.22-25) and the altar (Exod 29.12, 36-37; Lev 8.15), focusing on the Yahwistic concept of separateness.³⁴⁶ The *'āšām*, reparation sacrifice, symbolises the repayment for the debt caused by sin (Lev 5.19).³⁴⁷ Taken together the various sacrifices keep the people of Israel in a state of holiness, bringing life and blessing to them. But the sacrifice which perhaps has most significance to our present enquiry is

³⁴² Godelier, *Gift*, 29–30.

³⁴³ Cf. D. Davies, "Sacrifice," 156–61; Wenham, *Leviticus*, 25–9.

³⁴⁴ Godelier, *Gift*, 185, 193.

³⁴⁵ N. H. Snaith, "Sacrifices," 308; Wenham, *Leviticus*, 53–63.

³⁴⁶ J. Milgrom, *Leviticus: A Book of Ritual and Ethics* (CC; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2004) 42–5; Wenham, *Leviticus*, 92–6.

³⁴⁷ Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 46; Wenham, *Leviticus*, 109–11.

the *šē lāmîm* (Lev 3.3-16), peace or well-being sacrifice, which was not a required one. There were three offerings of this type and all were occasional, as is the case for the kinds of sacrifices which *ma^a bîr bēn û-bāt bā'ēš* has in view, as I shall argue below. The *šē lāmîm* is at the heart of a generally festive and joyous occasion (Deut 27.7), but has less joyous aspects as well (Judg 20.26). It can be offered in thanksgiving generally, or thanksgiving for answered prayer or petitions (Lev 7.12), or in petitions to avert calamity and disaster (Judg 20.26; 21.4; 13.9; 2 Sam 24.25), or in votive offerings such as Hannah's vow to present her son to Yahweh in priestly service (Lev. 7.16; 1 Sam 1.24-28), or simply a spontaneous thank offering for unsolicited blessing and favour bestowed by Yahweh (Exod 35.29; Deut 12.7; 1 Kgs 9.25).³⁴⁸ It is in the occasional nature of *šē lāmîm*, as well as its frequent characteristic of being offered in order to secure the power and blessing of Yahweh in situations of impending disaster, that it has possible overlap with the intentions of *ma^a bîr bēn û-bāt bā'ēš* and the need for divine power.

Turning to the experience of blood sacrifice in other cultures, much explicit guidance and power functions are found. The following examples are not intended to show that the only function of sacrifice in these cultures is to receive divine guidance or to elicit divine power. It is simply to show that in whatever other ways sacrifice may function in these cultures, they have aspects of divine guidance and power. As mentioned above, the ancient Indian Vedic scriptures speak of a spirit that is released in sacrifice which protects the objects of the sacrifice, such as a house, temple, or altar.³⁴⁹ It has already been shown that in ancient Greece, the livers and entrails of blood sacrifice were used to gain knowledge, whether about the past, present, or future. Moving closer to Syro-Palestine, as mentioned above, Mesopotamia excelled all others in the science of divination, among other methods using the entrails of sacrificial animals for consulting the deities.³⁵⁰ Hittite sacrifice included 'reading' the liver, heart, gall blad-

³⁴⁸ P. J. Budd, *Leviticus* (NCBC; London: Marshall Pickering, 1996) 65–76; Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 28–9; Wenham, *Leviticus*, 74–81.

³⁴⁹ Hubert, *Sacrifice*, 65.

³⁵⁰ Grabbe, *Priests*, 132; Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 212.

der and intestines of the sacrifice,³⁵¹ as well as sacrifices used in a pit, *a-a-pi*, in order to conjure up departed spirits for the purpose of divination and protection.³⁵² Also from the Hittites is the occasional practice of sacrificing a human to protect the Hittite king in response to a life threatening omen.³⁵³ Concerning Ugarit it was mentioned that the myriads of incantation texts, including the exorcising of malevolent spirits, along with divination texts and liver models, were all found in the ‘House of the Priest’, a chief official in the sacrificial cult.³⁵⁴ It was also shown in *RS 24.277* that a sacrifice for a goat was prescribed if the city came under attack in order to enlist the succour of the deity.³⁵⁵ In ethnographic research a number of communities show guidance and power to be associated with sacrifice. Among the Ilongot of the Philippines, Rosaldo has observed that community (pig) sacrifices were performed after successive seasons of poor harvest in order to secure favour for a better one. Closely tied to this sacrifice is an impersonal force released, *liget*, which Rosaldo points out is a key element in the Ilongot pattern of meanings. Thus among Ilongots, the notions of ‘magic’ and sacrifice are not strictly separated.³⁵⁶ Another aim of Ilongot sacrifice is to release or renew the power of *liget* to strengthen Ilongot women.³⁵⁷ On other occasions sacrifice is offered to a spirit called the Forest Lord (there is a belief in a supreme god, but he is remote and not evident in daily Ilongot interaction with the spirit realm). The purpose of this sacrifice is to enlist the aid of the Forest Lord in the finding of human victims for their headhunting ritual. Formerly this was the dominant ritual in their pattern of meanings, but has since fallen into disuse.³⁵⁸ Turner recounts his experience observing the sacrifice of a red cock when he lived among the Ndembu of Zambia. The purpose of this sacrifice is to remove *chisaku*, a misfortune caused by malcontented ancestral spirits, breaking of taboos, or the result of a curse. The results of *chisaku* are often sickness, barrenness, or death. Turner witnessed this sacrifice performed for an infertile

³⁵¹ Frantz-Szabó, “Hittite Witchcraft,” 2016; Grabbe, *Priests*, 135.

³⁵² *CAD 1.II*, 201; Haas, “Death,” 2022; Hoffner, “אוב,” 132–3.

³⁵³ See Frantz-Szabó, “Hittite Witchcraft,” 2012; Scurlock, “Death,” 1885.

³⁵⁴ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 132 n. 1.

³⁵⁵ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 131.

³⁵⁶ Rosaldo, *Knowledge and Passion*, 124–5.

³⁵⁷ Rosaldo, *Knowledge and Passion*, 146.

³⁵⁸ Rosaldo, *Knowledge and Passion*, 148–9.

couple.³⁵⁹ Again, this sacrifice is performed to counter the effects of spells among other things, and to access supernatural power for healing and protection. All this is bound up together without tension in the Ndembu understanding of religion. In 1996 Privratsky observed certain sacrifices among the Muslim Kazaks of Kazakstan called *tasattiq* or *qudayi* to ward off the negative effects of the Hyakutake comet. At other times it is used to bring rain. Privratsky explains that the purpose of the sacrifice in these cases “is to deal with public emergencies and ward off evil.” Some informants explained that the *qudayi* is a sacrifice to their ancestor spirits. Although Muslim, with a strong commitment to Allah, ancestor spirits are seen as intermediaries with spiritual powers whom Allah gives to them as a gift.³⁶⁰ A certain Muslim tribe near Boujad, Morocco, the Sma‘la, performed a sacrifice, called *t‘argiba*, in an annual covenant ritual at the shrine of a Sherqawi marabout, a type of saint, which was recounted by Eickelman. A part of this sacrifice involved certain members of the tribe falling into a trance and drinking the blood of the sacrifice. Among other functions of the sacrifice was the securing of blessing, *baraka*, for fertile land.³⁶¹ In the Kazak, Ilongot, and Ndembu descriptions of sacrifice the rituals are both domestic and ‘official’ in that they are sacrifices made according to the prevailing beliefs of the leadership of these communities.

The examples given above from various ANE and CW texts, as well as ethnographic field studies, are often occasional sacrifices, performed to gain some sort of supernatural power and/or have a divinatory aspect to them. In the case of supernatural power, it is understood to come from either a deity, ancestor spirits, or an impersonal force. This element of supernatural power, often described as ‘magical’ is found linked to certain cult sacrifices without tension. These examples also aid us in understanding that in many societies ‘official’ sacrifice cult ritual is domestic. They correct *a priori* notions that official sacrifice cult ritual is by nature of a category separate from the phenomenon of supernatural power or ‘magic.’ The examples from the ANE, CW, and

³⁵⁹ Turner, *Ritual*, 19, 31–3.

³⁶⁰ Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan*, 135, 145–6.

³⁶¹ Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam*, 174–5.

from modern ethnographic research show that guidance and power issues are commonly a part of the function of cult sacrifice ritual.

Returning now to the HB, it should not be surprising, in light of the many examples across time and space given above, that our phrase *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bittô bāēš* should often be found in cotexts of guidance, power, and the worship of ancestor spirits (Lev 20.1-6; 2 Kgs 17.17; 21.6; 23.10, 24; Ezek 20.31; cf. 2 Kgs 3.27).³⁶² And in certain cotexts where practices of divine guidance and power are not explicitly mentioned or are not primarily in view, based on the data of sacrificial cult practice given above, especially from Ugarit and Mesopotamia, we should be much more contextual in our understanding that ANE sacrifice generally maintains an easy relationship with mantic and/or power functions. We should not dismiss the possibility of their presence *a priori* (cf. 2 Kgs 17.29-31; Jer 7.31; 19.4-6; 32.35; Ezek 16.20-21; 23.37-39).

Some brief remarks will now be made concerning the five places in the HB where variations on the phrase *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bittô bāēš* are found in a cotext with guidance, divination, or ancestor worship (Lev 20.1-6; 2 Kgs 17.17; 21.6; 23.10, 24; Ezek 20.31). Then observations will be made on the sacrifice of King Mesha's son (2 Kgs 3.27). We will begin in Lev.

Jacob Milgrom has stated that the issue that brings *mōlek* ritual, 'ōb, and *yidd^e 'ōnî* together (Lev 20.1-6; cf. Deut 18.11) is ancestor worship.³⁶³ From the ANE data gathered and supported by a number of ethnographic studies, this is certainly plausible. Furthermore I would add that divination is often associated with the shades of the dead and could be another element linking the spirits of the dead with the *mōlek* rite. The *mōlek* ritual was shown above to refer most likely to a sacrifice honouring a chthonic deity.³⁶⁴ If this evidence be admissible, then Lev 20.1-6 can show that the phrase *nātan zāra' lamōlek* is associated with netherworld sacrifice and that divination, or some

³⁶² Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 260.

³⁶³ Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 246–7.

³⁶⁴ Budd, *Leviticus*, 259–60; Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 246–7; M. Noth, *Leviticus* (OTL; London: SCM, 1965) 147–9; Wenham, *Leviticus*, 258–9.

type of revelatory phenomena, is often found in such a context. This latter issue seems to be the case in Ezek 20.31, where enquiry of Yahweh is set in the context of idolatry and sacrificing children in the fire. An implicit cult ritual would be understood in the mentioning of *mōlek*, *'ôb*, and *yiddē 'ōnî*, which has implications for how the phenomena in Deut 18.10-11 are to be perceived. Among other things it means that things to do with *mōlek*, *'ôb*, and *yiddē 'ōnî*, are to be considered a violation of the first commandment prescribing the worship of other gods (Deut 5.7).³⁶⁵ If images were involved, as shown to often be the case in Syro-Palestinian ancestor worship, then it would be a violation of the second commandment as well (Deut 5.8).³⁶⁶

The *DtrH* takes the phrase *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bittô bāēš* from Deut 18.10-11 and repeats it nearly verbatim in three places where other phenomena found in Deut 18.10-11 are listed as well (2 Kgs 17.17; 21.6; 23.10, 24).³⁶⁷ These passages describe the period of Israelite king Hoshea, and Judean kings Manasseh, and Josiah respectively. Other religious phenomena mentioned in the context of these passages similar to the list in Deut 18.10-11 are *qāsam q^e sāmîm* (17.17), *nāḥaš* (17.17; 21.6), *'ānān* (21.6), *'ôb w^e yiddē 'ōnî* (21.6; 23.24). These items deal with various aspects of divine guidance, power, and ancestor worship which will be discussed below. The context of 2 Kgs 17.17 is one of illegal cultic behaviour. During Hoshea's time the Israelites were accused of forsaking the covenant (v. 15), practising religion like the nations by making idols, worshipping the heavenly bodies, Baal, and Asherah (v. 16), sacrificing children, and using power and divinatory practices signified by *yiqs^e mû q^e sāmîm way^e nahēšû* (v. 17). These various elements are related by the fact that they are forbidden cult practice.³⁶⁸ Similarly, the sins of Manasseh listed in 2 Kgs 21.2-7 are an enumeration of illicit cult practices. Manasseh practised the *tō 'ēbôt* of the *gōyîm* (v.2) by setting up high places, making altars for Baal and Asherah, worshipping the heavenly bodies (v.3), making illegal altars for the heavenly bodies in the temple in

³⁶⁵ Gerstenberger, *Leviticus*, 293.

³⁶⁶ Keil, *Pentateuch*, 427.

³⁶⁷ M. Cogan, and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, 205 n. 17.

³⁶⁸ M. Cogan, and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, 206–7.

Jerusalem (vv. 4, 5), sacrificing his son and practising *nāḥaš*, *'ānān*, *'ôb w^eyidd^e 'ôni* (v.6), and placing an idol of Asherah in the temple (v. 7). Taken together, this listing of religious phenomena can be understood as a naming of the various false deities (vv.2-5, 7), and the practices of their intermediaries, or cult officiates (v. 6),³⁶⁹ which are a violation of the first commandment (Deut 5.7).³⁷⁰ Commenting on the religious scene described in 2 Kgs 21.1-9 Iain Provan states:

The LORD of hosts (1 Kgs 18.15; 19.10; etc.) has thus become merely a god *among* hosts, with a consort goddess for company, open to manipulation by occult means. It is the religion of man who has entirely ceased to believe in the one true God—the creator of heaven and earth, transcendent in respect of the natural world (Gen 1, esp. vv. 14-19; 2.1; cf. Deut 4.19; 17.3), and beyond all human control.³⁷¹

2 Kgs 23.6, 24 are found in a context of sweeping cult reform. Vv. 23.1-20 are a distinct literary unit detailing the reform, and vv. 21-30 are appended to it.³⁷² Similar to the passages above, *'ôb w^eyidd^e 'ôni* are found in a context of idolatrous worship, *ṯ^erāpîm*, *šiqqušîm*, and *gillûlîm* (v. 24). This is also comparable to the way *'ôb w^eyidd^e 'ôni* are found amidst the worship of the false god *mōlek* in Lev 20.1-6. Additionally, it is important to note that the *ṯ^erāpîm* are best understood to be domestic idols with a mantic function (Gen 31.19; Judg 17.5; Ezek 21.26 [ET 21]; Zech 10.2).³⁷³

Georg Braulik has understood both the power and divination aspects implicit in *ma^abîr b^enô û-bittô bāēš*. He states:

³⁶⁹ Cf. Cohn, *2 Kings*, 148.

³⁷⁰ T. Fretheim, *First and Second Kings* (Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1999) 209.

³⁷¹ I. W. Provan, *1 and 2 Kings* (NIBC; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995) 267.

³⁷² G. H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings II* (NCB; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1984) 615, 625.

³⁷³ C. F. Keil, and F. Delitzsch, *I & II Kings, I & II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980 Reprint) 491; Jones, *1 and 2 Kings*, 628.

Es raubt Wehrlosen das Leben (Kinderopfer — s. zu 12.31), nimmt den Mitmenschen die Freiheit, möchte Gottes Schweigen aufbrechen und sein Handeln in den Griff bekommen (Magie und Orakel als Instrumente gleichsam technisch wirkenden geistigen Zwanges).³⁷⁴

Braulik's understanding that magic and divination are spiritual powers marshaled in this sacrificial cult ritual are a fitting summary to the evidence presented above. This evidence shows that in an ANE setting, as well as in many different settings spread across time, *ma^abîr b^enô û-bittô bāēš* would fit with known cult ritual elements used for obtaining divine guidance and power.³⁷⁵ Let us now turn to one final text that has links to *ma^abîr b^enô û-bittô bāēš*.

Ps 106.37-39 makes explicit mention of the sacrifice of children to the *šēdîm* (cf. Deut 32.17) and to *ʿašabîm*, idols of Canaan. It does not follow the form of the stock phrase *ma^abîr b^enô û-bittô bāēš*. But it speaks of sacrifice to the *šēdîm* which has been discussed above.³⁷⁶ There it was mentioned that the Hebrew term *šēd* is cognate with the Akkadian *šēdu*, associated with chthonic deities. The LXX translates *šēdîm* as *daimonion* in both Deut 32.17 and Ps 106.37.³⁷⁷ The fact that in Ps 106.37 the *šēdîm* are said to receive the sacrifices of sons and daughters, creates a conceptual link to the sacrifice of sons and daughters in *ma^abîr b^enô û-bittô bāēš*. If the Hebrew *šēdîm* are shades of the dead, as they are in Mesopotamia, there are possible links to power ritual, divination, and idolatry (cf. Ps 106.38) as was found to be the case in the cult of the dead in the ANE societies surveyed in the last chapter. The Yahwistic writers maintain that in the formative period of Israel some form of cult(s) of the dead existed (Ps 106.28).

I have argued that an important part of the purpose of inserting *ma^abîr b^enô û-bittô bāēš* at the head of this list is because of its common function in ANE sacrifice ritual

³⁷⁴ Braulik, *Deuteronomium II*, 134.

³⁷⁵ Pace Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 233.

³⁷⁶ See discussion in the section Religion in Ancient Mesopotamian and Anatolian Societies: Netherworld and Mortuary Cult, p. 123.

³⁷⁷ Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 201.

as a cult rite, often a cult of the dead, providing a means for divine guidance and/or power. A reader in Syro-Palestine in the LB Age-Iron Age would understand the appropriateness of this phrase with items following it on the list. This compliments, rather than conflicts with, a view that this phrase is placed here to stir up a sense of shock and moral outrage at the ritual murder of innocent children,³⁷⁸ and that the remaining phenomena in the list should elicit the same response.³⁷⁹ This is certainly the response desired elsewhere in the HB (Deut 12.31; Jer 19.4; Ps 106.37-38; Ezek 23.37).³⁸⁰ In this way *ma^a bîr b^e nô û-bittô bāēš* is significant for this list on a number of different levels. Let us proceed to the next phrase *qōsēm q^e sāmîm*.

Qōsēm q^e sāmîm (v. 10)

I intend to show that this next term in the list of forbidden religious phenomena is a general Hebrew one that encompasses a variety of activities tied to both divine guidance and power (Num 22.7; 23.23; Josh 13.22; 1 Sam 6.2; 15.23; 28.8; 2 Kgs 17.17; Isa 3.2; 44.25; Jer 14.14; 27.9; 29.8; Ezek 13.6, 7, 9, 23; 21.23-28 [ET 18-23]; 22.28; Mic 3.6-7, 11; Zech 10.2; Prov 16.10). The English term most suitable to use for such a person whose activities encompass a broad range of guidance and power categories may be the general term suggested by Wilson: intermediary.³⁸¹ Or perhaps the phrase ‘one who practices witchcraft’ would be appropriate, since in the English context a witchcraft practitioner could bridge the categories of ‘magic’ and divination. But no English word will serve this term effectively. Most terms used for this word emphasise either guidance or power functions. ‘One who practices divination’ is the phrase most commonly used here. But *qōsēm q^e sāmîm* often is used to describe power functions commonly associated with sorcery or witchcraft. Most English translations use some variation of the phrase ‘one who practices divination (ASV, AV, ESV, JB, JPS, NAS, NIV, NJB, NRSV, RSV, TEV),’ which follows the LXX, *manteuomenos*, ‘to divine.’

³⁷⁸ Braulik, *Deuteronomium II*, 134; C. J. H. Wright, *God’s People in God’s Land: Family, Land, and Property in the Old Testament* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1990) 231–5.

³⁷⁹ C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 216.

³⁸⁰ C. J. H. Wright, *God’s People*, 234–5.

³⁸¹ Wilson, *Prophecy*, 27–8.

Other versions use ‘soothsayers (RHE),’ ‘fortune-telling (NLT),’ or ‘witchcraft (NKJV).’ The problem with these terms is that they are not broad enough to accurately describe the *qōsēm q^e sāmîm*. It must also be kept in mind that in an ANE context a person with functions similar to the *qōsēm q^e sāmîm* would commonly be found in both a domestic or national cult. It is only in the Yahwistic context that such a religious functionary becomes illicit, and banned from the cult. Let us look at how scholars have understood *qōsēm q^e sāmîm* in Deut 18.10.

Most scholars understand *qōsēm q^e sāmîm* to be a type of diviner.³⁸² Driver, and others following him, sees *qōsēm q^e sāmîm* grouped conceptually with the two terms following it: *m^e ‘ônēn*, and *m^e nahēš* (v. 10). He classifies these as mantic functionaries. He then groups *m^e kaššēp* (v.10), and *ḥōbēr ḥāber* (v. 11) into the conceptual category of magic functionaries. Finally, he groups *šō ‘ēl ‘ōb w^e yidd^e ‘ōnî* and *dōrēs el-hammētîm* in a third category described as spiritism.³⁸³ Grouping the religious phenomena into these three particular categories indicates a perceptive understanding of the general nature of these religious practitioners. However, nuances in the way they are used in the HB precludes such distinct categorisation. The *qōsēm q^e sāmîm* will prove to be an exception to this organisation, as I argue that the Yahwists understood it to be broader than mere divination. Let us now look elsewhere in the HB to come closer to the emic Yahwistic understanding of the *qōsēm q^e sāmîm*.

From other passages in the HB it becomes clear that *qōsēm q^e sāmîm* is a very general term for religious functionaries who perform, not only a wide range of guidance or divination practices,³⁸⁴ but also those of power or ‘magic.’ It cannot be narrowly limited to signifying an oracle obtained by lots.³⁸⁵ In the HB it is used for belomancy or

³⁸² Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 260; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 223; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 280; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 301; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 233; Phillips, *Deuteronomy*, 125; R. W. Smith, “Divination and Magic I,” 276; J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy*, 211.

³⁸³ Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 260; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 223; Phillips, *Deuteronomy*, 125; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 216. Others organise the list in two ways conceptually: divination and magic (R. E. Clements, *Deuteronomy*, 428; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 300).

³⁸⁴ Jones, *I and II Kings*, 551; Phillips, *Deuteronomy*, 125.

³⁸⁵ Pace Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 223–4; R. W. Smith, “Divination and Magic I,” 278.

rhabdomancy (arrow lots; Ezek 21.26 [ET 21]),³⁸⁶ hepatoscopy (interpreting the liver: Ezek 21.26 [21.26]), and necromancy (consulting the shades; 1 Sam 28.8, cf. 28.3).³⁸⁷ In addition to this when *n^e bi'îm* are accused of false prophecy the noun *qesem* (Jer 14.14; Ezek 13.6, 23), or verb *qāsam* (Mic 3.11; Ezek 13.7, 9, 23), are used to describe their activity, indicating that *qōsēm q^e sāmîm* may be a term synonymous with false prophecy.³⁸⁸ In some situations of false prophecy *n^e bi'îm* are paired with *qōs^e mîm* (Jer 27.9; 29.8). Balak, king of Moab, expects the *qōsēm* Balaam (Josh 13.22; cf. Num 22.7) to be able to perform a power ritual which will curse Israel (Num 22.11). This is not a divinatory function but the conjuring up of malevolent supernatural power to be used against Israel. Yahwists understand that the *qōs^e mîm* serve in a central social role alongside the *kōh^a nîm* as cult officials and political advisors in the Philistine religio-political system. They play a key advisory role in the national crisis created by the Philistine possession of the Israelite ark (1 Sam 6.2). In the *DtrH* the practices of *q^e sāmîm*, and *nāḥaš* (2 Kgs 17.17), are found in a lengthy polemical context detailing the breaking of covenant with Yahweh by means of the elaborate cultic system developed for the worship of other gods and their idols (17.1-18).³⁸⁹ These passages indicate that the *qōsēm* and the practice of *q^e sāmîm*, is normally perceived to be a part of a non-Yahwistic cult, whether domestic or royal. They are an example of the way that guidance and power ritual were perceived as a normal aspect of non-Yahwistic religious practice.³⁹⁰

Some hold that the Yahwists at times viewed the *qōsēm* or the practice of *q^e sāmîm*, positively, or at least in a neutral way (Isa 3.3-4; Mic 3.6-7, 11; Prov 16.10).³⁹¹ From Isa we read:

Mighty man and man of war,

³⁸⁶ K. P. Darr, *The Book of Ezekiel* (NIB; Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2001) 1301.

³⁸⁷ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 408; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 233.

³⁸⁸ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 408; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173.

³⁸⁹ C. H. Toy, *Proverbs* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1977 Reprint) 324.

³⁹⁰ M. J. A. Horsnell, “מסך,” *NIDOTTE 3* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1996) 945.

³⁹¹ J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39* (AB; London: Doubleday, 2000) 199; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 301; J. Pederson, *Israel: Its Life and Culture 3 & 4* (London: OUP, 1959 Reprint) 124–5; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (CC; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1991) 105–6.

judge, and *nābî'*.
qōsēm, and elder,
captain of fifty, and honourable one,
counselor, and wise in *ḥ^arāšîm* (supernatural or 'magic' arts),
skillful *laḥaš* (enchanter)(Isa 3.3-4).

The passage from Mic reads:

Her leaders arbitrate for a bribe,
Her *kōh^anîm* teach for a price,
Her *n^ebî'îm yiqsômû* (divine and/or practice supernatural or 'magic' arts) for
money,
Yet they lean on Yahweh saying,
Is not Yahweh near us?
No tragedy will come upon us (Mic 3.11).

Finally Prov 16.10 reads:

Qesem (divination) is on the lips of the king,
His mouth will not deal falsely in judgment.

However, the first two passages cited do not necessarily indicate that at times Yahwists viewed the *qōsēm* or *q^esāmîm* positively. The cotext of both these passages is judgment on leaders. While it is true that many of the leaders listed in Isa and Mic passages represent legitimate Yahwistic social roles, it does not follow that other roles, elsewhere listed as *tô'ēbâ*, are necessarily sanitised by being in the presence of what should otherwise be 'good company.' Gene Tucker observes that in this list are found legitimate and illegitimate functionaries.³⁹² It has been recognised by others that the wise in *ḥ^arāšîm* (power or 'magic' arts)³⁹³ and skillful *laḥaš* (enchanter)(Isa 3.4), can-

³⁹² G. M. Tucker, *The Book of Isaiah 1–39* (NIB; Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2001) 77. See also R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39* (NCB; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1980) 47; Keil, *Isaiah*, 131–2; J. A. Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah: An Introduction and Commentary* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1993) 60.

³⁹³ Some hold that *ḥ^arāšîm* does not necessarily signify magic arts, but can intend craftsmen or artisans (ASV, AV, NASB, NIV, NJB; cf. 2 Kgs 24.14; Motyer, *Isaiah*, 60; J. N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1–39* [NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1986] 132 n. 14). But for the view that magic is intended see ESV, JB, NRSV, RSV; cf. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 197; B. S. Childs, *Isaiah* (OTL; London: Westminster John Knox, 2001) 25; G. B. Gray, *Isaiah I–XXVII* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1980 Reprint) 61.

not be legitimate roles from a Yahwistic perspective.³⁹⁴ A more likely scenario is that the reader is being given an accurate reporting of the list of current societal leaders, even though some are forbidden in Yahwism. Part of the indictment against those who should be carrying out their legitimate role properly, is that they allow those reckoned *tô'ēbâ* by Yahwism to carry important social roles.³⁹⁵ In close proximity to Isa 3.3-4 is found the condemnation of similar functionaries of forbidden guidance or power practice, that of the *'ōn^e nîm* (Isa 2.6; cf Deut 18.10).³⁹⁶ In a similar passage otherwise legitimate wise persons, *h^a kāmîm*, are coupled with illegitimate *qōs^e mîm* (Isa 44.25).

Christopher Seitz comments on this passage:

Verse 25 presents us with just the sort of information we have come to expect: God's rejection of various forms of divination or "wisdom," especially when set over against v. 26. It is the servant's word, not omens, that will be established by God.³⁹⁷

The line of reasoning given above is applied similarly to the situation described in Mic 3.11. The condemnation given here is not simply that the *n^e bî'îm* are motivated by greed and avarice, it is also that they are employing *qesem*, which is forbidden in Yahwism.³⁹⁸ The conclusion to be drawn by the use of *qesem* is that these are false *n^e bî'îm*.³⁹⁹ As Ralph Smith has put it, the religious leadership "saw no inconsistency between their taking bribes and 'payola,' and mouthing religious shibboleths."⁴⁰⁰

There are other passages which list otherwise legitimate cultic roles (i.e., *n^e bî'îm*, *h^a lōmîm*), alongside forbidden ones (*qōs^e mîm*, *'ōn^e nîm*, *kāššapîm*)(Jer 27.9; 29.8; cf. Jer 14.14; Ezek 13.6, 7, 9, 23; 22.28). This does not mean that practitioners and prac-

³⁹⁴ Tucker, *Isaiah*, 77.

³⁹⁵ G. B. Gray, *Isaiah I*, 63-4; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12* (OTL; London: SCM, 1963 2nd edition) 41; Keil, *Isaiah*, 131-2; Motyer, *Isaiah*, 60; Tucker, *Isaiah*, 77.

³⁹⁶ Tucker, *Isaiah*, 77.

³⁹⁷ C. R. Seitz, *The Book of Isaiah 40-66* (NIB; Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2001) 393. See also J. N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40-66* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998) 194.

³⁹⁸ J. N. P. Smith, W. H. Ward and J. A. Bewer, *Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah and Joel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1974 Reprint) 80.

³⁹⁹ This is the conclusion drawn by Kimchi who is cited in W. McKane, *Micah* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998) 113.

⁴⁰⁰ R. Smith, *Micah-Malachi* (WBC; Waco, TX: Word, 1984) 35.

tices elsewhere forbidden, have somehow, in the Yahwistic view, become neutral in this context.⁴⁰¹ In spite of the fact that most (if not all) of the passages cited above use the nouns *qesem* (Jer 14.14; Ezek 13.6, 23), *miqsām* (Ezek 13.7), *qōs^emîm* (Jer 29.8), or the verb *qāsam* (Ezek 13.9, 23; 22.28) in cotexts of prophecy,⁴⁰² they are without exception referring to false prophecy.⁴⁰³ The position taken here is that of G. B. Gray: “the practice is directly or tacitly condemned whenever it is referred to in OT.”⁴⁰⁴ There is, however, one passage in the HB where the term *qesem* is used positively (Prov 16.10). Commenting on the uniquely positive use of *qesem* in Prov 16.10 C. H. Toy explains that

the practice was condemned by the prophets as generally connected with the worship of other gods than Yahweh (1 Sam 15.23; Deut 18.10; 2 Kgs 17.17), or with false pretensions to speaking in his name (Jer 14.14; Ezek 13.6). Here the term is used figuratively.⁴⁰⁵

Turning to other texts using variations of *qōsēm q^esāmîm*, two texts deserve special mention because of the way they show how cult ritual, and guidance and power rituals fit together in an integrated whole. The first is the vision concerning the king of Babylon as he prepares to capture Jerusalem (Ezek 21.23-28). The second is the Balaam pericope (Num 22-24). We will start with Ezekiel’s vision of Nebuchadrezzar at the parting of the roads. In this vision four elements of significance are given. The text reads as follows:

For the king of Babylon stands at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, *liq^esām qāsem* (to perform a divination rite). He shakes the arrows,

⁴⁰¹ More examples can be given of the listing of neutral cultic phenomena with clearly forbidden phenomena in cotexts of judgment and condemnation. Hos 3.4 lists the neutral elements of *zēbah* (sacrifice), *’ēpōd* (ephod), and *maṭebâ* (sacred pole) with *ṯ^erāpîm* (domestic idols). In order for the status of normally forbidden *ṯ^erāpîm* to change positively, an explicitly positive cotext or explicit affirmation of its legitimacy is required.

⁴⁰² D. I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1–24* (NICOT; Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1996) 686.

⁴⁰³ W. Hildebrandt, *An Old Testament Theology of the Spirit of God* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995) 163.

⁴⁰⁴ G. B. Gray, *Isaiah I*, 63.

⁴⁰⁵ Toy, *Proverbs*, 324. See also A. Cohen, *Proverbs* (SBB; London: Soncino, 1993 Reprint) 105.

consults the *ṯrāpîm* (household idols), and looks at the liver (Ezek 21.26 [ET 21]).

Some emphasise the distinctness of the rituals.⁴⁰⁶ But it is equally important, and more natural in the ANE context, to emphasise how these different elements work together as a whole. The first element of importance in this verse is the phrase *liq^e sām qāsem*. It is best to understand it as a general description of divination, of which the following three ritual elements are parts.⁴⁰⁷ In this way *liq^e sām qāsem* is understood in this case as the shaking of the lot arrows reverently before the *ṯrāpîm* (household god or gods often used for divination),⁴⁰⁸ for whom a sacrifice has been prepared, from which a liver has been taken and read in a second oracular rite to obtain a ‘second opinion.’⁴⁰⁹ This passage is a fine example of the holistic way in which these elements were viewed in practice: a sacrifice ritual was performed for the gods (idolatrous ritual in this case) for the purpose of obtaining guidance from the deity by means of reading the arrow lots and liver.⁴¹⁰ Tablets from Mari confirm the practice of seeking an oracle for travel directions.⁴¹¹ Some issue is made of the fact that arrow lots and *ṯrāpîm* are not attested in Mesopotamia.⁴¹² However, the setting is that of a vision given to an Israelite *nābî*, and does not necessarily attempt to accurately portray a Mesopotamian reality. Since the vision is for a Judean audience, it could use that which Judeans perceived to be practices typical of a Babylonian king. It is not uncommon for com-

⁴⁰⁶ Allen focuses attention on the different possible origins: the arrow lots being Arabian, the *ṯrāpîm* being Israelite, and the hepatoscopy being Mesopotamian (L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48* [WBC; Dallas: Word, 1990] 27).

⁴⁰⁷ Block, *Ezekiel I*, 684; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 280.

⁴⁰⁸ *ṯrāpîm* are an enigmatic religious phenomena, but they appear to be widely used by people associated with Hebrews and Israelites. They seem to be some type of domestic deities, often associated with divination (Gen 31.30; Judg 17-18; 2 Kgs 23.24; Hos 3.4; Zech 10.2) (Block, *Ezekiel I*, 686 n. 171; Darr, *Ezekiel*, 1301). Sarna holds that *ṯrāpîm* is linked etymologically to the Hittite term for spirit or demon, *tarpi* (N. M. Sarna, *Genesis* [JPSTC; New York: JPS, 1991] 216).

⁴⁰⁹ Moshe Greenberg mentions that it was common for divination procedures to be repeated two or three times, sometimes waiting till the next day to perform a subsequent procedure (M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–37* [AB; London: Doubleday, 1997] 429). See also Block, *Ezekiel I*, 686.

⁴¹⁰ J. Blenkinsopp, *Ezekiel* (Interpretation; Louisville: John Knox, 1990) 93–4; R. E. Clements, *Ezekiel* (Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1996) 97.

⁴¹¹ “He [Atamrum] will arrive [either via] Saggaratum or via Terqa [or via Ma]ri. Concerning the three routes [] he is going to arrange [an oracular inquiry] and [if his gods render their consent], it is that (particular) route which shall be seized and he will arrive at my lord.” The translation is that of A. Malamat (Block, *Ezekiel I*, 685 n. 168).

⁴¹² Greenberg, *Ezekiel*, 428–9.

munities to have ill-informed stereotypes of alien cultures, like the stereotypical Mexican wearing a large sombrero, which is not a part of common dress in Mexico today. The point about the term *ṯrāpîm* not being attested in Mesopotamia is a moot one, as sacrifice and divination performed for domestic idols were common in Mesopotamia, regardless of the term used for them.

The Balaam pericope is the richest source of information on the Yahwistic understanding of a *qōsēm* and is the last of the examples of *qōsēm* to be given here. It is an excellent example of the blending of cult ritual, and issues of both guidance and power, in the person of one ANE intermediary. There are a number of significant observations to be made from this text. First, from a Yahwistic perspective Balaam is a *qōsēm*. This is shown by the fact that the ‘fee’⁴¹³ for *q^e sāmîm* is brought to him (Num 22.7), and he is explicitly named a *qōsēm* in Yahwistic literature (Josh 13.22). Secondly, his realm of activity as a *qōsēm* is broad. The primary function he is hired for is not a divinatory activity, but one of malevolent power, or sorcery.⁴¹⁴ He is being hired to curse Israel, to bring them to some type of ruin or calamity, by supernatural means (Num 22.6; 23.7).⁴¹⁵ Thirdly, his activity as a *qōsēm* must be carried out with the priestly function of sacrifices. He performs three sets of sacrifices for the king of Moab in preparation for receiving revelation and guidance from the deity (23.1-3, 13-17, 27-30).⁴¹⁶ Fourthly, even though the primary purpose for which he is hired is to release malevolent power against Israel, a significant part of his activity is seeking divine guidance, or hidden knowledge, as to how to proceed in his work as Balak’s *qōsēm* (23.3. 15).⁴¹⁷ Finally, Balaam is an example of an ANE intermediary who reveres and pays homage to Yahweh (22.8, 13, 18, 38; 23.12, 26; 24.12-13), while at the same time he

⁴¹³ It is difficult to know how to translate *q^e sāmîm*, the plural of the noun *qesem*. It is normally translated ‘divination’ which does not fit the context. Most translate it “fee for divination.” Walter Moberly has suggested it signifies the instruments for divination (R. W. L. Moberly, “On Learning to be a True Prophet: The Story of Balaam and His Ass,” *New Heaven and New Earth: Prophecy and the Millennium* [eds. P. J. Harland and R. Hayward; Leiden: Brill, 1999] 3).

⁴¹⁴ Hildebrandt, *Spirit of God*, 164–5; Milgrom, *Numbers*, 472.

⁴¹⁵ Hildebrandt, *Spirit of God*, 164.

⁴¹⁶ Hildebrandt, *Spirit of God*, 165; Lindblom, *Prophecy*, 91.

⁴¹⁷ Lindblom’s distinction between ‘seer’ and ‘prophet’ in Israel based on evolutionary assumptions is dubious, however his definition of ‘seer’ applies to Balaam (Lindblom, *Prophecy*, 83–95).

maintains implicit allegiances to non-Yahwistic people and other gods, such as the Moabites and the Baal of Peor (25.3; 31.8, 16; cf. Deut 23.6 [ET 5]).⁴¹⁸ Having conflicting (in the Yahwistic view) allegiances to various deities, his allegiance to the Baal of Peor and the people of Moab ultimately win out and are his undoing.⁴¹⁹ The final assessment, from the authoritative lips of Moses, is that Balaam is not a Yahwistic *nābî'* (Num 31.16).⁴²⁰

The implicit polytheism exemplified in Balaam, which easily incorporates the gods of foreigners, is a distinguishing characteristic of various ANE societies, whether Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Hittite, or Syro-Palestinian. The point of this Yahwistic cosmic warfare narrative and description of an ANE *qōsēm* is that Yahweh is sovereign over all cosmic powers and religious functionaries, and intervenes on behalf of his divinely elected people to protect them from the harm of malevolent cosmic forces.⁴²¹ In it, the integration of various cult functions such as sacrifice, guidance, and power, are displayed in an exceptional manner in the person of Balaam.

In conclusion, the evidence from the HB demonstrates that the *qōsēm* is a cult functionary who performs sacrifice, divination, and power ritual ('magic'). Next we will look at *m^e 'ōnēn*.

M^e 'ōnēn (v. 10)

Of all the terms on the list the *m^e 'ōnēn* is the most poorly attested, and its origin is unknown.⁴²² All interpretations are based on etymological conjecture.⁴²³ As mentioned above, many interpreters view this term as indicating divination practice (Lev 19.26;

⁴¹⁸ Harriet Lutsky theorises that Balaam's basic allegiances were to Asherah (H. Lutsky, "Ambivalence Toward Balaam," *VT* 49/3 [1999] 421–5). The eighth century BCE Deir Alla temple inscriptions connect Balaam with a group of gods, the Shaddayin, and the gods Sheger and Ashtar (Milgrom, *Numbers*, 473–6). See also the discussion in Chapter 3, Religion in Ancient Syro-Palestinian Societies: Priests and Prophecy, pp. 151–3.

⁴¹⁹ Cf. Sternberg, *Poetics*, 315.

⁴²⁰ Sternberg, *Poetics*, 94, 315. Pace Budd, *Numbers*, 271.

⁴²¹ Alter, *Art*, 106–7; Budd, *Numbers*, 273; T. B. Dozeman, *The Book of Numbers* (NIB; Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1998) 177.

⁴²² HALAT I, 811; cf. Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 224.

⁴²³ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 408; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173.

Judg 9.37; 2 Kgs 21.6=2 Chron 33.6; Isa 2.6; 57.3; Jer 27.9; Mic 5.11).⁴²⁴ The different versions of the English Bible use a variety of terms to translate *m^e 'ônēn* indicating the difficulty in understanding the term. A number of versions translate it as 'soothsayer (JB, JPS, NJB, NKJV, NRSV, RSV).' Other terms are found less often: 'sorcery (NIV, NLT),' 'augury (ASV),' 'witchcraft (NAS),' 'observer of the times (AV),' 'omens (TEV),' observer of 'dreams (RHE),' or 'tells fortunes (ESV).' The LXX uses *manteian*, which is a term for divination or oracle. While most translations use terms such as soothsaying, augury, omens, etc., which focus on the divinatory aspect of divine guidance, others emphasise 'magic,' or power, functions using terms such as sorcery or witchcraft. Let us now look at how scholars have viewed this term in Deut 18.10.

M^e 'ônēn is a *Polel* participle from the verb '*ānān*. Since its root form is identical to the word for cloud, '*ānān*, interpretation has often attempted to link *m^e 'ônēn* to some specific type of divination, namely the interpretation of omens in cloud formations.⁴²⁵ Also, there are Arabic cognates which signify 'to appear' or 'to speak through the nose,' yielding more magical interpretations.⁴²⁶ R. W. Smith reckons that it refers to natural portents and signs.⁴²⁷ Mordecai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor hold that it can be described as sorcery or magic.⁴²⁸ However, nothing in the contexts of the HB support these conjectures.⁴²⁹ Since there is no conjunction between *qōsēm q^e sāmîm* and *m^e 'ônēn*, it may be that *m^e 'ônēn* serves in an adjectival function describing the former phrase. In translation, a number of modern interpreters use 'soothsayer' for lack of a better term.⁴³⁰ I will now discuss the various passages where this obscure term is used.

⁴²⁴ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 224.

⁴²⁵ Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 233; Levine, *Numbers*, 185. For a review of the history of rabbinic interpretation see R. W. Smith, "Divination and Magic II," 116–22.

⁴²⁶ Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 280–1.

⁴²⁷ R. W. Smith, "Divination and Magic II," 121.

⁴²⁸ M. Cogan, and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, 267.

⁴²⁹ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 408; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 233.

⁴³⁰ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 408; Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 260; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 301; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173.

The following six passages give all the occasions in the HB in which *m^e 'ônēn* and *'ānān* are to be found. Without an explanation of its nature, *'ānān* is condemned alongside *nāḥaš* in Lev 19.26. However, in close context to this verse is a proscription of rituals for the dead which may give a clue to the signification of *'ānān* (Lev 19.28).⁴³¹ Erhard Gerstenberger understands the underlying issue behind the prohibition of these elements in Lev 19 as being the worship of other deities and demons (a violation of the first commandment).⁴³² The *DtrH* shows that certain places, such as the 'diviner's oak (*ēlôn m^e 'ôn^e nîm*),' were recognised as locations where this type of practice took place (Judg 9.37).⁴³³ Perhaps it was a high place from which to observe omens out of doors, or for a diviner to respond to enquiries.⁴³⁴ *'Ānān*, the verbal root of *m^e 'ônēn*, is found in the lengthy list of prohibited cultic rituals practiced by Manasseh as discussed above (2 Kgs 21.6; cf. vv. 2-8). Isaiah uses the term to speak of forbidden practices acquired from the Philistines (Isa 2.6).⁴³⁵ It is also used as a derogatory term in parallel with the term signifying a bastard, in a highly metaphorical context condemning forbidden cult ritual (Isa 57.3; cf. vv. 4-13). It is used in a context of false prophecy and guidance by Jeremiah (Jer 27.9). The thrust of Jeremiah's message is one of warning against various religious functionaries who claim that Judah will not be taken captive. In Mic the term is found together with *kešep* in a context of judgment condemning forbidden cult practice (Mic 5.11 [ET 12]).

From the above data it is seen that in three of the six places in which *'ānān* is found (not including 2 Chron 33.6), it refers to forbidden cult ritual (2 Kgs 21.6; Isa 57.3; Mic 5.11 [ET 12]). It is found in one revelatory context (Jer 27.9). The other occurrences do not give much indication of what *'ānān* may signify (Lev 19.26; Isa 2.6).

There can be no firm conclusion about the meaning of *m^e 'ônēn*. It seems to refer to a

⁴³¹ Budd, *Leviticus*, 283–4; Wenham, *Leviticus*, 272.

⁴³² Gerstenberger, *Leviticus*, 275–7.

⁴³³ J. Gray, *Joshua, Judges and Ruth* (CB; London: Thomas Nelson, 1967) 324; R. G. Boling, *Judges: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975) 179; G. F. Moore, *Judges* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1908 Reprint) 384.

⁴³⁴ Budd, *Leviticus*, 284.

⁴³⁵ Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 195; G. B. Gray, *Isaiah I*, 52–4; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah I*, 34; J. D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33* (WBC; Waco, TX: Word, 1985) 37.

cult functionary, probably an intermediary. Since there is no solid evidence of power ritual it is safer to emphasise the mantic aspect of his function in the cult. The possibility of a supernatural power function in the cult cannot be ruled out, but for now there is no evidence for it. The English term ‘soothsayer’ sometimes used for *m^e ‘ônēn* is archaic, and ‘augury’ too confining. Due to possible associations with the nether-world, ‘medium’ or ‘channel’ might be suitable terms. But the general term ‘diviner’ is probably best due to the fact that little is known specifically about *m^e ‘ônēn*. Let us now turn to *m^e naḥeš*.

M^e naḥeš (v. 10)

The noun *nāḥas*, derived from the verb which yields our term *m^e naḥeš*, carries the meaning observing portents or omens (Num 23.23; 24.1). It is also used of mechanical divination, as Joseph alleged that he was in the habit of practising (Gen 44.5-6, 15). The English versions use a number of terms to translate *m^e naḥeš* including ‘interprets omens (ESV, NAS, NIV, NKJV, NLT, RHE),’ ‘augur (JB, NJB, NRSV, RSV),’ ‘enchanter (ASV, AV, JPS),’ and one who uses ‘spells (TEV, but seems to collapse *m^e naḥeš* and *m^e kassēp* together into the single term ‘spells’).’ The LXX renders it *klēdonizomenos*, to practice divination. *M^e naḥeš* is also poorly attested but its few contexts generally yield better information than they do for *m^e ‘ônēn* (Gen 30.27, 44.5-6, 15; Lev 19.26; Num 23.23; 24.1; 1 Kgs 20.33; 2 Kgs 17.17; 21.6=2 Chron 33.6). Let us now turn to the interpretations of *m^e naḥeš* in Deut 18.10.

Some scholars use the term soothsayer,⁴³⁶ one who uses a charm,⁴³⁷ an augur,⁴³⁸ or one who observes omens.⁴³⁹ Some hold that its root is *lāḥaš*.⁴⁴⁰ Driver notes that its Syriac cognate indicates all manner of natural portents such as signs in words, actions, bird calls, fire, or sky. Based on this he suggests that *nāḥas* is best understood as

⁴³⁶ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 301.

⁴³⁷ Montgomery cited in Jones, *I and II Kings*, 551.

⁴³⁸ Levine, *Numbers*, 185.

⁴³⁹ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 401; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 224.

⁴⁴⁰ Jones, *I and II Kings*, 551.

omens from natural phenomena.⁴⁴¹ Others maintain that it refers to divination in a broad and general way.⁴⁴² As we shall see in due course, this latter understanding seems to be the most fitting.

As a term used for omens, *nāḥas* has some clear attestations. In the Joseph narrative, the meaning of the term is clearly some type of hydromancy, a divining by means of liquid in a cup (Gen 44.5-6, 15). A similar practice of divination is attested in Mesopotamia where leconomancy or oleomancy (oil poured on water in a cup) is well attested.⁴⁴³ Based on the Akkadian data some surmise that Joseph's cup was used for oleomancy.⁴⁴⁴ This passage seems to indicate a non-cultic use of divination. It is an example of the way the divination techniques were employed by non-cultic figures in the course of everyday life. Leo Oppenheim describes the non-cultic use of lots in Babylon and Susa by civic officers to determine the share sons were to receive in their estate.⁴⁴⁵ Such non-cultic usage should not be understood as 'popular religion' in the sense that it was somehow opposed to official religion. One 20th century ethnographic example of non-cultic divination emically recognised as normative religion comes from the Ilongot of the Philippines. The Ilongot actually have no institutional priesthood, and no cult centre. Their religious beliefs are mediated informally, especially by the elders, both male and female. Rosaldo recounts that while on a headhunting expedition, the older men in the party will take heed to various spontaneous signs such as "the omen birds, the movement of snakes and bees, and warning calls of owls."⁴⁴⁶ One must not assume that a non-cultic religious practice is automatically placed in category outside of a culturally accepted pattern of meanings.

Both the ANE and ethnographic examples given show how non-cultic or informal divination practice does not *a priori* fall into a category of popular religion at odds with an official cult. It is a false dichotomy in many cases. Rather non-cultic divination

⁴⁴¹ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 225.

⁴⁴² Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173.

⁴⁴³ Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 212; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173.

⁴⁴⁴ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 408.

⁴⁴⁵ Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 208.

⁴⁴⁶ Rosaldo, *Knowledge and Passion*, 145.

was often a normal manifestation of an ANE worldview where the deities were to be consulted about mundane activities of everyday life.

A second possible non-cultic use of *nāḥaš* may be found in the narrative concerning the defeat of the Aramean king Ben-Hadad by Ahab. Cornered and facing impending doom, Ben-Hadad's men seek terms of peace from Ahab. When Ahab offers a favourable comment, the Arameans 'divine,' *yē nahā šū*, that this is an auspicious omen (i.e., from the gods)(1 Kgs 20.33).⁴⁴⁷ This provides an example of *cledomancy*, or seeking signs and portents in spoken words, which is attested in Mesopotamia and the CW.⁴⁴⁸ Indeed, it is a good omen and Ben-Hadad is spared. However, in an ironic twist, an unnamed member of the Yahwistic *bē nē nē bī'im* confronts Ahab and in perfect prophetic flourish, condemns Ahab to death for sparing his enemy (1 Kgs 20.35-43).

In Lev the practice of *nāḥaš* is found paired with *'ānān*, which has already been mentioned above (19.26). Forbidden mourning rituals for the deceased are mentioned in the cotext (19.27-28). Clear cult cotexts involving the Israelite king Hosea, and the Judean king Manasseh, in which *mē naḥeš* or *nāḥas* are associated with the worship of false gods have already been mentioned above (2 Kgs 17.17; 21.6=2 Chron 33.6).⁴⁴⁹

In the Balaam pericope *nāḥaš* generally signifies divination (Num 23.23; 24.1).⁴⁵⁰ However, because of the particular way it is used in 23.23 it is ambiguous, and could be read to include some type of supernatural power function akin to a curse or spell. In 24.1 its mantic usage is clearer. The phrase *liqē ra't nē ḥāšīm* means 'to encounter omens,' as one would not go to *encounter* curses or spells (24.1).⁴⁵¹ It is some type of omen discerned out of doors.⁴⁵² This would fit well with the picture given of Balaam walking about in expectation of a revelatory encounter with Yahweh while Balak

⁴⁴⁷ M. Cogan, *I Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 2000) 468; Jones, *I and II Kings*, 551.

⁴⁴⁸ M. Cogan, *I Kings*, 468.

⁴⁴⁹ I. W. Provan, *1 & 2 Kings*, 266–7; Toy, *Proverbs*, 324.

⁴⁵⁰ Noth, *Numbers*, 187.

⁴⁵¹ G. B. Gray, *Numbers*, 359; Levine, *Numbers*, 191; Noth, *Numbers*, 188; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173.

⁴⁵² Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173.

attends to the sacrifice (23.3).⁴⁵³ If this is correct, then 23.23 would mean that there is no negative portent or omen against Israel.⁴⁵⁴ This passage, like the ones above from the *DtrH*, has a specifically cultic setting.

One contested citing of the term is found in the Jacob narrative. Laban learns by *nāḥas* that he has prospered because of Jacob (Gen 30.27).⁴⁵⁵ If this interpretation is correct, then it could either be a non-cultic type of divination, or it could be an example of domestic cult ritual. Laban's domestic cult phenomena are well known (31.19, 30). However, Gordon Wenham, following Waldman and Finkelstein, understands that the word here is related to the Akkadian term *naḥašu*, signifying 'wealthy.' In this way Laban's wealth indicates to him that Jacob has been an asset.⁴⁵⁶

In summing up the discussion on this term, many scholars understand *m^enaḥeš* or *nāḥaš* to signify some type of divination.⁴⁵⁷ As G. H. Jones has pointed out, *nāḥaš* carries with it various nuances of divination dictated by its context. In the Joseph narrative it is hydromancy (Gen 44.5-6, 15), in the Ahab-Ben-Hadad narrative it is a portent discerned in a conversation (1 Kgs 20.33).⁴⁵⁸ In the Balaam narrative there is the only instance of it possibly signifying a malevolent magic spell (Num 23.23). But taken together with its usage in 24.1, it would most probably indicate divination in 23.23 as well. It is found in both cultic (Num 23.23; 24.1; 2 Kgs 17.17; 21.6=2 Chron 33.6) and non-cultic situations (Gen 44.5-6, 15; 1 Kgs 20.33). Based on the data above it would seem that *m^enaḥeš* refers to one who interprets a wide variety of omens which is not limited to augury. The English term 'augur', or one who 'reads' the behaviour of animals, usually the flight of birds would not be inclusive enough.⁴⁵⁹ The phrase

⁴⁵³ Levine, *Numbers*, 166. Pace G. B. Gray, *Numbers*, 342–3.

⁴⁵⁴ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 225; Levine, *Numbers*, 185. It would not mean, as G. B. Gray holds, that *nāḥaš* is not practised in Israel (G. B. Gray, *Numbers*, 355–6).

⁴⁵⁵ W. Brueggemann, *Genesis* (Interpretation; Atlanta, GA: John Knox, 1982) 256; Budd, *Leviticus*, 283–4; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 225; J. E. Hartley, *Genesis* (NIBC; Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000) 268.

⁴⁵⁶ G. J. Wenham, *Genesis 16–50* (WBC; Dallas: Word, 1994) 251 n. 27, 255.

⁴⁵⁷ M. Cogan, *I Kings*, 468; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 224; Levine, *Numbers*, 185; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 301.

⁴⁵⁸ Jones, *I and II Kings*, 551.

⁴⁵⁹ See the discussion of augur and augury in Chapter 3 in the section Religion in the Ancient Mediterranean and Classical Worlds: Priests and Divination, pp. 70-1.

‘interpreter of omens’ would probably be most appropriate. The next term to consider is *m^e kaššēp*.

M^e kaššēp (v. 10)

M^e kaššēp has Akkadian⁴⁶⁰ and Ugaritic⁴⁶¹ cognates. The cognates in both Akkadian and Ugaritic carry the idea of malevolent supernatural power. Akkadian texts indicate that *kišpu* is a decidedly malevolent type of supernatural power.⁴⁶² *M^e kaššēp* is held by many to be derived from this Akkadian term.⁴⁶³ The Ugaritic *ktp* is found in a number of texts discussed in Chapter 3.⁴⁶⁴ For example in RIH 78/20 the plural form *ktpm* describes malevolent wielders of supernatural power in an exorcism text designed to neutralise the effects of their malevolent power. *M^e kaššēp* is much better attested in the HB than the previous two terms and also takes the reader farther afield culturally (Exod 7.11, 22.17 [ET 18]; 2 Kgs 9.22; 2 Chron 33.6; Isa 47.9, 12; Jer 27.9; Dan 2.2; Mic 5.11; Nah 3.4; Mal 3.5). The context of Exod 7.11 and Dan 2.2 take us deep into pharaonic Egypt and Nebuchadnezzar’s Babylon. The translations yield ‘sorcerer (ASV, ESV, JB, JPS, NAS, NJB, NKJV, NRSV, RSV),’ one who casts ‘spells (TEV),’ ‘witchcraft (NIV),’ ‘witch (AV),’ or ‘wizard (RHE).’ The ancient versions, such as the LXX translates it *oiōnizomenos pharmakos*, combining the concepts of divination and magic into a single phrase. *Oiōnizō* is a term normally associated with practising augury.⁴⁶⁵ *Pharmakos* is associated with drugs, ‘magic,’ and ‘magic’ potions.⁴⁶⁶ The LXX uses it to translate the pharaonic cult power ritual practitioners, *m^e kaššēpīm*, in Exod 7.11; 9.11. Let us look now at how it has been interpreted in Deut 18.10.

⁴⁶⁰ Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 281; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173 n. 29.

⁴⁶¹ Wyatt, *Texts from Ugarit*, 446 n. 28.

⁴⁶² Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 67; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173 n. 29.

⁴⁶³ Andre, “כַּשְׂפָּה,” 361; HAL 2, 503; Horsnell, “כַּשְׂפָּה,” 735; Pardee, “Ugaritic Incantation,” 328 n. 6.

⁴⁶⁴ See the section Religion in Ancient Syro-Palestinian Societies: Priests and Magic in Chapter 3, p. 171.

⁴⁶⁵ BAG, 562.

⁴⁶⁶ BAG, 854; Yamauchi, “Magic,” 181.

Many scholars use terms for *m^ekaššēp* that carry overtones of power or ‘magic,’ such as magician, sorcerer or enchanter.⁴⁶⁷ As will be seen, this accords well with the definition of ‘magic’ and magician used in this study. It does not refer to a specific type of ‘magic’ or sorcery, but is a general term which includes the ability to transform inanimate objects into living ones (Exod 7.11).⁴⁶⁸ It also overlaps with divination, the need for supernatural knowledge, as is the case in Dan 2.2, or Jer 27.9.⁴⁶⁹

The first instance of *m^ekaššēp* is found in Israel’s story of origins in Exod 3-15, a foundational event in its collective memory. In the exodus narrative Moses and Aaron confront Pharaoh in a dramatic encounter (Exod 7.8-13). In the confrontation Aaron provides Pharaoh with proof of their divine authority by turning his staff into a snake (v. 10). This power and authority had been granted to them by Yahweh (v. 9). In response Pharaoh calls for his *ḥ^akāmîm*, wise men, and *m^ekaššēpîm*. Collectively they are referred to as *ḥartummîm*, cult officials schooled in esoteric supernatural arts, *l^ehātîm* (v. 11). Each one of these officials imitates the miracle, implying rival cosmic powers working through them at cross purposes to Yahweh’s (v. 12). Moses and Aaron prevail in this encounter when their snake swallows the snakes of the *ḥartummîm* (v.12). In the HB the word *ḥartôm* is used in the Pentateuch only of Egyptians, limited to the Joseph and exodus narratives (Gen 41.8, 24; Exod 8.18), and of the Babylonians in the Daniel narrative (Dan 2.2). The Babylonians consider Daniel a *ḥartôm* (4.6), and he is placed in charge of all the *m^ekaššēpîm* and *ḥartummîm* (5.11).

In the Book of the Covenant female *m^ekaššēpâh* are proscribed (Exod 22.17 [ET 18]). Jeffrey Tigay views this as a reference to malevolent ‘magic,’ similar to the way its Akkadian cognate is used.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁷ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 408; Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 259, 261; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 225; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 233; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 281; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 301; J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy*, 211; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173.

⁴⁶⁸ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173.

⁴⁶⁹ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173.

⁴⁷⁰ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 408; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173.

The only time that *kāšap* and any of its derivatives appear in the *DtrH* is 2 Kgs 9.22 in the Jehu narrative. Not much information is given except that it is paired with idolatry and Jezebel, the Phoenician wife of Ahab, who is named as a source of it. The Chronicler adds it to the list found in the *DtrH* (2 Chron 33.6; cf. 2 Kgs 21.6).

The prophets mention *kešep* in association with *ḥōbēr ḥāber* in describing the ‘magic’ practice of Babylon (Isa 47.9, 12), and with *m^e ‘ōnēn* in a long list of idolatrous cult phenomena in a context describing a purification of Israel (Mic 5.11[ET 12]; cf. vv. 11-15). *Kešep* is also used metaphorically of the use malevolent power by Nineveh against the nations (Nah 3.4).⁴⁷¹ *Kašāp* is found in a revelatory context with *nebi'im*, *qōs^e mīm*, *ḥ^a lōmōtīm*, and *‘ōn^e nīm* (Jer 27.9). Driver suggest that in this latter passage it means something material, such as drugs, pointing to the LXX rendering of it as *pharmaka* for support.⁴⁷² However, as mentioned above, *pharmaka* is well attested as a term used for supernatural power rituals or ‘magic’ potions. *M^e kašš^e pīm* appears in a context of judgment against Judah for injustices committed against the vulnerable of society (Mal 3.5).

Jeffers’ description of the *m^e kaššēp* as an herbalist seems unduly thin in the light of the evidence above.⁴⁷³ In summary, in the HB *m^e kaššēp* is often found in a rich cultic context. At times it indicates divinatory functions, but Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Yahwistic sources indicate it was primarily concerned with exercising control by means of supernatural power.⁴⁷⁴ ‘Sorcerer’ may be the best English term for this practitioner who from a Yahwistic point of view was considered a cultic priest specialising in the arts of supernatural power opposed to Yahweh. However, the English ‘sorcerer’ does not capture adequately the cultic aspect of this priestly figure.

⁴⁷¹ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 375 n. 29.

⁴⁷² Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 225. Cf. J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy*, 211.

⁴⁷³ Pace Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 70.

⁴⁷⁴ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 301.

Ḥōbēr Ḥāber (v. 11)

This term is attested a small number of times in the HB (Isa 47.9, 12; Ps 58.6 [ET 5]; Prov 21.9=25.24). The English versions variously translate it as weaver or caster of ‘spells (NAS, NIV, NJB, NLT, NRSV),’ ‘charmer (ESV, JB, JPS, RHE, RSV, TEV),’ or one who consults ‘familiar spirits (ASV, AV).’ A survey of the translations shows a preference for understanding *ḥōbēr ḥāber* as indicating some type of supernatural power function, rather than guidance or divination. The LXX translates it *epaeidōn epaoidēn*, to sing an enchantment. Let us look at how this phrase has been understood by scholars.

Generally *ḥōbēr ḥāber* has been associated with ‘magic,’ and more specifically, some type of power ritual involving spell casting or charming.⁴⁷⁵ It is most often used to signify the tying or joining of things together (Exod 26.3, 6, 9, 11; 28.7), and metaphorically of making political alliances (Gen 14.3; 2 Chron 20.35-37; Dan 11.6), or making general associations and connections among people (Hos 4.17; 6.9; Eccl 9.4).⁴⁷⁶

Therefore it may be used in religious or cultic contexts metaphorically of spell binding or the tying of magic knots.⁴⁷⁷ Others suggest that its basic meaning is found in ‘murmuring’ a spell, based on a questionable etymological link with Akkadian *ḥabaru*, to be noisy.⁴⁷⁸ It is found in the prophets Isaiah (47.9, 12) and perhaps Hosea (4.17; 6.9). In the revelatory context of the former passage, discussed above, *ḥōbēr ḥāber* appears in parallel with *kešep*. The context may suggest divinatory functions associated with it. However, the apotropaic aspect of spells used to protect against enemies is the stronger focus in this passage.⁴⁷⁹ The Hosea text (4.17; 6.9) appears for the first time

⁴⁷⁵ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 408; Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 259–61; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 225; C. F. Keil, and F. Delitzsch, *Psalms* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980 Reprint) 181–2; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 281; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 301; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 233; J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy*, 211; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173.

⁴⁷⁶ G. A. Barton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1980 Reprint) 159; G. I. Davies, *Hosea* (NCB; London: Marshall Pickering, 1992) 132, 174; N. Lohfink, *Qoheleth* (CC; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2003) 111–2; A. A. MacIntosh, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Hosea* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997) 167, 241–3.

⁴⁷⁷ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 225; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 424; J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy*, 211.

⁴⁷⁸ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173 n. 31.

⁴⁷⁹ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173.

in this study. It may not signify a religious function. Or as Francis Andersen, David Freedman, and Douglas Stuart suggest, there may be a pun intended, where Ephraim is both ‘joined to’ and ‘charmed by’ idols (4.17), and the *heber* in 6.9 refers to both a ‘band’ and ‘magic spells’ of *kōh^a nīm*.⁴⁸⁰ Hos 4 especially emphasises the themes of adultery, idolatry, and ‘magic.’ As Anderson and Freedman observe: “The spirit of harlotry, of magic, of idolatry is seen in various guises throughout c. 4 (cf. once more Isa 47.9-11).”⁴⁸¹ In the Writings it appears in a power context in Ps 58.6 [ET 5], with *lāḥaš*, charmers, in a context indicating that the wicked are analogous to venomous snakes that cannot be protected against by charms or spells (cf. Jer 8.17).⁴⁸² A. A. Anderson also mentions that in the ancient world snakes were used in divination.⁴⁸³ In this latter passage the LXX associates *ḥōbēr ḥ^a bārīm* with ‘magic’ practitioners, *pharmakeuomenou*.

In summary, a precise meaning of *ḥōbēr ḥāber* is elusive because of the small number of attestations in the HB and elsewhere. The passages above indicate a meaning of apotropaic power ritual, but its appearance in parallel with *m^e kaššēp* may indicate it can be used of malevolent incantation as well. A cultic setting for it is unclear. Its basic sense of ‘binding’ or ‘tying’ may lend itself to casting spells or spell ‘binding.’

Therefore, it may be a general term for providing and/or performing incantations and can be translated as ‘a caster of spells.’ Understanding it in this way would incorporate both its malevolent and benevolent functions which have been shown above. As seen

⁴⁸⁰ F. I. Andersen, and D. N. Freedman, *Hosea: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980) 378, 441; Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 112. But most scholars understand the verb *ḥābar* in 4.17 to signify ‘joined’, and the noun *heber* in 6.9 to indicate a ‘company’ or ‘group’ (Achtemeier, *Minor Prophets*, 41, 54; G. I. Davies, *Hosea*, 132, 174; MacIntosh, *Hosea*, 167, 241–3; W. R. Harper, *Amos and Hosea* [ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1979 Reprint] 264, 289; M. A. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets* [BO: Studies in Hebrew Narrative & Poetry; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2001] 51, 76; G. Yee, *The Book of Hosea* [NIB; Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1996] 242, 252).’

⁴⁸¹ Andersen, *Hosea*, 378.

⁴⁸² A. A. Anderson, *Psalms (1–72)* (NCB; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1981 Reprint) 431; Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 408; M. Dahood, *Psalms II: 50–100* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981 Reprint) 56, 60; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 225; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1988) 536; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 233; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173.

⁴⁸³ Anderson, *Psalms I*, 431.

already, this type of ritual practice was normally found in cult practices throughout the ANE. So this too is the province of a priest in a typical ANE cult.

šō'ēl 'ôb w^eyidd^e 'ōnî (v. 11)

This phrase is attested a number of times in the HB (Lev 19.31; 20.6, 27; 1 Sam 28.3, 7, 8, 9; 2 Kgs 21.6=2 Chron 33.6; 23.24; 1 Chron 10.13; Isa 8.19; 19.3; 29.4). A number of versions translate it as one who 'consults ghosts or (familiar)⁴⁸⁴ spirits (JPS, NRSV),' 'consulter of ghosts or mediums (JB),' 'medium or a wizard (ESV),' or function as 'mediums or psychics (NLT).' The TEV takes the remaining three phrases of v. 11 in the HB and translates them as one: 'consulting spirits of the dead.' However, most English versions translate the words of the phrase separately. For *šō'ēl 'ôb* there is 'medium (NAS, NIV, NKJV, RSV),' or 'consulter with familiar spirits (ASV, AV),' or consulter of python spirits (RHE). For *yidd^e 'ōnî* there are 'one who is a spiritist (NAS, NIV, NKJV),' 'wizard (ASV, AV, RSV),' and 'fortune-tellers (RHE).' LXX has *engastrimothos kai teratoskopos*, meaning ventriloquist and observer of unusual ominous births.⁴⁸⁵ Let us look at how interpreters have understood this phrase.

The phrase *šō'ēl 'ôb w^eyidd^e 'ōnî* is often translated as 'a consulter of a ghost or a familiar spirit.'⁴⁸⁶ Some exegetes view the terms *'ôb* and *yidd^e 'ōnî* as indicating different aspects of consulting the spirits of the dead.⁴⁸⁷ Duane Christensen views *'ôb* as a shade, and *yidd^e 'ōnî* as a medium.⁴⁸⁸ Some view the former as being any type of a spirit, and the latter being a specifically known spirit in a special relationship with the medium, a 'familiar' spirit.⁴⁸⁹ However, the data below may not yield such a clean distinction. The phrase may actually be a hendiadys.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁴ JPS is the only version that uses the adjective 'familiar.'

⁴⁸⁵ Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 233 n. 8.

⁴⁸⁶ Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 259, 261; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 225; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 279.

⁴⁸⁷ Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 261; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 225; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 281.

⁴⁸⁸ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 408–9.

⁴⁸⁹ Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 261; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 226; J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy*, 212.

⁴⁹⁰ Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 233; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173 n. 32.

At other times the phrase seems to indicate the mediums themselves (1 Sam 28.3, 9; 2 Kgs 21.6; 23.24).⁴⁹¹ Although *'ôb* is found by itself on a number of occasions (1 Sam 28.7; 1 Chron 10.13; Isa 29.4), *yiddê 'ônî* is only found paired with *'ôb* in the HB.⁴⁹² *'ôb* is the general Hebrew term for ghost, or shade.⁴⁹³ As discussed above, van der Toorn understands *'ôb* to be etymologically linked to the Semitic word for father, *'ab*.⁴⁹⁴ In this way he links it to the broader Syro-Palestinian practice of the worship and veneration of the shades of the ancestors.⁴⁹⁵ Others have understood it to derive from the Hittite term *a-a-pi*, a sacrificial pit to venerate and communicate with the shades, already discussed in the previous chapter.⁴⁹⁶ *Yiddê 'ônî* is linked etymologically to the word *yāda'*, to know.⁴⁹⁷ From this the idea of a 'known' spirit or 'familiar spirit' comes. Driver says that it is "a spirit which is at the beck and call of a particular person."⁴⁹⁸ But the etymological link to *yāda'* may simply emphasise the fact that it is a spirit that 'knows,'⁴⁹⁹ or a departed relative.⁵⁰⁰ In summary, it was generally believed that the shades were privy to information about the past, present, or future, and they could communicate that to the living.⁵⁰¹

In the Holiness Code is found the clause *'al tipnû 'el hā'ôbôt w' 'el hayyiddê 'ônîm 'al l' baqšû l' tom 'â bāhem*, 'do not turn to *'ôbôt* and *yiddê 'ônîm* to be defiled by them

⁴⁹¹ Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 281; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 375 n. 32.

⁴⁹² Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 225.

⁴⁹³ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 408; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 301; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 233; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173.

⁴⁹⁴ Toorn, *Family Religion*, 160.

⁴⁹⁵ See the discussion in Chapter 3 in the sections Religion in Ancient Mesopotamian and Anatolian Societies: Netherworld and Mortuary Cult, pp. 124-5, and Religion in Ancient Syro-Palestinian Societies: Netherworld and Mortuary Cult, p.161.

⁴⁹⁶ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 408; HALOT 1, 20; Hoffner, "אוב," 131; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 233. See the discussion in Chapter 3 in the sections Religion in Ancient Mesopotamian and Anatolian Societies: Netherworld and Mortuary Cult, pp. 124-5, and in Religion in Ancient Syro-Palestinian Societies: Netherworld and Mortuary Cult, p. 161.

⁴⁹⁷ Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 281; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 301; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 233; J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy*, 212.

⁴⁹⁸ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 226.

⁴⁹⁹ Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 281; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 301; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173.

⁵⁰⁰ Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 233.

⁵⁰¹ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173.

(Lev 19.31).’ The difficulty in knowing whether spirits⁵⁰² or human mediums⁵⁰³ are meant is reflected in the lack of agreement by scholars. This clause is in a context close in proximity to other terms in our list which were discussed above, *nāḥaš* and *‘ānān* (Lev 19.26). They are also mentioned in the forbidden cultic context of Molech worship, using the same verb, *pānā*, as in Lev 19.31, ‘do not turn to *hā’ōbōt* and *hayyiddē ‘ōnīm* (20.6, cf. vv. 1-6). A number of scholars have recognised that the context and a key term used for idolatry, *zānā*, ‘to prostitute or commit fornication,’ associate turning to *‘ōbōt* and *yiddē ‘ōnīm* with idolatry.⁵⁰⁴ Lev 20.27 indicates some type of possession of spirits or shades.⁵⁰⁵ Lev 20.27a reads *wē ‘iš ‘ō-iššā kī-yihyē bahem ‘ōb ‘ō yiddē ‘ōnī mōt yūmātū*. The translation would be

Any man or woman who possesses a shade or spirit shall certainly be put to death.

Many English translations render the clause as ‘a man or woman who is an *‘ōb* or *yiddē ‘ōnī* (ESV, NAS, NIV, NJB, NLT, NRSV, RSV; but cf. ASV, AV, JPS, RHE). But Driver points out that *‘ōb* or *yiddē ‘ōnī* are the objects of those practitioners who consult them (cf. Isa 8.19).⁵⁰⁶ When Driver combines Lev 20.17 with Isa 29.4 and 1 Sam 28.8, 11, a picture emerges of mediums whose bodies become a channel of communication for the shades. He comments:

From Lev 20.27 ... it appears that an *‘ōb* was considered to declare itself *in* the body of the person who had to do with it: Isa. 29.4 shows further that the oracles of an *‘ōb* were uttered in a twittering voice, which seemed to rise from the ground: the narrative of the witch of ‘Endor shows (1 Sam 28.8b, 11) that

⁵⁰² K. Ellienger, *Leviticus* (HAT; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1966) 262; W. C. Kaiser, “The Book of Leviticus,” *NIB 1* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1994) 1135; Noth, *Leviticus*, 143–4; Porter, *Leviticus*, 159.

⁵⁰³ Budd, *Leviticus*, 285, 292; Gerstenberger, *Leviticus*, 278.

⁵⁰⁴ Keil, *Pentateuch*, 427; S. K. Sherwood, *Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy* (BO; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2002) 75.

⁵⁰⁵ J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy*, 211; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173.

⁵⁰⁶ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 226.

those who followed the art professed the power of calling up from the underworld the ghosts of the dead.⁵⁰⁷

However, in the latter passage, it does not seem clear that the medium at Endor acts as the 'voice' for Samuel's spirit (1 Sam 28.13-14). It seems that the spirit of Samuel speaks directly. However, since Saul does not seem to be able to see Samuel, but has to depend on the medium for his description,⁵⁰⁸ perhaps she did serve as a channel for his voice as well. Based partly on the LXX translation *engastrimothos*, or ventriloquist. Driver and others view this religious functionary as a charlatan who deceives clients with ventriloquism.⁵⁰⁹ However, this is a patronising assessment which ignores the beliefs of the people in such communities that understand functionaries like these to have access to a real spiritual world. In order to obtain an emic view of a community one must seek to understand its unique perspective. The narrative of Saul and the medium at Endor indicates that though Saul knew that such practices were forbidden, he sought them when legitimate means of communication with the deity were no longer available. He hardly could have believed that the woman at Endor was a fraud, or he would not have approached her for guidance concerning so grave an issue of national importance.⁵¹⁰ This passage also indicates that the woman is thought to have some type of command over the spirit, *'ēšet ba'alat 'ôb*.⁵¹¹ This narrative indicates a divinatory function for communication with the shades.⁵¹²

Also discussed previously is the list of forbidden cultic practices of Manasseh (2 Kgs 21.6=2 Chron 33.6). In this latter passage, dependent upon Deut 18.10-11,⁵¹³ it says that Manasseh performed *'ôb* and *yiddê 'ônî* (*'āsâ 'ôb w' yiddê 'ônîm*). It is found in the listing of religious phenomena removed by Josiah in his cultic reforms (2 Kgs

⁵⁰⁷ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 226.

⁵⁰⁸ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 173.

⁵⁰⁹ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 226.

⁵¹⁰ G. B. Gray, *The Book of Samuel (I-XXVII)* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1980 Reprint) 158; Johnston, *Shades of Sheol*, 155.

⁵¹¹ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 225; R. P. Gordon, *1 & 2 Samuel* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1986) 193.

⁵¹² The Chronicler also indicates a divinatory function for the *'ôb* that Saul met (1 Chron 10.13).

⁵¹³ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 301.

23.24). In this latter passage, the allusion to Deut 18.11, and the substitution of *ʿrāpîm* for ‘the dead’, may indicate the *ʿrāpîm* to be chthonic deities.

Elsewhere the terms are found only in Isa, either paired (8.19; 19.3), or *ʿôb* by itself (29.4). The context of 8.19 does not have an explicit cultic setting, but it does have a revelatory one (8.18-22). 19.3 is set in a cultic divinatory context where the Egyptians are pictured in dire need of divine guidance from gods (*ʿlîlîm*), and the spirits of the dead (*ʿittîm*). But Yahweh will confound the communication and they will perish (19.1-4, 11). In the final passage, in a judgment against Jerusalem, the victims of the city will perish, and like the shade, *ʿôb*, their voice will come up from the ground. The idea that the voices of ghosts come up from the earth is a common conception in the HB (1 Sam 28.13).

Mention should be made of Ps 106.28 which speaks explicitly of the sacrifice to chthonic deities, or shades of the dead, *mētîm*. This verse helps support the understanding that in the literature of the HB, the primal history of community of Israel is understood to have included sacrifice to the dead.

The comparative data from Greece, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and Ugarit show consulting the dead to be a common aspect of official religion. In many of the societies surveyed in Chapter 3 the cult of the ancestors usually was decentralised and family based, especially in Mesopotamia. Often household idols or figurines were created to represent the shades and were placed in household shrines. Sacrifice, divination, and power ritual were often interwoven in the cult of these immanent spiritual beings. Ethnographic research, mentioned above, done on the Azande of Sudan and the Kazaks of Turkistan show that in present day communities sacrifice, divination, and supernatural power ritual are found together in mortuary cult.⁵¹⁴

The results of the analysis above indicate that the consulting of spirits is the focus of the phrase *šô ʿêl ʿôb wʿyiddʿ ôni*. Etymologically *ʿôb* may be a cognate of the Ugaritic

⁵¹⁴ See the discussion of Azande ancestor veneration and Kazak mortuary cult in Chapter 3 in Religion in Ancient Israel: The Netherworld, Mortuary Cult and Yahwism, pp. 185-6.

term *ib*, father, used in the phrase designating a chthonic deity *ilib*, god of the father, or ancestor god. *Yiddē 'ōnî* appears to be a uniquely Hebrew term. At times the phrase may refer to spirits or shades of the dead, at other times it could refer to cult officiates. In the case of the *'ēšet ba'alat 'ōb* at Endor, she was most likely an example of one type of 'cluster' of non-Yahwistic religion. The examples from the HB show that the main concern for seeking out *'ōb* and *yiddē 'ōnî* was mantic. Comparative analysis with ANE societies shows that idols were often used in domestic shrines in conjunction with the cult of the dead, and that supernatural power was often sought from them. Archaeology finds in Israelite cities and villages indicate many household cult objects which may have been used in such a cult of the dead. It could be that the overlap of idolatry, divination, power ritual and cult could be seen in the phrase *šō 'ēl 'ōb wē yiddē 'ōnî*. It is probably appropriate to translate the phrase as 'a consulter of an ancestor or familiar spirit.' Let us now analyse the final term in the list.

Dōrēš 'el hammētîm (v. 11)

This particular phrase is found only here. In some ways it is the clearest to understand. It is translated as 'necromancer (ASV, AV, ESV, JB, JPS, RSV),'⁵¹⁵ 'one who calls up the dead (JB, NAS, NKJV),' 'one who consults the dead (NIV),'⁵¹⁶ or 'one who seeks oracles from the dead (NRSV).'⁵¹⁷ The LXX is similar to the above in translating it *eperōtōn tous nekrous*, 'one who consults the dead.' Exegetes have interpreted it as being synonymous or at least including the previous phrase *šō 'ēl 'ōb wē yiddē 'ōnî*.⁵¹⁸ A similar phrase is found in Isa 8.19 where the same verb, *dāraš*, is used but substituting *'ōb wē yiddē 'ōnî* for *hammētîm*. It may indicate a similar or synonymous practice.⁵¹⁹ It seems to be a very general term that sums up anything that has to do with the mortuary cult of any variety known in the ANE, whether incubation, passing the night in tombs

⁵¹⁵ Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 261; J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy*, 212.

⁵¹⁶ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 401.

⁵¹⁷ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 454; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 226.

⁵¹⁸ Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 281; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 233; J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy*, 212.

⁵¹⁹ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 226; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 281.

(cf. Isa 65.4), the establishment of oracles of the dead in particular locations, or the presenting of offerings to the dead (Deut 26.14; cf. Ps 106.28).⁵²⁰

The evidence from the ANE in Chapter 3 concerning the domestic mortuary cult indicates a widespread practice rooted in notions of family loyalty and the giving honour to ancestors. Modern societies analysed in ethnographies indicate that this is a practice that continues in many parts of the world today. The polemic in Deut 18, and elsewhere in the HB, indicates that for the Yahwists, the cult of the dead presented a real challenge to the pattern of the oneness of Yahweh (Deut 14.1; 26.14; Lev 19.28; 20.6, 27; 1 Sam 28.3-19; 2 Kgs 21.6; 2 Kgs 23.24; Isa 8.19; 14.9; 28. 7-22; 29.4; 45.18-19; 57.6-8; 65.4; Ezek 43.7-9; Pss 88.11; 106.28; Job 14.21; Eccl 9.4-6,10). In Deut and elsewhere (14.1; Lev 19.28; 21.5) there is a prohibition against rituals of mourning involving lacerating the body or shaving at least some part of the head for the dead. These conflict with the Yahwistic pattern of holiness (Deut 14.2).⁵²¹ There is no reason given for why these rituals are polluting, but the suggestion that they symbolise, at least in part, rituals associated with Syro-Phoenician Baal cult (cf. 1 Kgs 18.28; Hos 7.14),⁵²² and/or Mesopotamian netherworld Tammuz (Dumuzi)(Ezek 8.14) is plausible.⁵²³ They may symbolise also, in part, mourning rituals on behalf of ancestor spirits in general,⁵²⁴ perhaps in some way to ward off potential malevolent actions.⁵²⁵ In the Ugaritic *Baal Cycle*, El lashes himself in response to the death of Baal.⁵²⁶ In the Mesopotamian *Gilgamesh Epic* Gilgamesh pulls out his hair in mourning for Enkidu.⁵²⁷ Self-flagellation in general is portrayed in the HB as ritual behaviour characteristic of non-Yahwistic religion (1 Kgs 18.28; Jer 47.5; cf. Israelite practice Jer 16.6; 41.5; cf. Hos 7.14 in the LXX).⁵²⁸ Shaving the head for the dead is abundantly attesting

⁵²⁰ Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 409; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 226; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 281; J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy*, 212.

⁵²¹ Lewis, "Dead," 230; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 248.

⁵²² Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 229–30; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 239; C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 180.

⁵²³ *ANET*, 41, 51, 581; B. Alster, "Tammuz," *DDD* (Leiden: Brill, 1999) 833; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 179.

⁵²⁴ Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 101.

⁵²⁵ Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 179.

⁵²⁶ *ANET*, 139; Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 229–30; McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 248.

⁵²⁷ *ANET*, 88.

⁵²⁸ McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 248.

in the HB of both Israelites and foreign communities (Isa 15.2; 22.12; Jer 16.6; 41.5: 47.5; 48.37; Ezek 7.18; 27.31; Amos 8.10; Mic 1.16).⁵²⁹ Self-laceration in mourning for the dead continues in a number of contemporary societies. A Middle Eastern example is the annual Shi'a Islamic ritual of self-laceration with cat-o-nine-tails and swords on behalf of Imam Hossein, seventh century martyred grandson of the prophet Mohammed. This takes place during the first month of the Muslim year, *al-Muharram*.⁵³⁰

Also in Deut there is reference to the pollution caused by presenting offerings to the dead (ancestors)(Deut 26.14; cf. Ps 106.28; Tobit 4.17).⁵³¹ This may include an allusion to chthonic Baal worship.⁵³² The context is clear that the pollution caused by the misuse of the tithe by eating it in mourning rites or presenting it as offerings to the dead, is an issue of disloyalty to Yahweh.⁵³³ But details as to the reason such food offerings to the dead might be made are not given. We have seen in Chapter 3 the various ways that cultures in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Syro-Palestine honoured the (deified) departed. Excavations in Samaria reveal holes found in the floors in tombs similar to that of Ugarit. They were used to hold food and drink offerings for the departed ancestors.⁵³⁴ Various reasons for the giving of offerings to the dead included divining needed information, aid against spells, the well-being of departed ancestors,⁵³⁵ and to appease ancestor spirits turned malevolent.⁵³⁶ It seems clear, especially in light of Saul's episode at Endor, that similar practices existed in Israel.⁵³⁷

In summary, the beliefs in the powers of the dead to succour the living and the cult practices associated with it violated the first two commandments and often the third as

⁵²⁹ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 156–7; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 136 n.4.

⁵³⁰ M. Plessner, "Muharram," *EI VII* (Leiden: Brill, 1993) 464.

⁵³¹ Lewis, "Dead," 230; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 305 n. m.

⁵³² Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 323; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 336–7. Some have suggested the offerings could include reference to Molek cult, however the offerings to Molek were children, not tithes. For the view that this offering could include an allusion to the Molek cult see McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 381.

⁵³³ Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 160.

⁵³⁴ Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 244.

⁵³⁵ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 291–2; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 244.

⁵³⁶ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 292.

⁵³⁷ J. Blenkinsopp, "Deuteronomy and the Politics of Post-Mortem Existence," *VT* 45/1 (1995) 1–3.

well. Theodore Lewis states: “the biblical mandates outlawing seeking the dead (Deut 18.9ff; Lev 19.31; 20.6, 27) were delivered precisely because the dead were thought to have power.⁵³⁸” The holiness required of Israel in the Yahwistic pattern called for dependence upon the power of Yahweh alone. Let us now turn to the final chapter and draw some concluding remarks.

⁵³⁸ T. J. Lewis, “How Far Can Texts Take Us?: Evaluating Textual Sources for Reconstructing Ancient Israelite Beliefs About the Dead,” *Sacred Time, Sacred Place: Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (ed. B. M. Gittlin; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002) 194.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

This study began with the modest thesis that all the phenomena listed in Deut 18.10-11, including child sacrifice, properly portrayed various elements of ANE religion in conflict with an emerging, world-constructing, and ideologically explicit Yahwistic vision of reality. In addition it was posited that the Yahwistic prophet, the *nābî'*, was presented in Deut as the preeminent symbol of Yahwistic ultimate values, seeking to replace all other notions of reality present in the Israelite community.

The prompting for this study arose from the fact that I questioned the view of a number of interpreters that elements of Deut 18.10-11 are ill-suited to its context. Implicit in this understanding is the existence of an incompetent author or redactor. While there are textual errors of various kinds to be found in the HB, is it the case that error is to be found in this passage? The finding of this research is negative. The view held in this study has been that at least part of the reason for the lack of understanding how the various practitioners and practices in Deut 18.10-11 hang together is due more to the lack of a nuanced understanding of the cultural milieu in which it is found.

The method used in this research was an interdisciplinary one consisting of three primary approaches: social-scientific criticism, poetics literary analysis, and a comparative analysis of ANE, AMW, and CW societies. The social-scientific criticism utilised the sociology of knowledge theory of world-construction and anthropological theories of intersubjectivity, clusters of belief, native point of view, and explicit/implicit ideology. The comparative analysis included a number of ANE societies in addition to 20th century ethnographic analyses of a variety of societies that possess a worldview that is characterised by a belief in a transcendent supernatural dimension, which is similar to the worldviews of the ANE and ancient Israel. This provided an epistemological aid for the reader coming from an alien Enlightenment perspective which often acts as an

ill-suited lens resulting in a blurring and distorting of a supernatural dimension which other cultures find normal. Six basic categories were used in the comparative analysis in order to better perceive the most important aspects of religion resident explicitly or implicitly in Deut 18. The categories were 1) Cosmic Warfare Worldview, 2) Priests and Divination, 3) Priests and Prophecy, 4) Netherworld and Mortuary Cult, 5) Human Sacrifice, and 6) Priests and Magic.

In the ANE cultural milieu, rather than being abhorrent and illicit, the practitioners and practices in Deut 18.10-11 represent institutional or acceptable domestic religion. The emphasis in the passage is on contact with an immanent supernatural dimension which provides supernatural knowledge and/or power. All of the phenomena listed in Deut 18 are at home in the legitimate religious social setting found in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and Syro-Palestine. Additionally it was shown that in the AMW and many societies researched by anthropologists in the 20th century a similar transcendent dimension, including immanent supernatural knowledge and power, in legitimate religious practice is found. Specifically, issues of sacrifice, divination, and supernatural power ritual, are all found as legitimate and often overlapping cult elements in the comparative data analysed. The findings of the comparative analysis is that it has been common in societies across space and time to intertwine sacrifice, divination, and supernatural power ritual in legitimate religion in turn supports the poetics theory that there is a rational embodied intention in the text of Deut 18.10-11. We must wrestle with the biases of our own *Vorhabe*, and seek the native point of view, before developing hasty conclusions about the incompetence of the local authors. In this case, the creative literary hand penning the composition of Deut did not err in judgment by inserting elements into Deut 18.10-11 that did not fit well conceptually.

The result of using Berger's theory of world-construction, coupled with a poetics and anthropological reading of the text, which emphasise embracing the native point of view, and suspending a hermeneutic of suspicion, was that in Deut 18 the Yahwistic

writer, using the authoritative voice of Moses as narrator, was constructing a Yahweh-only society with the *nābî'* as its most prominent symbol. The *nābî'* embodies symbolically the fundamental elements of the Yahwistic view of holiness. The Yahwistic *nābî'* was shown to be the antithesis of the typically priestly cult practitioners listed in Deut 18.10-11. There are aspects of the Yahwistic *nābî'* which show discontinuities with surrounding cultures and/or various Israelite clusters of beliefs. The explicit ideology propounded in Deut *vis-à-vis* the *nābî'* is that:

- 1) He symbolically embodies both the ideal Israelite, and Yahweh himself.
- 2) His revelations come from Yahweh alone, in accordance with the covenant.
- 3) His choosing is initiated by Yahweh in an ad hoc non-institutional way.
- 4) His role combines the exercise of supernatural power and guidance, and a moral and ethical role as well. In all that he does he promotes and maintains the Mosaic covenant.
- 5) His role is not essentially a cultic one, although the (male) *nābî'* may be a member of the cult. In essence, the *nābî'* is more independent of the cult and political institutions than his parallels in other ANE societies.
- 6) His role does not entail an exercise of control over Yahweh, but Yahweh can respond to intercession, implying a conditional sense to prophecy and involving a certain degree of openness to the future.

Finally, sociological and anthropological theory and field studies have helped provide a more nuanced understanding of 'magic,' divination, and popular religion in ancient Israel and in the ANE. The theory of clusters of belief, rather than a homogeneous 'popular religion,' seemed to accord well with the biblical and extra-biblical epigraphic data. It was also clear that the Yahwistic literature gives witness to a variety of non-Yahwistic beliefs present in the community that included supernatural power and knowledge rituals. The very explicit polemic against any non-Yahwistic power and knowledge function indicates the nature of some of the implicit beliefs found in some of the various 'clusters' in the Israelite community.

Because of the definitional problem regarding 'magic,' a certain method was used to bring greater clarity to phenomena involving the reality of the powers of the spiritual world. The loaded term 'magic' was often avoided and an attempt was made to use local definitions where possible. The sociological and anthropological theories used posit that in order to understand religious phenomena cross-culturally and/or across time, one must understand the emic, or insider perspective, before moving to theoretical definitions. As a necessary theoretical term, 'supernatural power ritual' was generally preferred over the term 'magic.' By listening to the texts of the various ANE societies analysed above, including the Israelite, it was found that they all held to beliefs in a transcendent dimension populated with a variety of immanent spiritual beings, with the accessibility of supernatural power and communication with spiritual beings or deities. Each community, however, had a unique understanding of this transcendent dimension. The various societies surveyed held to notions of the accessibility of supernatural power and knowledge. A unique religious polemic was created in the Yahwistic worldview which viewed all supernatural power and knowledge obtained from any source other than Yahweh as polluting, *tô 'ēbâ*. Certain cult rituals, such as human sacrifice and most indirect revelatory methods such as extispicy or augury were likewise categorised as *tô 'ēbâ*. This underscores a certain exclusive tendency in regards to the worship of Yahweh in Yahwistic religion that contrasts with the general inclusive tendency found in the worship in many of the ANE religions surveyed.

This study has a number of implications for issues in OT studies, as well as biblical theology. In OT studies further enquiry into other books of the OT needs to be made into the significance of the *nābî*' as the embodiment of the character of Yahweh and the ideal Israelite. How do other books in the OT strengthen or modify Deut's view of the *nābî*'? Also, further research into understanding the inclusive/exclusive nature of Yahwism and other ANE religions is needed. This study also has implications for the understanding of ethnicity in ancient Israel, with more research required in this area.

Finally, much has been said in this study about the effects the unilinear evolutionary social theory has had upon understanding religion in the HB and in the ANE. Retiring the assumptions of this 19th century theory has wide-ranging implications for OT studies, including the necessary reappraisal of Wellhausen's reconstruction of the development of Israelite society and religion. This has implications for the JEDP paradigm, and related paradigms, of the documentary theory. It is essential that more work be carried out in applying poetics and social-scientific critical theories to the HB. Especially relevant are anthropological theories such as embodiment and methods such as emic views and principles behind participant observation. This has huge implications for how one approaches the text. This seems to be a more sensible epistemology for understanding the Yahwistic universe embedded there.

In terms of biblical theology this study has implications for the Yahwistic view of God and his relationship to humans. This includes both his activity in the physical world and the communication that is carried on between God and man. It also has implications for views which have been put forward in 20th century scholarship concerning Yahweh's immanence and transcendence (especially in Deut). This study had neither time nor space to develop the implications of the Yahwistic view of God which arose in this work, and so further work is needed. Finally, a theology of miracle and divine communication would be a suitable follow-up to this study. Such a study should include the Yahwistic criterion for acceptable symbols and phenomena in Yahwistic faith for supernatural power ritual and divine guidance and how this reflects the character of Yahweh.

Works Cited

- R. Abba, "Priests and Levites in Deuteronomy," *VT* 27/3 (1977) 257–67.
- I. T. Abusch, "Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Literature," *JNES* 33 (1974) 251–62.
- I. T. Abusch, *Mesopotamian Witchcraft: Toward a History and Understanding of Babylonian Witchcraft Beliefs and Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).
- E. Achtemeier, *Minor Prophets 1* (NIBC; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996).
- Y. Aharoni, *The Archaeology of the Land of Israel* (London: SCM, 1982).
- G. W. Ahlström, *History of Ancient Palestine* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993).
- R. Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period: From the Beginning to the End of the Exile 1* (London: SCM, 1994).
- W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969 Reprint).
- L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48* (WBC; Dallas: Word, 1990).
- L. C. Allen, *Joel, Obadiah, Jonah and Micah* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1976).
- B. Alster, "Tammuz," *DDD* (Leiden: Brill, 1999) 828–34.
- A. Alt, *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966).
- R. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic, 1981).
- F. I. Andersen, and D. N. Freedman, *Hosea: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980).
- A. A. Anderson, *Psalms (1–72)* (NCB; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1981 Reprint).
- G. Andre, "כַּשְׂפָּה," *TDOT VII* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995) 360–6.
- Aristotle, *Poetics* (London: Penguin, 1996).
- J. Assmann, "Magic and Theology in Ancient Egypt," *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar & Symposium* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) 1–18.
- M. C. Astour, "Two Ugaritic Serpent Charms," *JNES* 27 (1968) 13–36.
- Y. Avishur, *Studies in Hebrew and Ugaritic Psalms* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1994).
- S. Bar-Efrat, *Narrative Art in the Bible* (Sheffield: Almond, 1989).
- J. Barr, "Childs' Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture," *JSOT* 16 (1980) 12–23.
- J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Wipf and Stock: Eugene, OR, 2004 Reprint).
- M. Barré, "The Portrait of Balaam in Numbers 22–24," *Interpretation* 51/3 (1997) 254–66.
- C. G. Bartholomew, *Reading Ecclesiastes: Old Testament Exegesis and Hermeneutical Theory* (Analetica Biblica; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1998).

- G. A. Barton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1980 Reprint).
- J. Barton, "Prophets and Prophecy," *DBI* (London: SCM, 1992 Reprint) 556–60.
- A. Bea, "Kinderopfer für Moloch oder für Jahwe?" *Bib* 18 (1937) 95–107.
- P. L. Berger, *The Social Reality of Religion* (London: Faber and Faber, 1967).
- A. Berlin, *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative* (Sheffield: Almond, 1983).
- J. Berlinerblau, "The 'Popular Religion' Paradigm in Old Testament Research: A Sociological Critique," *JSOT* 60 (1993) 3–26.
- R. D. Biggs, "Medicine, Surgery, and Public Health in Ancient Mesopotamia," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1911–24.
- J. Blacking ed., *The Anthropology of the Body* (London: Academic, 1977).
- J. Blacking, "Toward an Anthropology of the Body," *The Anthropology of the Body* (ed. J. Blacking; London: Academic, 1977) 1–28.
- J. Blenkinsopp, "Deuteronomy and the Politics of Post-Mortem Existence," *VT* 45/1 (1995) 1–16.
- J. Blenkinsopp, *Ezekiel* (Interpretation; Louisville: John Knox, 1990).
- J. Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983).
- J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39* (AB; London: Doubleday, 2000).
- E. Bloch-Smith, "Israelite Ethnicity in Iron I: Archaeology Preserves What is Remembered and What is Forgotten in Israel's History," *JBL* 122/3 (2003) 401–25.
- D. I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1–24* (NICOT; Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1996).
- R. G. Boling, *Judges: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975).
- The Book of the Dead* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969 2nd edition).
- J. F. Borghouts, "Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination in Ancient Egypt," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1775–85.
- E. Bourguignon, "Necromancy," *ER* 10 (London: Macmillan, 1987) 345–7.
- G. A. Boyd, *God at War: The Bible and Spiritual Conflict* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1997).
- G. Braulik, *Deuteronomium 1–16,17* (Würzburg: Echter, 1986).
- G. Braulik, *Deuteronomium II: 16,18–34,12* (Würzburg: Echter, 1992).
- G. Braulik, "The Sequence of the Laws in Deuteronomy 12 - 26," *A Song of Power and the Power of Song* (ed. D. L. Christensen; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1993) 313–35.
- G. Braulik, *The Theology of Deuteronomy: Collected Essays of Georg Braulik, O.S.B.* (N. Richland Hills, TX: Bibal, 1994).

- J. Bright, *A History of Israel* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2000 4th edition).
- R. Brooks, "Mishnah," *ABD IV* (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 870–9.
- W. Brueggemann, *The Bible and Postmodern Imagination* (London: SCM, 1993).
- W. Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy* (AOTC; Nashville: Abingdon, 2001).
- W. Brueggemann, *Genesis* (Interpretation; Atlanta, GA: John Knox, 1982).
- W. Brueggemann, *The Land* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977).
- W. Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1997).
- G. Buccellati, "Ethics and Piety in the Ancient Near East," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1685–1696.
- P. J. Budd, *Leviticus* (NCBC; London: Marshall Pickering, 1996).
- P. J. Budd, *Numbers* (WBC; Waco, TX: Word, 1984).
- T. C. Butler, *Joshua* (WBC; Waco, TX: Word, 1983).
- I. Cairns, *Deuteronomy: Word and Presence* (ITC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992).
- M. Carrithers, *Why Humans Have Cultures: Explaining Anthropology and Social Diversity* (Oxford: OUP, 1992).
- M. D. Carroll R. ed., *Rethinking Contexts, Rereading Texts: Contributions from the Social Sciences to Biblical Interpretation* (JSOTSup; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000).
- C. E. Carter, and C. L. Meyers eds., *Community, Identity, and Ideology: Social Science Approaches to the Hebrew Bible* (SBTS; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996).
- H. Cazelles, "הַבֵּר," *TDOT IV* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980) 193–7.
- D. J. Chalcraft ed., *Social-Scientific Old Testament Criticism* (BS; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997).
- S. B. Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets: A Study in Canon Formation* (Forschungen zum Alten Testament; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000).
- B. S. Childs, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments: Theological Reflection on the Christian Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993).
- B. S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster, 1974).
- B. S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (London: SCM, 1979).
- B. S. Childs, *Isaiah* (OTL; London: Westminster John Knox, 2001).
- D. L. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1:1–21:9* (WBC; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2001).
- Cicero, *De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinatione* (Loeb Classical Library; London: William Heinemann, 1923).
- R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39* (NCB; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1980).

- R. E. Clements ed., *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological and Political Perspectives* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989).
- R. E. Clements, *The Book of Deuteronomy* (NIB; Nashville: Abingdon, 1998) 269–538.
- R. E. Clements, *Deuteronomy* (OTG; Sheffield: JSOT, 1989).
- R. E. Clements, *Ezekiel* (Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1996).
- M. Cogan, and H. Tadmor, *II Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; USA: Doubleday, 1988).
- M. Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion: Assyria, Judah and Israel in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.E.* (Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1974).
- M. Cogan, *I Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 2000).
- A. Cohen, *Proverbs* (SBB; London: Soncino, 1993 Reprint).
- R. L. Cohn, *2 Kings* (BO; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2000).
- A. Cole, *Exodus* (TOTC; Leicester: IVP, 1973).
- A. M. Cooper, “Canaanite Religion: An Overview,” *ER* 3 (London: Collier Macmillan, 1987) 35–45.
- P. Cotterell, and M. Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation* (London: SPCK, 1989).
- P. C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976).
- F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1973).
- F. Crüsemann, *The Torah: Theology and Social History of Old Testament Law* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996).
- F. H. Cryer, *Divination in Ancient Israel and Its Near Eastern Environment* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1994).
- J. D. Currid, *Ancient Egypt and the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1997).
- M. Dahood, “Ebla, Ugarit, and the Bible,” *The Archives of Ebla* (G. Pettinato; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981) 271–321.
- M. Dahood, *Psalms II: 50–100* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981 Reprint).
- K. P. Darr, *The Book of Ezekiel* (NIB; Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2001).
- A. R. David, *The Ancient Egyptians: Religious Beliefs and Practices* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982).
- D. Davies, *Anthropology and Theology* (Oxford: Berg, 2002).
- D. Davies, “An Interpretation of Sacrifice in Leviticus,” *Anthropological Approaches to the Old Testament* (ed. B. Lang; London: SPCK, 1977) 151–62.
- G. I. Davies, *Hosea* (NCB; London: Marshall Pickering, 1992).

- P. R. Davies, *In Search of Ancient Israel* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999 Reprint).
- J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament* (Cambridge: CUP, 1985).
- J. Day, *Molech: A God of Human Sacrifice in the Old Testament* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989).
- J. Day, *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000).
- P. Derchain, "Les plus anciens témoignages de sacrifices d'enfants chez les sémites occidentaux," *VT* 20 (1970) 351–5.
- J. Derrida, *Writing and Difference* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1978).
- W. G. Dever, *What Did the Biblical Writers Know and When Did They Know It? What Archeology Can Tell Us About the Reality of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2003).
- M. Dietrich, and O. Loretz, "Baal Rpu in KTU 1.108; 1.113 und Nach 1.17 VI 25–33," *UF* 12 (1980) 171–82.
- M. Dietrich, and O. Loretz, "Ugaritische Rituale und Beschwörungen," *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments II/3* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1988) 300–57.
- R. B. Dillard, T. Longman III, *An Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994).
- M. Douglas, *In the Wilderness: The Doctrine of Defilement in the Book of Numbers* (Oxford: OUP, 2001 Reprint).
- M. Douglas, *Leviticus as Literature* (Oxford: OUP, 2001).
- M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 2004 Reprint).
- T. B. Dozeman, *The Book of Numbers* (NIB; Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1998).
- E. Drioton, "Egyptian Religion," *Religions of the Ancient East* (ed. E. Drioton, G. Contenau and J. Duschesne-Guillemin; New York: Hawthorn, 1959) 19–59.
- S. R. Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1901).
- K. Dronkert, *De Molochdienst in het Oude Testament* (Leiden: Drukkerij 'Luctor et Emergo,' 1957).
- R. K. Duke, "The Portion of the Levite: Another Reading of Deuteronomy 18:6–8," *JBL* 106/2 (1987) 193–201.
- J. I. Durham, *Exodus* (WBC; Waco, TX: Word, 1987).
- É. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (Oxford: OUP, 2001 Reprint).

- R. Dussaud, *Les origines cananéennes du sacrifice israélite* (Paris: E. Leroux 2nd edition, 1941).
- W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament 1* (London: SCM, 1969 3rd Impression).
- D. F. Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam: Tradition and Society in a Pilgrimage Center* (MMES; London: University of Texas, 1976).
- O. Eissfeldt, *Molk als Opferbegriff im Punischen und Hebräischen und das Ende des Gottes Moloch* (Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums; Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1935).
- N. Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).
- K. Ellienger, *Leviticus* (HAT; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1966).
- J. A. Emerton, "Priests and Levites in Deuteronomy," *VT* 12 (1962) 129–38.
- I. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1967).
- A. Erman, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* (Boston: Longwood, 1977 Reprint).
- E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Social Anthropology* (London: Cohen & West, 1951).
- E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic Among the Azande* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976).
- H.-J. Fabry, "שִׁבְעָה," *TDOT IX* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1998) 356–69.
- W. Farber, "Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination in Ancient Mesopotamia," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrikson, 2000 Reprint) 1895–909.
- I. L. Finkel, "Necromancy in Ancient Mesopotamia," *AfO* 29/30 (1983/84) 1–17.
- N. Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1987).
- M. Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Tavistock, 1970).
- H. Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (London: Harper & Row, 1948).
- H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1948).
- G. Frantz-Szabó, "Hittite Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 2007–19.
- J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1959 Reprint).
- D. N. Freedman, and B. E. Willoughby, "עֲבָרָה," *TDOT XI* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2001) 253–4.
- T. Fretheim, *First and Second Kings* (Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1999).
- H. F. Fuhs, "עֲבָרָה," *TDOT X* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1999) 408–25.
- H.-G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (London: Continuum, 2003 2nd revised edition).

- J. G. Gager, "Panel Discussion: *Magic in the Ancient World* by Fritz Graf," *Numen* 46/3 (1999) 291–325.
- C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (London: Fontana, 1973).
- C. Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (London: Fontana, 1983).
- E. S. Gerstenberger, *Leviticus: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996).
- E. S. Gerstenberger, *Theologies in the Old Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002).
- J. C. L. Gibson, "The Theology of the Ugaritic Baal Cycle," *Or* 53 (1984) 202–19.
- M. Godelier, *The Enigma of the Gift* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1999).
- R. P. Gordon, *1 & 2 Samuel* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1986).
- N. K. Gottwald, *The Politics of Ancient Israel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001).
- N. K. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel 1250–1050 B.C.E.* (London: SCM, 1980).
- M. Görg, "Chaos und Chaosmächte im Alten Testament," *BN* 70 (1993).
- L. L. Grabbe, *Priests, Prophets, Diviners, Sages: A Socio-Historical Study of Religious Specialists in Ancient Israel* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity, 1995).
- F. Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World* (London: Harvard University, 1997).
- A. Gramsci, *Selections from Prison Notebooks* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971).
- G. B. Gray, *The Book of Samuel (I-XXVII)* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1980 Reprint).
- G. B. Gray, *Numbers* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1903).
- G. B. Gray, *Isaiah I-XXVII* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1980 Reprint).
- J. Gray, *The Canaanites* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964).
- J. Gray, *Joshua, Judges and Ruth* (CB; London: Thomas Nelson, 1967).
- "Greek Religion," *Encyclopedia Britannica*
(<http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId>, 3 Mar, 2005).
- A. R. W. Green, *The Role of Human Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East* (Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1975).
- A. Green, "Ancient Mesopotamian Religious Iconography," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1837–55.
- M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–37* (AB; London: Doubleday, 1997).
- J. C. Greenfield, "Hadad," *DDD* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1999 2nd Edition) 377–82.
- E. L. Greenstein, "Biblical Law," *Back to the Sources: Reading the Classic Jewish Texts* (ed. B. W. Holtz; New York: Summit, 1984) 83–103.

- J. H. Grønbaek, "Baal's Battle with Yam—A Canaanite Creation Fight." *JSOT* 33 (1985).
- H. v. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit: Eine Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung Über Gen 1 und Ap Joh 12* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1895).
- D. M. Gunn, and D. N. Fewell, *Narrative in the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: Oxford Bible Series, 1993).
- V. Haas, "Death and the Afterlife in Hittite Thought," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 2021–30.
- W. W. Hallo, "Biblical History in Its Near Eastern Setting," *Essays on the Comparative Method* 34 (PTMS; Pittsburgh, PA: Pickwick, 1980).
- D. Hammond, "Magic: A Problem in Semantics," *AA* 72 (1970) 1349–56.
- V. Hamp, "𐎗𐎒," *TDOT I* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977) 418–28.
- M. J. Harner, *The Jivaro: People of the Sacred Waterfalls* (London: University of California, 1984 Reprint).
- W. R. Harper, *Amos and Hosea* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1979 Reprint).
- M. Harris, *The Nature of Cultural Things* (New York: Random House, 1964).
- K. Hart, "Forward," *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (author R. A. Rappaport; Cambridge: CUP, 1999) xiv-xix.
- J. E. Hartley, *Genesis* (NIBC; Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000).
- J. E. Hartley, *Leviticus* (WBC; Dallas: Word, 1992).
- T. Hawkes, *Structuralism and Semiotics* (London: Routledge, 1977).
- P. Hayman, "Monotheism—A Misused Word in Jewish Studies?" *JJS* 42 (1991) 1–15.
- T. N. Headland, "Introduction: A Dialogue Between Kenneth Pike and Marvin Harris on Emics and Etics," *Emics and Etics: The Insider/Outsider Debate* (eds. T. N. Headland, K. L. Pike and M. Harris; London: Sage, 1990) 13–27.
- A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1963).
- A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1963 2nd edition).
- G. C. Heider, *The Cult of Molek: A Reassessment* (JSOTSup; Sheffield: JSOT, 1985).
- G. C. Heider, "Molech," *DDD* (Leiden: Brill, 1999 2nd Edition) 581–5.
- A. Herdner, "Une Prière à Baal Des Ugaritains en Danger," *CRAI* (1972) 693–703.
- W. Herrmann, "Baal," *DDD* (Leiden: Brill, 1999 2nd Edition) 132–9.
- W. R. Herzog, "Forward," *The Social Gospel of Jesus: The Kingdom of God in Mediterranean Perspective* (author B. J. Malina; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001) ix-xi.
- W. Hildebrandt, *An Old Testament Theology of the Spirit of God* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995).

- Y. Hoffman, "The Conception of 'Other Gods' in Deuteronomistic Literature," *IOS* 14 (1994) 103–18.
- Y. Hoffman, "Prophecy and Soothsaying," *Tehillah le-Moshe: Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Moshe Greenberg* (eds. M. Cogan, B. L. Eichler; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997) 221–43.
- J. K. Hoffmeier, "King Lists," *CS I* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) 68–73.
- H. A. Hoffner, "Legal and Social Institutions of Hittite Anatolia," *CANE I & II* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 555–69.
- H. A. Hoffner, "אֹב," *TDOT I*: (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1974).
- Homer, *The Iliad* (London: Penguin, 1957 Reprint).
- Homer, *The Odyssey* (London: Norton, 1993).
- E. Hornung, *Akhenaten and the Religion of Light* (London: Cornell University, 1999).
- M. J. A. Horsnell, "כֶּשֶׁף," *NIDOTTE 2* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1996) 735–8.
- M. J. A. Horsnell, "קֶסֶם," *NIDOTTE 3* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1996) 945–51.
- H. Hubert, and M. Mauss, *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Functions* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1981 Reprint).
- "Human Sacrifice," *Encyclopedia Britannica*
([Http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId](http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId), 3 Mar, 2005).
- V. A. Hurowitz, "True Light on the Urim and Thummim," *JQR* 88/3–4 (January-April 1998) 263–74.
- V. Ions, *Egyptian Mythology* (New York: Bedrick, 1982).
- A. Jeffers, *Magic and Divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria* (SHCANE; Leiden: Brill, 1996).
- E. Jenni, "עֲוֹן," *TLOT 2* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997) 937–9.
- A. E. Jensen, *Myth and Cult Among Primitive Peoples* (London: University of Chicago, 1963).
- J. Jeremias, "גְּבִיא," *TLOT 2* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997) 697–710.
- A. Jirku, "Gab es im Alten Testament einen Gott Molek (Melek)?" *ARW* 35 (1938) 178–9.
- J. Jirku, *Mantik in Altisrael* (Rostock: Universitätsbuchdruckerei von Alders Erben, 1913).
- P. S. Johnston, *Shades of Sheol: Death and Afterlife in the Old Testament* (Leicester: IVP, 2002).
- G. H. Jones, *I and II Kings II* (NCB; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1984).
- J. Jörg, *Das Königtum Gottes in den Psalmen: Israels Begegnung mit den kanaanäischen Mythos in den Jahwe - König - Psalmen* (Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht: Göttingen, 1987).
- O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12* (OTL; London: SCM, 1963 2nd edition).

- W. C. Kaiser, "The Book of Leviticus," *NIB 1* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1994) 983–1191.
- S. Kaufman, "The Structure of the Deuteronomic Law," *Maarav* 1/2 (1978) 105–58.
- L. Kákosy, "Egypt in Ancient Greek and Roman Thought," *CANE I & II* (Hendrickson: Peabody, MA, 2000 Reprint) 3–14.
- B. Kedar, *Biblische Semantik* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kolhammer, 1981).
- C. F. Keil, and F. Delitzsch, *I & II Kings, I & II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980 Reprint).
- C. F. Keil, and F. Delitzsch, *Isaiah* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980 Reprint).
- C. F. Keil, and F. Delitzsch, *The Pentateuch* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981 Reprint).
- C. F. Keil, and F. Delitzsch, *Psalms* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980 Reprint).
- B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London: Routledge, 1989).
- H. G. Kippenberg, and Peter Schäfer, "Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium," *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium* (ed. Peter Schäfer and Hans G. Kippenberg; Leiden: Brill, 1997) vii-xi.
- G. S. Kirk, "Heroic Age and Heroic Poetry," *The Odyssey* (London: Norton, 1993) 284–94.
- K. A. Kitchen, "Egypt," *NBD* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1962 Reprint) 337–53.
- K. A. Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2003).
- A. M. Kitz, "The Plural Form of •*Ūrîm* and *Tummîm*," *JBL* 116/3 (1997) 401–10.
- M. Klingbeil, *Yahweh Fighting from Heaven: God as Warrior and as God of Heaven in the Hebrew Psalter and Ancient Near Eastern Iconography* (OBO; Fribourg: University Press, 1999).
- C. Kloos, *Yhwh's Combat with the Sea: A Canaanite Tradition in the Religion of Ancient Israel* (Leiden: Brill, 1986).
- R. L. Kohn, "A Prophet Like Moses? Rethinking Ezekiel's Relationship to the Torah," *ZAW* 114 (2002) 236–54.
- W. Kornfeld, "Der Moloch: Eine Untersuchung Zur Theorie O. Eissfeldts," *WZMK* 51 (1952) 287–313.
- A. König, *Here Am I: A Believer's Reflection on God* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982).
- H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1988).
- J. K. Kuemmerlin-McLean, "Divination and Magic in the Religion of Ancient Israel: A Study in Perspectives and Methodology," Ph. D. Dissertation (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University, 1986).
- J. K. Kuemmerlin-McLean, "Magic: Old Testament," *ABD* 4 (London: Doubleday, 1992) 468–70.

- C. E. L'Heureux, *Rank Among the Canaanite Gods: El, Ba'al, and the Repha'im* (HSM; Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1979).
- T. O. Lambdin, "Egyptian Loan Words in the Old Testament," *JAOS* 73 (1953) 145–55.
- W. G. Lambert, and S. B. Parker, *Enuma Elish: The Babylonian Epic of Creation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966).
- W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960).
- W. G. Lambert, "The Cosmology of Sumer and Babylon," *Ancient Cosmologies* (ed. C. Blacker, and M. Loewe; London: Allen and Unwin, 1975) 42–65.
- W. G. Lambert, "Myth and Mythmaking in Sumer and Akkad," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1825–35.
- G. Lanczowski, *Einführung in die Religionswissenschaft* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980).
- B. Lang ed., *Anthropological Approaches to the Old Testament* (IRT; London: SPCK, 1985).
- B. Lang, *Monotheism and the Prophetic Minority: An Essay in Biblical History and Sociology* (Sheffield: Almond, 1983).
- E. R. Leach, *Genesis as Myth and Other Essays* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1969).
- E. R. Leach, *Structuralist Interpretations of Biblical Myth* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983).
- R. Lebrun, "From Hittite Mythology: The Kumarbi Cycle," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1971–80.
- N. P. Lemche, *The Canaanites and Their Land: The Tradition of the Canaanites* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991).
- N. P. Lemche, "Israel, History of (Premonarchic Period)," *ABD* 3 (London: Doubleday, 1992) 526–45.
- L. H. Lesko, "Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egyptian Thought," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1763–74.
- J. D. Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988).
- J. D. Levenson, *The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism* (Jews and Christians in Biblical Studies; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993).
- B. A. Levine, *Leviticus* (JPSTC; New York: JPS, 1989).
- B. A. Levine, *Numbers 21–36* (AB; London: Doubleday, 2000).
- T. J. Lewis, "Dead," *DDD* (Leiden: Brill, 1999) 223–31.
- T. J. Lewis, "How Far Can Texts Take Us?: Evaluating Textual Sources for Reconstructing Ancient Israelite Beliefs About the Dead," *Sacred Time, Sacred Place: Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (ed. B. M. Gittlin; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002) 169–217.

- C. Lévi-Strauss, "The Social and Psychological Aspects of Chieftainship in a Primitive Tribe: The Nambikuara of Northwestern Mato Grosso." *Comparative Political Systems: Studies in the Politics of Pre-Industrial Societies* (eds. R. Cohen, and J. Middleton; New York: Natural History, 1967) 45–62.
- J. T. Lienhard ed., *Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy* (ACCS; Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2001).
- J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1967 Reprint).
- E. Lipiński, "Ūrīm and Tummīm," *VT* 20/4 (1970) 495–6.
- A. Livingstone, "Nergal," *DDD* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999 2nd edition) 621–2.
- N. Lohfink, "The Cult Reform of Josiah of Judah: II Kings 22–23 as a Source for the History of Israelite Religion," *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* (eds. P. D. Miller, P. D. Hanson and S. D. McBride; Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1987) 459–75.
- N. Lohfink, "Distribution of the Functions of Power: The Laws Concerning Public Offices in Deuteronomy 16.18–18.22," *A Song of Power and the Power of Song* (ed. D. L. Christensen; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1993) 336–52.
- N. Lohfink, "Kerygmata Des Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerks," *Studien zum Deuteronomium und zur deuteronomistischen Literatur II SBAB 12* (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1991) 125–42.
- N. Lohfink, *Qoheleth* (CC; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2003).
- N. Lohfink, "Die Sicherung der Wirksamkeit des Gotteswortes durch das Prinzip der Schriftlichkeit der Tora und durch das Prinzip der Gewaltenteilung nach den Ämtergesetzen des Buches Deuteronomium (Dt 16,18–18,22)," *Studien zum Deuteronomium und zur deuteronomistischen Literatur, I* (SBAB 8; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1990) 305–23.
- J. B. Long, "Underworld," *ER* 15 (Macmillan, 1987) 126–34.
- Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things* (London: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1952).
- H. Lutsky, "Ambivalence Toward Balaam," *VT* 49/3 (1999) 421–5.
- N. MacDonald, *Deuteronomy and the Meaning of Monotheism* (FAT; Mohr Siebeck, 2003).
- A. A. MacIntosh, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Hosea* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997).
- R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (London: Yale University, 1981).
- A. Malamat, *History of Biblical Israel: Major Problems and Minor Issues* (CHANE; Leiden: Brill, 2001).
- B. J. Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (London: Westminster John Knox, 2001 3rd Edition).

- B. Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion: And Other Essays* (London: Souvenir, 1974 Reprint).
- G. E. Marcus, and Michael M. J. Fischer, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences* (London: University of Chicago, 1986).
- B. Margalit, "A Restoration Proposal in *AQHT* (CTA/KTU 1.17: VI: 45)," *RB* 90 (1983) 360–64.
- J.-C. Margueron, "Mari: A Portrait in Art of a Mesopotamian City-State," *CANE I & II* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 885–99.
- K. Marx, *A Communist Manifesto* (New York: Penguin, 2002 Reprint).
- D. W. Matthew, *Magic and the Magicians in the Greco-Roman World* (London: Routledge, 2001).
- V. H. Matthews, and D. C. Benjamin, *Social World of Ancient Israel 1250–587 BCE* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993).
- U. Mauser, "One God Alone: A Pillar of Biblical Theology," *PSB* 3 (1991) 255–65.
- M. Mauss, *Sociology and Psychology: Essays by Marcel Mauss* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979).
- A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy* (NCBC; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1981).
- A. D. H. Mayes, *The Old Testament in Sociological Perspective* (London: Marshall Pickering, 1989).
- S. D. McBride, "Polity of the Covenant People: The Book of Deuteronomy," *A Song of Power and the Power of Song: Essays on the Book of Deuteronomy* (ed. D. L. Christensen; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1993) 62–77.
- D. J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1981 Revised).
- J. G. McConville, *Deuteronomy* (AOT; Leicester: IVP, 2002).
- J. G. McConville, *Grace in the End: A Study in Deuteronomistic Theology* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1993).
- J. G. McConville, "King and Messiah in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History," *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (ed. John Day; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998) 271–95.
- J. G. McConville, *Law and Theology in Deuteronomy* (JSOTSup; Sheffield: JSOT, 1986).
- W. McKane, *Micah* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998).
- G. McMahon, "Theology, Priests, and Worship in Hittite Anatolia," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1981–95.
- P. McNutt, *Reconstructing the Society of Ancient Israel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999).

- G. E. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh, PA: Biblical Colloquium, 1955).
- C. H. J. v. d. Merwe, J. A. Naudé and J. H. Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999).
- M. Meyer, "Panel Discussion: *Magic in the Ancient World* by Fritz Graf." *Numen* 46/3 (1999) 291–325.
- P. M. Michèle Daviau, "Family Religion: Evidence for the Paraphernalia of the Domestic Cult," *The World of the Arameans II: Studies in History and Archaeology in Honour of Paul-Eugène Dion* (JSOTSup; eds. P. M. Michèle Daviau, J. W. Wevers; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001) 199–229.
- J. Middleton, "Magic: Theories of Magic," *ER* (New York: Macmillan, 1987) 82–9.
- L. Milano, "Ebla: A Third-Millennium City-State in Ancient Syria," *CANE I & II* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1219–30.
- J. Milgrom, "The Alleged 'Demythologization and Secularization' of Deuteronomy (Review Article)," *IEJ* 23 (1973) 156–61.
- J. Milgrom, *Leviticus: A Book of Ritual and Ethics* (CC; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2004).
- J. Milgrom, *Numbers* (JPSTC; Philadelphia: JPS, 1990).
- P. D. Miller, *The Book of Jeremiah* (NIB; Nashville: Abingdon, 2001) 555–926.
- P. D. Miller, *Deuteronomy* (Interpretation; Louisville: John Knox, 1990).
- P. D. Miller, *The Religion of Ancient Israel* (LAI; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2000).
- P. D. Miller, *They Cried to the Lord: The Form and Theology of Biblical Prayer* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1994).
- R. W. L. Moberly, *The Old Testament of the Old Testament: Patriarchal Narratives and Mosaic Yahwism* (OBT; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992).
- R. W. L. Moberly, "On Learning to be a True Prophet: The Story of Balaam and His Ass," *New Heaven and New Earth: Prophecy and the Millennium* (eds. P. J. Harland and R. Hayward; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 1–17.
- G. F. Moore, *Judges* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1908 Reprint).
- S. Moscati, *The Semites in Ancient History* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1959).
- J. A. Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah: An Introduction and Commentary* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1993).
- S. Mowinckel, *The Spirit and the Word* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002).
- H.-P. Müller, "Gab es in Ebla einen Gottesnamen Ja?" *ZA* 70 (1980) 70–92.
- H.-P. Müller, "Der Jahwenamen und seine Bedeutung Ex 3,14 in Licht der Textpublikationen aus Ebla," *Bib* 62 (1981) 305–27.
- H.-P. Müller, "Malik," *DDD* (Leiden: Brill, 1999 2nd edition) 538–42.

- H.-P. Müller, “מִלֵךְ,” *TDOT VIII* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1997) 375–88.
- S. Nakanose, *Josiah’s Passover: Sociology & the Liberating Bible* (BLS: NY: Orbis, 1993).
- R. D. Nelson, *Deuteronomy* (OTL; London: Westminster John Knox, 2002).
- R. D. Nelson, *Joshua: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1997).
- E. W. Nicholson, *God and His People: Covenant and Theology in the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986).
- S. Niditch, *Ancient Israelite Religion* (Oxford: OUP, 1997).
- M. Nissinen, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (WAW; Atlanta: SBL, 2003).
- K. L. Noll, *Canaan and Israel in Antiquity: An Introduction* (London: Sheffield Academic, 2001).
- E. Noort, *Untersuchungen zum Gottesbescheid in Mari* (AOAT 202; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchen Verlag, 1977).
- M. Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History* (JSOTSup; Sheffield: JSOT, 1981).
- M. Noth, *The History of Israel* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1960).
- M. Noth, *Leviticus* (OTL; London: SCM, 1965).
- M. Noth, *Numbers* (London: SCM, 1968).
- J. Okely, *The Traveller-Gypsies* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983).
- G. d. Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion According to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit* (Bethesda, MD: CDL, 1999).
- D. Olson, *Deuteronomy and the Death of Moses* (OBT; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1994).
- A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (London: University of Chicago, 1977 Revised Edition).
- “Oracle,” *Encyclopedia Britannica* ([Http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId=3](http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId=3), 3 Mar, 2005).
- H. M. Orlinsky, “The Seer in Ancient Israel,” *OA* 4 (1965) 153–74.
- J. N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1–39* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1986).
- J. N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40–66* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998).
- T. W. Overholt, *Cultural Anthropology and the Old Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996).
- Oxford English Reference Dictionary* (Oxford: OUP, Revised second edition 2002).

- D. Pardee, "Marziḥu, Kispu, and the Ugaritic Funerary Cult: A Minimalist View." *Ugarit, Religion and Culture: Proceedings of the International Colloquium of Ugarit, Religion and Culture, Edinburgh, July 1994. Essays in Honour of Professor John C. L. Gibson* (N. Wyatt, W. G. E. Watson; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1996) 273–87.
- D. Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (Atlanta: SBL, 2002).
- D. Pardee, "An Ugaritic Incantation Against Serpents and Sorcerers (1.100)," *CS 1* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) 327–9.
- D. Pardee, "Ugaritic Liturgy Against Venomous Reptiles (1.94)," *CS 1* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) 295–8.
- D. Pardee, "Ugaritic Science," *The World of the Arameans III: Studies in Language and Literature in Honour of Paul-Eugène Dion* (eds. P. M. Michèle Daviau, J. W. Wevers; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001) 223–54.
- R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).
- S. B. Parker, "The Feast of Rapi'u," *UF 2* (1970) 243–9.
- S. B. Parker, "The Literatures of Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Phoenicia: An Overview," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 2399–410.
- S. B. Parker, "Possession Trance and Prophecy in Pre-Exilic Israel," *VT 28/3* (1978) 271–85.
- J. Pederson, *Israel: Its Life and Culture 3 & 4* (London: OUP, 1959 Reprint).
- S. Perowne, *Roman Mythology* (London: Hamlyn, 1969).
- G. Pettinato, *The Archives of Ebla* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981).
- G. Pettinato, "Ebla and the Bible," *Biblical Archeologist 43/4* (1980) 203–16.
- G. Pettinato, "The Royal Archives of Tell Mardikh-Ebla," *Biblical Archeologist 39/2* (1976) 44–52.
- A. Phillips, *Deuteronomy* (CBC; Cambridge: CUP, 1973).
- K. L. Pike, *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1967).
- K. L. Pike, "On the Emics and Etics of Pike and Harris," *Emics and Etics: The Insider/Outsider Debate* (eds. T. N. Headland, K. L. Pike and M. Harris; London: Sage, 1990) 28–47.
- P. Pitkänen, "Ethnicity, Assimilation and the Israelite Settlement," *TB 55/2* (2004) 162–83.
- D. Plataroti, "Zum Gebrauch des Wortes *MLK* im Alten Testament," *VT 28* (1978) 286–300.
- Plato, *The Dialogues of Plato, Vol 3* (trans. B. Jowett; London: OUP, 1968 4th edition).
- Plato, *The Republic* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003 6th printing).

- M. Plessner, "Muḥarram," *EI VII* (Leiden: Brill, 1993) 464.
- D. F. Pocock, "North and South in the Book of Genesis," *Studies in Social Anthropology: Essays in Memory of E. E. Evans-Pritchard* (eds. J. H. M. Beattie, and R. G. Lienhardt; Oxford: Clarendon, 1975) 273–84.
- J. R. Porter, *Leviticus* (CBC; London: CUP, 1976).
- H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im Alten Testament* (BWANT; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1971).
- "Priesthood," *Encyclopedia Britannica* ([Http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId](http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId), 3 Mar, 2005).
- B. Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan: Kazak Religion and Collective Memory* (London: Curzon, 2001).
- I. W. Provan, V. P. Long and T. Longman III, *A Biblical History of Israel* (London: Westminster John Knox, 2003).
- I. W. Provan, *1 and 2 Kings* (NIBC; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995).
- J. Quaegebeur, "On the Egyptian Equivalent of Biblical *Ḥarṭummîm*," *Pharaonic Egypt: The Bible and Christianity* (ed. Sarah Israelit-Groll; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1985) 162–72.
- G. v. Rad, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia, PA: Westminster, 1966).
- G. v. Rad, *Old Testament Theology I* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1963 Reprint).
- R. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (CSSCA; Cambridge: CUP, 1999).
- D. B. Redford, *Akhenaten: The Heretic King* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1984).
- J. Renger, "Untersuchungen zum Priestertum in der altbabylonischen Zeit," *ZA* 58 (1966) 110–88.
- P. Ricoeur, "Preface," *Hermeneutic Phenomenology: The Philosophy of Paul Ricoeur* (author D. Ihde; Evanston, IL: Northwestern University, 1971).
- P. Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University, 1976).
- G. J. Riley, "Demon," *DDD* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999 2nd edition) 235–40.
- H. Ringgren, *Religions of the Ancient Near East* (London: SPCK, 1973).
- R. K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1993).
- J. W. Rogerson, *Anthropology and the Old Testament* (GPT; Oxford: Blackwell, 1978).
- J. W. Rogerson, *Myth in Old Testament Interpretation* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974).

- J. W. Rogerson, "The Potential of the Negative: Approaching the Old Testament Through the Work of Adorno," *Rethinking Contexts, Rereading Texts: Contributions from the Social Sciences to Biblical Interpretation* (ed. M. Daniel Carroll R.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000) 24–47.
- "Roman Religion," *Encyclopedia Britannica*
([Http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId](http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId), 6 Mar, 2005).
- M. Z. Rosaldo, *Knowledge and Passion: Ilongot Notions of Self and Social Life* (CSCS; Cambridge: CUP, 1980).
- S. N. Rosenbaum, *Understanding Biblical Israel: A Reexamination of the Origins of Monotheism* (Macon, GA: Mercer University, 2002).
- H. Rouillard-Bonraisin, "Rephaim," *DDD* (Leiden: Brill, 1999 2nd Edition) 692–700.
- U. Rütterswörden, "Horon," *DDD* (Leiden: Brill, 1999 2nd edition) 425–6.
- N. M. Sarna, *Genesis* (JPSTC; New York: JPS, 1991).
- J. M. Sasson ed., *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East I-IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint).
- F. d. Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959).
- P. Schäfer, and H. G. Kippenberg, "Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium," *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium* (ed. P. Schäfer and H. G. Kippenberg; Leiden: Brill, 1997) vii-xi.
- B. B. Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead: Ancestor Cult and Necromancy in Ancient Israelite Religion and Tradition* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1994).
- J. Scurlock, "Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Mesopotamian Thought," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1883–93.
- C. R. Seitz, *The Book of Isaiah 40–66* (NIB; Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2001).
- C. R. Seitz, *Word Without End: The Old Testament as Abiding Theological Witness* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998).
- R. M. Seltzer, "Jewish People," *ER* 8 (London: Collier MacMillan, 1987) 30–41.
- C.-L. Seow, *The First and Second Books of Kings* (NIB; Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1999) 3–295.
- C.-L. Seow, "West Semitic Sources," *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (WAW; ed. M. Nissinen; Atlanta: SBL, 2003) 201–18.
- E. J. Sharpe, *Comparative Religion: A History* (La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1990 2nd Printing).
- G. T. Sheppard, and W. E. Herbrechtmeier, "Prophecy: An Overview," *ER* 12 (London: Collier Macmillan, 1987) 8–14.
- A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1978 Reprint).

- S. K. Sherwood, *Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy* (BO; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2002).
- J. L. Ska, *Our Fathers Have Told Us: Introduction to the Analysis of Hebrew Narratives* (Subsidia Biblica; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1990).
- H. P. Smith, *The Books of Samuel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1977 Reprint).
- J. N. P. Smith, W. H. Ward and J. A. Bewer, *Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah and Joel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1974 Reprint).
- M. S. Smith, *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2002 2nd edition).
- M. S. Smith, "Interpreting the Baal Cycle," *UF* 18 (1986).
- M. S. Smith, "Myth and Mythmaking in Canaan and Ancient Israel," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 2031–41.
- M. S. Smith, *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts* (Oxford: OUP, 2001).
- M. Smith, "A Note on Burning Babies," *JAOS* 95 (1975) 477–9.
- R. Smith, *Micah-Malachi* (WBC; Waco, TX: Word, 1984).
- R. W. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1889).
- R. W. Smith, "On the Forms of Divination and Magic Enumerated in Deut. XVIII. 10. 11. Part I," *JP* 13 (1884) 273–87.
- R. W. Smith, "On the Forms of Divination and Magic Enumerated in Deut. XVIII. 10. 11. Part II," *JP* 14 (1885) 113–28.
- N. H. Snaith, "The Cult of Molech," *VT* 16 (1966) 123–4.
- N. H. Snaith, "Sacrifices in the Old Testament," *VT* 7 (1957) 308–17.
- J. A. Soggin, *A History of Israel: From the Beginnings to the Bar Kochba Revolt, AD 135* (London: SCM, 1985).
- A. J. Spalinger, "A Canaanite Ritual Found in Egyptian Reliefs," *JSSEA* 8 (1978) 47–60.
- K. L. Sparks, *Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Israel: Prolegomena to the Study of Ethnic Sentiments and Their Expression in the Hebrew Bible* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1998).
- E. A. Speiser, "Akkadian Myths and Epics," *ANET* (ed. J. B. Pritchard; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1955) 60.
- L. E. Stager, and S. R. Wolff, "Child Sacrifice at Carthage: Religious Rite or Population Control?" *BA Review* 10/1 (1984) 31–51.
- G. Steiner, *Real Presences* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1991).
- M. Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Literature: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 1985).

- G. W. Stocking, Jr., *The Ethnographer's Magic: and Other Essays in the History of Anthropology* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1992).
- K. Stone, *Sex, Honor and Power* (JSOTSup; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997).
- D. Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah* (WBC; Waco, TX: Word, 1987).
- L. Stulman, "Encroachment in Deuteronomy: An Analysis of the Social World of the D Code," *JBL* 4 (1990) 613–32.
- J. Sweek, "Book Review of Divination in Ancient Israel and Its Near Eastern Environment," *JBL* (1997) 725–7.
- M. A. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets* (BO: Studies in Hebrew Narrative & Poetry: Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2001).
- J.-M. d. Tarragon, "Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination in Canaan and Ancient Israel," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 2071–81.
- A. Tate, *A Man of Letters in the Modern World: Selected Essays 1928–1955* (New York: Meridian, 1955).
- A. C. Thiselton, "'Behind' and 'In Front Of' the Text," *After Pentecost: Language and Biblical Interpretation 2* (SHS; eds. C. Bartholomew, C. Greene and K. Möller; Carlisle: Paternoster, 2001) 97–120.
- J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy* (TOTC; Leicester: IVP, 1974).
- T. L. Thompson, *The Mythic Past: Biblical Archaeology and the Myth of Israel* (London: Basic Books, 1999).
- J. H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy* (JPSTC; Philadelphia: JPS, 1996).
- K. v. d. Toorn, B. Becking and P. W. v. d. Horst eds., *DDD* (Leiden: Brill, 1999 2nd Edition).
- K. v. d. Toorn, *Family Religion in Babylonia, Syria and Israel: Continuity and Change in the Forms of Religious Life* (SHCANE; Leiden: Brill, 1996).
- K. v. d. Toorn, "Theology, Priests, and Worship in Canaan and Ancient Israel," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 2043–58.
- K. v. d. Toorn, "Yahweh," *DDD* (Leiden: Brill, 1999 2nd edition) 910–9.
- C. H. Toy, *Proverbs* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1977 Reprint).
- D. T. Tsumura, *The Earth and the Waters in Genesis 1 and 2: A Linguistic Investigation* (JSOTSup; Sheffield: JSOT, 1989).
- G. M. Tucker, *The Book of Isaiah 1–39* (NIB; Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2001).
- V. W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1969).
- E. B. Tylor, *Religion in Primitive Culture* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1970).
- C. Van Dam, *The Urim and Thummim: A Means of Revelation in Ancient Israel* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997).

- J. C. Vanderkam, "Prophecy and Apocalypics in the Ancient Near East," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 2083–94.
- R. d. Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1961).
- R. d. Vaux, *The Early History of Israel: From the Entry Into Canaan to the Period of the Judges* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1978).
- R. d. Vaux, *Studies in Old Testament Sacrifice* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1964).
- H. t. Velde, "Theology, Priests, and Worship in Ancient Egypt," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1731–49.
- J. Vergote, "Joseph in Egypt," *OBL* 3 (1959) 66–73.
- Virgil, *The Works of Virgil* (London: Macmillan, 1883).
- G. Vlastos, *Socrates* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991).
- T. C. Vriezen, *The Religion of Ancient Israel* (London: Lutterworth, 1967).
- M. Wakeman, *God's Battle with the Monster: A Study in Biblical Imagery* (Leiden: Brill, 1973).
- B. Waltke, and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990).
- J. D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33* (WBC; Waco, TX: Word, 1985).
- M. Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Scribner's, 1958 Reprint).
- M. Weber, *The Sociology of Religion* (Boston: Beacon, 1991 Reprint).
- M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; London: Doubleday, 1991).
- M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972).
- M. Weinfeld, "The Worship of Molech and of the Queen of Heaven and Its Background," *UF* 4 (1972) 133–54.
- M. Weiss, *The Bible from Within: The Method of Totality Interpretation* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1984).
- J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1994 Reprint).
- G. J. Wenham, *The Book of Leviticus* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979).
- G. J. Wenham, *Genesis 1–15* (WBC; Waco, TX: Word, 1987).
- G. J. Wenham, *Genesis 16–50* (WBC; Dallas: Word, 1994).
- G. J. Wenham, *Numbers* (TOTC; Leicester: IVP, 1981).
- G. J. Wenham, *Story as Torah: Reading the Old Testament Ethically* (OTS; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000).
- M. L. West, "Ancient Near Eastern Myths in Classical Greek Religious Thought," *CANE I & II* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 33–42.

- J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy* (SBLSCS; Atlanta: Scholars, 1995).
- J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus* (SBLSCS; Atlanta: Scholars, 1997).
- R. M. Whiting, "Amorite Tribes and Nations of Second-Millennium Western Asia," *CANE I & II* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1231–42.
- F. A. M. Wiggermann, "Theologies, Priests, and Worship in Ancient Mesopotamia," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 1857–70.
- H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (CC; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1991).
- R. R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1980).
- R. R. Wilson, *Sociological Approaches to the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984).
- W. Wink, *Engaging the Powers: Discernment and Resistance in a World of Domination* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992).
- C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy* (NIBCOT; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996).
- C. J. H. Wright, *God's People in God's Land: Family, Land, and Property in the Old Testament* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1990).
- G. E. Wright, "God the Warrior," *The Flowering of Old Testament Theology* (B. C. Ollenburger, E. A. Martens; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992) 100–19.
- G. E. Wright, "The Levites in Deuteronomy," *VT* 4 (1954) 325–30.
- N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (London: SPCK, Reprint 1996).
- N. Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit: The Words of Ilmilku and His Colleagues* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998).
- P. Xella, "Death and the Afterlife in Canaanite and Hebrew Thought," *CANE III & IV* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000 Reprint) 2059–70.
- P. Xella, "Resheph," *DDD* (Leiden: Brill, 1999 2nd edition) 700–3.
- E. M. Yamauchi, "Magic in the Biblical World," *TB* 34 (1983) 169–200.
- G. Yee, *The Book of Hosea* (NIB; Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1996).
- M. Yon, "Ugarit," *OEANE* 5 (Oxford: OUP, 1997) 255–62.
- E. M. Zuesse, "Divination," *ER* 4 (London: Collier Macmillan, 1987) 375–82.