THE WILDERNESS MOTIF IN JEREMIAH: A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS

by

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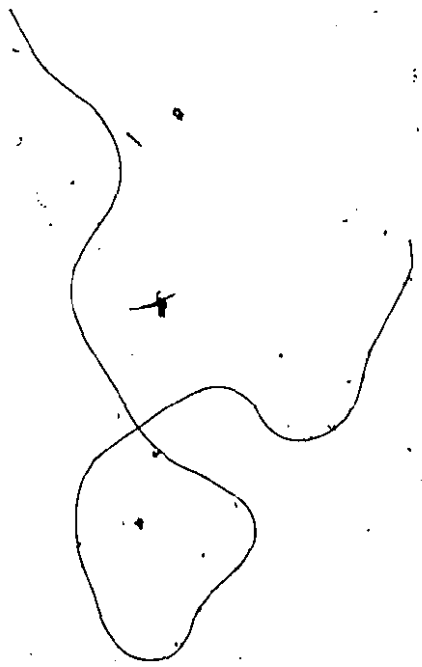

ABSTRACT

This thesis re-examines Jeremiah's use and understanding of the wilderness motif. The first chapter reviews and critiques the secondary literature on the subject. Since the two major passages referred to in support of the "nomadic ideal" are Hos. 2:16-17 and Jer. 2:2-3, their past interpretations receive special attention.

Chapter two is a rhetorical and contextual analysis of Jer. 2:2-4:4. Based on a series of contrasts discovered in this passage, it is concluded that Jeremiah does refer to the wilderness period as a time when Israel responded to Yahweh in a positive manner. It is also suggested that the bases of Jer. 2:2-4:4 is Israel's breach of the Mosaic covenant, and Yahweh's desire to establish a new covenant.

Chapter three examines the history of the marriage metaphor as a means of illustrating Yahweh's relationship with Israel. It is concluded that there are two sources of the metaphor. The first originates with the incident at Beth Baal Peor. There Israel participated in sexual intercourse as a means of worshipping Baal Peor, and this event was interpreted and described as religious harlotry. Both Hosea and Jer. 2:2-4:4 reflect this tradition. The second tradition is grounded in the old Canaanite idea that capital

cities were royal goddesses. This concept was adopted by the Judeans after David's conquest of Jerusalem, and is visible in the writings of the southern prophets, Isaiah, Micah, and Ezekiel.

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Mention must also be made of Dr. W. L. Holladay for kindly supplying his notes on Jer. 2:2-3 for his forthcoming commentary in the Hermeneia series.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
AJSLL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
Bib	Biblica
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
BThB	Biblical Theological Bulletin
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CB	Century Bible
CBC	Cambridge Biblical Commentary
CBSC	Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
DBSupp	Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible
ÉB	Études Bibliques
ÉThR	Études Théologiques et Religieuses
GPTh	Growing Points in Theology
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HBI	The Heritage of Biblical Israel
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs

HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IB	Interpreter's Bible
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible
IDBSupp	Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible Supplement Volume
Interp	Interpretation
JBL	Journal for Biblical Literature
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSOTSupp	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
KJV	King James Version
LAPO	Litteratures Anciennes du Proche-Orient
LUÅ	Lunds Universitets Årsskrift
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NAB	New American Bible
NCB	The Century Bible: New Series
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
PThMS	Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series

RHPhR	Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RThPh	Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie
SB	Sources Biblique
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBTh	Studies in Biblical Theology
SNAS	Supplementa ad Numen: Altera Series
ST	Studia Theologica
SWJTh	Southwest Journal of Theology
TDOT	Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen
UT	Ugaritic Textbook
VT	Vetus Testamentum
VTSupp	Supplement to Vetus Testamentum
WC	Westminster Commentaries
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

1. INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF THE SECONDARY LITERATURE

The prophets' use of the wilderness motif,[1] has been a much-debated area of Old Testament scholarship.[2] The first studies cautiously suggested that the prophets viewed Israel's forty years in the wilderness as a golden era in which Yahweh and Israel shared a perfect and pure relationship (Budde 1895). Subsequent studies reaffirmed the existence of the nomadic ideal (Humbert 1921, 1925, Flight 1923). Evidence for this ideal was found not only in the prophetic literature, but also throughout the Old Testament (Luther 1906, Causse 1919). More recently, however, there has been a tendency to claim that no such ideal ever existed. The Israelites, it is argued, had always understood the wilderness in negative terms (Riemann 1963, Talmon 1966, 1976, Fox 1973).

The contrary opinions on this matter suggests that a re-evaluation of the problem is needed. Such a reassessment will be attempted here, with special attention to Jer. 2:2-3,

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[1]The wilderness motif is also referred to as the nomadic ideal or the return to desert motif.

[2]The word "wilderness" has two major referents in the Old Testament. The first is spatial and refers to geophysical phemonema. The second is temporal and refers to the forty year period Israel spent in the wilderness en route from Egypt to Canaan (Talmon 1966:39-44).

which has been termed "one of the cornerstones of the theory of the 'desert ideal' . . ."(Fox 1973:441). Prior to detailed exegesis of this text, it will be useful to review and evaluate the scholarly literature dealing with the wilderness motif in the prophets. At times this review may seem disjunct from Jer. 2:2-3 because different scholars have emphasized different texts. However, all deal with the prophets' understanding of the wilderness, and all are important for understanding the light in which scholars see Jer. 2:2-3. In addition to Jer. 2:2-3, this chapter will highlight the arguments involving Hos. 2:16-17. The reason for this concern is two fold. First, Hos. 2:16-17 is the only other passage continually referred to as a major exponent of the nomadic ideal. Second, most scholars claim that Jeremiah's use of the wilderness motif is dependent upon Hos. 2:16-17.

The first major work is that of Karl Budde (1895). Budde starts his argument with the appearance of Jonadab ben Rechab in 2 Kgs. 10:15f., and the reappearance of the Rechabites some 250 years later in Jer. 35. Through 1 Chron. 2:55, Budde is able to trace the origins of the Rechabites back to the Kenites. Drawing upon the then popular Kenite hypothesis, Budde claims that the Rechabites represent a pre-Mosaic desert form of Yahwism. According to Budde, Jonadab's Kenite ancestry explains why he was able to make major religious decisions concerning Yahwism, and why the Rechabites saw themselves as the guardians of the pure worship of Yahweh. Since the Recha-

bites were the direct descendants of Moses' father-in-law, Budde reasons, they could also claim to have known Yahweh before the Israelites.

It is against this background that Budde understands the teachings of Hosea. Realizing that neither the people nor the Rechabites understand that even the agricultural blessings come from Yahweh (2:7, 10), Hosea proclaims that Yahweh would take away these gifts in order to make the people realize their true source. According to Budde, "This is, first of all, a decisive protest against the nomadic ideal," for Hosea denies that "Yahweh is only the god of the steppe and of the nomad" (1895:734).[1] However, Budde continues, Hosea did not oppose every aspect of the nomadic ideal of the Rechabites. Since the syncretism between Yahwism and Baalism had reached critical proportions, it would be necessary for Yahweh to deceive Israel and lure her back into the desert. Although this act is one of punishment, it is also a means of restoration because ". . . the prophet knows that it is easier to serve Yahweh exclusively and purely in the wilderness" (1895:735).

Outside Hosea, Budde finds the nomadic ideal reflected in the early ministry of Isaiah. Chap. 6, Isaiah's call, is seen as "an exact by-piece" of Hos. 2:5, 11ff., because here "the conditions of life under which this remnant will be

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[1]Although there is a difference in meaning between the terms "wilderness" and "desert," and the word "steppe," Budde appears to use all three words interchangably with the sense of desert.

converted to Yahweh are those of the nomadic existence, quite as Hosea supposed them" (1895:737). The sign in 7:13, when taken with vss. 17 and 21, is seen as an announcement of a "terrible threat" cast in "scornful irony." The diet of curds and honey means that those who endure the coming hardships will live in a wilderness. Yet, just as in Hosea, this period is seen as one of restoration. The young generation, living as nomads in the wilderness, will learn "to refuse the evil and choose the good" (7:15). Budde ends his study with the interesting comment that the nomadic ideal "did not extend its life in Israel beyond Isaiah's early years" (1895:742).

Thus, according to Budde, Hosea and Isaiah oppose the nomadic ideal insofar as it denies Yahweh's universal sovereignty (esp. his lordship over agricultural produce). However, they accept its claim that it is easier to serve Yahweh "exclusively and purely" in the wilderness, and that a return to desert would be a purifying experience for Israel.

There are certain difficulties inherent in Budde's study. First, the Kenite ancestry of Jonadab ben Rechab is not at all certain.[1] Even if it were, the Kenite hypothesis has been shown to be an inacurrate description of the development of early Yahwism.[2] Second, there are far too many un-

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[1]Frick (1971) has shown that the evidence supporting the theory that the Rechabites were nomads is not unambiguous. He uses this same evidence to demonstrate that they may have been craftsmen.

[2]See the discussion in Bright (1972:124-125).

supported textual emendations performed only for the sake of theory.[1] In fact, the nomadic ideal in Isaiah is totally dependent upon Budde's three emendations. Without them all evidence for the ideal disappears.

Budde's analysis of Hosea is more satisfactory. Even if his emendation to 2:17aβ is not accepted, it is clear that Hosea wanted Israel to return to the desert in order to re-establish the relationship she shared with Yahweh during the wilderness wanderings (Hos. 2:16ff.). Budde fully realizes that Hosea sees the land as Israel's rightful inheritance (1895:735). Budde's problem is one of degree. Can the nomadic ideal, i.e., the idealization of the nomadic way of life and the desire to return to it,[2] be properly claimed for Hosea since he so clearly wanted Israel to live an agrarian life style (2:15, 21-23; 14:4-7)? According to Mays (1969:44), Hosea does not idealize the nomadic way of life. Wolff (1974: 42), taking Mays' argument one step further, denies that

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[1]Budde makes four questionable emendations. Hos. 2:17aβ, w^{e}ᵓet-ᶜēmeq ᶜakôr l^{e}petaḥ tiqwâh, "and the Valley of Achor as a gateway of hope," is translated, "and the barren ravines for fig-orchards." Following the majority of scholars Budde omits the last colon of Isa. 6, "a holy seed remains as a root-stock." However, he also feels that this deletion leaves a lacuna, which he arbitrarily fills with a clause from Isa. 7:3, "a remnant repents." Budde renders Isa. 7:15, hemᵓâh ûd^{e}baš yōᵓkēl l^{e}daᶜtô māᵓôs bārāᶜ ûbaḥôr battôb, "Butter and honey shall be his food, that he may learn to refuse the evil and choose the good." And finally, Budde translates the obscure clause in Isa. 6:13: "When then, a tenth is in it, it (the land) shall serve again for pasture."

[2]This definition is implied by Budde in his analysis of the Rechabites (1895:726-731).

Hosea even sees the desert as the ideal place of Yahweh's presence. Rather, the desert is a "stopping place" where Yahweh can anew his absolute sovereignty over Israel.

The next important studies concerning the prophets' attitude towards the wilderness are those of Humbert (1921, 1925). Humbert thinks that the entire book of Hosea can best be understood in terms of the nomadic ideal, and that Hosea can properly be labelled, "le prophète Bédouin." Humbert begins his study by noting how Hosea consistently draws his imagery from nature. He then poses the question:

> . . . n'est-il pas l'indice qu'Osée n'était point un citadin mais vivait aux champs ou, plus précisément encore, à la marge des steppes, entre les terres arables et les vastes pâturages solitaires? N'est-ce pas l'ambiance du semi-nomade qu'esquissent solitaires (1921:102)?

Humbert then concentrates on Hos. 2. According to him, Israel is presented as a wayward wife, and Yahweh as a faithful, loving husband. Israel's wrong is that she has deserted her first love and paid homage to the Baals of the land. Hence, Yahweh decides to turn the fertile land into a desert. Yahweh then proclaims that he will lure Israel back to the desert because it was there that she was faithful to him. In this way, Humbert maintains, Yahweh will re-establish the true relationship he once shared with Israel during "l'âge d'or."

In further support of his thesis Humbert notes that Hosea speaks of Israel sinning only after she had come to Peor

(9:10). Humbert maintains that Hosea stresses Israel's fidelity to the Sinaitic covenant and the leadership of Moses prior to the Baal Peor incident. On the other hand, the prophet describes the institution of kingship and the agricultural way of life in pejorative terms. Hence, according to Humbert:

> L'idéal nomade est plus qu'un pis-aller, c'est l'idéal des Pères, la vie normale d'Israël dès ses origines nationales, dès le jour où son Dieu entra avec lui en relations speciales (1921:104).

Despite their continuing influence, Humbert's studies have certain shortcomings. Hosea's use of imagery drawn from nature does not necessarily indicate a desire to return to the desert. The references to wildlife (7:11; 8:1; 10:10-11; 13:7-8), foliage (10:1; 14:5-8), and water (6:3-4), for example, are best understood in the context of a flourishing forest, not a desert in which nothing lives (13:5).[1] Furthermore, Hosea often alludes to an agricultural way of life (10:11-12), even when he depicts a restored Israel (14:4-7).

Nor can one accept Humbert's contention that Hosea looks upon desert life as Israel's "vie normale." From the times of the patriarchs the Hebrews looked forward to the time when they would occupy the land and lead an agricultural economy (Gen. 15:18; 27:28). And, although Moses was supposed to lead Israel to Sinai to worship Yahweh, this act is under-

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[1]References to lions (13:7), and perhaps other animals of prey, may be an exception since there is some evidence suggesting that they inhabited the desert (Isa. 30:6).

stood as a sign that Yahweh is indeed Israel's savior (Exod. 3:12).[1] Moses' ultimate purpose was to lead Israel to Canaan, thus fulfilling the patriarchal covenant (Exod. 3:8, 17; Deut. 34:4-5; Josh. 1:1-4).[2] Hence, contrary to Humbert, the wilderness experience is understood as a "pis-aller," albeit an important one (cf. Noth 1972:58-59). In this respect Hosea's estimation of the wilderness is consonant with that in the Pentateuch. Hos. 2:16ff. makes it clear that the wilderness is only something that Israel must pass through in order to obtain her land and grow her produce (Wolff 1974: 42).

Much of Humbert's thesis rests on the supposition that Hosea condemns the agricultural mode of existence. Humbert uses this belief to suggest that Hosea's deprecations indicate his support of the nomadic ideal. However, Humbert's understanding of Hosea's prophecies is problematic. Hosea may condemn Israel's social and religious sins, and he may depict her punishment as a reduction of the land to a desert, but he does not reproach the agricultural way of life. Quite the contrary, in 2:21-23 Hosea prophesies that once restored Israel will again lead an agrarian life. Humbert seems to have confused Israel's sin with her punishment.

The most vigorous defense of the nomadic ideal is that

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[1]See the discussion in Greenberg (1969:74-78).

[2]See the discussion in Greenberg (1969:73-74) and Cassuto (1967:34-35).

presented by J. W. Flight (1923). In an attempt to counteract the excesses of the Pan-Babylonian School, Flight seeks to demonstrate that the desert culture also played a role in Israel's heritage. To accomplish this goal Flight asserts that many aspects of the Israelite way of life were derived from a nomadic life style. He includes discussions of occupations, foods, clothing, shelter, social organization, and religion. The last section of the article, entitled "The Nomadic Ideal,"[1] is particularly significant.

Flight discovers evidence for the nomadic ideal in Nathan's speech to David (2 Sam. 7:6f.), in the desert dress and Yahwistic zeal of Elijah, and in the political activities of Ahijah the Shilonite (1 Kgs. 11:29ff.; 14:1ff.). He also claims that the Pentateuchal sources J and E embody the nomadic ideal. In these sources, Flight maintains, the patriarchs are represented "as nomads who, passing by the kingdoms and cities of the land, kept themselves aloof from contact with these impure places "(1923:213). In the prophetic corpus Flight claims that Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Zephaniah, and Jeremiah all look back upon the wilderness era as Israel's "golden age." Like Budde, Flight claims that the Rechabites were the "historical starting point" of the nomadic ideal.

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[1]Flight defines the nomadic ideal as "the conception that the grave social and religious problems of Israel are to find their solution in a reduction of the land of Palestine by Yahweh to a condition which will permit only a nomadic existence similar to that of Israel's beginnings" (1923:211).

Flight advances three arguments to establish the existence of the nomadic ideal in the prophets: (1) they refer to the wilderness period, "the time of Israel's youth," as a time when the people were close to Yahweh; (2) they condemn ritual piety and the evils of the urbanized way of life; and (3) they employ nomadic imagery to depict the future restoration of the people to Yahweh's favour. Flight argues, however, that the prophets only espouse the nomadic ideal during their early years. The stubbornness of the people causes the prophets to change and threaten the people with deportation rather than barreness of the land (1923:222). Nevertheless, according to Flight, the prophets never lost the idea that Israel or a remnant of Israel would be brought back to live the simple life of the patriarchs:

> Those who knew the pure faith of Yahwism felt that it would be easier to give exclusive worship to Yahweh in the simple life of the desert. Thus the nomadic idea came into its own again as an ideal. The past was idealized and projected into the future (1923:210).

Many of the criticisms of Flight's predecessors apply equally well to him. Perhaps most detrimental to his argument is the fact that he does not account for the passages in which the prophets clearly announce the restoration of an agricultural way of life (Amos 9:14-15; Hos. 14:5-7; Isa. 27:6; 32:15; Jer. 31:5 et al.).

Despite the widespread initial acceptance of the hypothesis of the nomadic ideal, there were some cautioning

voices. As early as 1919 E. König warned that the prophets have a real appreciation for human culture (see Riemann 1963/64: 24). J, Pedersen subsequently observed that the average Israelite sees the desert as a place of horror, a place to be avoided (1940:I-II:415). Later, in a brief comment on the subject, R. de Vaux suggested that the ideal is not the desert itself, but Israel's attitude towards God during the wilderness wanderings (1965:II:428). De Vaux, however, agreed with those earlier scholars who claimed that the prophets see the wilderness as Israel's golden age (1965:I:14).

P. Riemann presents the first full-scale criticism of the nomadic ideal. Riemann claims that many of the formative concepts of the nomadic ideal have now been shown to be either oversimplified or incorrect. These concepts include territorial henotheism, polydaemonism, the bedouin Israelite analogy, the theory that Israelite culture was primitive, the romantic temper with which earlier scholars viewed the nomadic life style, and the theory that the Rechabites were semi-nomadic herders living in the Judean wilderness (1963/64:40-52).

Riemann starts his re-evaluation of the nomadic ideal by examining the terms used throughout the prophetic corpus to designate the desert. Attention is focused on midbār, and a long excursus is presented which demonstrates that midbār does indeed signify the desert. Riemann then discusses the different contexts in which the prophets use desert imagery. He concludes that all the prophets have a negative view of the

desert. They see it as a place uninhabitable by man or beast, and a place where nothing flourishes. When the prophets do use desert imagery in prophecies of weal (eg. Jer. 31:2), it is only to emphasize the goodness of the land, and the hopes for restoration to the agricultural way of life.

Riemann now turns his attention to the motive of the return to the desert motif. He states that, "Attempts to find a desert ideal of whatever sort in the pre-exilic prophets are finally made or broken here" (1963/64:141).

Riemann divides the passages dealing with the return to the desert into three groups: (1) a flight to the desert (Jer. 48:6; 31:2); (2) the reduction of the land to desert conditions as a result of human destruction (Isa. 14:16b-17a; Jer. 12:10-11); and (3) the reduction of the land to desert conditions due to the punative measures of Yahweh (Jer. 9:11-13; 22:6). Riemann notes that the theme of flight into the desert is applied to all peoples and is always used in a pejorative context. The one fleeing to the desert does so either out of fear for his life, or because of banishment. In the second and third groups the land is usually being ravaged by some invading army or plague, and this destruction is seen as an act of punishment for social and religious sins.

Riemann devotes special attention to Hos. 2:16-17 because this passage does not use the return to the wilderness motif in a negative sense. However, for Riemann

> . . . the problem is not to discover what this pas-

> sage shows to be typical of return to desert, but rather what new and different feature has brought this judgment motif within the context of an oracle of weal (1963/64:160).

According to Riemann, Hosea is not prophesying a return to the life of the patriarchs because this oracle promises a restoration of agriculture. Nor can the desert here be seen as a purifying agent since it has this function nowhere else. Hence, according to Riemann, the message of hope in Hos. 2:16-17 must have some other basis.

According to Riemann, Hos. 2:16-17 is the first oracle to combine the four following themes: (1) it refers to a "leading" in the desert; (2) it promises a restoration from the desert to an agricultural way of life; (3) these two things together will elicit a response from Israel; and (4) this response is compared to that of Israel's early days. These four points, Riemann states, all belong to the pattern of the Mosaic covenant. Therefore, the "answering" can only refer to Israel's response to an offer of covenant renewal (Exod. 19:8). Riemann concludes that the note of hope in Hos. 2:16-17 is not dependent upon the theme of return to the desert, but on a "promise of deliverance from the desert, restoration to the land, and renewal of covenant" (1963/64:161).

Riemann's study is an important one. He successfully demonstrates that the desert, as a geophysical entity, is never in itself seen as an ideal place to live or return to. Rather, the wilderness is feared and viewed as a place of death. It therefore serves the prophets well for their de-

scriptions of Yahweh's punishment. There are, however, certain problems with Riemann's work. He does not seriously consider de Vaux's suggestion that the desert ideal is Israel's attitude to God in the wilderness, and not the desert itself. De Vaux's theory is referred to only as a "refinement and not a rejection of the older hypothesis" (1963/64:30). Yet these two concepts are very different from each other. An Israelite could quite easily fear the desert, and at the same time believe that his ancestors responded to God in a positive way there. In fact, this idea is implicit in Riemann's analysis of Hos. 2:16-17. Even if this passage is understood as an offer to renew the covenant, it indicates that Israel responded favourably to the calling of her God during the wilderness wanderings, and that she is expected to do so again.

Riemann also neglects Jer. 2:2-3. He deals with it all too quickly together with a group of passages whose

> . . . emphasis upon "leading" (Amos 2:10; Jer. 2:6), "following" (Jer. 2:2), and "wandering" (Amos 5:25) indicates that the desert was regarded as a trackless waste in which one quickly loses his way . . ." (1963/64:115).

Yet it is again Israel's apparent attitude towards her God during the wilderness wanderings which has led many scholars to claim that this oracle embodies the nomadic ideal (von Rad 1962:I:281-282). Riemann's quick dismissal of this oracle neither does it justice, nor does it lend credibility to his thesis. One further shortcoming is Riemann's failure to consider the possibility that Hos. 2:16-17 might be a unique

reference to the desert as a purifying agency (cf. Ezek. 20: 35-36).

Chr. Barth starts his study of the wilderness tradition by noting that scholars have identified three different attitudes towards that tradition (1966). The earliest tradition includes confessions and hymns which praise Yahweh for his guidance. This tradition is of minor concern here because it neither deals with the desert as an ideal, nor does it deal with Israel's attitude towards God. Its sole concern is to praise and thank God for aiding Israel during a difficult period. A second tradition may be found in Hosea and Jeremiah. Here, Barth says, scholars have emphasised the prophets' idealistic belief that Israel responded to God in a positive way during the wilderness sojourn. The third tradition, a negative or "realistic" assessment of Israel's behaviour in the wilderness, is found throughout the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the book of Ezekiel (esp. chap. 20).

In re-examining the "idealistic" wilderness tradition Barth concentrates on Jer. 2:2-3. He rejects the claim that Jeremiah either knows of a positive wilderness tradition, or that he consciously re-interprets the negative tradition to suit his own purpose. According to Barth, "Zu dieser Erklärung will der ganze Zusammenhang Jer. i-vi nicht passen" (1966:18).

Barth claims that Jer. 2:2-3 does not accentuate the good conduct of Israel, but the uncalled for goodness of

Yahweh as seen in the divine election (vs. 2:3a) and protection (vs. 2:3b) of Israel. The hsd, ʾhbh, and lktk ʾhry are interpretted as part of the dowry, but, according to Barth, Israel is only able to show these qualities to Yahweh because of her divine election. Thus according to Barth:

> . . . Israels Verhalten rühmen zu wollen, stellt dieser Text den grundlosen Abfall des Volkes in Kontrast zu den Gaben, mit denen Jahwe es am Angang überschüttet hat (1966:18-19).

Following the above assessment, Barth briefly comments on three other passages cited in support of the nomadic ideal: Jer. 3:4, Hos. 2:16f., and 11:10. All three of these passages are concerned with Israel's defection to the Baal fertility cults. However, Barth observes, they are not concerned with Israel's actions in the desert, and therefore need not imply a positive wilderness tradition. Barth concludes:

> Es sind die Taten Jahwes, die der Wüstenzeit bei Hosea und Jeremia einen so positive Aspekt geben, und zu diesen Heilstaten gehört für sie auch die Ermöglichung des initialen Gehorsamsaktes aufseiten des Volkes (1966:19-20).

While Barth shares Riemann's negative assessment of all traditions concerning the wilderness, he parts company with Riemann when he argues against de Vaux's suggestion that the wilderness ideal is Israel's attitude to her God. On this point, however, Barth's arguments are unconvincing. First of all, he does admit that there was an "initialen Gehorsamsaktes" by Israel to Yahweh. Second, his analysis of Jer. 2:2-3 is dubious. If, as Barth maintains, the hsd, ʾhbh, and lktl ʾhry

are to be interpreted as qualities shown to Yahweh by Israel,[1] the text still witnesses to a positive wilderness tradition. Furthermore, since these qualities are mentioned before Israel's holiness, the accent more naturally falls on them rather than on the election. Even in vs. 3 the emphasis is on the fact that Israel was holy to Yahweh, and not on Yahweh's act of electing her.

In 1966 S. Talmon published an article arguing against the nomadic ideal (1966). Talmon begins by questioning the idea that the patriarchs were nomads, referring particularly to Cyrus Gordon's claim that the patriarchs were "merchant-princes" (1958:28-31).

After eliminating the patriarchal era as the possible source of the nomadic ideal, Talmon turns his attention to the time of the wilderness wanderings. He rejects this period as a possible source of the nomadic ideal for two reasons. First,

> . . . the ideological compression of the desert trek into one stereotyped (or schematic) generation, forty years (Deuteronomy 2:14, Psalms 95:10, et cetera), proves that it was considered to have been of minor impact on the sociohistorical development of Israel (1966:35).

Second, even during this brief time the Israelites are not presented as a typical nomadic society.

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[1]Barth's interpretation of these three qualities as a dowry is also problematic. De Vaux (1965:I:28) has shown that there is no evidence that a dowry system ever existed in ancient Israel. 1 Kgs. 9:16 and Tob. 8:21 do not contradict de Vaux's conclusions since both texts reflect marriage customs foreign to Israel.

Talmon also rejects the Rechabites as evidence of the nomadic ideal. "Their non-agricultural mode of life," Talmon states, "is a reality, not a motif" (1966:37). Furthermore, there is no evidence in the Old Testament to suggest that they tried to impress their way of life upon the rest of Israel.

After discussing the meaning of the word "motif," Talmon examines the uses of the word midbār in the Old Testament. According to him, the word is used in two senses:

> (1) The spatial connotation, in references to geophysical phenomena; (2) The temporal connotation, in the references to a specific historical situation (1966:40).

Within group one midbār can mean three things: (1) land that is agriculturally unproductive, but makes good grazing land for sheep; (2) land which lies on the borderline between cultivated land and the desert proper; and (3) the true desert. Like Riemann, Talmon observes that in the Old Testament the midbār is a place to be feared. It is a place to which people flee only when threatened with bodily harm or death.

The second sense of midbār refers mainly to the period between the Exodus and the Conquest. This period can be divided into two parts. The first part includes the crossing of the Reed Sea, the Sinai theophany, and the events which occurred shortly thereafter. The second part is the time which Israel spent roaming the midbār in search of a means to enter Canaan. This second part is properly understood as a time of divine punishment.

In the Pentateuch, Talmon states, there is no figurative desert language. There desert language refers to the real thing, not a motif. According to Talmon, the desert-trek motif is first used in Deuteronomy in an attempt

> . . . to recapture the quitessence of the trek experience, and to present it as the typological crystallization of the immanent relation between the nation and the God (1966:47).

This motif also appears in many of the Psalms dating from the period of the first Temple. These passages, however, emphasise the contrast between Yahweh's guidance of Israel through the wilderness and Israel's apostasy.

Since Hos. 2:16-17 is considered one of the "godfathers" of the nomadic ideal, Talmon devotes special attention to it. He agrees that this passage is in part derived from the "desert-trek" motif, but notes that the "marital love image" has no roots in the desert account. Thus, according to Talmon, one must look elsewhere for the source of Hosea's image.

Talmon offers two possibilities for the source of "a traditional 'love-cum-midbār' motif, with midbār standing for 'drift' or 'wilderness'"(1966:51). First, there is the "love on the drift" motif in the Song of Songs where a maiden in search of her lover is portrayed as coming up from the midbār (3:6; 8:5).

The second possible source offered by Talmon is a Canaanite "Divine love in the midbār" motif. This motif may

be found in the Baal-Anat myth, where Baal copulates with a cow in Dbr:

> Aliyan Baal hearkens
> He loves a heifer in Dbr
> A young cow in the fields of shlmmt
> He lies with her seventy-seven times
> [Yea] eighty-eight times (67:V:18-22).[1]

Talmon argues that it "stands to reason" that Hosea would combine this motif with the desert-trek motif. In this way Hosea would add a new demension to an old Canaanite myth. Unlike Baal, who failed to conquer Mot, the god of the nether world and of the desert, Yahweh is successful in subjugating the wilderness. Thus, Hosea seems to be refuting the Canaanite fertility-god myth, and announcing Yahweh's supremacy over the entire earth. Therefore, Talmon argues, Hos. 2:16-17 cannot be used as evidence for a nomadic ideal. Rather, "It is the result of a literary process of motif-mixing, rather than a conscious expression of an explicit theological or existential idea" (1966:52).

In Jer. 2:2-3, Talmon states, the combination of the "love" plus "desert-trek" motifs takes a new turn and "now portrays Israel's affection for God . . ." (1966:53). Talmon writes:

> It must be admitted that this employment of the desert motif by Jeremiah appears to reflect an appreciation of the desert period which deviates considerably from its estimation in the Pentateuchal traditions (1966:53).

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[1]The translation is Talmon's (1966:51).

However, Talmon remarks, since Jeremiah never develops this wilderness reminiscence into an ideal to which he wants Israel to return, his

> divergence from the Pentateuchal presentation of the desert period therefore should be explained as a literary variation rather than as a case of a deliberate reassessment of history (1966:53).[1]

Talmon correctly questions the older hypothesis that the patriarchs were nomads.[2] Although they did move from place to place throughout the Ancient Near East, they are only generally portrayed as herdsmen (van Seters 1975:37-38). From time to time they also assume the role of the farmer (Gen. 26:12f.), and of the warrior (Gen. 14). The patriarchs did not travel through the desert, but through the populated areas of the land. Furthermore, the intention of these stories is to explain Israel's existence and her religio-political relationship with the peoples that surrounded her, not to give an historical account of past events (Thompson 1974:324-326).[3] The patriarchs were the embodiment of a divine promise that Israel would one day have its own land (van Seters 1975:269).

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[1]Influenced by the work of Fox (1973), which will be discussed below, Talmon later changes his evaluation of Jer. 2:2-3. ". . . these verses do not describe approvingly Israel's love for God in the desert. A textual-stylistic analysis reveals that this passage, too, extols God's unfailing love for Israel in her youth and her bridal days when he led the people through the wilderness, through a land unsown" (1976:947).

[2]See similarly Gottwald (1974:242-244).

[3]In a similar vein Brueggemann (1968a) has argued that Gen. 2-11 was written to give theological expression to the rise of the Davidic empire.

Unlike the true desert nomad, the patriarchs wanted a settled mode of life (Gen. 15:17-18; 26:3).

Gottwald, also challenging the theory that the early Israelites were nomads, states that it is a misunderstanding of the socio-economic and political situation to see the relationship between Israel and Canaan in terms of agriculture verses nomadism. Israel was a tribal society based on the family. All people were from the same economic class, and all people had the same political power. On the other hand, Canaan was an urbanised society based on imperial rule. There was a political hierarchy and an economic stratification of society (1974:254-255). According to Gottwald,

> . . . the key variables in discriminating Israelite from Canaanite/Egyptian society, and in determining their inter-relationships, will prove to be political domination vs. political decentralization and social stratification vs. social egalitarianism, rather than the simplistic and erroneously invoked variables of agriculture vs. pastoralism or sedentariness vs. nomadism (1974:255).

Talmon's rejection of the hypothesis that the desert itself was an Old Testament ideal is unassailable. His contention that there is no positive evaluation of the wilderness wanderings in the Pentateuch is more difficult.

There are, in fact, several passages throughout the Pentateuch which indicate that at certain times in the desert Israel responded to Yahweh in a positive way. Just after Israel crossed the Reed Sea, Exod. 14:31 confesses: ". . . and the people feared the Lord; and they believed in the Lord and

his servant Moses." Fox (1973:449) denies that this passage demonstrates a positive attitude towards Yahweh during the wilderness-brek because, according to him, the crossing of the Reed Sea belongs to the Exodus tradition, not the wilderness tradition. However, in several articles (1967:253-265; 1969: 1-17; 1972a:135-152; 1972b:129-142; 1975:53-62; 1979:2-8) G. W. Coats has demonstrated that the crossing of the Reed Sea does, in fact, belong to the desert-trek tradition. According to Coats, the Exodus proper only involves the act of liberation from slavery, i.e., the initial departure from Rameses into the midbār (Exod. 13:18; see also 12:40-42). At the Reed Sea the Israelites are no longer fleeing from Egypt, "Rather, the free Israelites now face a threat to their freedom. And Yahweh, or Moses, or both, respond to defend them" (1979:3).

There are other passages in the book of Exodus which also reveal that Israel responded to Yahweh with a positive attitude. Upon coming down from one of his trips up Mount Sinai, Moses reveals to Israel all that Yahweh has demanded of her. In a unified voice the people respond: "All that the Lord has spoken we will do, and we will be obedient" (Exod. 24:7; see also 24:3). Similarly, in Exod. 35:20-29 Yahweh demands certain things from the people in order to construct the tabernacle.[1] Again the response of the people is positive:

And they came, every one whose heart stirred him,

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[1]Although the history of the traditions concerning the tabernacle is complicated, it does seem to have originated in the wilderness (Childs 1974:530-537).

> and every one whose spirit moved him, and brought the Lord's offerings to be used for the tent of meeting, and for all its service, and for the holy garments.

In fact, in 36:2f. the people continue to make so many "free-will offerings" that too much material is gathered and Yahweh has to command them to stop making donations (vss. 5-7). Certainly by the time of Nehemiah these acts would have been considered doing hsd for Yahweh (Neh. 14:4; Sakenfeld 1978:151-153). In any event, they demonstrate that at certain times during the wilderness wanderings Israel is said to have responded favourably to Yahweh and his demands.

The bulk of the material concerned with Israel's negative response to Yahweh during the wilderness wanderings is embodied in the murmuring tradition. Significantly, although there is little agreement about its origins, tradition-historians have ascertained that this tradition does not belong to the original pentateuchal narrative (Noth 1972:122-130; Coats 1968:249-254; de Vries 1968).

Noth feels that the folk etymology of Kibbroth-hattauah, "graves of craving," demonstrates that Num. 11:4ff. is the only place in the text where the murmuring tradition is firmly rooted. He therefore concludes that the murmuring tradition has its origins in the story of the giving of the quails.

Coats, however, has demonstrated that there is no primary connection between the etymology and the murmuring

tradition (1968:112-115). Furthermore, Coats argues that this tradition is only found in those passages usually attributed to J. According to Coats, there are no traces of the murmuring tradition in E. Thus, correlating this evidence with the Judean flavour of Ps. 78, Coats concludes that the murmuring tradition was added to the Pentateuch as a polemic against the northern kingdom.

De Vries agrees with Coats that the murmuring tradition was used as a polemic against the north, but argues that this use is only a readaptation of an already existing murmuring tradition. According to de Vries, the murmuring tradition was first introduced in the pentateuchal narrative in an effort to harmonize an originally independent tradition concerning a conquest of Canaan from the south (Num. 13-14), with the more popular stories of a conquest from the east. In this way, de Vries states, the southern conquest was seen as a first but unsuccessful attempt to enter the land, while the eastern invasion was viewed as a second and successful conquest.

Most recently Childs has argued against all these approaches (1974:254-264). He claims that there is evidence that the murmuring tradition has always been a part of the wilderness traditions. Furthermore, he notes two types of murmuring. In the first type Israel murmurs out of a real need for something. The emphasis of this type is not on Israel's negative attitude towards God, but on Yahweh's act of fulfilling Israel's needs. In the second type, however,

Israel murmurs against Moses and Yahweh without any real justification. In this case, the emphasis is indeed on Israel's negative behavior towards Yahweh. Interestingly, Childs notes that in the J tradition all occurences of the first type of murmuring are before the incident of the golden calf (Exod. 32), while all the second type occur after this event. Childs therefore concludes that the picture of Israel's attitude towards Yahweh as given by the J tradition is one that starts on a positive note, but deteriorates as time moves on.

According to Childs, E may also have known of the murmuring tradition, but he makes no further comments concerning this possibility. P and D, Childs states, link the two types of murmuring together to serve their own polemical purposes.

Hence, according to Childs, there are both positive and negative aspects of the wilderness tradition. Both aspects originated together, and both have received some amount of reinterpretation. Childs does not believe that Jeremiah and Ezekiel know of different wilderness traditions (compare Jer. 2:2-3 with Ezek. 20), but that they emphasise different aspects of the same tradition.

There are also certain problems with Talmon's analysis of Hos. 2:16-17. Of the two choices offered as the source of a "love on the drift motif," Talmon himself seems to favour the Baal myth. However, in this myth Baal copulates with a cow in Dbr, not in the midbār. The difference between these

two words may only be the prefixed mem, but James Barr has rightly warned against underestimating the power of the prefix (1961:100-106, 111).[1] A word and its root do not necessarily have the same meaning, nor do they necessarily have the same semantic history (Barr 1961:102, 111).

The precise meaning of dbr in the Ugaritic myth, moreover, is uncertain. It occurs in parallel with šd "field" (67:V:19), pat mdbr "edges of the desert" (52:68), and mdbr "desert" or "grazing land."[2] Driver suggests that dbr means "decease," while Gray believes that it is cognate to the Hebrew dbîr, and means "in the Back of Beyond." Aistleitner, however, thinks it is cognate to the Hebrew dōber, and means "pasture."[3] This derivation and meaning is accepted by de Moor, although he more precisely defines the relationship between dbr and mdbr. According to de Moor, dbr is "Pasturage on the fringes of the desert (mdbr), 'steppe'" (1971:156). Arguing from the Ugaritic form, arṣ dbr, Gordon has concluded that dbr is a place name meaning, "Land of Grazing" (1955:III:254; 1965:383-384). This sense is adopted by van Zijl as the "most acceptable" (1972:173). No one, however, suggests that

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[1]Barr refers to the approach that searchs for the meaning of a word in its root as "the root fallacy" (1961:100).

[2]For these meaning of mdbr see Gordon (1965:383-384).

[3]For the views of Driver, Gray, and Aisteitner see van Zijl (1972:172-173).

dbr means the desert proper, yet in Hosea midbār consistently carries this meaning (2:5, 16; 9:10; 13:5, 15).[1] Thus, Talmon's suggestion that the Baal myth is Hosea's source of a "Divine love in the midbār" motif must be rejected. At best the Ugaritic myth displays a "Divine copulation in Dbr) motif, where Dbr most likely means "pasture" or "Land of Grazing."[2]

Talmon's other suggestion, that Hosea's source of the "Divine love in the midbār" motif is the "love on the drift" motif in the Song of Songs, is also problematic. In chap. 3, although the girl does come up from the midbār, it is in a wedding procession to the city. She and Solomon so not engage in love until after she enters Jerusalem. On an earlier occassion they are said to have made love in the house of the girl's

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[1]Of Hosea's five uses of midbār, one refers to the desert as a geophysical entity (13:15), three refer to the forty years that Israel spent wandering the wilderness (2:16; 9:10; 13:5), and one is used figuratively to describe Yahweh's punishment of Israel (2:5). Parallel terms and images include "parched land" (k^{e}ᵓereṣ siyyâh), "death by thirst" (wahămitîhā bassāmāᵓ), and "land of drought" (b^{e}ᵓereṣ talᵓubôt). Also from the midbār comes the east wind (yābôᵓ qādîm) which dries up fountains (w^{e}yēbôš m^{e}qôrô) and parches springs (w^{e}yeḥĕrab maᶜyānô). None of these instances carry a nuance similar to the Ugaritic use of dbr in the Baal-Anat myth.

[2]For an argument that dbr and mdbr are used synonymously in the Baal-Anat myth see Pope (1977:425-426). However, even if Pope's suggestion is favoured over de Moor's, it does not affect the above results. Since the terms discussed by Pope are Ugaritic, it does not necessarily follow that the corresponding Hebrew terms are also synonyms (Barr 1961:138-139). The question remains whether a "Divine copulation in Dbr" motif, where Dbr stands for "Land of Grazing," is the same as a "Divine love in the midbār" motif, where midbār stands for the desert proper.

parents, but this episode also takes place in the city (3:4). Hos. 2:16-18, on the other hand, states that Yahweh loved Israel and that Israel called Yahweh her husband while they were both still in the midbār.

After another romatic session, Cant. 8:6 states that the two lovers came up from the midbār together. However, from the context it is clear that here midbār refers to the fields which contain the vineyards and pomegranate orchards (7:10f.). Cant. 7:11 even states that while in this midbār they lodged in the villages of the fields. Since Talmon himself states that midbār must be used in the sense of "drift or wilderness" (1966:51), the Song of Songs cannot be considered Hosea's source.

The most recent article written on the "desert ideal" is Fox's (1973:441-450). In this study Fox takes exception to Talmon's conclusion that Jer. 2:2-3 reveals an appreciation of the wilderness period. According to Fox, Jer. 2:2 does not refer to Israel's kindness towards God, but God's toward Israel.

Fox starts his analysis by stating that hesed is never used to describe man's actions towards God. Against Glueck (1967:101-102), Fox states that hesed does not imply a mutual exchange of favour, but a one-sided boon given by the one who has the power to aid the recipient. Thus, Fox writes, ". . . hesed could never be applied to Israel's behavior towards God, although it is of course a standard term

to describe God's behavior toward Israel" (1973:444).

According to Fox, hesed n^{e}cûrayik is gramatically equivalent to hasdê dāwid (Isa. 55:3), which does not mean the hesed which David showed God, but that which Yahweh showed the king (cf. Williamson 1978). Similarly, in Ps. 59:18, ʾĕlōhê hasdî refers not to the hesed shown to God by the speaker, but to that which he received.

Fox suggests that *zkr hesed is equivalent to *šmr hesed. This suggestion is based on the fact that the commandment of Exod. 20:8 uses zkr, while the corresponding commandment in Deut. 5:12 uses šmr. Since lāk is the dative of advantage, Fox translates zākartî lāk hesed as, "I have maintained for you the kindness (of your youth)." Fox clains to have discovered several parallels to this construction. Ps. 98:3, zākar hasdô weʾĕmûnātô l^{e}bêt yiśrāʾēl, is translated, "He has maintained his kindness and his faithfulness to the house of Israel." Similarly, Ps. 106:45, wayyizkōr lāhem b^{e}rîtô, is translated, "and he maintained his covenant for them." According to Fox, the second half of Ps. 98:3 demonstrates that "Maintaining (zkr) hesed means giving salvation" (1973:445).

Realizing the importance of the clause, lektēk ʾaḥăray bammidbār b^{e}ʾeres lōʾ z^{e}rûʿâ, Fox argues that it does not descrive Israel's supposed hesed, but rather defines the time and circumstances in which Yahweh revealed his hesed. "Now to say that Israel went after Yahweh in the desert is simply

another way of saying that Yahweh went before Israel, i.e., led her in the desert" (1973:446). Thus, Fox concludes, "This shows kindness in the guide, not necessarily loyalty in the guided" (1973:446). Jer. 2:3 is also seen as one of the ways in which Yahweh shows Israel hesed. "Thus Jer 2:2 cannot be regarded as á deviation from the usual desert motif, and certainly not as an expression of a 'desert ideal' – even of a purely 'literary' nature" (1973:448).

Fox then briefly discusses the meaning of Jer. 2:2-3 within the context of 2:2-19. According to Fox, Yahweh claims to have shown Israel hesed in the wilderness, only to have it rejected by her (vs. 6). This line of thought is supported by the similar understanding of the wilderness in Jer. 7:23-25. Thus, according to Fox, rather than being different as is commonly supposed, Jeremiah's understanding of the wilderness is identical with that presented in Deut. 8: 1-18. At no time during the wilderness wanderings did Israel respond favourably to Yahweh.

Regarding Hos. 2:16-17, Fox argues that the word usually translated "respond" (wᵉᶜānᵉtâh), should read "sing." The reason given is that the verb ᶜnh is never used in the sense of "be responsive" in a general way, but only in specific instances. This passage is then interpreted in the context of 2:13, Yahweh's threat to put an end to all Israel's feasts. According to Fox, 2:17 is really the announcement of a promise to reinstate Israel's feasts and all the singing

that accompanies them. This singing is not that associated with a wedding, but with Israel's festivals, most probably Ingathering. Exod. 15:21 shows that Israel sang "at the time when she came out of the land of Egypt." Hence, according to Fox, there are no prophetic traditions which view any aspect of the wilderness wandering tradition in a positive light.

Many of Fox's points cannot stand the test of close scrutiny. He begs the question when he assumes that hesed is never used to express Israel's attitude towards Yahweh, and then interprets Jer. 2:2 in this light. It is true that in a secular context hesed is never used to describe the actions of the situationally weaker party towards the situationally stronger (Sakenfeld 1978:234), but Sakenfeld suggests five reasons how it may have come to be used to describe Israel's attitude towards Yahweh:

> . . . as behavior of men to other men, hesed could be given religious generalization through the concept of the covenant community. As behavior of the community toward God, hesed could be stretched to apply (despite God's power of reprisal and lack of need) because (1) as in secular tradition it was only God who punishes; (2) although hesed was not needed, it nevertheless was desired and yet could not be forced out of the people; (3) hesed did in secular contexts refer to fulfilling of covenant responsibilities (even though from a position of power) and this is what was desired of Israel; (4) the bidirectional use of other covenant language may have lent impetus to the development of religious usage; (5) the abstracting toward "faithfulness," by association with the closely related words ʾĕmet and hāsîd, made the context of the word more appropriate for describing Israel's relationship to God (1978:180-181).

Sakenfeld also argues that hesed is used in this same way in

Hos. 4:1 and 6:6 (1978:170-173). In these passages hesed is used in parallel with "knowledge of God," and "faithfulness" (ʾèmet), and in opposition to "sacrifice." Sakenfeld thus concludes that in its religious usage hesed is directed both to God and to fellow men. "With respect to God, it is clear that Israel has a responsibility, but it is to him, not for him" (1978:173).

Sakenfeld suggests it is this religious meaning that lies behind the post-exilic use of hesed. Neh. 13:14 reads: zākᵉrâh-lî ʾèlohay ʿal-zoʾt wᵉʾal-temaḥ ḥăsāday ʾàšer ʿāśîtî bᵉbêt ʾĕlohay, lit. "Remember in my favour, my God, concerning this, and do not wipe out my ḥăsāday which I did for the house of my God."[1] According to Sakenfeld, Nehemiah's "heseds" are his eviction of Tobiah from the Temple, and the re-establishment of the Levites with full tithes. Hence, although hesed has come to mean "good deeds" or "pious acts," "The action may be understood as a responsibility, but it is a responsibility to God, not for another man . . ." (1978:152).

Fox's analysis of Jer. 2:2-3 is also problematic. Although hesed nᵉʿûrayik is grammatically equivalent to hasdî dāwid, it does not necessarily mean that Jeremiah is referring to God's hesed to Israel. Also grammatically equivalent to these phrases is hesed yhwh (Ps. 33:5) where the hesed is clearly directed from Yahweh towards the earth. In fact, in

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[1]The last word ûbmiššārāyw, "and his service," is likely a later gloss (Sakenfeld 1978:151).

the majority of phrases that have this construction, the hesed is a quality which stems from the noun following it. Although this point does not prove Fox's suggestion wrong, it does indicate that his is not the only way of interpreting this construction.

Fox again begs the question when he assumes that zkr and šmr are synonyms, and then interprets Jer. 2:2 accordingly. The only piece of evidence presented in support of this claim is the use of zkr in Exod. 20:18 and šmr in Deut. 5:12. Yet this correspondence hardly precludes the synonymity of the two words. The difference between the two versions of the fourth commandment suggests two different traditions, and the use of zkr and šmr may have been determined by these traditions rather than the meaning of the verbs (Stamm and Andrew 1967:14-16; Nielsen 1968:37-38). Furthermore, Childs (1962: 50-56), Nielsen (1968:38), and Weinfeld (1972a:222) all note that where other sources use zkr, the corresponding Deuteronomic passages consistently replace it with šmr. Childs and Weinfeld attribute this change, not to synonymity, but to a theological bias on the part of the Deuteronomist. In Exod. 20:8 Israel is told to remember the sabbath because God created the world in six days and rested on the seventh. However, according to Childs, in Deuteronomy there is a theological change in the relationship between the sabbath and memory. Here "Israel observes the Sabbath in order to remember her slavery and deliverance (1962:53; see further Deut. 16:3).

Thus the Deuteronomist has purposefully changed zkr to šmr because, "Israel does not remember festivals, but observes them in order to remember" (Childs 1962:55). Hence, although a relationship between these two verbs exists, the Deuteronomic usage implies a significant difference in connotation and meaning.

Within the book of Jeremiah there is a clear distinction between the ways zkr and šmr are used. Within both the poetic and prose traditions zkr is used when someone is remembering someone else or a characteristic of someone else. So, for example, Yahweh is asked to remember Jeremiah (15:15), and Babylon is commanded to remember Yahweh (51:50). In 23:36 the people are told to remember Yahweh's burden no longer, while in 14:10 Yahweh says that he will remember the people's sin. In addition, zkr is also used in relation to the covenant. Jeremiah asks Yahweh to remember his covenant (14:21), while Yahweh commands Israel not to remember the Ark of the Covenant (3:16).

Jeremiah uses šmr in a variety of ways, but all are different from his use of zkr. Thus, for example, in 9:3 and 17:21 šmr is used as a warning, and can be translated, "beware," or "take heed." It is also used in the sense of watchman, protector or keeper (31:10; 52:24; 35:4; 51:12). Jeremiah also uses šmr in the context of observing laws, be they Yahweh's (8:7; 16:11) or another's (35:18). Thus, although one might want to argue that zkr and šmr overlap in meaning at this point,

there is a difference. One remembers the covenant but observes the law.[1]

An equally telling point is the fact that in Biblical Hebrew the clause "to remember something for a people," implies that it is a characteristic of that people (Peake 1910:I:88). An example having the same grammatical construction as Jer. 2:2 is Ps. 79:8: ʾal-tizkār-lānû ʿăwonot riʾšonîm; lit., "Remember not against us the sins of our fathers." Here Yahweh is not being asked to forget the sins he committed against the fathers, but rather the sins the fathers committed against him (see similarly Ps. 25:7, Isa. 63:11, Mal. 3:22, Eccl. 5:19; 11:8). Hence, it is more likely that in Jer. 2:2 Yahweh is remembering the ḥesed Israel once showed him, rather than that he once showed Israel.

Even more problematic is Fox's contention that Jer. 2:2c, lektēk ʾaḥăray bammidbār bᵉʾereṣ loʾ zᵉrûʿâ, is only another way of saying that "Yahweh went before Israel, i.e., led her in the desert." When Jeremiah wants to say that Yahweh led Israel in the midbār, he uses the hiphil of hlk (2:6, 17). When he wants to stress Israel's following, he uses the qal of hlk (2:5, 8, 23, 25).[2] Significantly, in Jer. 48:2 there

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[1]On the relationship between covenant and law see McCarthy (1972:10-11), Eichrodt (1966), and Mendenhall (1955).

[2]The expression, "Israel (or her representative) followed after Yahweh," occurs seven times in the Old Testament (Deut. 13:5; 1 Kgs. 14:8; 18:21; 2 Kgs. 23:3, 2 Chron. 34:31, Jer. 2:2, Hos. 11:10). In each instance the emphasis is clearly on Israel's following and not Yahweh's leading (Helfmeyer 1968:77-93).

is a clause which is grammatically equivalent to 2:2. After condemning Moab for her actions against Israel, Jeremiah proclaims: ʾaḥărayik tēlek hāreb; lit., "and after you shall follow the sword." It would make no sense to maintain that this clause means that Moab went before the sword, or that Moab led the sword. This oracle is clearly meant to proclaim that Moab will be constantly followed by military distruction.

To maintain his argument, it is necessary that Fox translate Jer. 2:2c temporally. In this way he can put the emphasis on the time in which Israel followed Yahweh, rather than on the act of following. Although this suggestion is grammatically possible, it in itself does not rule out the suggestion that Yahweh is remembering Israel's hesed towards him when she followed him in the wilderness. Indeed, the KJV translates the verse temporally, and many of its commentators voice this interpretation (Streane 1895:11). In chapter two it will be demonstrated that the structure and rhetoric of Jer. 2 favour the historical translation over the temporal.

Fox's reference to Jer. 7:23-25 in support of his theory cannot be accepted. Jer. 7 is part of the prose tradition, and although it may be based on Jeremiah's teachings, in its present form it has been reworked by the Deuteronomic editor.[1] Thus, all that one can conclude from this

[1]Usually only vss. 1-15 are thought to be based on Jeremiah's actual temple sermon. The rest of the chapter,

evidence is that both the author of Deut. 8 and the Deuteronomic redactor of Jer. 7 viewed the wilderness wandering tradition negatively.

Nor can Fox's translation of Hos. 2:17 be accepted. Strictly speaking, vs. 13 does not announce the end of Israel's singing, so Fox's suggestion that vs. 17 announces the restoration of what vs. 13 proclaims destroyed is not convincing.

Hosea uses the verb ʿnh five other times in chap. 2 (all in vss. 23-24), and all five clearly have the meaning of "respond." Yet the response given is no more or less general than that given in vs. 17. Vss. 23-24 list a chain of responses from Yahweh through the heavens, the earth, agricultural produce, and finally to Jezreel. The response that Israel is expected to give Yahweh is quite specific: "You will call me, 'My husband,' and no longer will you call me, 'My Baal'" (2:18). Clearly the purpose of vss. 23-24 is to inform Israel that when she responds to Yahweh in positive way, "as in the time when she came out of the land of Egypt," Yahweh will restore all that he announced destroyed in vss. 11-15. This conclusion is further supported by the items listed in each passage. In 2:11 Yahweh announces the destruction of the grain, the new wine, and the wool and flax. In 2:24 he announces the restoration of the grain, the new wine, and the olive oil.[1]

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including vss. 23-25, is thought to be the composition of the Deuteronomist (Nicholson 1970:68ff., Thiel 1973:103-134).

[1]For arguments supporting the unity of Hos. 2 see U. Cassuto (1973:101-140).

In sum, scholars have proposed two major theories regarding texts such as Jer. 2:2-3 and Hos. 2:16-17. First, there are those who have suggested that these passages attest to a nomadic ideal in the prophetic literature. According to this view, the prophets taught that the desert was the ideal place to live because there Israel could maintain a pure Yahwistic faith. This prophetic tradition is seen in sharp contrast to that presented in the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the book of Ezekiel, all of which supposedly know only a negative wilderness tradition.

The second group of scholars has argued against the above hypothesis. This group started by arguing that the desert was never viewed ideally by the Israelites, but that it was feared. Furthermore, the prophets continually used desert imagery to announce death and destruction, not restoration. These objections to the nomadic ideal are cogent, but they were countered by the claim that the ideal was not the desert itself, but Israel's relation to Yahweh during the wilderness wanderings (de Vaux). Scholars like Barth, Talmon, and Fox, on the other hand, have argued against even this suggestion. According to these scholars, there never was a positive wilderness tradition in Israel.

It has been shown, however, that the arguments of these last three scholars are not free from problems. Too much weight has been given to Ugaritic parallels, or difficult grammatical and syntactic constructions. Therefore, a re-

examination of the wilderness motif in the prophets is needed. Since the most recent attacks against a positive wilderness tradition have dealt with Jer. 2:2-3, and since this passage is considered one of the "cornerstones" of the desert ideal theory, the following chapter will be a new study of the use of the wilderness motif in Jer. 2:2-3. Furthermore, since purely philological methods have failed to be conclusive, this new study will rely primarily on rhetorical and structual methods.[1] The third chapter will then attempt to identify the traditions that lie behind Jeremiah's understanding of the wilderness.

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[1]The rhetorical studies of Cassuto (1973:101-140), Lys (1976:59-77), and Clines (1979:83-103) all support the existence of a positive wilderness tradition in Hos. 2. Lys (1976:73) qualifies his position by stating, "La volonté de Dieu, ce n'est pas la fuite au désert loin de la culture, ce n'est même pas de vivre dans la culture comme au désert (cf les Recabites, Jr 35), mais c'est de vivre dans la culture de la même grâce qu'au désert."

2. RHETORICAL AND CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

As the title indicates, this chapter will employ the method of rhetorical criticism. This method, although used by Cassuto (1973:101-140) during the early part of the century,[1] was first given definition by J. Muilenburg:

> What I am interested in, above all, is in understanding the nature of Hebrew literary composition, in exhibiting the structural patterns that are employed for the fashioning of a literary unit, whether in poetry or in prose, and in discerning the many and various devices by which the predications are formulated and ordered into a unified whole. Such an enterprise I should describe as rhetoric and the methodology as rhetorical criticism (1969:8).

The exact nature and extent of these literary devices is difficult to determine (Holladay 1976:20). Holladay refers to them as "repetitions, parallels, and contrasts in words, phrases, syntax, and other structures" (1976:21).[2] Hence, the rhetorical critic runs the risk of succumbing to subjectivity (Muilenburg 1969:9). What may be identified as a rhetorical tag by some scholars may be dismissed as a superfluous gloss by others. According to Muilenburg, in in-

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[1]Although Cassuto's essay, "The Second Chapter of Hosea," was not published in an English translation until 1973, it was originally written in 1927.

[2]More specific terms that have entered the vocabulary of the rhetorical critic are inclusio, chiasmus, and introversion. For a discussion of these terms and others see Kikawada (1974:18-32), Lundbom (1975:1-2, 16-21), Holladay (1976:13-26).

stances such as these, ". . . there is no substitute for literary sensitivity" (1969:9). In the final analysis, therefore, the results must speak for themselves.

One brief note should also be said about the method's presuppositions. Rhetorical criticism, rather than viewing the Biblical text as a group of originally independent and now loosely arranged stories or oracles, presupposes that there is a unity to the text. That is to say, it assumes that the literary devices that exist in any given text did not come to be by accident, but that they were consciously (or subconsciously) employed to convey meaning and stress (Muilenburg 1969:18). In an oral society such as ancient Israel, rhetorical structures served to inform the audience where the speaker was taking them.

Rhetorical analysis of the Old Testament has just begun to make a contribution to the study of Jeremiah. J. Lundbom (1975) wrote a Doctoral thesis on the rhetoric of Jeremiah, but his study is limited to a discussion of how the prophet's rhetoric can help delimit individual oracles. Lundbom's discussion of the rhetorical devices that act to bind the whole book of Jeremiah together is sketchy. A more thorough study along these lines is that of W. L. Holladay (1976). Holladay is interested in discovering how the book of Jeremiah was compiled in its present order. He seeks to identify rhetorical links between individual and/or groups of oracles.

Within the first ten chapters of Jeremiah, Holladay has discovered two main groups of oracles. These groups he labels the "harlotry cycle" (2:5-37; 3:1-5, 12b-14a, 19-25), and the "foe cycle" (4:1-6:30; 8:4-10a, 13). He discerns a "supplementary for cycle" in 8:14-10:25. The harlotry cycle contains the oracles in which Jeremiah accuses Israel of deserting her God, while the foe cycles announce the punishment which will befall Israel for her apostasy. These cycles contain references to the "foe from the north" (1:13-16; 4:6; 6:1; 10:22). The Temple Sermon and the prose material (7:1-8:3) are seen as intrusive to the basic structure of chaps. 1-10. According to Holladay, the redactors placed them in their present position because of their verbal association with 6:16ff. (1976:102-105). Holladay asserts that with the exception of this prose material, chaps. 1-10 make up the scrolls which Jeremiah dictated to Baruch (chap. 36). Therefore, Jeremiah himself is seen as responsible for the structure of the first ten chapters of his book (1976:169-174).

Of particular interest is Holladay's discussion of Jer. 2:2-3. He notes that this oracle, rather than accusing Israel of harlotry or announcing a foe, refers to a time when Israel was true to Yahweh, and when Yahweh protected her from invaders. Since the themes of this oracle are similar to those of the foe and harlotry cycles despite its independence from them, Holladay labels 2:2-3 the "seed oracle." In Holladay's opinion, this oracle is used to generate the harlot-

ry cycle by contrasting Israel's past attitude to Yahweh (2:2) with her present attitude. Similarly, it generates the foe cycle by contrasting Yahweh's past protection of Israel from invaders (2:3) with his present use of these invaders to punish her.

According to Holladay, the rhetorical links from Jer. 2:2 to the harlotry cycle are clear. If the words and themes that are common to both are systematically matched, "a kind of" chiasmus develops. This structure is best realized by the following illustration (from 1976:32):

2:2	I (=Yahweh) remember	your (=Israel's) youth	bride your following me (hlk qal) in the wilderness in a land not . . .
2:5			you went after worthlessness (hlk qal);
2:6			he who leads us (hlk hiphil) in the wilderness in a land not . . . and not . . .
2:32	forget forget me (=Yahweh)		bride
3:4		my (=Israel's) youth	
3:21	forget Yahweh		
3:24		our (=Israel's) youth.	

Thus, according to Holladay, "the words related to bride form an inclusio in Jer. 2, and the words for youth form an

inclusio in Jer. 3" (1976:33-34).

Holladay also discovers many rhetorical links between Jer. 2:3 and the foe cycle. The clause, "evil came upon them," occurs again in 4:9; 5:12; and 6:9. The verb, "to eat," in the context of war is found again in 5:17. The clause, "Israel was holy to Yahweh, the first fruits of his harvest" (2:3), is contrasted to the command in 5:10: "Go up through her vine rows and destroy . . . for they are not Yahweh's."

Holladay's study is invaluable for understanding the book of Jeremiah, and the criteria used for its compilation. His identification of Jer. 2:2-3 as the seed oracle, for example, is convincing.[1] However, his division of the foe and harlotry cycles is problematic. Holladay says that the harlotry cycle ends at 3:25, and the foe cycle begins at 4:1. He basis this conclusion on three points: (1) the use of n^{c}r in 3:4 and 24 suggests that 3:25 is the end of the harlotry cycle; (2) the closest analogue to the double use of šwb in 4:1 is in 8:4, thus producing an inclusio around the foe cycle; and (3) both 4:1-2 and 8:4-5 echo material within the foe cycle.

Holladay does not demonstrate a structure in Jer. 3 over which n^{c}r forms an inclusio. Thus, far too much weight is placed upon the reptition of this one word for it to sustain Holladay's conclusion. Furthermore, Jer. 3:24-25 is usually considered a Deuteronomic expansion.[2] And if, as

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[1]See the reviews by Brueggemann (1977), Lundbom (1977), and Overholt (1977).

Holladay affirms elsewhere (1976:102-105), the Deuteronomist redacted the book of Jeremiah after the first ten chapters had assumed their present ordering, Jeremiah would not have been responsible for an inclusio based on n^{c}r.[1]

Although 4:1-2 and 8:4-5 echo material from the foe cycle, so does 2:15 (4:7), 2:19 (4:18), 2:13 (4:22), and 2:33 (5:4). Holladay himself makes a list of parallels and contrasts that exist between the harlotry and foe cycles (1976: 59-62). Significantly, the subject matter of Jer. 4:1-4 is not the "foe from the north," but Israel's harlotry. Hence, rather than forming an "envelope" around the foe cycle, it seems likely that the reference in 8:4-5 to 4:1-2 is just another place where the foe cycle adopts some of the vocabulary and imagery from the harlotry cycle.

Neither does the appearance of šwb in 4:1 and 8:4 necessarily suggest that these two verses form an inclusio over the foe cycle. The two occurrences of šwb in 8:4 cannot be treated separatly from their context, but must be understood in relation to the other three occurrences in 8:5. Therefore, since 8:4-5 uses šwb five times, there is no "envelope" over the foe cycle involving two pairs of the root

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[2]See Bright (1965:23, 25) and Thiel (1973:86-87). Later, although he identifies a poetic core, Holladay too admits that vss. 24-25 have been edited (1976:47-48). Although he does isolate an original poetic core, n^{c}r is not part of it (cf. Rudolph 1947:25-26).

[1]Muilenburg (1969:9-10) and Brueggemann (1974:154-158) also see the Deuteronomic additions in Jer. 3 as intrusive to the structure of the chapter.

šwb.

In a recent article Jobling (1978:45-55) uses rhetorical criticism to argue that the poetic material in Jer. 3:1-4:2 originally had the following order: 3:1-5, 19-20 12b-13, 21-4:2. Although this arrangement requires the deletion of the prose, Jobling also removes 4:3-4 and much of 3:13. The reason for deleting 4:3-4, Jobling states, is they do not use the root šwb, and they have no apparent link with what precedes them.

There are certain problems with Joblings method. It begs the question to re-structure a piece of literature, and then argue that the structure supports the rearranged text. Furthermore, in what follows it will be demonstrated that the text as it now stands exhibits a coherent structure.

Significantly, within 3:1-4:4 šwb occurs in the verbal form eight times. Of these occurrances, four function in two groups of pairs (3:1; 4:1). In two other instances the verb is used in conjunction with a nominal vorm of šwb (3:12, 14), and on one occassion it is used with two nominal forms (3:22). Only once does a verbal form stand alone (3:19). These usages of šwb form the following introversion:[1]

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[1]Following Kikawada's suggestion that the term chiasmus be reserved for only those structures following the A:B:B:A pattern (1974:23).

A 3:1 Will a man return (hăyāšûb) to the wife he has divorced?[1]
you have played the harlot, and would you return (wᵉšûb) to me?

B 3:12 Return (šûbâh) faithless (mᵉšubâh) Israel, I will not remain angry.

C 3:14 Return (šûbû) faithless (šûbābîm) children, I am your husband (bāʿaltî).

C 3:19 I (Yahweh) thought you would call me my husband (ʾabî), and not turn (tāšûbiw) from me.

B 3:22 Return (šûbû) faithless (šûbābîm) children, I will heal your faithlessness (mᵉšûbōtēkem).

A 4:1 If you return (tāšûb),
to me you should return (tāšûb).

The two A clauses are the only ones which employ a pairing of two verbal forms of šwb. In these two lines Jeremiah contrasts the facile and superficial way in which Israel wants to return to Yahweh (3:1f.), with the religiously profound way that Yahweh demands of her (4:1f.; Hyatt 1956:831). Israel must do more than lip-service to Yahweh. She is expected to love him and serve him with all her heart and soul (cf. Jer. 31:31-34; Deut. 10:12).

Both B clauses start with an imperative of šwb which is immediately followed by a nominal form meaning "faithless." Both clauses also record something that Yahweh will do for Israel if she returns to him. In the first clause Yahweh says that he will no longer remain angry with Israel, while in the second he says that he will cure Israel's faithlessness.

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[1]The LXX reads: "If a man divorces his wife and she departs from him and marries another, can she return to him again?

The climax of the introversion is found in the interplay between the two C clauses. Although the first one resembles the B clauses by starting with a pairing of an imperative and nominal form of šwb, it is distinguished from them by the second half of the line. Unlike the B clauses, this part does not record something Yahweh will do for Israel, but defines Yahweh's relationship to Israel. Yahweh demands that Israel return to him because he is her husband (bāʿaltî; Hyatt 1956:827).[1] In the second C clause Yahweh queries: "I thought you would call me my husband (ʾābî),[2] and not turn (tāšûbiw) from me." Whereas in the first C clause Yahweh states his relationship to Israel, in the second he wonders why then has Israel turned from him. Interestingly, in the second C clause the order of the words "husband" and "turn" are reversed from that in the first C clause. If the letter A represents the verb šwb, and the letter B the word for "husband," an A:B:B:A chiasmus is observed.

In sum, on both thematic and rhetorical grounds it has been demonstrated that Jer. 4:1-4 is part of the material in chap. 3 (the harlotry cycle), and not part of the foe cycle (cf. Muilenburg 1969:9-10, Brueggemann 1974:154-158). Its function is to discredit Israel's facile attempts to return to Yahweh (3:1-5), and to describe the proper things

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[1]Here Jeremiah plays on the name of Baal. Yahweh, not Baal, is Israel's true husband (cf. Bright 1965:24).

[2]For this meaning of ʾābî see p. 56.

Israel must do to reunite herself to God. Later it will be shown how Jer. 3:1-4:4 is related to the material in Jer. 2.

One other oversight by Holladay is the important ways in which Jeremiah uses the verb hlk and the noun midbār throughout chap. 2. The use of these words is of particular importance for this study since they bear directly upon the problem of Jeremiah's understanding of the wilderness period.

In Jer. 2 the qal of hlk is used five times, all in conjunction with ʾhry. In all five cases the reference is to Israel following after some god, be it Yahweh or another. Nowhere else in the poetry of Jeremiah is hlk used to designate the following of a god by a people.[1] After both the second and third instances of hlk qal plus ʾhry in chap. 2, there occurs a hiphil form of hlk, "to lead." Remaining true to the theme in which the qal is found, both cases refer to a god (Yahweh) leading Israel. Significantly, in only one other instance in the book of Jeremiah does the hiphil form of hlk

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[1]In only two other instances is hlk combined with ʾhry. In 15:6 Jeremiah uses the combination figuratively to accuse Israel of going backwards, while in 48:2 he uses it to proclaim that the sword will always follow Moab. In most other instances hlk carries the plain meaning of "to go" or "to come" (12:9; 18:15; 22:22; 31:21 46:22; 49:3 et al.).

In the prose of Jeremiah hlk is often found in the imperative, "Go!" or in one of the following four stereotyped phrases: (1) in those days Israel and Judah will come together (3:18; 50:4); (2) Israel did not walk in Yahweh's law (7:23; 9:12; 26:4; 32:23; 44:10); (3) Israel stubbornly followed her own evil heart (3:17; 7:24; 9:13; 11:8; 13:10; 16:12; 18:12; 23:17); and (4) Israel went after other gods and served them (7:6, 9; 8:2; 9:13; 11:10, 12; 13:10 16:11; 25:6; 35:15; 44:3). In this last case hlk is often coupled with ʾhry. For a complete study of the expression hlk ʾhry in the context of following a god see Helfmeyer (1968).

carry this meaning (31:8). Moreover, of the five instances of hlk qal plus ʾhry only the first and last use the word love (ʾhb) in reference to Israel's attitude towards a god. Hence, if the letter A is assigned to these two instances, the letter B to those verses which contain hlk qal plus ʾhry but lack ʾhb, and the letter C to those passages which use the hiphil of hlk, the following pattern emerges: A:B:C:B:C:B:A. This structure can be illustrated as follows:

A 2:2 Israel loved (ʾhb) Yahweh and followed (hlk qal ʾhry) him.

B 2:5 Israel followed (hlk qal ʾhry) worthlessness.

C 2:6 Yahweh led (hlk hiphil) Israel.

B 2:8 Israel followed (hlk qal ʾhry) unprofitable things.

C 2:17 Yahweh led (hlk hiphil) Israel.

B 2:23 Israel followed (hlk qal ʾhry) the Baals.

A 2:25 Israel loved (ʾhb) and will follow (hlk qal ʾhry) strangers.

This introversion produces a series of parallel and contrasting images. The clauses in the B position accuse Israel of following after hahebel, lōʾ yôʿilû, and habbeʿālîm. Since these three terms occur in parallel, it can be concluded that the terms hahebel and lōʾ yôʿilû refer to false gods, or more specifically, to the Baals.[1] The clauses in the C position form a contrast to these accusations. Whereas Israel has committed adultery by following the Baals, Yahweh

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[1]This paralleling of terms supports Bright's suggestion that "hahebel seems to be a pun on habaʿal" (1976: 145-146).

has remained true to his people by continually leading them; be it in a physical sense in the desert (2:6), or in an ethical sense in "the way" (haddārek; 2:17).[1]

The contrast between the C and B clauses is heightened by several other verses containing words stemming from the root drk. In vs. 17 Yahweh leads Israel in the way, whereas in 2:23 Israel is accused of going after her own way (darkēk). Jeremiah claims that by doing so Israel has perverted her way (he^{c}ĕûû ʾet-darkām; 3:21), and this perversion is seen in terms of following the ways (l^{e}derek) of other nations (2:18), and adopting the ways (d^{e}rākayik) of strangs gods (lazzārîm; 3:13). Jeremiah also claims that Israel's way (darkēk; 2:33) is to wait by the way (d^{e}rākîm; 3:2) for lovers, and then teach them her way (d^{e}rākāyik; 2:33). Israel must therefore be punished for her changing ways (l^{e}šannôt ʾet-darkēk; 2:36), which Jeremiah likens to the ways (derākeyhā) of a wandering camel (2:23; K. E. Bailey and W. L. Holladay 1968).

The clauses in the A position form a contrasting inclusio over the whole structure. Israel's bridal love for and following after Yahweh are contrasted with her present love for and following after strangers (zārîm). The contrasting image between Yahweh and the zārîm, and the variety of terms used for false gods in the B clauses, suggests that this term too refers to the Baals (Holladay 1966:19). The whole

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[1]For Jeremiah's use of drk in connection with following Yahweh's commands, see 5:4-5.

structure thus contrasts Israel's earlier devotion to Yahweh with her present apostasy. This contrast is then placed in bold relief against Yahweh's never failing devotion towards his people. The question remaining is when did Israel commit adultery by rejecting Yahweh's leading for the ways of the Baals?

In 2:4 Jeremiah starts a new oracle by demanding that Israel pay attention to the divine word which he is about to deliver.[1] In vs. 5 the speaker changes from the prophet to Yahweh who wonders why the fathers (ʾăbôtêkem) changed their allegience from him to worthless gods (hahebel). Yahweh continues his query in vs. 6:

> They did not say, "Where is the lord
> who is bringing us up (hammaʿăleh) from the land of Egypt,
> who is leading (hammôlîk) us in the wilderness?"

Since the verbs are participles, and the text reads as though Yahweh were quoting the fathers, one might argue that the fathers had rejected Yahweh while they were still in the desert. However, Wijngaards has demonstrated that the formula, "I brought you up (hiphil of ʿlh) from the land of Egypt," is

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[1]Although some scholars take the introductory formulas (2:1-2a, 4) as evidence that Jer. 2 has been arranged by later editors (Bright 1965:15-18), Holladay has argued that Jeremiah himself is most likely responsible for the order in which the poetry of chaps. 1-10 now appears (1976:171-174). Huffmon, using form-critical methods, interprets Jer. 2:4-13 as a "rîb-pattern," and claims that vs. 4 is the "summons to the accused." He therefore not only maintains vs. 4 as part of Jeremiah's oracle, but as a necessary part of the "covenant lawsuit" form (1959:288-289). For more complete studies on the rîb-pattern see Harvey (1967) and Nielsen (1978).

a litergical confession celebrating not only the Exodus and wilderness wanderings, but also the settlement of the land (1965:98-102). Wijngaards therefore concludes that this formula could only have been developed after the Conquest. It is therefore likely that in 2:6 Jeremiah is quoting part of the Temple liturgy, and not accusing the fathers of deserting Yahweh while they were still in the wilderness. However, rather than using it confessionally, Jeremaih reverses its usage so that it now announces Yahweh's punishment. Hence, the English versions' translation of the participles in the past tense is correct. And, as a result, the wilderness is seen as an event that took place prior to the fathers' rejection of Yahweh (Bright 1965:17).

The time of Israel's apostasy is given in Jer. 2:7:

> And I brought you into a plentiful land
> to enjoy its fruits and its good things.
> But when you came in you defiled my land,
> and made my heritage an abomination.

Thus, according to Jeremiah, the fathers did not abandon their God's ways for those of the Baals until after they had occupied the land (cf. Deut. 32:12-18). This same understanding is apparent in Hos. 9:10:

> Like grapes in the wilderness I found Israel,
> like the first fruit on the fig tree in its first
> season I saw your fathers (<u>ʾăbôtêkem</u>).
> But they came to Baal-peor
> and consecrated themselves to Boshet
> and became detestable like the thing they loved.

When Yahweh first found Israel he reacted to her as one who is in the desert reacts to the finding of grapes, or as one

reacts to the first figs of the season (Mays 1969:132-133; Wolff 1974:163-165). It was only after the fathers came to Beth-peor that they changed their allegience to Baal.[1] Thus, according to both Hosea and Jeremiah, "fathers" is a general term used to designate Israel's ancestors (Holladay 1966:20). It encompasses not only the group that left Egypt and wandered the wilderness, but also those who first settled the land. The theme of Jer. 2:4-13 (and Hos. 9:10) is thus in harmony with the theme of the introversion. There was an early period (the wilderness) when Israel loved Yahweh and followed his ways, and there was a later time (the settlement of the land) when Israel deserted Yahweh to follow the ways of the Baals.

There is a second introversion stemming from Jer. 2:2-3 which helps illuminate Jeremiah's use and understanding of the wilderness tradition. In this instance it is based on the word midbar, and has the structure, A:B:C:B:A:

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[1]Peor is usually thought to be just east of the Jordon River (Wolff 1974:165, Noth 1968:196). Although Coats (1972a:149) argues that in their present arrangement the stories of Peor have been set in the wilderness-wanderings narrative, he maintains that originally they were a part of the conquest traditions. That Peor is not in the wilderness is supported by several passages in the Old Testament. In hopes that Balaam might curse Israel, Balak takes him to the top of Peor, "which overlooks the desert (hayšîmōn; Num. 23:28)." Furthermore, since this area is given to the tribe of Reuben (Josh. 13:20), it is clearly considered part of the conquered land, and not just a point of passing during the trek through the midbār (cf. Noth 1972:74-79).

A 2:2 Israel loved (ʾhb) Yahweh in the midbār.

B 2:6 Yahweh led Israel in the midbār.

C 2:24 Israel is a lustful (napšāû, taʾănātāh) ass lost in the midbār.

B 2:31 Yahweh is not a midbār to Israel.

A 3:2 Israel is like an Arab awaiting lovers (rēʿîm) in the midbār.

Again, as with the introversion based on the following-after theme, this midbār theme contains a variety of contrasting images. Since 2:31 is actually a rhetorical question, it implies that Israel was accusing Yahweh of being a wilderness towards her. On the contrary, Jeremiah confesses (2:6), it was, in fact, Yahweh who saved (led) Israel from the wilderness (cf. Jer. 31:2). The two B clauses thus contrast what Israel claimed of Yahweh, and what Yahweh actually did.

As with the following-after introversion, the A position clauses form an inclusio by contrasting Israel's past and present attitudes to Yahweh. While Israel was wandering the wilderness she loved her God. Now, however, Israel is as though she was in the wilderness looking for new lovers.

The central clause sums up and emphasizes Israel's current situation. Israel is like a lustful as who is both in heat and lost in the desert. Her earlier true love (ʾhb) for Yahweh has now been degraded to a purely physical need for passion (napšāû, taʾănātāh). She is lost because she has strayed from her leader. Ironically, Jeremiah later claims that the lovers which Israel seeks are really out to destroy

her (4:30), and that this destruction will come as "a wolf from the midbār" (5:6).

From a purely thematic point of view, it might be argued that Fox's understanding could replace the first A clause of the midbār introversion, and still maintain a coherent structure. The A clauses would then contrast God's love for Israel in the midbār (2:2) with Israel's love for other gods in response (3:2). However, from a grammatical perspective Fox's interpretation is less satisfactory. In both B clauses the subject is Yahweh. It is he who leads Israel, and it is he who is not a midbār to Israel. In both the C clause and the second A clause, however, the subject is Israel, and the love imagery a characteristic of her. It is she who is full of lust (2:24), and it is she who is seeking other lovers (3:2). It is therefore likely that Israel is also the subject of the first A clause, and similarly, the love imagery a characteristic of her.

The bridal imagery in Jer. 2:2 appears again in 2:32 and 3:4-5. In 2:2 Yahweh remembers the fidelity of Israel's bridal period. In contrast, Jer. 2:32 accuses Israel of forgetting her bridal period, Yahweh, and all that he has done for her.

Jer. 3:4 is usually translated along the lines of the RSV:

> Have you not just called me,
> 'My father (ʾābî), thou art the friend (ʾallôp)
> of my youth (n^{e}curay).

However, according to Holladay (1976:51), ʾābî can also mean "my husband."[1] This translation is supported by the term ʾallôp, which, although translated by the RSV as "friend," usually refers to a more intimate relationship, particularly to the one between a woman and her husband (BDB 1907:48; see also Jer. 13:21). The NAB, realizing this fact, translates ʾallôp as "bridegroom," which is well suited to the general context and imagery of Jeremiah's early chapters. A more fitting translation of Jer. 3:4-5 would therefore be:

> Have you not just now called me,
> 'My husband, thou art the bridegroom of my youth,
> will he be angry for ever
> will he be wrathful to the end,'
> Behold, you have spoken
> yet you do all the evil (hārāʿôt) you can.

Hence, the imagery is similar to that in Jer. 2:2-3. Linguistically nᵉʿûray, ʾallôp (bridegroom), and hārāʿôt of 3:4-5 allude to nᵉʿûrayik, kᵉlûlōtayik (bride), and rāʿāh of 2:2-3. The relationship between these two passages expresses a contrast: in 2:2 Yahweh remembers when his bride was true to him, whereas in 3:4 Israel's confessions to her husband have become meaningless; in 2:3 Yahweh protects his beloved and sends evil upon all those who harm Israel, while in 3:5 Yahweh is angry with Israel because it is she who has become evil.

Until now most of these contrasts have dealt with

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[1]This nuance is supported by the lexicon of Koehler-Baumgartner, and by a similar usage in certain dialects of classical Arabic (Holladay 1976:177:n14).

the imagery in Jer. 2:2. Little has been said about the "holiness" or "first fruits" imagery. Yet Jeremiah also develops these themes into a variety of contrasts. In 2:3 Jeremiah claims that Israel was Yahweh's own possession. This sentiment is reiterated in the rhetorical questions in 2:14a: "Is Israel a slave? Is he a homeborn servant?"[1] The answer to these questions is clearly no (Hyatt 1956:86), but the point of them is in the following question: "Why then has he become a prey (lābaz)?" According to Ringgren (1975:66-68), bzz means the "spoils of war." In 2:2 Jeremiah says that Yahweh protects Israel from invaders because she is a holy people. Thus, using military imagery Jeremiah contrasts how Yahweh initially protected Israel in the wilderness with Israel's current situation. Yet, as the two rhetorical questions demonstrate, this changed state is considered abnormal. The reason for the change, Jeremiah states, is Israel's forsaking of Yahweh's leadership (2:17). Yahweh's protection of Israel is dependent upon Israel's following of her God (Helfmeyer 1968:91).

The imagery of the first fruits is also used to contrast Israel's initial relationship with Yahweh to her present condition. In Jer. 2:3a Israel is said to be Yahweh's first fruits. This sentiment is reiterated in 2:21: "I planted you a choice vine, wholly of pure seed." The con-

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[1]For Jeremiah's use of rhetorical questions see Brueggemann (1973).

trast comes when Yahweh asks, "How then have you turned degenerate, and become a wild vine?" As in Jeremiah's use of the holiness imagery, here too Israel's "rotting" is due to her own actions. She has bowed down as a harlot under every green tree and upon every high hill (2:20).

The combination of the first fruits and holiness themes occurs again in Jer. 5:10:

> Go up through her vine-rows and destroy,
> but make not a full end;
> strip away her branches,
> for they are not the Lord's.

In this verse, however, all that is said of Israel in Jer. 2:3 is reversed (Holladay 1976:63-64). Rather than being the first fruits of a choice vine, Israel is like a degenerate vine whose branches have been stripped away. Similarly, rather than being a holy people Jeremiah proclaims that Israel is no longer Yahweh's. The only glimse of hope occurs in the clause, "but make not a full end," yet the tone of this clause has caused Hyatt to question its authenticity (1956:847).[1]

As remarked earlier, Holladay has discovered two subdivisions in the harlotry cycle, 2:4-37 and 3:1-5, 12b-14a, 19-25. This essay has modified the second part of the cycle by including 4:1-4. Holladay has also demonstrated that Jer. 2:2-3, the seed oracle, is rhetorically linked to the first half of the harlotry cycle by the bridal theme, and to the

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[1] In response to Hyatt's suggestion Bright remarks" ". . . if 'strip away her branches' likens the judgment to a thorough pruning, a 'full end' has not been made" (1965:40).

second half by the youth theme. However, as has been demonstrated, the major themes of these two parts are the following of gods (chap. 2), and the return to Yahweh (3:1-4:4). Furthermore, these two subsections are rhetorically linked to each other through the use of the term "evil," which forms a large introversion over the whole harlotry cycle:

A 2:3 God brings evil (rāᶜāh) upon those who attack Israel.

B 2:13 Israel commits two evils (rāᶜôt).

C 2:19a Israel's evil (rāᶜātēk) will punish her.

D 2:19b It is evil (raᶜ) to forsake Yahweh.

E 2:27 Israel calls for Yahweh to save her in times of evil (rāᶜātām).

E 2:28 Let your gods save you (Israel) in times of evil (rāᶜātekā).

D 2:33 Israel teaches her ways to evil (hārāᶜôt) lovers.

C 3:2 Israel pollutes the land with her evil (ûbrāᶜātēk) harlotry.

B 3:5 Israel did all evil (hārāᶜôt) possible.

A 4:4 Yahweh's wrath goes forth because of Israel's evil (rōᶜa).

The two A clauses express a contrast. In the first one Israel is true to God, and therefore Yahweh causes evil to fall upon all those who would harm her. In the second A clause Yahweh threatens to send his wrath upon Israel because she has committed evil. Only if Israel returns to her God will Yahweh not send his wrath upon her.

The B clauses, in agreement with each other, both accuse Israel of committing a multitude of evils. Although

the second B clause does not qualify this charge, the first clause does. Israel has forgotten Yahweh, "the fountain of living waters," and hewed out cisterns of her own, "broken cisterns that can hold no water" (2:13).

In the second C clause Yahweh states that Israel's evil harlotry has polluted the land. In the first C clause Yahweh claims that Israel's evil will be the source of her punishment. That is to say, it is through her harlotry that Israel will be punished. This understanding is in harmony with Yahweh's judgment in Jer. 5:30: "Your lovers despise you; they seek your life."

In the two D clauses Israel's evil is specifically defined. According to the first clause, Israel's evil is her forsaking of Yahweh. In the second D clause Yahweh claims that Israel even teaches her evil ways to her lovers, the Baals (Blackwood 1977:54). Together these clauses indicate that Israel's sin is twofold: she has deserted Yahweh, and she has followed the Baals (cf. 2:13).

The E clauses form the climax of the introversion. In the first one Israel is accused of calling upon Yahweh only during a time of evil. In the second E clause Yahweh asks Israel why she does not call upon the gods she worships when things are plentiful and life is harmonious. If these Baals really are gods, Yahweh demands, why do they not save you?

There is an interesting movement of thought through-

out this introversion. In the beginning Yahweh remembers when he protected Israel from evil because she faithfully followed him (2:2-3). Israel then commits many evils, which include her desertion of Yahweh and her adoption of the Baals (2:4-37). Later, Israel's superficial attempts to return to Yahweh are also included in this list (3:1-5). Yahweh then demands that Israel return to him (3:12b-14a, 19-23), but this return must involve a change of heart (4:1-4), not mere lip-service.

This rhetorical analysis also solves one of Fox's problems. Fox argues that Israel could never show hesed to Yahweh because hesed implies a one-sided boon of favour; yet what could Israel do for God (1973:443)? As the following-after introversion has demonstrated, Israel's sin is her abortion of Yahweh's leadership to follow the Baals. The midbār introversion augments this evaluation by claiming that Israel has forgotten her love of Yahweh, and now loves the Baals. Yet Israel did follow her own God when she was in the wilderness. Thus, it was in the wilderness that Israel showed hesed to Yahweh. Both the parallelism of Jer. 2:2, and the interplay between the two interversions, suggests that showing God hesed and ʾhb means following his leadership (Helfmeyer 1968:111-115).

It can be concluded then, that Jeremiah either knew of a positive wilderness tradition, or that he emphasized the positive aspects of that tradition (Childs 1974:263). However,

this positive tradition is not to be understood as a "nomadic ideal." Nowhere in his book does Jeremiah ever look upon the desert as an ideal habitat, nor does he view the nomadic existence as an ideal way of life. For Jeremiah the wilderness ideal is the attitude that Israel showed Yahweh while wandering the desert. There Israel followed God and thereby showed him hesed.

Surely it is this earlier relationship that Jeremiah has in mind when he proclaims:

> Return, faithless Israel, says the Lord
> . . . . . .
> Only acknowledge your guilt,
> that you rebelled against the Lord your God
> (3:12, 13).

For Jeremiah to accuse Israel of rebelling against Yahweh, and then to command her to return to him (4:1),[1] implies he believed that at one time Israel was true to Yahweh. Jer. 3:19 reveals the same thought, but more clearly defines how Israel responded to Yahweh, and hence, indicates the relationship Jeremiah wants Israel to return to:

> And I thought you would call me, my husband (ʾabî)
> and from following me (ûmēʾaḥăray) you would not
> turn.

This passage is particularly significant since it alludes to both the matrimonial and the following-after imagery of Jer. 2:2-3. And, in harmony with it, it demonstrates that at one time Israel followed Yahweh and referred to him as her husband.

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[1]For a complete study of the word šwb (return, turn) see Holladay (1958).

Furthermore, it demonstrates that Yahweh did not expect Israel to become faithless. Since it has been shown that to follow after Yahweh means to show him hesed, this verse also means that Yahweh did not expect Israel to stop showing him hesed.

It is in Jer. 4:4 that Yahweh instructs Israel how to return to him. In an oracle full of theological insight Jeremiah pronounces:

> Circumcise yourself to the Lord,
> remove the foreskin of your heart.

Circumcision, a rite said to have started with Abraham (Gen. 17), was the Israelites' way of demonstrating their allegiance to Yahweh and his covenant (de Vaux 1965:I:46-48). Yet Jeremiah proclaims that this act is worthless because Israel has deserted Yahweh and followed the Baals. Therefore, to return to God Israel must circumcise her heart which, according to Deut. 10:12f., means to fear Yahweh, to walk in his ways, to love him, to serve him, and to keep his commandments. Thus, "It is the inward attitude of the heart to God that matters more than outward displays or signs of allegiance to him" (Nicholson 1973:I:50). Since Jer. 4:4 is in the context of the call to Israel to return to Yahweh, it would not be going beyond the text to suggest that this newly commanded attitude is in some sense a return to Israel's first attitude towards Yahweh. That is to say, in 4:4 Jeremiah is demanding that Israel return to the covenant stipulations of following only Yahweh, and of showing him hesed and ʾahăbat.[1]

The first fruits theme of Jer. 2:2-3 is also reflected in Jer. 4:3-4. Here Israel is told to "Break up your fallow ground, and sow not among the thorns." During the wilderness wanderings, Yahweh planted Israel from pure seed (2:21), and she was the first fruits of his harvest (2:3). Later, however, she turned into a wild degenerate vine (2:21). If, therefore, Israel wants to truly return to Yahweh, she must plow up her ground and destroy any thorns, i.e., "Prepare [herself] inwardly for a new manner of living" (Bright 1965: 24). In this way the soil can provide a new crop, and Israel can once again be Yahweh's first fruits (Streane 1895:34-35).

The repitition of themes in 2:2-3 and 4:3-4, and the interplay between the themes of following after other gods (2:4-37) and returning to Yahweh (3:1-4:2) suggests that the whole harlotry cycle has the following chiastic structure:

A 2:2-3 Israel's original fidelity to Yahweh and the covenant.

B 2:4-37 Israel's abandonment of Yahweh and the covenant.

B 3:1-4:2 Yahweh's command that Israel return to him and the covenant.

A 4:3-4 To truly return to Yahweh Israel must rekindle her original faithfulness by implanting the covenant on her heart.

Both the A clauses refer to Israel's responsibility to the covenant, and both use agricultural and love imagery to

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[1] For the covenantal use of the terms "return" (šwb), "follow after" (hlk ʾhry), hesed, and ʾhb, see respectively Holladay (1958), Helfmeyer (1968:117-118), Eichrodt (1961:I 232-239), and Moran (1963).

illustrate Israel's relationship to Yahweh. However, there is a progression in the second A clause. Although in 3:1-4:2 Yahweh demands that Israel return to him, in 4:3-4 he changes the nature of the covenant. It is no longer to be conditional and written upon stone tablets, but unconditional and written on the hearts of the people (cf. Jer. 31:31-34).[1]

The first B clause contrasts Yahweh's everlasting faithfulness to Israel with Israel's desertion of Yahweh to the Baals. By following these other gods Israel had, in fact, broken her covenant with Yahweh (5:10; cf. Faur 1978). The second B clause contrasts Israel's facile attempts to return to Yahweh, with what God actually demands of her in order to facilitate this return. Since the first covenant had been broken and rendered void, the establishment of a new covenant was necessary (Blackwood 1977:224-228).

Of interest is the imagery that Jeremiah uses to portray this whole drama. Yahweh is depicted as a faithful husband, while Israel is described as an unfaithful wife who has committed adultery with paramours (the Baals). The history of this imagery and its relationship to the wilderness traditions is the subject of the following chapter.

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[1]For a full study of the new covenant in Jeremiah, and its relationship to Jeremiah's theology see Weinfeld (1976:26-35).

3. THE HISTORY OF THE MARRIAGE METAPHOR

In the last chapter it was demonstrated that Jer. 2:2-3 serves to initiate a series of contrasts which are developed through different parts of the book of Jeremiah (esp. 2:2-4:4). In these contrasts Israel's early devotion to Yahweh is compared to her present apostasy, and this shifting attitude is in turn contrasted to Yahweh's never ceasing faithfulness to Israel. According to Jeremiah, it was during the wilderness wanderings that Israel showed Yahweh her bridal love (2:2-3), and in the land (Peor/Canaan) that she switched her allegiance to the Baals.

Although there is no a priori reason why Jeremiah could not have developed all the imagery and themes in chaps. 2-3 himself, the evidence suggests that he built his pericope upon already existing traditions.[1] This chapter will analyse these traditions and comment upon Jeremiah's use of them.

It is generally accepted that Jeremiah knew of and drew upon the marriage imagery found in Hosea (Binns 1919: lxix, Rudolph 1947:11, Hyatt 1956:812, Preuß 1971:158ff., Nicholson 1973:I:29). So close is the resemblance between the appropriate passages, Skinner (1922:21) and Bright (1965: 26) argue, that it seems probable that Jeremiah had access

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[1]For a recent survey of the prophets' use of traditions with a full bibliography see Clements (1975).

to a written copy of Hosea's oracles.

The basis of these claims is that both prophets portray Israel's relationship to Yahweh as a marriage in which the wife (Israel) has loved paramours (the Baals), and thus committed adultery (Hos. 1-3; 4:7-19; 5:3-4 et al., Jer. 3:1-5; 5:7-9 et al.). Both prophets also refer to the wilderness-wandering period as a time when Israel was a faithful young bride (Hos. 2:16-17, Jer. 2:2-3). According to Hosea and Jeremiah, it is only after the arrival in the land that Israel committed her harlotry. However, a close examination of the way in which these two prophets employ specific terms suggests that Jeremiah may have known some tradition other than that represented in Hosea.

In Jer. 2:2 the terms used to describe Israel's attitude towards Yahweh while she was in the wilderness are hesed (devotion) and ʾahăbat (love). According to the parallelism of the oracle, these concepts are closely related to Israel's following after (hlk ʾhry) Yahweh. While Hosea also uses the word ʾhb, he never uses it to describe Israel's feelings towards Yahweh. It can be used to describe Yahweh's attitude towards Israel (9:15; 11:4; 14:4), but when it is used as a quality emanating from Israel, it only describes her lust for the Baals (4:18; 9:1, 10).[1] Similarly, in Hosea the expression, "follow after" (hlk ʾhry), is only used to de-

[1]For a discussion of Hosea's use of ʾhb, and other words for love, see R. L. Smith (1975:25-28).

scribe Israel's relationship to the Baals (2:7, 15) or foreign nations (5:11), never to Yahweh. The only possible exception is Hos. 11:10: "After Yahweh they will follow" (ʾaḥărê yhwh yēlᵉkû). Yet, as most scholars note, this verse has both textual and contextual problems.[1]

Like Jeremiah, Hosea desires that Israel show Yahweh hesed. However, rather than equating it with ʾhb and hlk ʾhry, terms that when used to describe a quality emanating from Israel are reserved by Hosea to describe her relationship to the Baals, Hosea equates it with daᶜat ʾĕlohîm, "knowledge of God" (6:6), or ʾĕmet, "faithfulness" (4:1).[2]

For Hosea, the term best suited to describe Israel's

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[1]Whereas Hos. 11:1-11 forms a unit in which Yahweh speaks in the first person, in vs. 10 he is spoken of in the third person. Although the imagery of a roaring lion is found in Amos 1:2, 3:8, it occurs nowhere in Hosea but 11:10. The imagery of a people returning from the west, it is argued, is out of context in an oracle in which Yahweh ponders why his beloved son, Israel, has gone far from his teachings. For these reasons Wolff (1974:203) and Mays (1969:158) consider the verse to be a later Judaic addition. Harper (1905: 371), while maintaining that vs. 10a is original (vss. 10b-11 are considered secondary), rejects yēlᵉkû as a gloss. He then emends ʾaḥărê to kʾyr and prefixes it to the last word of vs. 9, bᶜyr. As a consequence Harper reads the line as ynᶜr kʾry yhwh, "Yahweh will cry like a lion." On the other side of the spectrum is Mauchline (1956:691) who maintains that vs. 10b is original while vs. 10a is secondary. Ward (1966:194-195), although admitting that the text is problematic, states that there is no reason to doubt its Hosean origin.

[2]See the discussion by R. L. Smith (1975:28).

bridal attitude towards Yahweh is ʿnh (2:17). Like ʾhb this verb can also mean "to love," but according to Deem (1978:26-27), it emphasises a sexual love rather than an emotional or covenantal love. This nuance well suits the context of Hos. 2:16-17 where Yahweh is described as seducing (*pth) Israel (Wolff 1974:41); a term not used by Jeremiah to express Yahweh's feelings for Israel.

Differences also occur in the specific way in which these two prophets use other key terms. Hosea prophesies that after being seduced back to the desert Israel will call Yahweh "my husband" (ʾîšî), not "my lord" (baʿlî).[1] On two occassions Jeremiah also recalls a time when Israel referred to Yahweh as "my husband" (3:4, 19). Unlike Hosea, however, Jeremiah uses the term ʾabî.[2] In another verse Jeremiah refers to Yahweh as Israel's mērēʿāh (3:20), which, although translated by most versions as "husband," more strictly means "lover."

When Hosea is employing the marriage metaphor, the only euphamistic term he employs to describe the Baals is

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[1]Both ʾîšî and baʿlî can be translated, "my husband." According to Wolff (1974:4), however, ʾîšî is an endearing expression presupposing a "deep personal relationship . . . ." On the other hand, baʿlî emphasises the legal relationship between husband and wife, and implies nothing about emotional ties. There is another meaning to this verse. Since bʿl is also the name of the Canaanite fertility god, Hosea is attacking those practices which tended to adulterate Yahwism with Baalism (Mays 1969:48).

[2]Strictly speaking ʾabî means "my father." For the meaning "my husband," see Holladay (1976:51).

the piel participle of ʾhb (m^{e}ʾahăbay/m^{e}ʾahăbeyhā), "lovers" (2:7, 9, 12, 14, 15). On three occassions Jeremiah also uses the piel participle of ʾhb to refer to Israel's lovers' (22:20, 22; 30:14). None of these instances, however, refer to the Baals, or any other divinity. Jeremiah exclusively reserves this term for the foreign nations with whom Israel has engaged in diplomatic relations. What Hosea uses in a religious setting is used by Jeremiah in a political context.

A related term that Jeremiah uses to refer to Israel's lovers is the nominal form ʾahăbâ (2:33). Although Bright (1965:16) and Nicholson (1973:40) think this word refers to the Baals, Lundbom (1975:74-75) has discovered a chiasmus in 2:33-37 which demonstrates that here too Jeremiah is referring to foreign nations. Other terms that can be translated "lovers," and are used by Jeremiah in reference to foreign nations are ʿōg^{e}bîm (4:30) and ʾallupîm (13:21).

Unlike Hosea, when Jeremiah refers to the Baals as Israel's paramours, he employs a number of euphemisms. In two passages he calls them "strangers" (zārîm: 2:25; 3:13), a usage which may stem from Deut. 32:16 (Holladay 1966a:19).[1] On two other occassions the Baals are characterised as lovers, but the word used is rēʿîm (3:1; 5:8), a term that Jeremiah also uses of Yahweh (3:20). In a unique application of the

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[1] In Prov. 1-9 zārîm is the term used to describe the lewd women who would seduce young men away from their wives and the study of wisdom.

marriage metaphor in which Yahweh plays the part of the wife and Israel the part of the husband, Jeremiah refers to the Baals as "cisterns" and Yahweh as the "fountain of living water" (2:13).[1] Outside the marriage metaphor Jeremiah refers to the Baals as hahebel "worthlessness" (2:5), lō>-yō<ilû "not profitable" (2:8), and lō> >èlōhîm "no god" (2:11; 5:17; 16;20).[2]

A significant difference in the way Jeremiah and Hosea employ their terminology is noticable. Hosea uses a certain vocabulary for describing Israel's relationship to Yahweh (ḥsd, d<t >lhm, >mt, <nh, >îš), and another set of terms to describe her lusting for the Baals (>hb, hlk >ḥry b<l, m>hb). These two groups of terms are used exclusive of one another. On no occassion does Hosea use a term in the second group to describe Israel's relationship to Yahweh, nor does he use terms of the first group to describe Israel's relationship to the Baals.[3] Jeremiah, on the other

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[1]For the euphemistic use of these terms see Prov. 5: 15-18 and Cant. 4:12, 15. For a fuller discussion of Jer. 2:13 and its relationship to these passages see my forthcoming article, "Israel's 'Two Evils' in Jeremiah II 13," in VT.

[2]Preuß (1971:160) thinks that Jeremiah borrowed the term lō> >élōhîm from Hos. 8:6. However, in Hosea the expression is used as an adjective describing the golden calf. In Jeremiah it is used as a noun in place of Baal and probably derives from Deut. 32:17 (Holladay 1966a:19).

[3]The only possible exception might be 11:10 where it is prophesied that Israel will follow after (*hlk >ḥry) Yahweh. Yet, as noted above, there are both textual and stylistic problems with this verse.

hand, is not particular in his use of terms. The following terminology is used by him to describe Israel's relationship to both Yahweh and Baal: ʾhb, hlk ʾhry, bʿl, rʿh. The reason Hosea is so exclusive in his use of terminology while Jeremiah is not stems from their different understandings of the term bʿl.

According to Hosea the people were confusing Baalism with Yahwism. Consequently they thought that Yahweh was only another Baal (Wolff 1974:49-50). Hosea combats this syncretism by prophesying the extinction of the word bʿl from the Israelite vocabulary: the title is not even appropriate as an epithet of Yahweh:

> And in that day says Yahweh, you will call me, 'My husband' (ʾîšî), and no longer will you call me, 'My Baal'. For I will remove the names of the Baals from her mouth, and they shall be mentioned by name no more" (2:18-19).

Jeremiah is also concerned with the encroachment of Baalism. Yet his way of dealing with the problem is completely contrary to Hosea's methods. Rather than proclaiming the extinction of the word bʿl, Jeremiah claims that Israel's true bʿl is Yahweh (Weippert 1979:337). Yahweh had been Israel's bʿl since the Exodus (Jer. 31:32), and it is from the Baals of Canaan to her true bʿl that Jeremiah commands Israel to return (3:14).

It is these different functions of the term bʿl that lie behind the different ways in which Jeremiah and Hosea use specific terminology to describe Israel's relationship

to the divine. As remarked above, Jeremiah uses the same terminology to describe Israel's relationship to both Baal and Yahweh, while Hosea employs two sets of terms, one for each deity. Thus, when Hosea announces the extinction of the Baals, he desires that all the types of emotions that Israel showed them also disappear. None of these feelings are to be transfered to Yahweh lest they cause Israel to remember Baal. On the other hand, Jeremiah's approach is to convince Israel that her true b^{c}l is Yahweh. Consequently it is acceptable, even desirable, that Israel direct to Yahweh the emotions she had shown Baal.

In sum, Hosea and Jeremiah use different terms in different ways when using the marriage metaphor. When the two prophets do use the same terms they use them with different meanings (eg. m$^{\supset}$hb, hesed). Some expressions are even used in opposite and incompatible ways (eg. b^{c}l, hlk hry, $^{\supset}$hb). According to both prophets, the sin Israel is guilty of is adultery (znh, n$^{\supset}$p),[1] yet this accusation is a common one and can be found throughout the Old Testament (Exod. 34:15, Lev. 17:7, Num. 14:33, Deut. 31:16, Jud. 8:27, Isa. 1:21, Ps. 73:27, et al.). Hence, it cannot be said with certainty that Jeremiah drew directly upon Hosea's oracles. Indeed, the evidence suggests otherwise. Jeremiah and Hosea appear to represent two independent applications

[1]For comments on Hosea's use of the harlotry motif see R. L. Smith (1975:22-25).

of the marriage metaphor, behind which may lie a common tradition. This chapter will now proceed with an analysis of this possibility.

One of the more widely held views is that the marriage metaphor originated with Hosea's personal marital problems.[1] Scholars like G. E. Wright (1942:406), Schofield (1969:218), Harper (1936:cxliv-cxlv), G. A. Smith (Rowley 1936:95), and Cassuto (1973:114) argue that when Hosea married Gomer, he thought she was a pure woman. Only subsequently did Gomer commit adultery and desert her husband. Later, Hosea is thought to have happened upon an auction in which Gomer was being sold into slavery. Out of his deep love for his wife, so the argument goes, he bought her back and then chastised her for her adultery by imprisoning her. In this argument, Jeremiah's use of the marriage metaphor is explained as direct borrowing from Hosea (Schofield 1969: 175-177, Caughan 1971:91-92).

The greatest difficulty with this interpretation is that it contradicts the text which states, "When Yahweh first spoke through Hosea, Yahweh said to Hosea, 'Go, take yourself a wife of harlotry, for the land commits great harlotry by forsaking Yahweh'" (1:2). Thus, Hosea appears to have already arrived at his understanding of Israel's

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[1]For a survey of the many theories concerning the circumstances of Hosea's marriage see H. H. Rowley (1963: 66-97), and more recently J. F. Caughan (1971:84-88).

relationship with Yahweh before he married Gomer (Rowley 1963:95-97, Ward 1966:67-71, Mays 1969:2-3, 22ff., Wolff 1974:22-23, Clements 1975:29-30). Moreover, the purpose of the marriage was to demonstrate that the land had committed harlotry, that Israel was guilty of adultery (Heflin 1975:17).

As discussed above, a second difficulty with this view is that it is not at all certain that Jeremiah drew upon Hosea's use of the metaphor. Consequently, even if Hosea's usage is dependent upon his actual marital experience, how does one explain its appearence in Jeremiah? He could not have developed it out of an experience similar to Hosea's since Yahweh had forbidden him to marry (16:2).

W. R. Smith (1882:170-175) expounds the view that the prophets borrowed the marriage metaphor from a Canaanite source.[1] Smith advances his argument on two fronts. First, he argues that as a fertility god Baal was conceived of as the husband of the mother-land. In support of this view Smith points out that the Arabic ba^{c}l means, "land watered by the rains of heaven." In addition, the Arabic ^{c}athary, which Smith says is related to the name of Baal's consort, ^{c}Ashtoreth, means, "the fertility produced by the rains." Second, since there is no difference between the land and its people, ". . . it is indifferent whether we say that the

[1]This suggestion is accepted by J. M. P. Smith (1914:115), H. G. May (1932:85), and most recently by Ward (1966:11).

deity marries the land and so makes it productive, or marries the stock of the nation" (1882:409). Since this thought existed in Canaan, Smith argues, it was available to the prophets to adapt to their own purposes. In the prophetic adaptation the people play the part of "mother-Israel."

Both parts of Smith's argument are problematic. That the two Arabic words, ba^{c}l and ^{c}athary, signify something to do with fertile lands cannot in itself be used to draw conclusions about the nature of two divinities from a different culture.[1] Both the Bible (Jer. 32:35, Zeph. 1:4-5) and the texts from Ugarit indicate that Baal was the lord or king of the land (Oldenburg 1969:82, 141-142, van Zijl 1972:340-345), not its husband.[2] Baal was married, but not to the earth. His consort was the goddess Asherah (Anat at Ugarit), the Queen of Heaven (Jer. 44:17; Östborn 1956:79-82).

Smith's equation of the land and the people is also tendencious. Baal was the lord of all fertile land, but he was powerless in the desert, the realm of Mot. Could Baal be considered the husband of those who roamed the desert? Yet both Hosea and Jeremiah refer to Israel as Yahweh's bride

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[1]Barr's (1961:89-160) arguments in chapters five and six demonstrate the folly of such reasoning.

[2]That b^{c}l means lord when referring to a deity, and not husband, is suggested by the fact that the term originated as an appellative that could be used of any deity or king (Oldenburg 1969:58). Indeed, Baal as a proper name of a god is only a shortened form of Baal-Hadad (van Zijl 1972:346-351).

when she was wandering the wilderness and had no land. This evidence suggests that the understanding of Israel as Yahweh's wife developed independently of the connection between fertile lands (the mother-goddess), and a supposed union between the land (people) and Baal. Indeed, although Baal was the husband of Anat/Asherah, the prophets appear to be the first to apply the meaning "husband" to the personal name of the god. Since b^{c}l can mean "husband," this adaptation was not difficult. The prophets applied this meaning in order to enhance the marriage metaphor and thereby lend substance to their accusations of adultery.

Brueggemann (1968b:51-54) refers to this metaphor as the harlotry motif, and suggests that it originates in the "old legal tradition." In Exod. 34:14-16, which he claims is "one of the oldest strata of the Pentateuch," Israel is warned not to go a-whoring after other gods. Other texts referred to in support of his theory are Lev. 17:7; 20:5, 6; 21:7, 9, 14, all from the Holiness Code. These accusations and warnings, Brueggemann maintains, are adaptations of laws like Lev. 19:29 which warn the Israelites not to allow their daughters to become harlots, lest the land commit harlotry.

Brueggemann's theory is dubious. Although Exod. 34 is thought to contain some very ancient traditions, most scholars agree that vss. 14-16 were penned by the Deuteronomist (Noth 1962:262, Childs 1974:613). Brueggemann's

suggestion also fails to account for the similar accusations in other early prophecies (Isa. 1:21, Mic. 1:7), possible pre-Deuteronomic material found in the books of Kings (2 Kgs. 9:22), and in the very old tradition found in Num. 25:1-5.[1] Buss (1969:103), although not giving any precise reasons, denies that Exod. 34:14-16, as well as Num. 14:13; 25:1, and Deut. 31:16, had any influence on Hosea. The regulations found in Leviticus, moreover, imply the author already new that harlotry led to the worship of other gods, and that idolatry was being referred to in terms of marital infidelity.[2]

A theory growing in popularity is that the marriage metaphor derives from the Dumuzi-Inanna cult, the cult of the sacred marriage rite (Ringgren 1966:197-198, Kramer 1969: 89-90, Fishbane 1974:43-44).[3] This cult celebrates the marriage between Dumuzi, who was at one time an historical ruler of Erech, and the fertility goddess Inanna (Kramer 1969:57-59). The enactment of this myth served two functions: (1) it insured the fertility of the land, and (2) it allotted Dumuzi divine immortality (Kramer 1969:57). The significance of the

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[1]The content and context of these passages will be discussed below.

[2]Fried (1967:15) maintains that peoples' laws are a product of their Volksgeist.

[3]Dumuzi-Inanna is the Sumerian name; the corresponding Akkadian name being the Tammuz-Ishtar cult. For a full discussion of this cult and its fuction see Kramer (1969) and Jacobsen (1976:23-73).

latter point is that it lent divine sanction to Dumuzi's claim to the throne.[1] Since all subsequent kings of Babylon were considered to be the incarnation of Dumuzi, they could all claim to be divinely chosen (Kramer 1969:62-63). As a consequence of this position, it was each kings duty to re-inact the sacred marriage with the high priestess, she being the incarnation of Inanna.

It is thought that the Israelites had access to this cult through its Canaanite version, the Baal-Astarte cult, which, according to scholars like Engnell (1967:143-173), is described in the Krt text from Ugarit. Once the common people had identified Yahweh with Baal, thus supplying him with a consort,[2] "The prophets inverted this mythologem to their own ends: Israel was condemned as the harlot of Baal, having abandoned her covenant vows to be a faithful wife" (Fishbane 1974:43-44).

There are a variety of problems and misgivings with this interpretation. The sacred marriage rite celebrates a marriage between a goddess and a human king fait divin.

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[1]On sacred kingship in Babylon and its relationship to the sacred marriage rite see Engnell (1967:16-51).

[2]The fifth century B. C. letters from the Jews at Elephantine demonstrate the existence of the syncretistic diety, Anathyahu (Porten 1968:317-318). Although it is not certain, it is possible that this form represents a marriage between Yahweh and Anath. In another letter Yahweh is mentioned in connection with the goddess Anathbethel, as well as the god Eshembethel (ANET 491-492). For a discussion of these deities and their relationship to Yahweh see Porten (1968:163-179).

And although the people worship these two beings, they do not participate in the marriage. In the prophets, on the other hand, the marriage metaphor is used to describe the relationship between a God and a whole people. Furthermore, Israel is never raised to the level of the divine, she always remains a people. The distance between these two concepts is great enough that it seems unlikely that the sacred marriage served as the prophets' paradigm.

More telling difficulties arise when one tries to maintain that the Israelites were familiar with the sacred marriage cult. As recent studies have indicated, the Krt text does not concern divine kingship, nor does it describe a sacred marriage (Caquot, Sznycer, and Herdner 1974:492-498). Rather it expounds how El arranged for king Krt to have a wife by whom he could have sons, and later how he cured Krt from a mortal disease. The point of the text is to demonstrate that the establishment of the house of Krt as a dynasty had divine sanction. In sharp contrast to the Dumuzi-Inanna myth, this sanction is obtained by the special protection of the divinity, not by sexual union with it.

Contrary to many scholars, Yamauchi (1965:283-290) has demonstrated that Dumuzi is not a dying/rising type of deity. Rather, because he was sent to Sheol to replace Inanna, he was required to remain. Dumuzi's immortality is made manifest through each successive king. On the other hand, it is generally agreed that Baal is a dying/rising

type of god. His seven years of life represent a period of fertility and successful crop production, while his year of death a period of drought and infertility (Caquot, Sznycer, and Herdner 1974:234-235). His sister/consort Anat, unlike Inanna who insures that Dumuzi remains in Sheol, liberates Baal from the realm of Mot. Thus, Dumuzi and Baal (who was never an historical person) are two different types of gods with two different functions (Yamauchi 1965:290).

In sum, the texts from Ugarit do not evince a concept of divine kingship like that which existed in Sumer; nor do they speak of a sacred marriage in which the king was united to a fertility goddess (de Moor and Mulder 1975: 191-192). The only Old Testament passage that betrays a knowledge of the Tammuz-Ishtar cult is Ezek. 8:14; yet by this time Judah was a vassal in the Babylonian empire. Hence, prior to the time of the Babylonian captivity, there is no evidence suggesting that the sacred marriage cult was known in Syria-Palestine (de Moor and Mulder 1975:198).

In a recent article Fitzgerald (1972:403-416) has restated a theory first presented by J. Lewy (1944:429-481). After studying many different types of evidence Fitzgerald concludes that in Western Semitic mythology the cities, particularly capital cities, were regarded as queens and goddess who were married to their respective patron gods. It is generally agreed that neither David nor Solomon were opposed to Canaanite ideas, and Fitzgerald suggests that the

Israelites regarded Jerusalem as a queen from at least the period of the united monarchy. Once annexed by the Yahwistic state, Jerusalem's husband would be Yahweh. Consequently, when the people of Jerusalem worshipped other gods, the prophets charged them with adultery. Although Fitzgerald remarks that the promiscuous nature of Canaanite religion may have had some influence on this charge, he states that ". . . in all probability this is not the prime rationalization of the image" (1972:404). According to Fitzgerald, it is the portrayal of the city as a goddess that lies behind these accusations.

Fitzgerald's case that Western Semitic cities were regarded as goddesses is a strong one, and as he notes, it probably had some influence on passages like Isa. 1:27, Ezek. 16 and 32. However, it does not account for passages like Num. 25:1-5. Here, in a tradition generally thought to be pre-monarchic (Jenks 1977:58), Israel's worship of Baal Peor is referred to as adultery. Furthermore, unlike Isaiah or Ezekiel, Hosea neither speaks of the harlotry of his capital city, Samaria, nor does he refer to it as a queen or goddess. When he does mention Samaria independently of the people, or perhaps as a representative of the people, there is no mention of the marriage/harlotry metaphor (8:5; 10:5; 14:1). When Hosea employs the marriage metaphor his concern is with the people Ephraim, and their adultery (idolatry) is understood as contravening the Mosaic covenant.

Fitzgerald realizes this problem but suggests that, "What has changed is simply the political perspective" (1972:405). Yet Hosea (2:16-17) prophesies that Yahweh will seduce the people into the wilderness where Israel will once again be a faithful bride (cf. Jer. 2:2-3). The belief that Israel can be Yahweh's bride in the wilderness where there are no cities suggests that the idea of the divine city being married to its patron god is not the basis of Hosea's use of the marriage metaphor.[1]

In Jer. 2:2-4:4; 5:7-9 the tone of the marriage metaphor is similar to that in Hosea. There is no special references to Jerusalem apart from the people, and the sin of adultery is clearly a euphemism for breaking the Mosaic covenant. There are passages, 4:27-31; 6:2, 22-26; 22:20-23; 30:12-17, in which Jeremiah does refer to Jerusalem as a lady guilty of being involved with other lovers. There are, however, significant differences between these two groups of passages.

Whenever Jeremiah employs the second tradition the context is the same, that is, Jerusalem is always being assaulted by an invading army. She is often called the daughter of Zion (4:31; 6:2, 23) and referred to as desolate (šāḏôḏ; 4:30), devoured (*ʾkl; 30:16), despoiled (šōʾsayik; 30:16), or preyed upon (bōzᵉzayik 30:16). In four instances her

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[1]Ellul (1970:44ff.) has argued that the Old Testament maintains a distinction between the city and its inhabitants.

anguish is likened to a woman in travail (4:31; 6:24; 22:23; 30:15). The source of Jerusalem's troubles is her political alliances, nations which Jeremiah refers to as the city's lovers (*m$^{\supset}$hb). Jerusalem formed these alliances for security, but there is great irony in this reasoning. According to Jeremiah, it is Jerusalem's very lovers who dispise her and are destroying her (4:30; 30:14). The irony goes deeper: Jerusalem herself is responsible for teaching her lovers her ways so that they might be wicked women (hărā$^{\subset}$ôt; 2:33). Furthermore, the city should not seek security in deceiving lovers because Yahweh will destroy them too (22:20, 22; 30:14). Only Yahweh can act as Jerusalem's source of security (Jer. 30:17).

Since this tradition is based on the Canaanite idea that cities were royal goddesses, and since the Judeans never adopted this concept until after David's conquest of Jerusalem (Fitzgerald 1972:415), these passages understandably make no reference to the wilderness period. There are other differences between this tradition and that represented in Jer. 2:2-4:4. Here Jerusalem's lovers are other nations, not other gods. Furthermore, the word used to describe these nations is *m$^{\supset}$hb, a term never used by Jeremiah in reference to the Baals.

Fitzgerald (1972:405) argues that in Jer. 31:4 the expression btwlt yśr$^{\supset}$l should be translated "daughter of Israel," and that it refers to Jerusalem. In support of this

suggestion he refers to the mention of Zion in vs. 6. He then interprets the passage in light of the Canaanite concept that capital cities were understood as royal goddesses married to their patron gods.

This thesis is difficult to maintain. In Jer. 31:2-3 Yahweh addresses the people (ʿm) as those who found grace in the wilderness. He then promises to rebuild "virgin Israel," "for there shall be a day when watchmen will call in the hill country of Ephraim: 'Arise, and let us go to Zion, to Yahweh our God'" (vs. 6). "Virgin Israel" appears to be a reference to the people of vs. 2, and it is to Zion that the virgin will go once the people have been rebuilt. This interpretation is enhanced by the similar command in Jer. 31:21-22:

> Set up waymarks for yourself,
> make yourself guideposts;
> consider well your highway,
> the road by which you went.
> Return, Virgin Israel,
> return to these your cities (RSV). (cf. 18:13-17)

In sum, there is little agreement concerning the origin and development of the marriage metaphor, and none of the suggestions carry total conviction. Significantly, the only terms that Jeremiah and Hosea use in a similar way are znh and nʾp; yet Israel is accused of adultery in many passages throughout the Old Testament. This evidence suggests a wider use of the marriage metaphor than is usually supposed, and a discussion of those passages which make mention of it and are generally dated from the pre-exilic period follows.

Num. 25:1-5

The incident at Beth Baal Peor is generally thought to represent a very ancient tradition (Noth 1968:195-198, Gray 1903:380-383, Jenks 1977:58).[1] It describes a time when Israel was dwelling at Shittim and began to commit harlotry (liznôt) with the daughters of Moab. These same women then invite Israel to worship and sacrifice to their gods. Israel is then described as having yoked (wayyissāmed) herself to Baal Peor, a predicament that enrages Yahweh. Out of his anger Yahweh instructs Moses to kill every man who had yoked (hannismādîm) himself to Baal Peor.

At first glance Israel's acts of harlotry with the daughters of Moab in vs. 1 seem independent of the worship of the Moabite gods in vs. 2. Noth (1968:196) maintains that these sexual relations had no cultic background, only cultic consequences. The context of Num. 25, however, suggests otherwise (Habel 1964:24). Mendenhall (1973:110ff.) argues that ritual intercourse with foreigners was employed by many ancient peoples as a means of warding off the plague, the very problem in Num. 25 (vss. 8-9, 16-18).[2] It therefore

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[1]Although many scholars feel they can detect the sources J and E in these verses (Gray 1903:380-383, Snaith 1967:301, de Vaulx 1972:298-299), Noth (1968:195) and Jenks (1977:58) argue that such a division is impossible to maintain and attribute the whole to J.

[2]Most scholars maintain that vss. 6-10 are a late P addition. The mention of the Midianites rather than the Moabites, and the apparent concern with justifying the Zadokite priests (the Zadokites trace their lineage to Phineas [1 Chr. 24:3]), are the two reasons given. However,

seems likely that the sexual intercourse of vs. 1 and the sacrificing to the Moabite gods in vs. 2 are both a part of a ritual intended to persuade the gods to rid the people of the plague. What is referred to by *znh, therefore, is not ordinary fornication, but religious harlotry (Habel 1964: 24).

In vss. 3 and 5 Israel's lewd behavior is described as yoking (*smd) herself to Baal. The precise meaning of the verb smd is difficult to determine since the only other passage that uses it in a similar way is Ps. 106:28, itself ultimately dependent upon the usage in Num. 25:3. In other passages it means "to bind" or "to join" (2 Sam. 20:8, Ps. 50:19), while the nominal form means "a pair," hence "a yoke" of oxen.

Many scholars do not comment on the verb, admitting that only the general tenor of the word can be detected. This position is stated most clearly by Noth (1968:197): "What, however, yoking oneself to a god is actually supposed to mean, to what extent and in what sense this expression is to be understood figuratively or not, can no longer be ascertained." After examining the context a number of scholars

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the recent studies of Mendenhall (1973:107-108) and Gottwald (1979:431-433) suggest that Midian was the name of an expanding but loosely organized group of states and tribes of which Moab was a part. Furthermore, although Phineas does champion Yahweh in these verses, there are no polemical overtones until vss. 10-13. Hence, as Eerdmans (1949:203) has already pointed out, there is no need to separate vss. 1-5 from 6-9.

have cautiously suggested that smd can have sexual overtones and is being employed as a euphemism (Habel 1964:24, de Vaulx 1972:299, Mendenhall 1973:111-112, Jaroš 1974:394-395, Sturdy 1976:184). An examination of the Semitic cognates and the translations in the ancient versions may shed some light on this problem.

Mendenhall (1973:111) notes that in the Ancient Near East it was considered a misfortune for anyone to die before experiencing sexual intercourse (cf. Jud. 11:34-40). Indeed, the gravity of the situation was such that the spirit of the dead virgin might return to haunt the living. Among these distraughted spirits is a Sumerian "girl who did not reach her bloom," and a Babylonian "boy who remained unyoked (su-um-[mu-du...])." Here smd clearly has a sexual meaning.

The Egyptian cognate, dmd, also supports this meaning. Apart from the many examples where dmd means "to bind" or "to yoke," Erman and Grapow (1971:V:458) note instances where it means "sich geschlechtlich vereinigen mit einer Frau." Perhaps the most relevant meaning is that of the corresponding Arabic term, ضمد. As in all Semitic languages its first meaning is "to bind" or "to yoke." Lane (1874:I/5:1802) lists a multitude of examples, however, where ضمد specifically refers to situations in which a woman has two paramours, or a husband and a second lover. This meaning well suits the context of Num. 25:1-5. Until the incident at Beth Baal Peor, Israel had remained faithful to her hus-

band Yahweh. (Note that it was not until Num. 25:1 that Israel began [wayyāḥel] to commit harlotry with the daughters of Moab). Thus, when Israel adopts Baal Peor as a second lover, ṣmd is the most accurate verb that could be employed to describe her adulterous situation (so Jaroš 1974:394-395).

Most Greek manuscripts translate ṣmd as τελεω. This verb is usually rendered "to consecrate," but it can also mean "to be married" (Liddell, Scott 1968:1772). Codex Ambrosianus (LXX^F) records the variant reading ἐζευχθη. This word, meaning "to yoke," is a more literal translation of the Hebrew. Yet it too can be used metaphorically as "to marry" or "to yoke in wedlock" (Liddell, Scott 1968:754).

The targums preserve some interesting translations. While Targum Neofiti 1 maintains *znh in vs. 1, Targum Onkelos has *ṭ^{c}h. This verb can mean either "to err," "to be led astray," or "to be seduced." Since the tone of ṭ^{c}h would tend to switch the blame from the Israelites to the Moabite women, there may have been an apologetic reason for its use.

In vss. 3 and 5 both Neofiti 1 and Onkelos replace *ṣmd with the ethpaal of ḥbr, which means "to bind oneself," or "to be intimate." Targum Pseudo-Jonathan also uses *ḥbr in vs. 3, but in vs. 5 it employs the aphel of dḥq, which means "to stick to" or "to cleave to." All of these terms can be used with reference to marriage or sexual activity.

In Hebrew ḥbr also means "to unite" or "to be joined." Mal. 2:14 uses the nominal form (ḥăbert^{e}kā) with the meaning

of "wife." More significant is the metaphorical use of the verb in Hos. 4:17. Here, in parallel with *znh, Israel is accused of being wedded (ḥăbôr) to idols (Harper 1905:264). The targum to Hosea (Jonathan) maintains this parallelism between *znh and *ḥbr. Since znh and ḥbr are used in parallel in both the MT and the targums to describe Israel's relationship to Yahweh, and since the targums employ ḥbr as a substitute for ṣmd, a word also used in parallel with znh, it is safe to assume that ṣmd and ḥbr can both be used to refer to marriage or sexual intercourse.

The context, the cognates, and the versions all suggest that in Num. 25:3 and 5 ṣmd is being employed with a euphemistic sense. As noted above, Mendenhall (1973:112) has already suspected this meaning, yet he thinks that the verb is used in reference to ritual intercourse: ". . . it was not the deity to whom they were 'yoked'." This conclusion, however, contradicts the text which states: wayyiṣṣāmed yiśrāʾēl lᵉbaʿal pᵉʿôr; "And Israel yoked herself to Baal Peor." Furthermore, this "yoking" occurred after Israel had committed harlotry with the Moabite women, and after they had sacrificed to the Moabite gods. Thus, Israel was indeed yoked to Baal Peor. Although the use of ṣmd may have been suggested by Israel's sexual activity with the Moabite women, it is being employed in a metaphorical sense to describe Israel's relationship to Baal Peor. If the Arabic cognate best describes the meaning here, as is suggested above, the

verb would carry a more precise meaning. Israel would be seen as the faithless bride who had committed adultery by accepting a second lover.

Num. 14:33

Num. 14 tells of the Israelites' attempt to enter Canaan from the south. Since they did not trust Yahweh, but "murmured" against him, Yahweh decides that the Canaanites would repel them and cause them to remain in the wilderness: "And your children shall be shepherds in the wilderness forty years, and shall suffer for your harlotries (z^{e}nûtêkem), until the last of your dead bodies lies in the wilderness."

Num. 14 is the first passage in the book of Numbers to employ the harlotry motif. It has long been considered a composite chapter,[1] however, and vss. 30-33 are usually thought to stem from a late priestly redactor (Noth 1968: 110-111, Marsh 1953:213-214, Gray 1903:161, Binns 1927:97, Coats 1968:139). Recent studies (McEvenue 1969:453-465, de Vaulx 1972:171ff., Sakenfeld 1975:317-330), while agreeing that the verses are later additions, have returned to Wellhausen's theory that they originate from a pre-priestly redaction. Of importance, however, is the fact that the author, whoever he might be, introduces the harlotry motif only after Israel has been in contact with the land of Canaan.

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[1]For a recent survey of the matter see McEvenue (1969: 453-465).

Num. 15:39

Num. 15 records a series of priestly regulations considered to stem from a variety of sources (Gray 1903:168-169, Noth 1968:114). In vss. 37-41 Moses instructs the people to sew tassels on their garments so that they might remember Yahweh's commandments and not go a-whoring (zōnîm) after their own hearts and eyes.

Scholars have long noted the similarity in style between Num. 15:37-41 and the Holiness Code (Gray 1903:183, Marsh 1953:219-220, de Vaulx 1972:187-188, Sturdy 1976:112-113). Most therefore conclude that this passage either comes from the code or is modelled after it. In support of this decision is that of all the law codes in the Old Testament only the Holiness code employs the harlotry motif. In this passage, however, the motif is used quite differently from the other passages thus far studied. Rather than referring to explicit examples of idolatry, here it is used in a more abstract way to refer to anything that might divert the Israelites' attention from Yahweh's law.

Lev. 17:7

In Lev. 17:1-7 Yahweh, through Moses, tells the people that anyone who kills an ox, lamb, or goat in the open field without bringing it to the tabernacle as a gift to Yahweh will be imputed with bloodguilt. The reason for this regulation is given in vs. 7: "So they shall no more slay sacrifices for goats (laśśᵉcîrim), after whom they go

a-whoring (zōrîm)."

It is generally accepted that the śᵉᶜîrim are satyrs represented in the form of goats (Noth 1977:131, Porter 1976: 140, Wenham 1979:243).[1] And according to Isaiah (13:21; 34: 14), it seems that they were particularly fond of the desert and waste places. Yet the śᵉᶜîrim may be more than just satyrs. Since ᶜAttar, the planet Venus, and his hypostases šhr and šlm, the morning and evening stars, were desert gods portrayed in the form of goats (Gray 1949:72-83, Wyatt 1976: 415-430), it seems probable that the sacrifices the Israelites were slaying "in the open field" were for this god in one of its forms (Wyatt 1976:428). This suggestion gains cogency if, as is usually maintained, the Holiness Code originated with the priests of the temple at Jerusalem.

Significantly, Jerusalem (yᵉrûšālayim) means "foundation of Salem."[2] Gen. 14 may indicate that Jerusalem could also be referred to simply as šālēm (Gottwald 1979:571). Following Porteous, Gray (1949:77, 82-83) suggest that during the pre-Israelite period šlm, one of the hypostases of ᶜAttar, was Jerusalem's patron god (so Vincent 1949:897-898, Burrows

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[1]On the worship of satyrs see Segal (1962:229-232). On the relationship between Lev. 17 and the concept of atonement see Brichto (1976:22-36).

[2]A second vocalization found in the MT is the impossible form yᵉrûšālaim. In the Amarna Letters it is written Urusalim, or called Beth-Shalem, while later Assyrian texts have the form Urusilimmu (Burrows 1962:843). The Aramaic parts of the Old Testament have yᵉrûšᵉlem, while the LXX transcribes it as Ἱερουσαλήμ.

1962:843-844).

That David did not feel any necessity to eradicate this cult once he occupied Jerusalem is demonstrated by the names of his two sons šᵉlōmōh, of which an earlier vocalization might be šᵉlōmāhu (Koehler, Baumgartner 981), and ʾăbîšālôm, which means "my father is šlm" (cf. Gray 1949:83). If Gen. 14 is concerned with legitimising the Davidic occupation of Jerusalem, as is often thought (von Rad 1972: 180-181), Abraham's equation of Yahweh with the god of Salem, ʾēl ʿelyōn, may very well reflect David's syncretistic tendencies. Further attempts to harmonize the Israelite and Jebusite religions, and thereby create an atmosphere of peace between the two groups (Gottwald 1979:571), may be represented in the person of Zadok. He is often thought to have been the indigenous Jebusite high priest who, after Jerusalem fell to David, remained as a priest to the new cult (de Vaux 1965:II:374).[1]

Fitzgerald (1972:403-416) has demonstrated that the Canaanites viewed the city as a royal goddess who was married to her patron god. Of particular interest is the fact that many of these place names can be understood as female counterparts of the masculine names or titles:[2]

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[1]Solomon's other given name, yᵉdîdᵉyâ (2 Sam. 12:25), which means "beloved of Yahweh," suggests that David dedicated his son to both yhwh and šlm. Other names that suggest a syncretism between šlm and yhwh are šelemyâ (Jer. 37:3), šelemyāhû (Jer. 36:14), and perhaps šᵉlumîʾēl (Num. 1:6).

[2]The following list is derived from Fitzgerald (1972: 411-412).

Geographical Names	Divine Name or Title
a) b^{c}lwt (Jos. 15:24)	a) Ba^{c}al
b^{c}lh (Jos. 15:9)	-
b) ^{c}ntwt (Jos. 21:18)	b) ^{c}An
^{c}nt (Jud. 3:31)	
c) ^{c}strwt (Jos. 9:10)	c) ^{c}Astar
d) n^{c}mh (Jos. 15:41)	d) $^{}$byn^{c}m (Jud. 4:6); note the title of Baal in UT, 126:III:6, ^{c}ly n^{c}m.
e) rmh (Jos. 18:25)	e) $^{}$byrm (1 Kgs. 16:34); hyrm (2 Sam. 5:11)
f) $^{}$Ugarit	f) $^{}$Ugar (UT, 67:I:12).

Fitzgerald adds that in all probability the Jebusites viewed Jerusalem as a royal goddess who was married to the city's patron god, and that this concept was adopted by the Israelites (Isa. 1:21, Jer. 4:28-31). Given the above information, it seems likely that Jerusalem (Salem) was viewed as the consort of šlm. Thus, when the Israelites sacrificed to the goats (śe^{c}îrim) they may have been participating in the worship of the ancient patron god of Jerusalem. However, once Jerusalem was captured by David it became the possession and bride of Yahweh. By maintaining the Canaanite cult of šlm, Jerusalem was guilty of betraying her new husband. Consequently, she was not only guilty of adultery, she had also broken the law that forbade women from remarrying a former husband (Deut. 24:1-4):

Lev. 19:29

> Do not profane your daughter by making her commit harlotry (l^{e}haznôtāh), lest the land commits harlotry (tizneh) and falls into wickedness.

It is generally thought that this verse prohibits the institution of sacred prostitution from amongst the Israelites (Porter 1976:158-159, Noth 1977:143, Wenham 1979:272).[1] There are two problems with this view. First, znh can be used to refer to harlotry of both a secular and religious nature (Baab 1962:932), and no one has demonstrated which meaning bests suits the context of this law. A possible reading is that any sort of harlotry might lead the land to fall into wickedness. Second, Fisher (1976:225-236) has shown that there are no texts from the Ancient Near East that demonstrate the existence of sacred prostitution.[2] The existence of ritual and cultic sex is not questioned, only the existence of a professional class of sacred prostitutes. Although Fisher's remarks are well taken, there still remains the question of whether znh is being employed in reference to religious sex or common harlotry.

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[1]For fuller discussions on the possibility of sacred prostitution see Luckenbill (1917:1-12, Brooks (1941:227-253), Baab (1962:931-934), and Yamauchi (1973:213-222).

[2]The only texts which support this claim are from late Greek sources. Although Driver and Miles (1952:I:360) accept the existence of this class, they admit that, "In the [Babylonian] Laws there is nothing definite to show whether the various priestesses named in them were temple-prostitutes . . . ." In a similar vien but with reference to the Assyrian cult, van Driel (1969:181) states that the role of the qadištu, the word usually translated as "sacred prostitute," is uncertain.

The context indeed suggests that the law is referring to sexual activity of a cultic nature. The reason the law forbids harlotry is to prevent the land from committing harlotry, that is, to prevent Israel from being involved in the worship of other gods. The progression of thought in this law is identical with the progression of events at Beth Baal Peor. Although it is impossible to say with certainty it might very well be modelled after Num. 25:1-5 in an effort to prevent similar episodes from occurring.

Lev. 20:5

Lev. 20:1-5 prohibits the Israelites, or any foreigner amongst them, from giving their seed (*zrᶜ) to Molech. If anyone breaks this commandment, Yahweh says he will "cut them off from among their people, him and all who follow him by committing harlotry (liznōt) after Molech."

The nature of Molech and Molech worship is a much disputed question (see Cazelles 1957:1337-1346). The consensus developing, however, is that mōlek was originally melek (king), and that it is the title of some foreign deity (Noth 1977:147-149). The Hebrew writers, wanting to convey their abhorrence of this cult, repointed the title with the vowels of bōšet, "shame" (de Vaux 1965:II:446, Phillips 1970: 128). Scholars seem even more certain that Molech worship involved the burning of children as a sacrifice (Porter 1976: 161, Noth 1977:147-149, Wenham 1979:258-259).

Difficulties exist with both aspects of this position.

Recently Tsevat (1975:74-75) has demonstrated the baselessness of the theory that the pronunciation of Molech is a combination of the consonants of melek and the vowels of bōšet. He notes that the Semitic *mlk has several basic forms including *malk, *milk, *mulk, and *malik. Although the Hebrew melek derives from *malk, Tsevat regards *mulk as the root of Molech.

Both Snaith (1967:125-126) and Weinfeld (1972b:133-154) have questioned the existence of child sacrifice as a regular feature in the worship of Molech. Weinfeld examines all the texts cited in support of this claim, and notes that children were sacrificed only during times of crises, not as a matter of regular worship (cf. de Vaux 1965:II:405-406). In many of these texts the specific deity to whom the sacrifice is offered is not even named.

The passing of children through the fire (Deut. 18:10; 12:31, 2 Kgs. 23:10; 16:4; 17:17; 21:6) to Molech, Weinfeld argues (1972b:141), probably refers to a transference of the child from its parent to the priests of Molech.[1] In the Ancient Near East it was common practise to sanctify or dedicate objects by passing them between rows of fires, and according to Weinfeld, the similar descriptions in Deuteronomy should be similarly understood.

A similar restriction appears in Lev. 18:21. Here Yahweh instructs the Israelites: "Do not give your seed

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[1]The Mishnah and halekhic Midrashim support this view (Weinfeld 1972b:142).

(*zrᶜ) to pass to Molech." Apart from this commandment Lev. 18 is composed of seventeen laws, all of which pertain to unacceptable sexual activity. Of particular interest is the use of *zrᶜ as semen in the law prior to vs. 21. In vs. 20 the Israelites are told not to give the seed of their copulation (škbtk lzrᶜ) to their neighbors' wives. Similarly, in vs. 22 they are instructed not to give their copulation (škbtk) to any beast. It therefore seems likely that Lev. 18:21 is restricting ritual intercourse performed in worship of Molech.[1]

In this light it therefore seems probable that in Lev. 20:1-5 *zrᶜ also refers to semen. The passage is not condemning child sacrifice, rather Israelite involvement in ritual intercourse performed in worship of Molech. Hence, as in several passages already discussed, there appears a relationship between Israel's idolatry being described as harlotry and her involvement in actual ritual intercourse.

The identification of Molech has also plagued scholars. Some would equate him with the Assyrian deity, Malik, or the Ammonite god, Milkom (de Vaux 1965:II:446). Others maintain that the word is only an appelative meaning "king," and could therefore refer to a variety of deities (Porter 1976:161). Since Yahweh is often called king, Phillips (1970:128) makes the unlikely suggestion that it is

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[1] A sexual interpretation is accepted by the LXX and the Sam. Pent. (Phillips 1970:128-129), as well as Targum Jonathan and the Peshitta (Weinfeld 1972b:142-143).

to him that the name refers. Although there may be some doubt as to the origin and original character of Molech, by the time he was worshipped in Judah he had been identified with Baal (Jer. 19:5; 32:35, Weinfeld 1972b:139). It therefore comes as no surprise to learn that sexual intercourse was very much a part of his worship.

Lev. 20:6

In this verse Yahweh warns that he will punish anyone who commits harlotry (liznôt) after hā'ōbōt and hayyidd^{e}c̄ōnîm. Although these terms have to do with consulting the spirits of the dead, their precise meaning is uncertain (compare Hoffner 1967:385-401; 1974:130-134 with Lust 1974:133-142). It is clear, however, that through this sort of inquiry one attempts to know and control the future.

The true Yahwist saw this sort of thing as an infringement upon Yahweh's freedom, and consequently condemned it. Lust has demonstrated that this sort of nacromancy was not indigenous to Israel, but that she borrowed it from the Canaanites (Deut. 18:9-14). Although it is generally conceded that Israel adopted much of the Canaanite culture, those ideas which threatened the sovereignty of Yahweh were usually condemned as an abomination (Lust 1974:140-141). Both Leviticus (20:1-6) and Deuteronomy (18:10-11) mention the worship of Molech in relation with hā'ōbōt and hayyidd^{e}c̄ōnîm. Although there may not be any formal af-

filation between the two, this literary relation may have induced the description of necromancy as harlotry.

The depicting of necromancy as harlotry may have a more empirical basis. Mendenhall (1973:110-111) has demonstrated that in the Ancient Near East the outbreak of disease was connected with unappeased spirits of the dead. The living would try to gratify these spirits by making offerings to them. In order to make sure they offered the necessary things, they would include sacrifice, food and drink, and ritual intercourse. It was important, moreover, that the intercourse involve foreigners. Mendenhall notes that Num. 25 is concerned with a plague, and that the events described at Beth Baal Peor follow the sequence prescribed to satisfy unappeased spirits. Thus, it is possible that the ultimate source of describing necromancy as harlotry is the episode at Beth Baal Peor.[1]

Exod. 34:11-16

In Exod. 34:1-10 Yahweh instructs Moses to prepare

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[1]This interpretation is supported by the tradition preserved in Ps. 106:28-29:

> Then they yoked themselves to Baal Peor
> and ate sacrifices offered to the dead;
> they provoked Yahweh to anger with their doings,
> and a plague broke out among them. (RSV)

Hosea 5:2 may also allude to this practice. Here Shittim, a reference to Num. 25:1, is described as a pit into which Israel will fall and be punished by Yahweh. Hoffner (1974: 131-132) notes that the digging of a pit was an important part of necrolatry. It was through this pit that the spirits would come to the world of the living and speak. Although Num. 25 does not mention any pit, it seems likely that one was dug. If this be the case, Hosea has turned Israel's pit of divine salvation into a pit of divine judgment.

to renew the covenant, and in vs. 11 he restates his promise to drive out the inhabitants of Canaan. Yahweh then warns the people not to make a covenant with any of the land's inhabitants lest they act as a snare to Israel. Rather they must destroy the Canaanite altars, images and Asherim, and guard against inter-marriage. The reason for this command is that Yahweh is a jealous (*qnʾ) God and Israel might commit harlotry (*znh) after the Canaanite deities.

Although Exod. 34:11-16 is located within an ancient tradition recording the renewal of the covenant (often referred to as the J or ritual decalogue), it is generally thought to be the work of the Deuteronomist (Noth 1962:262, Childs 1974:613)[1]

There are several developments in the use of the harlotry motif in this passage. Here the sin of harlotry is explicitly equated with the breaking of the Sinaitic covenant, implying that the Deuteronomic redactor understood the covenant between Israel and Yahweh as a marriage (Cassuto 1967:444).[2] Yahweh's jealousy, which in Exod. 20:5 is used in a general sense to describe Yahweh's intolerance of idolatry, now becomes applied to the marriage metaphor. The husband, Yahweh, warns his wife not to commit adultery because

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[1]Beyerlin (1965:25) refers to this section as part of an "inserted . . . legal passage."

[2]This equation would not be unnatural since a marriage was considered to be a type of covenant. For a discussion of marriage in the Ancient Near East, and related aspects see Mendelsohn (1970:144-162).

of his jealousy.

Another interesting development is that the worship of Canaanite deities by the Canaanites themselves is described as harlotry (vs. 15); implying that Yahweh was also thought to be the Canaanites' true husband. As will be commented on below, this concept appears in several other passages including the law codes.

Like many passages previously discussed, here too the imagery of harlotry is used to describe idolatry associated with the gods of the inhabitants of the land. Nothing is said concerning Israel's relationship to Yahweh whilst she was in Egypt, nor is anything implied or foretold about the wilderness wanderings. The sequence of events that might cause Israel to commit harlotry is identical with that described in Num. 25. Yahweh warns Israel not to accept invitations to sacrifice to other gods, because it would lead to sexual activity between the two groups. And this sexual activity inadvertently involves the worship of the Baals. Upon reaching Shittim Israel fails to heed this warning!

Deut. 31:16

It is generally accepted that Deut. 31:16-22, 24-30 was composed as an introduction for the Song of Moses in Deut. 32 (Wright 1953:514-515, Driver 1909:336, von Rad 1966: 190-191, Jenks 1977:59). Yahweh begins by informing Moses that he is about to die, after which Israel will "go a-whoring (*znh) after the gods of the strangers of the land,

whither they go to be among them, and will forsake me and break my covenant which I made with them." Yahweh therefore commands Moses to compose a song which will serve as a witness against Israel once she forgets Yahweh and turns to these other gods (31:21).

Here, as in Exod. 34:11-16, breaking the covenant by worshipping other gods is explicitly described as harlotry. Similarly, although the passage is set in a time prior to the entry of the land, it is only after the occupation of Canaan that Yahweh fears Israel will forsake him and commit adultery by worshipping other gods.

Jud. 2:17

The book of Judges describes a time in which Israel was constantly fighting with her neighbors. When Israel lost a battle, often leading to foreign occupation, it was attributed to the wrath of Yahweh, which was usually incurred by Israel's apostasy. When Israel returned to Yahweh a judge would be raised up to liberate the people from the invaders. Israel would experience freedom until she again worshipped the Baals.

In Jud. 2:17 Israel's worship of other gods is described as committing harlotry (*znh). Significantly, a destinction is drawn between the present day adulterous Israel and ". . . the way in which their fathers had walked, who had obeyed the commandments of Yahweh" (see also Jud. 2:22). The text does not make clear the identity of these

"fathers," but since the mention of Joshua in vs. 23 indicates that the text is dealing with the first generation of Israelites to inhabit Canaan, the reference likely includes Moses and those who wandered the wilderness (cf. van Seters 1972). Thus, according to Jud. 2:17, the wilderness generation did not worship other gods. This is not to say that they did no evil, only that they did not abandon Yahweh as their God and husband. This interpretation is implied by Jud. 2:19: "But whenever the judge died, they turned back and behaved worse than their fathers, going after other gods, serving them and bowing down to them" (RSV).

Jud. 8:27

In Jud. 8:22f. the men of Israel ask Gideon to rule over them. Although he declines, he takes their gold and forms it into an ephod. He then sets the ephod in his city, Ophrah, ". . . and all Israel committed harlotry (*znh) after it." In accord with the scheme of Judges, this harlotry leads to Midianite control of Israel.

Although a precise description of the ephod is wanting, it is clear that it is some sort of cultic object (Myers 1953:749). Initially it belonged to the cult of Yahweh (Jud. 17:5; 18:14-20, 1 Sam. 2:28; 14:3; 23:9-10; 30:7-8), but its assimilation with Canaanite religion, possibly the goddess Anat,[1] caused the Deuteronomist to de-

[1] In the Ugaritic texts Anat wears an ipd (Ringgren 1966:205).

nounce it as an idol (Moore 1895:232-233, Ringgren 1966:205-206).[1]

Jud. 8:33

After Gideon dies, ". . . the people of Israel again commit harlotry (*znh) after the Baals, and make Baal-berith their god." This passage introduces the story of Abimelech and his short lived reign over Shechem. Although the passage does not refer to the covenant nor the wilderness period, it again demonstrates that the Deuteronomist viewed the worship of Baal as an adulterous act, violating the marriage relationship between Yahweh and Israel.

2 Kgs. 9:22

2 Kgs. 9 describes Jehu's purge against the house of Ahab. When Joram, king of Israel, asks Jehu of his plans the usurper responds: "What peace can there be, so long as the harlotries (*znh) and the sorceries (*kšp) of your mother Jezebel are so many?

Jezebel was the daughter of Ethbaal, king of Sidon (1 Kgs. 16:31), and it was she who systematically and deliberately tried to spread the cult of Baal throughout Israel (Eakin 1965:407-414). In this passage, which de Vries (1978:122) considers part of the pre-Deuteronomic "Jehu accession narrative," it is generally accepted that

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[1]On the distinction between an idol and an icon acceptable to the cult of Yahweh see Faur (1978:1-15).

Jezebel's "harlotries" and "sorceries" refer to her worship of Baal (Snaith 1954:235, Montgomery 1951:401-402, Gray 1970: 547). This passage is in accord with Exod. 34:11-16 in that foreigners (Jezebel was a Sidonean) who worship their own gods were still guilty of committing harlotry against Yahweh. This concept also appears in the Holiness Code where all of Israel, as well as strangers sojourning in Israel, are forbidden to dedicate their "seed" to Molech (Lev. 20:2).

Isa. 1:21-28[1]

Although Jerusalem was once a faithful city (qiryâ neʾĕmānâ), Isaiah proclaims that she is now a harlot (lᵉzônâ). Following this charge Yahweh lists the social evils of which the city is guilty, and then vows to restore Jerusalem to her former status. Once purged of her evil Jerusalem will once again become a faithful city (vs. 26).

The tone of this oracle is quite different from anything thus far studied. Israel as a whole is not accused of harlotry, rather just the city Jerusalem. Furthermore, there is no mention of the wilderness, the settlement of Canaan, ritual intercourse, or the covenant.

Fitzgerald (1972) has argued that the personification of Jerusalem as a woman stems from the Canaanite belief that capital cities were royal goddesses. Once Jerusalem was in Israelite control, she became the bride of Yahweh. Any

[1]On this passage see Scott (1956:176-179), Gray (1912:31-37), and Kaiser (1972:18-21).

straying from him to other deities constituted adultery. Interestingly, it is not the worship of other gods that Isaiah describes as harlotry, but the social evils of theft, deceit, and injustice. Consequently, even any deviation from the moral demands that Yahweh puts upon his city could be construed as harlotry.

Mic. 1:2-9[1]

This passage forms a unit that admirably demonstrates Fitzgerald's thesis. Judging from the introductory appeal for all nations to give ear, the oracle should probably be classed as a formal rîb-pattern (cf. Allen 1976:269-270), even though the word rîb does not appear. In the verses that follow, and in cultic language commonly used to describe theophanies, Yahweh threatens to punish Jacob and Israel. Micah then poses the question:

> What is Jacob's rebellion?
> It can only be Samaria.
> And what is Judah's sin?
> It can only be Jerusalem (Allen's translation).

After this accusation Yahweh describes how he will punish these two cities:

> All her images (pᵉsîleyha) will be smashed,
> all her proceeds of prostitution (ʾetnanneyhā)
> destroyed by fire
> on all her idols (ʿăṣabbeyhā) shall I wreak havoc.
> For from the earnings of a harlot (mēʾetnan zônâ) did
> she amass them,
> and to the earnings of a harlot (ʾetnan zônâ)
> will they return (1:7).

[1]For discussions of this passage see Smith, Ward, and Bewer (1911:32-40), Wolfe (1956:902-907), Mays (1976:39-48), Allen (1976:266-276), and Renaud (1977:9-51).

In this oracle the poeple as a whole are held responsible for the idolatry of the capital cities. Similar to Isa. 1, these cities are viewed as women who have become harlots. Unlike Isaiah but in accord with most passages employing the harlotry motif, Jerusalem's and Samaria's harlotry is their worship of idols. In so doing they have deserted their true husband and committed adultery. Interestingly, unlike Hosea in which Yahweh schemes to seduce Israel back to him, or Jeremiah where he plans on remolding her heart, in Micah Yahweh is a husband so enraged with jealousy that the only thing he can do is attack and destroy all those who attract his wives' attention.

Of the pre-exilic passages employing the marriage/harlotry motif, Num. 25:1-5 preserves the oldest tradition. Upon arriving at Shittim the Israelites began to worship Baal Peor. Participation in this cult involved ritual intercourse, sacrifice, and a communal meal. The true Yahwist saw these acts as a rebellion against Yahweh, and it appears likely that this sexual activity, of which the people of Israel had never before encountered, stirred the traditionist's imagination to describe the apostasy as adultery against Israel's God and true husband, Yahweh. The use of <u>smd</u> was the best word available for describing Israel's adulterous situation for it not only implies that Israel had had sexual relations with a paramour, but also that she had deserted her true lover and husband. This passage therefore implies

that Israel had remained faithful while she roamed the wilderness, and that it was only upon her encounter with the inhabitants of the land that she strayed from him.

The favourite expression of the Deuteronomist is *znh ʾhry, "to commit harlotry after" (Exod. 34:15-16, Deut. 31:16, Jud. 2:17; 8:27, 33). Of the passages in the Deuteronomic traditions, only 2 Kgs. 9:22, which may be pre-Deuteronomic, does not use this expression. In all cases Israel's a-whoring after other gods is associated with the land. Jud. 2 clearly states that the generations previous to the occupation of the land did not abandon Yahweh. In three passages (Exod. 34:15-16, Deut. 31:16, Jud. 2:17) the accusations of harlotry are explicitly used as a metaphor for breaches of the Mosaic covenant. Exod. 34:15-16, in agreement with Num. 25:1-5, is aware that sexual involvement with indigenous peoples leads to the worship of the Baals. It consequently forbids mixed marriages. Although these passages may not be directly dependent upon Num. 25:1-5, their tone and concern are the same. It seems likely that their choice of imagery ultimately stems from this tradition. One development in the Deuteronomic texts is the explicit use of the motif as part of their covenant theology.[1]

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[1]Given the use of the Baal Peor tradition in Deuteronomy, and the harlotry motif by the Deuteronomist, it is surprising to discover that the book of Deuteronomy does not employ this metaphor. This omission is probably due to Deuteronomy's particular interest in the suzerain-vassal metaphor (Moran 1963:77-87).

Like the Deuteronomic tradition, the Holiness Code also favours the expression *znh ʾhry (Lev. 17:7; 20:5, 6; Num. 15:39). Like the traditions already discussed, the use of the harlotry motif to describe the worship of other gods is used only in the context of the occupied land. Similarly, it too connects actual sexual activity with the harlotry motif (Lev. 19:29f.; 20:1-5). In Num. 15:39 it is also used in relation with the covenant, if that is the force of the word miṣôt.

Hence, the use of the harlotry motif in the Holiness Code is in accord with the Deuteronomist and Num. 25. It is therefore likely that it too ultimately depends on Num. 25 for the image. One exception may be Lev. 17:7. It is possible that the use of the motif in this passage stems from the Canaanite idea that capital cities were royal goddesses married to their respective patron gods. If Fitzgerald is correct in stating that this idea entered Israel upon David's conquest of Jerusalem, then it stems from a concept that entered the Israelite culture after the tradition in Num. 25.

The remaining Pentateuchal tradition is that in Num. 14:33. This passage is generally considered an addition, although no one has yet commented on the reason why it was added. The use of the harlotry motif, however, supports this conclusion. The lack of mention of other gods, sexual activity, capital cities, or the covenant creates a feeling

of disjointedness.

It seems likely that the redactor was aware that the harlotry motif was being used to describe Israel's apostasy to the gods of the land. Num. 14, however, describes an initial encounter with the land where the harlotry motif was not used. This should come as no surprise since the Israelites had yet to partake in the worship of Baal. However, during this time Israel had "murmured" against Yahweh and consequently was denied entry into Canaan. The redactor, taking advantage of the negative tradition already associated with this event, appears to have added the harlotry motif out of a desire to have all encounters with the land associated with religious harlotry.

Hosea's use of the marriage motif is in complete accord with those traditions represented in Num. 25:1-5, the Deuteronomist, and the greater part of the Holiness Code. During the trek through the wilderness Israel referred to Yahweh as "My husband," not "My Baal" (2:16-18).[1] It was only after contact with the land that Israel changed lovers and loved the Baals (9:10). Furthermore, Hos. 9:10 evinces that Beth Baal Peor was the beginning of Israel's idolatry, and the ultimate source of the harlotry/marriage imagery as a means of depicting Israel's relationship with

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[1]Although these verses refer to a future time when Yahweh will seduce Israel back to himself, 2:17b indicates that this is how Israel responded to Yahweh ". . . at the time when she came out of the land of Egypt."

Yahweh:[1]

> Like grapes in the wilderness
> I found Israel
> As the new fruit of a fig tree in its beginning
> I saw your fathers
> But they came to Baal Peor
> and devoted themselves to Boshet[2]
> and became detestable like their lover.

Although there is no mention of Beth Baal Peor, Jer. 2:2-4:4 uses the marriage metaphor and understands the period of the wilderness wanderings in a similar way. While in the wilderness the bride, Israel, remained devoted to her husband, Yahweh (2:2-3). It was only after entering Canaan that Israel deserted Yahweh (2:7) and abandoned the God who led her through the desert (2:6). It was only after Israel came into contact with the lovers of the land (3:2) that the bride forgot her jewlery, her wedding attire, and her husband (2:32). Any remembrance that Israel retaines of her true husband has been tainted with insolence and mere lip service (3:4-5, cf. Hos. 2:9).

Hosea and Jeremiah, in agreement with the Deuteronomic tradition, also use the marriage metaphor as an expression of their covenant theologies (Hos. 2:16-25, Jer. 4:4; 31:31-34). Thus according to these prophets, Israel had

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[1]If Mendenhall (1973:106) is correct in his judgment that Hos. 9:10 is not directly dependent on the account recorded in Num. 25:1-5, but stems from an "ancient tradition of another source," the contention that the Baal Peor episode is the origin of the marriage/harlotry motif is strengthened.

[2]On the meaning and identity of Boshet see Tsevat (1975:75-83).

honoured the covenant whilst in the desert, but had violated it (especially the first commandment) upon entering Canaan.

The belief that Israel followed no other god until the entry into the land is implied by a number of passages. Ps. 105:37 reads: "Then he led forth Israel with silver and gold, and there was none among his tribes who stumbled (kôšēl)."[1] In Isa. 63:10-14 Yahweh, lamenting over Israel's current rebellious attitude, remembers the days of Moses when he led his people through the depths and ". . . like a horse in the desert they did not stumble (*kšl)." Deut. 32 is also of interest. In vss. 10-11 Yahweh finds Israel in the wilderness and takes a special liking to her. In vs. 12 the poet writes: "Yahweh alone did lead him, and there was no foreign god with him." It was not until after Israel entered the land that she "forsook God" and "stirred him to jealousy with strange gods." It was in Canaan that

> They sacrificed to demons which were no gods,
> to gods they had never known,
> to new gods that had come in of late
> whom your fathers had never dreaded.

The mention of the fathers is likely a reference to those whom Yahweh led in vs. 12. More importantly, as in Jud. 2 these fathers worshipped no god other than Yahweh.

There are clearly a number of traditions that record Israel's faithfulness to Yahweh while she wandered the wilder-

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[1]That "stumbling" means disobeying Yahweh's laws and/or worshipping other gods see Hos. 4:5; 5:5; 14:2.

ness. This fact should not be surprising since the Pentateuchal narrative nowhere states otherwise. Although the "murmuring" tradition contains a large amount of material that puts Israel in a bad light, none of this material accuses Israel of worshipping other gods. It only records Israel's complaints against her God.

The only possible exception is the making of the golden calf in Exod. 32. Östborn (1956:20) thinks that the calf was a representation of Baal, and Noth (1962:248) remarks that the reference to "playing" (vs. 6) ". . . doubtless refers to sexual orgies (see Gen. 26:8) such as played a part in the Canaanite fertility cults." Yet when Aaron builds an altar for the calf he proclaims, "Tomorrow shall be a feast to Yahweh."[1] Furthermore, Sasson (1973:151-159) has demonstrated that "playing" was a normal part in the worship of Yahweh, and that nothing sexual or orgiastic is implied by the term. The polemic against the calf is not that it represents a foreign god, but that it constitutes illegitimate iconolatry (Faur 1978:13). Of course those who constructed it, and those who participated in the north Israelite cult, accepted it as legitimate iconolatry.[2]

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[1]It is generally accepted that when Jeroboam erected his golden calves at Bethel and Dan (1 Kgs. 12:28-29), he was reinstituting an ancient form of Yahwistic iconolatry, not creating new gods (Aberbach and Smolar 1967:129-140, de Vaux 1971:97-110).

[2]Note Faur's (1978:1) statement that in the worship of Yahweh, "There is a legitimate iconolatry."

This understanding of the calf is shared by Hosea. Although Hosea claims that the calf is only a man-made object and not God (8:5-6; 10:5-6), he nowhere equates it with Baal or any other deity. Similarly, he does not employ the marriage metaphor when discussing it.

Hosea's message concerning the calf actually has a note of comfort. In Hos. 10:5-6 the Assyrians are accused of carrying off the calf of Beth-aven. Since a god was identified with its idol, and since whoever controlled the idol controlled the deity (Faur 1978:6-8), the Israelites mourned for the loss of Yahweh, or so they thought. Hosea proclaims that "the joke is on" the Assyrians since the calf is really only a work of art, not God. Yahweh remains! The bitter irony is that Yahweh must now punish Israel for her making of and worshipping the idol (10:6). Given this information, the building of the calf cannot be considered a desertion of Yahweh to other gods.[1]

Ezekiel, Pss. 78 and 106 are usually cited as examples of the totally negative wilderness tradition. Yet

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[1]Bailey (1971:97-115), also wanting to remove Yahweh from the text, posits the theory that the golden calf was actually a representation of the moon god, Sin. However, scholars like Lewy (1945/46:441-449), Key (1965:20-26) and Abel (1973:48-59) have noticed that the ancient god El is often described in terms characteristic of moon gods. Abel even finds evidence that the title, Sadday, stems from the cult of the moon god. It should therefore come as no surprise that Yahweh, who is El (Exod. 3:14-15, Gen. 14:18-22, Gen. 2:4bf., see the discussion in Oldenburg 1969:170-176), should have some of the characteristics of the moon god.

like the Pentateuchal traditions they never accuse Israel of worshipping other gods while wandering the wilderness. According to Ps. 78 the "fathers'" sin during this time included their constant complaining against God and their inability to believe that he would do what he had promised. It is not until after Israel arrived in the land (vss. 54-55) that she worshipped at the "high places" and made "graven images" (vs. 58).

Ps. 106 is even more instructive since it employs the marriage motif. While in the wilderness "the fathers" are accused of rebelling against God, forgetting his works, putting him to the test, and murmuring against him. Vss. 19-20 cast the making of the golden calf in a bad light, but as remarked above, this condemnation is against illegitimate Yahwistic iconalotry. According to Ps. 106:28, it is not until Israel reached Shittim that she yoked (*smd) herself to Baal Peor. Only after sacrificing to the "idols of Canaan" is Israel accused of committing harlotry (vss. 34-39).

On two occassions Ezekiel develops the marriage metaphor into full scale allegories (chaps. 16, 23). However, on both these occassions it is the capital cities of Jerusalem and/or Samaria who are being described as adulteresses. These allegories stem from the Canaanite belief that the city was a royal goddess married to her patron god. Consequently, since Jerusalem and Samaria were not occupied by the Israelites until after the settlement of Canaan,

there is no reference to the wilderness period in these chapters.[1]

Ezek. 20 constitutes a unique and forceful example of prophetic exegesis (Zimmerli 1979:I:405). Ezekiel divides Israel's history into three epochs: the sojourn in Egypt (vss. 1-9), the wanderings in the wilderness (vss. 10-26), and the settlement of Canaan (vss. 27-31). During each of these periods Israel is described as rebelling against Yahweh.

During the stay in Egypt Israel was guilty of defiling herself with the idols (gillûlê) of Egypt (vss. 7-8). Interestingly, the Pentateuch makes no mention of Israelite idolatry in Egypt. The only other passage that makes a similar accusation is Jos. 24:14 where Joshua commands Israel to ". . . put away the gods which your fathers served beyond the river, and in Egypt, and serve Yahweh" (see Cooke 1936:215).

While in the wilderness Israel's sin consists of rejecting Yahweh's ordinances, not walking in his statutes, profaning the sabbath, and letting her heart follow after idols (gillûlêhem; vs. 16). The only occurance of idolatry

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[1]Ezek. 16:2-3 is explicit on this point. Yahweh instructs Ezekiel: "Son of man, make known to Jerusalem her abominations, and say, Thus says Yahweh-Elohim to Jerusalem: Your origin and your birth are of the land of the Canaanites; your father was an Amorite, and your mother a Hittite." In complete opposition to this claim is chap. 23. Here Ezekiel traces Jerusalem's and Samaria's origins to Egypt, the place where the two cities are said to have started their adulterous behavior. The wilderness era, however, is not mentioned.

while Israel was in the wilderness is the episode involving the golden calf (Exod. 32), to which this verse likely alludes (Cooke 1936:217). The worship of idols does not necessarily imply the worship of other gods.

After entering the land Israel continues to stray from Yahweh by sacrificing upon any high hill and under any leafy tree (vs. 28). Yahweh extols that in following the ways of her fathers Israel was guilty of harlotry (*znh, vs. 30).

In vss. 32ff. Yahweh announces the punishment that Israel must suffer for her sins: "And I will bring you into the wilderness of the nations and enter into judgment with you there face to face. As I entered into judgment with your fathers in the wilderness of the land of Egypt, so will I enter into judgment with you, says the Lord Yahweh."

For Ezekiel there is no distinction between following Egypt's gods, making images of Yahweh, or participating in the fertility cults of Canaan. All of these things he classifies as idol worship (20:7-8, 16, 31, 39). Thus, the worship of the golden calf, even if it did represent Yahweh, is equally as sinful as sacrificing one's son to the Canaanite deities. Significantly, only Israel's worship of the gods of Canaan is referred to as harlotry.

The marriage metaphor also appears in Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah (49:14-21; 50:1; 54:1-10; 57:3f.; 64:4f.). In typical fashion, however, these prophets have reshaped the

metaphor to serve in oracles of salvation (see Muilenburg 1956:400-401). Yahweh did not really divorce Israel (50:1), he only left her for awhile (54:7). But now he has returned to her to reaffirm their marriage (54:5; 62:4) and live together in everlasting love (54:8).

The different emphasis of the different traditions that employ the marriage/harlotry metaphor is of interest. As noted above the tradition appears to have started with the incident at Beth Baal Peor. Furthermore, it appears as though the sexual activity involved in worshipping Baal Peor induced the use of this metaphor. The motif is therefore uniquely Israelite.[1] The eighth century Ephraimite prophet, Hosea, clearly uses the metaphor in a similar way. He even goes as far as to marry a harlot in order to enact Israel's adulterous situation. Being grounded in the Conquest and Hosean traditions gives this use of the metaphor a distinctly northern flavour.

During the eighth century the motif was also being used by the prophets of Judah. Micah and Isaiah, however, base their charges of adultery in the old Canaanite concept that capital cities were royal goddesses married to their patron gods. This concept was adopted by the Judeans once

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[1]It is significant that when Jacobsen (1976) discusses the motifs used in Mesopotamian religion to describe the relationship between the people and the gods he makes no mention of the marriage metaphor. The Mesopotamians saw the gods as providers, rulers, and parents, but not spouses.

David captured Jerusalem. Expectantly, this tradition has a southern tone to it. Hence, during the eighth century prophetic accusation of religious harlotry from the north are based in a completely different tradition than those from the southern kingdom.

During the seventh century a blending of traditions occurred. Jeremiah, originating from the northern tribe of Benjamin, prefers to base his use of the metaphor in the Baal Peor tradition (2:2-4:4; 5:7-9). There are occassions, particularly during military assaults against Jerusalem, when he felt it more appropriate to adopt the southern tradition (eg. 4:28-31). Jeremiah uses a distinct vocabulary for each tradition.

The Deuteronomic tradition, whose theological roots ultimately stem from the north, employ only the northern tradition. There is no hint of the divine city concept behind the metaphor in this tradition. The Holiness Code, while generally considered to derive from the south, attributes its contents to Moses. Consequently the basis of its accusations of harlotry stem from the people's sexual involvement in the worship of Baal. The warning against goat worship in Lev. 17:7 may stem from the other tradition since it appears to address the worship of the old patron god of Jerusalem, <u>šlm</u>.

Ezekiel draws primarily upon the southern tradition (chaps. 16, 23). There is one instance in 20:30 where

Ezekiel refers to the people in the context of their salvation history, and therefore reflects the northern tradition. Ps. 106, while originating in the south, bases its accusations of harlotry in the northern tradition. This is also true of the later applications by Deutero-Isaiah, Trito-Isaiah, and the Chronicler (1 Chr. 5:25, 2 Chr. 21:11, 13), thus suggesting a waning of the southern concept during post-exilic times.

It is also interesting to compare the role of "the fathers" in the different traditions. In the northern tradition the fathers, while roaming the wilderness, are portrayed in a positive light and held up for Israel as examples of how to act (Deut. 32:12, 17, Jud. 2:17f.). On the other hand, in the traditions stemming from Judah the fathers are described as having always been sinful, and are held up as an example of how not to act (Ezek. 20, Pss. 78:8; 106:6). Jeremiah and Hosea, by demanding a return to the relationship which Israel and Yahweh shared while in the wilderness, reflect the northern point of view; although they do state that once in the land the fathers strayed from Yahweh (Jer. 2:5-6, Hos. 9:10). The reason for this difference in the two traditions stems from their different emphasis on what constitutes evil against Yahweh.

For Hosea, Jeremiah, and the Deuteronomic traditions, Israel's great evil was her abandoning of Yahweh to Baal. Since this religious adultery did not occur until after

encountering the land, they do not dwell on what "murmuring" may have occurred against Yahweh during the wilderness wanderings. Indeed, if Coats (1968:251) is right about the southern origin of the "murmuring" motif, it would have taken some time before the northern tribes came into contact with it.[1] On the other hand, the traditions represented in Ezekiel and the Psalms have equated all forms of apostasy. According to these traditions, it is just as sinful to "murmur" against God or build an illegitimate icon to Yahweh, as it is to worship foreign deities. Interestingly, the book of Deuteronomy shares this position (1:26f.; 9:6f.). Consequently from the point of view of these traditions Israel's history has always been bleak.

Historical and political circumstances may also have played some part in shaping Ezekiel's view.[2] From Hosea's and Jeremiah's oracles it is clear that they felt Israel could avoid political destruction by returning to Yahweh. What they were to return to was an attitude they exhibited while in the wilderness, that is, they must once again be-

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[1]According to Bach (1952), the northern tribes favoured a "discovery tradition." Although the tradition has been preserved in only fragmentary form, it is characterised by its belief that Yahweh discovered (*mṣ') Israel in the wilderness, found her to his liking, and therefore cared for her and nourished her. According to Bach, this tradition can be found in Deut. 32:10, Jer. 2:2; 31:2, and Hos. 9:10. There may also be a trace of it in Exod. 19:4.

[2]On the relationship between the prophets and the political situation of their day see Gottwald (1964).

lieve in Yahweh and his servant Moses (Exod. 14:31).[1] In Ezekiel, however, the distruction had already arrived, ruling out any possibility of return. The reason for her destruction is that Israel had never been faithful to Yahweh. From her creation until the present, Ezekiel maintains, Israel had always sinned against Yahweh. There was therefore not even the slightest reason why Yahweh should have stayed his destruction of the people.[2]

The problem of the relationship between the book of Hosea and Jer. 2:2-4:4 can now be returned to. As has been noted in this chapter, although the use of the marriage metaphor and wilderness motif by these two prophets clearly reflects the same tradition, it is impossible to maintain that Jeremiah is in any way dependent upon Hosea. And although Num. 25:1-5, Hos. 9:10, and Ps. 106:28 all suggest that the incident at Beth Baal Peor is the origin of the marriage/harlotry motif, the different vocabularies of Num. 25 and the two Ephraimite prophets suggest that neither Hosea nor Jeremiah are directly dependent upon the tradition that is preserved in Num. 25:1-5.[3] It seems likely, therefore, that

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[1]Significantly both Hosea (compare 2:16 with 12:13) and Jeremiah fancied themselves as a second Moses (see Holladay 1964:153-164; 1966a:17-27).

[2]Note the similarity between this perspective and that in the story of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. 18-19).

[3]Note Mendenhall's (1973:106) opinion that Hos. 9:10 stems not from Num. 25:1-5, but an "ancient tradition of another source. . . ."

Hosea and Jeremiah (as well as Num. 25:1-5) represent independent applications of a tradition that describes Israel's covenant relationship with Yahweh as a marriage, a tradition no longer extant in its full form. As noted above, this metaphor is found in those traditions generally thought to stem from the northern kingdom, which may account for its disappearance.

As remarked above, these same northern sources also retain some fragments of another near extinct tradition referred to by Bach (1952) as the discovery tradition. Significantly, many of the passages that contain the discovery tradition are the same passages that employ the marriage metaphor (Jer. 2:2-3; 31:2-4, Hos. 9:10). It may be that there is a lost tradition in which these two metaphors are actually part of a single description of Israel's relationship to Yahweh. If this be the case, perhaps it can be reconstructed to some extent by correlating the different passages that contain one or the other, or both metaphors.

Israel appears to have been a people lost in the desert and in need of rest (Jer. 31:2) from the attacks of other peoples (Jer. 2:3). Yahweh finds her in the desert (Deut. 32:10, Hos. 9:10), and she is of such a character that he responds to her as a desert wanderer responds to grapes or fresh figs (Hos. 9:10). He restores her (Jer. 31:2) and protects her as a she-eagle protects its young (Exod. 19:4, Deut. 32:11). She becomes the apple of his eye (Deut. 32:10),

and the first fruits of his harvest (Jer. 2:3). Yahweh loves Israel to such an extent (Jer. 31:3) that he decides to betroth her to himself. Israel responds favourably to Yahweh by showing him the love of a young wife and following him through the desert (Jer. 2:2). Such is the bliss of this early relationship that Yahweh thinks it will last fore ever (Jer. 3:19b). However, upon entering the promised land Israel rejects her husband and true love for a paramour (Num. 25:1-5, Hos. 9:10).

Hosea's and Jeremiah's message is that this desertion constitutes adultery. Israel is therefore guilty of breaching two standards: she has broken the covenantal laws against adultery (Exod. 20:14, Num. 5:11-15), and she has contravened the rules of wisdom (Prov. 5:15-20; 6:32). Both of these codes demand that the adulteress be punished. In accord with these standards both Hosea and Jeremiah announce that Yahweh, as the bereaved husband, will discipline his wife unless she returns to him (Hos. 14:1-7, Jer. 3:1-4:4). However, such is his love for his bride that even if he must punish her he will move her in such a way as to make her return and remain faithful to him (Hos. 2:16-25, Jer. 31:2-6, 31-34).

To summarize this chapter, there are two sources behind the use of the marriage metaphor. Behind those passages that portray Jerusalem and/or Samaria as a woman is the Canaanite belief that capital cities are royal goddesses

who were married to their patron gods. This concept lies behind passages like Isa. 1:21-26, Mic. 1:2-7, Jer. 4:28-31, and Ezek. 16. Since this tradition evolved from David's conquest of Jerusalem it has a particularly southern flavour, and it lacks any reference to the wilderness traditions.

An earlier and wholly Israelite development of the marriage metaphor is represented in Num. 25:1-5. In this tradition sexual involvement in the worship of Baal, in which Israel took part upon emerging from the desert, sparked the Israelite imagination into describing Israel as a harlot. The use of the verb smd was a natural choice since it connoted that Israel had both a husband and a paramour. Since it was only after her arrival at Shittim that Israel began to commit harlotry, before this event Israel is pictured as Yahweh's faithful bride. It is this tradition that the book of Hosea and Jer. 2:2-4:4; 5:7-9 reflect.

Later traditions like Ezek. 20 and Pss. 78 and 106 which portray the wilderness period as equally as bleak as the period of the settlement do so to explain the destruction of Judah. In their view all sins, including murmuring against Yahweh, building icons for him, and worshipping other gods, are of equal weight. Nevertheless, even these traditions reserve the harlotry motif for the worship of the gods of Canaan. The only exception is Ezek. 23. Here the two capital cities, Samaria and Jerusalem, are said to have committed adultery while in Egypt. Since these cities as geophysical

entities did not originate in Egypt, and since this chapter reflects both the northern and southern traditions, this passage is best understood as a mixing and innovative application of traditions stemming from the prophet himself (so Zimmerli 1979:I:482).

4. CONCLUSIONS

By a rhetorical analysis of Jer. 2:2-4:4 this thesis has sought to demonstrate that Jeremiah did indeed know of a positive wilderness tradition. He uses this tradition in order to set up a series of introversions in which he contrasts Israel's early devotion to Yahweh with her present apostasy. This wavering attitude is then hild in bold relief against Yahweh's never-ceasing faithfulness to Israel. The positive wilderness tradition is also used by Jeremiah as an example of the attitude to which he demands Israel return. If Israel fails to heed Yahweh's warning she will be destroyed, the other nations will not be blessed (4:1-2), and all Yahweh's work at creation will be undone (4:23-26; Holladay 1966b:404-406). The stability of the universe depends upon Israel's following of Yahweh.

The imagery that Jeremiah uses to describe Yahweh's relationship to Israel is that of a once faithful marriage that has been tainted with adultery. Israel has played the harlot by accepting the Baals as her lovers. Yahweh is shocked that Israel would ever stop following her true husband, and demands that she return to him.

It has been suggested that the underlying concept of Jer. 2:2-4:4 is the covenant. In 2:2-3 Israel is remembered as being true to the covenant. In 2:4-37 her following of

the Baals is seen as grounds for rendering the covenant void. Israel had broken its first stipulation (Exod. 20:3; Deut. 5: 7).

In 3:1-5 Israel attempts to re-establish her relationship with Yahweh, but the superficial nature of this attempt is perceived and condemned. Yahweh, on the other hand, demands that Israel return to him in truth. What Yahweh must therefore do is establish a new covenant with Israel. However, this time, rather than writing the covenant on stone tablets, Yahweh will implant it upon the people's hearts. Then Israel will remain eternally faithful to her God.

Chapter one demonstrates that there are positive remarks made about Israel's attitude towards Yahweh in the Pentateuchal account of the desert wanderings. It was noted, however, that the use of marital imagery to describe Israel's relationship to Yahweh is foreign to the vast majority of these traditions.

In chapter three it was concluded that Jeremiah is not dependent upon the Hosean tradition for his application of the marriage metaphor. An examination of all passages using this metaphor suggests that it originated with the episode at Beth Baal Peor. There Israel participated in sexual activity as a means of worshipping Baal Peor. This was understood by the traditionist as religious harlotry, and Israel was consequently described as Yahweh's unfaithful bride. Israel was therefore understood as remaining faithful to her

husband until her encounter with the land (Canaan/Peor). Hosea and Jer. 2:2-4:4 reflect independent applications of this tradition.

It was also argued that there is a second source of the marriage metaphor. In ancient Canaan there existed the idea that capital cities were royal goddesses married to their patron gods. Upon David's conquest of Jerusalem, the Judeans adopted this idea, and the city thus became the bride of Yahweh. Any whorshipping of other gods by the inhabitants of the city therefore constituted adultery. This mythological concept lies behind the accusations of harlotry in the books of Micah and Isaiah. It is also apparent in passages like Jer. 4:28-31 and Ezek. 16.

In Jeremiah (and Hosea) the wilderness is not seen as an ideal, nor as an ideal place to live, nor is it seen as the ideal place of God's revelation. According to Jeremiah, the wilderness ideal is the attitude with which Israel followed Yahweh while in the desert. There Israel loved (*ʾhb) God and showed him hesed. There Israel responded to her God as a young bride responds to her new husband.

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