

Ein Freund des Wortes

Festschrift Udo Rüterswörden

herausgegeben von

Sebastian Grätz, Axel Graupner
und Jörg Lanckau



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Vorwort

Mit dem vorliegenden Band möchten wir als Kollegen, Schüler und Freunde Udo Rütterswörden für seine wissenschaftliche Arbeit ehren und für seine Kollegialität danken. Der Titel legt nahe, worum es Udo Rütterswörden bei seiner Tätigkeit als Wissenschaftler und Lehrer zuvorderst geht: die sorgsame philologische Arbeit, durch die sich die Quellen des Alttestamentlers erst erschließen. So kann der Grundsatz des großen Hebraisten Wilhelm Gesenius, dessen maßgebendes Wörterbuch in seiner achtzehnten Auflage auch durch Udo Rütterswörden verantwortlich bearbeitet wurde, für die Arbeit unseres geschätzten Kollegen gelten, dass nämlich neben der Bibel und ihrer jüdischen Auslegung eine dritte Quelle philologischer Erkenntnis zu nutzen sei. So schreibt Gesenius im Vorwort der zweiten Auflage seines Handwörterbuchs (Leipzig 1823): „Die dritte und zwar eine vorzüglich reiche und wichtige Quelle der hebräischen Wortforschung sind die mit dem Hebräischen verwandten, gewöhnlich (...) sogenannten semitischen Sprachen, deren Kenntniss in lexicalischer Hinsicht namentlich für den etymologischen Theil der Forschung unentbehrlich ist (...)”

Eine Durchsicht des breiten Œuvres von Udo Rütterswörden zeigt, dass seine wissenschaftliche Arbeit eben an dieser Stelle ansetzt: Texte werden erschlossen, indem sie sprachlich, form- und religionsgeschichtlich den Zeugnissen ihrer Umwelt an die Seite gestellt werden. Dieser prononcierte Zugriff auf das Alte Testament kommt nicht von ungefähr: Geboren 1953 in Essen, studierte Udo Rütterswörden von 1971 bis 1978 neben der Evangelischen Theologie auch Germanistik und Altorientalistik in Bochum und Münster. Bereits als Student veröffentlichte er wissenschaftliche Artikel, die seine philologische Begabung früh erkennen ließen. 1981 wurde er mit einer bis heute nicht überholten Studie zu den „Beamten der israelitischen Königszeit“ in Bochum bei Siegfried Herrmann, einem der letzten Schüler Albrecht Alts, promoviert. Als Mitarbeiter der Gesenius-Arbeitsstelle in Kiel war er von 1983 bis 1996 an der Seite Herbert Donners, ebenfalls Schüler Alts, mitverantwortlich für die beiden ersten Faszikel der achtzehnten Auflage des Wörterbuchs (*alef-jod*). Daneben verfasste er in Kiel auch seine Habilitationsschrift zu den Ämtergesetzen des Deuteronomiums (1986) sowie eine weitere Mo-

nographie zur Vorstellung des *dominium terrae* im ersten Schöpfungsbericht (1993). Es folgten konsequenterweise Rufe auf C4-Professuren nach Leipzig (1997 bis 2000) und Bonn, wo er seit dem Jahr 2000 lehrt. In dieser Zeit hat sich Udo Rütterswörden insbesondere als Herausgeber der Zeitschrift für Althebraistik (ZAH), als Kommentator für den Neuen Stuttgarter Kommentar (NSK: Deuteronomium, 2006) und schließlich als Kommentator sowie Herausgeber des mit Bonn eng verbundenen Biblischen Kommentars (BKAT, Neukirchner Verlagsgesellschaft, jetzt Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht) einen Namen gemacht.

Als seine Schüler und Weggefährten haben wir Udo Rütterswörden als geistreichen, scharfsinnigen, vielseitig interessierten, humorvollen, großzügigen und zugewandten Menschen kennen und schätzen gelernt. Auch als „Freund des Worts“ hat er in seinen Veröffentlichungen stets die bündige Kürze bevorzugt, pointiert formuliert und Qualität über Quantität gestellt. Als Herausgeber dieser Festgabe, die Udo Rütterswörden in herzlicher Verbundenheit zugeeignet sei, bedanken wir uns bei allen Kolleginnen und Kollegen, die sich bereit erklärt haben, einen – im Sinne des Geehrten – bündigen Beitrag beizusteuern. Insbesondere gilt unser Dank auch denjenigen, die maßgeblichen Anteil daran haben, dass das Buch die vorliegende Form erhalten hat: Frau Dr. Katja Weiß, Frau Dr. Anna-Maria Bortz, Herrn Jonathan Lachmann sowie der professionelle Betreuung durch die Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter des Verlags Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen.

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Reinhard Achenbach

The Post-Priestly Elohîm-Theology in the Book of Genesis

1. The Revelation of God According to the Narrative of the Priestly Code

One of the oldest notions in modern Biblical exegesis is the insight that a concept of successive revelation-accounts structures the basic priestly narrative of Genesis and Exodus (i.e. Pg, Priestergroundschrift).¹ Exodus 6:2–8 explains this:²

Exod 6

2 *Elohîm* spoke to Moshe; he said to him, “I am *Yhwh*. 3 I appeared to Avraham, Yitzchak and Ya‘akov as *El Shaddai*, although I did not make myself known to them by my name, *Yhwh*. 4 Also with them I established my covenant to give them the land of Kena’an, the land where they wandered about and lived as foreigners. 5 Moreover, I have heard the groaning of the people of Isra‘el, whom the Egyptians are keeping in slavery; and I have remembered my covenant.

6 Therefore, say to the people of Isra‘el: ‘**I am *Yhwh***. I will free you from the forced labour of the Egyptians, rescue you from their oppression, and redeem you with an outstretched arm and with great judgments.

7 I will take you as my people, and I will be your *Elohîm*. Then you will know that *I am Yhwh* your *Elohîm*, who freed you from the forced labor of the Egyptians. 8 I will bring you into the land which I swore to give to Avraham, Yitzchak and Ya‘akov – I will give it to you as your inheritance. *I am Yhwh*.”

¹ Usually exegetes include the following texts into this literary layer: Gen 1:1–2:1, (2–4a?); 6:9a, (9b), 10, 11–17a*, 18–22; 7:7, 8b–10, 11b, 12, 17–21; 8:1–3a, 6–7 [...], 15–19; 9:1–7 ...; 11:27–28, 31–32; 12:(4b), 5; 13:6, 11b?, 12a, b α ; 16:1a?, 3, 15, 16; 17:1–8, (9–27) ... 19:29; 21:1b?, 2–5*; 23:1–20?; 25:7–20, 26b, 34–35, 46; 28:2–9; 31:17–18; 33:18a*; 35:6*, 9–13, 22b, 23–29; (36); 37:1–2*... 41:46*; 46:6–7; ... 47:8–11, 27–28; 48:3–7; 49:1a, 29–33; 50:12–13; 50:22, 26a*; Ex 1:1–5, 7*, 13–14; 2:23a–25; 6:2–7(8). For the reconstruction in Gen cf. E. BLUM, “Noch einmal. Das literargeschichtliche Profil der P-Überlieferung”, in: F. Hartenstein/K. Schmid (ed.), *Abschied von der Priesterschrift? Zum Stand der Pentateuchdebatte*, VWGTh 40, 2015, 32–64.

² The translation follows A. Berlin/M.Z. Brettler/M. Fishbane (ed.), *The Jewish Study Bible*, Oxford/New York 2004. For a closer analysis of the text’s position in the composition of P, cf. now T. RÖMER, “Von Moses Berufung zur Spaltung des Meers. Überlegungen zur priesterschriftlichen Version der Exoduserzählung”, in: F. Hartenstein/K. Schmid (Hg.), *Abschied*, 134–60, on pp. 141–52.

The divine revelation to Moses is the culmination of his earlier manifestations to Israel's ancestors. The promulgation of the divine name reveals the most essential character of Elohîm. Moses receives the utmost authority even to proclaim this name in the form of an oracle reciting the words of Yhwh to the chosen people of Israel (v. 6–7). Thus, Moses represents a divine mediator of a message unheard until then. The system of the priestly account is clearly discernable. In Genesis 1–17 the narrator's words refer to Elohîm. When God speaks to the figures in the story, he does not mention his name. That is, God speaks to Noah and his sons and blesses them as Elohîm (Gen 9:1), he establishes his covenant (Gen 9:8), and he puts his bow in the clouds as a sign of this covenant (Gen 9:12).³ When he mentions the divine, he may refer to himself in the 3rd sg., Gen 9:6: "Whoever sheds human blood, by a human being will his own blood be shed, for HE made human the Adam in the image of Elohîm (בצלם אלהים)." The universal value of human dignity is based on a universal notion of the divine.

Noah receives God's word in an immediate way. He is the most righteous and entirely dedicated man among all people of his generation and age (איש צדיק תמים היה בדרתיו, Gen 6:9), and he obeys and does everything that God commanded (את־האלהים התהלך־בה), but he never addresses Elohîm in his own words! After Noah, there is no report about any closer relation between humanity and God. Even Abraham's wandering lacks any divine command or initiative according to P. The narrative does not even mention God in Gen 12:4b, 5; 13:6, 11b*, 12*; 16:1a, 3*, 15–16. Thus, God's initial revelation in P's historical account of the world is his appearance before Abraham, Gen 17:1–8.⁴

³ Cf. the impressive religious historical and theological analysis of this text by U. RÜTERSWORDEN, "Der Bogen in Genesis 9: Militärhistorische und traditionsge-schichtliche Erwägungen zu einem biblischen Symbol", UF 20, 1988, 247–63.

⁴ The priestly composition in Genesis has recently been analysed by J. WÖHRLE, *Fremdlinge im eigenen Land. Zur Entstehung und Intention der priesterlichen Passagen der Vätergeschichte*, FRLANT 246, Göttingen 2012. He provides further evidence for the notion that Gen 17:1–8 is part of the basic layer of P (P Grundschrift, Pg), and that 17:9–14 is part of a later reworking, cf. loc. cit., 45–50; cf. also J. BLENKINSOPP, "The 'Covenant of Circumcision' (Gen 17) in the Context of the Abraham Cycle (Gen 11:27–25:11)", in: F. Giuntoli/K. Schmid (ed.), *The Post-Priestly Pentateuch. New Perspectives on its Redactional Development and Theological Profiles*, FAT 101, Tübingen 2015, 145–56, who describes Gen 17 as "an editorial not an authorial unity", pp. 148–53.

Gen 17

1 When Avram was 99 years old *Yhwh* appeared to Avram and said to him, “I am *El shadday* [God Almighty*⁵]. Walk in my presence and be pure-hearted. 2 I will make my covenant between me and you, and I will increase your numbers greatly.” 3 Avram fell on his face, and *Elohîm* continued speaking with him: 4 “As for me, this is my covenant with you: you will be the father of many nations. 5 Your name will no longer be Avram [exalted father], but your name will be Avraham [father of many], because I have made you the father of many nations. 6 I will cause you to be very fruitful. I will make nations of you, kings will descend from you. 7 I am establishing my covenant between me and you, along with your descendants after you, generation after generation, as an everlasting covenant, to be *Elohîm* for you and for your descendants after you. 8 I will give you and your descendants after you the land in which you are now foreigners, all the land of Kena’an, as a permanent possession; and I will be their *Elohîm*.”

The mentioning of the Tetragrammaton in Gen 17:1b – יְהוָה אל – אַבְרָם – may already stem from the redactional work of the scribes who combined P and non-P texts. The interrelationship with other texts demonstrates this, as here P connects to a series of divine appearances recounted in Gen 12:7 (Shekhem) and in Gen 18:1 (Mamre). In Gen 17:22 it is *Elohîm* who “goes up” and vanishes in the sphere of invisibility, and even the parallel account about Jacob (Gen 35:9) only mentions *Elohîm*. According to the core of the story, *Elohîm* is speaking to Abraham/Abram (Gen 17:3), and he reveals himself as *El Shadday* (Gen 17:1b). After Gen 1:1–9:17, Gen 17:3 is the first text to mention of the name *Elohîm* again; this ascribes a universal meaning for all of humanity to this divine revelation to Abraham. The Covenant is connected with a change of identity for Abraham: Avram’s name is changed to Abraham (v. 4), and he receives the promises of progeny, divine presence, and land. After P suppresses the ancient paradigms of polytheism and a divine pantheon, the name *Shadday* may still be associated with the idea of a divine presence on an unrevealed mountain. In addition to this narrative, Gen 17:9–22 reports the first dialogue between Abraham and God, which concerns circumcision as the sign of the covenant of

⁵ Cf. akk. *shadu*, adj. *shadda’u* – a mountain dweller; gr. A, Symm. Theod. *Epouranios*, – heavenly dweller; LXX *pantokratôr*; Vulg. *omnipotens*; the etymology of this famous epithet has met controversial discussion, cf. W. GESENIUS et al., Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament, Heidelberg et al. 182013, 1325–26; E.A. KNAUF, “Shadday”, in: K. van der Toorn/B. Becking/P.W. van der Horst (ed.), Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible, Leiden et al. 1999, 749–53, suggests “God of the Wilderness” as an original meaning; for further interpretation see below.

grace. Again the narrative says that Elohîm speaks to Abraham (17:9, 15, 19), and Abraham speaks to Elohîm (Gen 17:18). However, God does not mention this name again. Nor does Abraham dare to address the deity by his name El Shadday, nor even his designation as Elohîm! In Gen 21:1b*, 2–5*; 23:1–20* and 25:7–20, 26b–34, 46 the narrator reports that Elohîm fulfilled his promise and blessed Isaac (Gen 25:11). The Hittites of Hebron address Abraham as נשיא אלהים – you are a leader with divine authority in our midst – i.e., among the original inhabitants of Canaan. Otherwise, the Abraham-story of P does not mention God.

Regarding Isaac, P only recounts that he passed on the blessing of El Shadday to Jacob (Gen 28:3–4, אתך, שדי יברך אתך).⁶ In the Jacob story (Gen 31:17–18; 33:18a*; 35:6*, 9–14, 22b, 23–29; (36); 37:1–2*... 41:46*; 46:6–7; ... 47:8–11, 27–28; 48:3–7; 49:1a, 29–33; 50:12–13; 50:22, 26a*), we read about the revelation to Jacob after his return from Paddan Aram, Gen 35:9–13:

Gen 35

9 After Ya'akov arrived from Paddan-Aram, *Elohîm* appeared to him again and blessed him. 10 *Elohîm* said to him, “Your name is Ya'akov, but you will be called Ya'akov no longer; your name will be Isra'el.” Thus he named him Isra'el. 11 *Elohîm* further said to him, “I am *El Shadday*. Be fruitful and multiply. A nation, indeed a group of nations, will come from you; kings will be descended from you. 12 Moreover, the land which I gave to Avraham and Yitzchak I will give to you, and I will give the land to your descendants after you.” 13 Then *Elohîm* went up from him there where he had spoken with him.

The shape of the text shows many parallels to Gen 17. God appears (17:1/35:9), Jacob's name is changed (17:5/35:10);⁷ God's name is

⁶ LXX avoids the name of El Shadday, replacing it by “my God” or “your God”, “their God”, cf. Gen 17:1 (Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ θεός σου), Gen 28:3 (ὁ δὲ θεός μου εὐλογήσαι σε); Gen 35:11 (θεός); Ex 6:3 (θεός ὢν αὐτῶν), cf. J.W. WEVERS (ed.), Genesis. Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum, vol. I, Göttingen 1974, or by other translations, cf. W.H. RITTER/R. FELDMEIER et al., Der Allmächtige. Annäherungen an ein umstrittenes Gottesprädikat, Biblisch-theologische Schwerpunkte 13, Göttingen 1997, 13–42; F. SIEGERT, Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament. Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta, Münsteraner Judaistische Studien 9, Münster 2001, 207–10. For the general replacement of *Yhwh* by *kyrios* in LXX cf. M. RÖSEL, Adonaj – Warum Gott “Herr” genannt wird, FAT 29, Tübingen 2000.

⁷ It seems that this motif has been introduced secondarily, because it is not motivated in the text, but only through its parallelism with Gen 17. It is mentioned too early, just before the self-introduction of the deity, P does not use the name “Israel” for Jacob in the following passages, and it is not repeated in the priestly account that refers to this episode in Gen 48:3–6. The motif was adopted from the non-priestly

revealed as El Shadday (17:1/35:11); the divine blessing and the promise of descendants and land is repeated (17:2, 6, 8/35:11–12); God ascends into the heavenly sphere (17:22/35:13). The narrative lists Jacob's children (Gen 35:22b, 23–29) and reports that in a situation of famine (?) Jacob went to Egypt with his entire family (Gen 46:6–7.8–26, 27). Even in those passages that are based on a combination of P and parts of the Joseph tradition and – by some scholars – are counted among the P verses (47:8–11, 27–28; 41:1a, 29–33; 50:12–13, 22, 26), we only encounter a theological passage in Gen 48:3–7. When Jacob imparts his blessing to his son Joseph and to Ephraim and Manasse, he passes on the mystery of his former vision and the divine promise.

Gen 48

3 Ya'akov said to Yosef, “*El Shadday* appeared to me at Luz in the land of Kena'an and blessed me, 4 saying to me, ‘I will make you fruitful and numerous. I will make of you a group of peoples; and I will give this land to your descendants to possess forever.’”

In the Exodus story, P relates that the promise of blessing on Israel is fulfilled in the foreign land of Egypt (Exod 1:1–5, 7); that – after increasing Egyptian suppression – their cry went up to God (Elohîm + article, det., cf. Exod 2:23ב *ויעל שועתם אל האלהים*); that Elohîm (> article = name) heard the Israelite's groaning (Exod 2:24, *וישמע אלהים ואת-נאקתם*); that he, Elohîm, remembered his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Exod 2:24ב *ויזכר אלהים את-בריתו*); and that Elohîm saw the Israelites' distress and decided to make himself known (Exod 2:25 *וירא אלהים את בני ישראל וידע אלהים*). So, after a long period of narration, all of a sudden the story mentions Elohîm five times. The text continues in Exod 6:2–8 with a sixth mention (Exod 6:2, *וידבר אלהים אל-משה*), and the seventh time the text relates the great words *הוה יהוה*, – I am *Yhwh!*⁸ – After God's great speech, Moses is sent to represent the universally present Elohîm before Pharaoh, while Aaron will act as his prophetic intermediary (Exod 7:1–2). The ancient scribes did understand and see this read thread of the story, as we can

tradition (Gen 32:29). In a synchronic reading of non-P and P, Gen 35:10 appears as a confirmation of the former account. Cf. U. BECKER, “Jakob in Bet-El und Sichem”, in: A. C. Hagedorn/H. Pfeiffer (ed.), *Die Erzväter in der biblischen Tradition*, FS M. Köckert, BZAW 400, Berlin/New York 2009, 159–85, on pp. 173–5; W. GROSS, “Jakob, der Mann des Segens. Zu Traditionsgeschichte und Theologie der priester-schriftlichen Jakobsüberlieferungen”, *Bib* 49, 1968, 321–44, on pp. 329–32; the theory has been rejected several times, cf. WÖHRLE, *Fremdlinge*, 88–91.

⁸ Cf. A.A. DIESEL, “Ich bin Jahwe”. *Der Aufstieg der Ich-bin-Jahwe-Aussage zum Schlüsselwort des alttestamentlichen Monotheismus*, WMANT 110, Neukirchen-Vluyn 2006.

see from the LXX manuscripts.⁹ In general they follow the line of P, translating the Tetragrammaton with *kyrios* and *Elohîm* with *theos*. However, they avoided applying the ancient title of *El Shadday* for religious and theological reasons, and just replaced it, saying that God revealed himself as the God of the ancestors, harmonising the text with the non-P account.

My thesis is that irrespective of whoever compiled this great P account with the non-priestly literary tradition, at some time during the early Second Temple period, someone *must* have been aware of the theological weight and importance of the theory of P. But how can we understand, then, the non-P texts in relation to the P theory?

2. God's Revelation According to the Non-Priestly Texts in Exodus 1–6

The compilation of P's Moses story with the ancient non-P narrative in Exodus 1–2 only uses *Elohîm* as a designation for God (Exod 1:17, 20; 2:23–25). This is also the case in the core of the narrative in Exodus 3 (Exod 3:1aα.ba...2b, 3a, 4a(Sam.), 5, 6a*, 9–12, 16, 18–20*; 4:29*). The composition is connected with the account of the promise to the ancestors (Exod 3:6*, 8, 17, 21f?), but it avoids the explicit revelation of Yhwh's name to Moses. In this account, God's self-presentation identifies him with the God of Moses' ancestors, Exod 3:6:

And He said, 'I am the God of your father (אלהי אביך), God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.'¹⁰

Thus, the scribe and his addressees could be aware that the name had not yet been revealed to Moses, although it is very clear that it is the God of Abraham speaking to him. The specific character of this narrative, reporting Moses' encounter with the God of his ancestors far from Egypt in the desert, was not written as a complementary text to fill in the narrative gaps of P.¹¹ Rather, some postexilic scribe com-

⁹ Cf. above, note 6.

¹⁰ Only Gen 46:3 (P); 50:17 (Joseph novella); Exod 3:6; and 1 Chr 28:9 mention the title 'God of your father'. The additional character of the ancestors' names in Exod 3:6aβγ is obvious, cf. M. KÖCKERT, *Vätergott und Väterverheißungen. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Albrecht Alt und seinen Erben*, FRLANT 142, Göttingen 1988) 58–9, 83, 135. In Exod 3:15 and 4:5 consequently the text refers to a plural form, אלהי אבות! Sam. and LXX have secondarily adjusted the reading in Exod 3:6 to this form, cf. also 1 Chr 28:9 LXX.

¹¹ For the arguments that Exodus 3–4 was combined with P by a post-priestly redaction cf. E. OTTO, "Die nachpriesterliche Pentateuchredaktion im Buch Exodus", in: M. Vervenne (ed.), *Studies in the Book of Exodus. Redaction – Reception –*

bined this narrative with P. Thereby, the scribe was aware that Exod 3 characterized God's revelation differently. Exodus 3:14 renders the narrative's climax:

Exod 3

13 Moses said to *Elohîm*, "When I come to the Israelites and say to them, 'The God of your fathers (אלהי אבותיכם) has sent me to you,' and they ask me, 'What is His name?' (מה שמו), what shall I say to them?"

14 And *Elohîm* said to Moses, "*Ehyeh-Asher-Ehyeh*." (אֲהִי־אֲשֶׁר־אֲהִיָּה) He continued, "Thus shall you say to the Israelites, '*Ehyeh* sent me to you.'"

15 And *Elohîm* spoke again to Moses, saying, "Thus shall you speak to the Israelites: *Yhwh, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, has sent me to you. This shall be My name forever, this My appellation for all eternity.*"

The name is not revealed explicitly according to v. 14, but the oracle makes clear the absolute sovereignty of God over all being.¹² Thus the revelation speech avoids the last moment of the disclosure of God's mystery, but – although the proper name remains concealed – the sentence assures Moses and Israel (and the reader) of his manifest and total presence.

Verse 15 deliberately eliminates this ambiguity, asserting that – in immediate connection with this sentence – God in a second oracle revealed his name. The verse can clearly be seen as additional.¹³ The original function of v. 14 was to make sure that the holy name was unavailable and undisposible and that it remained in the realm of

Interpretation, BETHL 126, Leuven 1996, 61–111; K. SCHMID, *Erzväter und Exodus. Untersuchungen zur doppelten Begründung der Ursprünge Israels innerhalb der Geschichtsbücher des Alten Testaments*, WMANT 81, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1999, 186–208. It is also obvious that P was not written as a redactional supplement with respect to non-P, cf. RÖMER, "Moses Berufung", 143–6; on pp. 145: "Wäre der Autor von P von vornherein als Redaktor tätig gewesen, hätte er seine Offenbarungstheorie ohne Schwierigkeiten in die Berufungsszene in Ex 3 einbauen können. Die Idee von Ex 6,3, dass der JHWH-Name den Patriarchen nicht bekannt gewesen sei, ist als redaktionelles Konzept schwieriger zu erklären, als wenn man die im Buch Genesis traditionell Pg zugeschriebenen Texte für sich nimmt."

¹² For a close analysis of this text cf. R. ACHENBACH, "'Ich bin, der ich bin!'" (Exodus 3,14). Zum Wandel der Gottesvorstellungen in der Geschichte Israels und zur theologischen Bedeutung seiner Kanonisierung im Pentateuch", in: I. Kottsieper/R. Schmitt/J. Wöhrle (ed.), *Berührungspunkte. Studien zur Sozial- und Religionsgeschichte Israels und seiner Umwelt. Festschrift für Rainer Albertz zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, AOAT 350, Münster 2008, 73–95.

¹³ J.C. GERTZ, *Tradition und Redaktion in der Exoduserzählung. Untersuchungen zur Endredaktion des Pentateuch*, FRLANT 186, Göttingen 2000, 294–8, realizes the redactional character of Exod 3:15, but he does not see a literary fraction between v. 14 and v. 15.

divine sovereignty to make himself accessible by the disclosure of this mystery. It is in the P text that God tells Moses what he has to proclaim to the Israelites, Exod 6:6, which thus is read as a final answer of the question put in Exod 3:13: “When ... they ask me, ‘What is His name?’ what shall I say to them?”¹⁴

The redactor combines the speech of v. 14 with the scribal verse 6 and makes sure that, with respect to both verses, it was the one and only God Yhwh who revealed himself before Moses, even though Moses – according to this understanding – already knew the name and identity of Elohîm as Yhwh. The author of this Yahwistic theology was aware of Exodus 6, and possibly he wanted to smooth out the differences between the Priestly and the Elohîm theologies.¹⁵

Some exegetes might say that he just was not aware of the problem. The third possibility is rather sophisticated: The scribe was aware of both Exodus 6 and the Elohîm-Theology that was foundational for those scribes who combined P and non-P at an early stage of the Pentateuchal composition. If this was the case, the author of Exod 3:15 wanted to stress that the name was implicitly revealed in the formula of Exod 3:14 as well as of Exod 3:6, but explicitly in Ex 6. This would mean that whenever someone worshiped the true God of Israel from the world’s creation, it was no other God than the one who revealed his name to Moses.

The oldest layers of the non-priestly account can be traced in Exod 4:18, 20a, Moses’ return to Egypt.¹⁶ In the core of the narrative about the confrontation with Pharaoh (Exod 5:3–19), he demands, that the king might permit a sacrifice to the “God of the Hebrews”

¹⁴ C. BERNER, Die Exoduserzählung. Das literarische Werden einer Ursprungslegende Israels, FAT 73, Tübingen 2010, 86–8, provides good reason for the secondary character of v. 15, cf. 87: “Man wird daher mit der Möglichkeit rechnen müssen, daß das im AT singuläre אהיה אשר אהיה in 3,14a ursprünglich schlicht als Vorverweis auf Ex 6 gelesen werden sollte.”

¹⁵ The scribe who inserted Exod 3:14 before Exod 6 acted intentionally: “Absicht der [...] Wendung ‘ich werde sein, wer immer ich sein werde’ [...] ist es, zu verdeutlichen, daß die Kenntnis des im folgenden genannten Namens keine Verfügungsgewalt über dessen Träger bedingt...” (GERTZ, Tradition, 297–8). The author of v. 15, in addition, had the intention as described already by W. Zimmerli, that “der Name Jahwe den, der ihn ausspricht, daran erinnern soll, daß er damit den Gott nennt, den er nicht mit seiner Nennung fassen kann, sondern der je in seiner Freiheit der ist, als der er sich selber zu erkennen gibt.” (cf. W. ZIMMERLI, “Erwägungen zur Gestalt einer alttestamentlichen Theologie“, ThLZ 98, 1973, 81–98 = *idem*, Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie, TB 51, München 1974, 27–57, on pp. 31).

¹⁶ Exod 4:1–17 is part of the pentateuchal redaction (cf. GERTZ, Tradition, 394), Exod 4:19, 20b, 21–31 is a very complex *mixtum compositum* and cannot be treated exhaustively here for the lack of space (cf. GERTZ, Tradition; BERNER, Exoduserzählung, 135–6).

(אלהי העברים, v. 3), but he is rejected, and the oppression is increased. The episode ends with the insertion of Exod 6:2–8. Only v. 3b and v. 17 mention the name Yhwh in the Masoretic text, but it was not part of the Old Greek version, and it is lacking in LXX.

Following those scribes, who deliberately stressed Yhwh's presence and name in the account (cf. Exod 4:1, 2, 4–6, 10, 11, 14, 19, 21–22, [24*], 27–28; 5:1–2, 21; 6:1) as part of the pentateuchal redactional reworking of Exodus 4, it became the task of Moses, supported by Aaron, to encourage belief (vb. האמין, cf. Exod 4:1, 5, 8, 9, 21–23, 31) in the true God of Israel, i.e. Yhwh. Even when in the following narrative Moses delivers the message to Israel's elders and succeeds in eliciting faith among the Israelites (Exod 4:31), Pharaoh's perception (and that of the Egyptians) is dull. Even when he hears the name Yhwh pronounced before his ears, he does not understand and recognise him really (Exod 5:1–2). Thus, because of his stubbornness, he does not fully recognise Yhwh's essential being or give honour to his holy name (Exod 7:3–5). However, Yhwh supports his servant in the crisis of disbelief (5:21–22; 6:1). Faith, אמונה, thus becomes a leading motif of the final redaction of the Exodus story; cf. Exod 14:31b.

3. The Revelation of God According to the Non-Priestly Texts in Genesis 12–50

It has been observed that in the Joseph narrative (Gen 37; 39–50) when speaking about the hidden efficacy of God the author uses the name *Elohîm* (Gen 40:8; 41:16, 25, 28, 32, 27, 29, 51, 52; 42:18, 28; 43:23, 29; 44:16; 45:5, 7, 8, 9; 46:1, 2, 3; 48:9, 11, 15, 20; 50:17, 19, 20, 24, 25). When Joseph, in the critical situation of seduction, reminds Potiphar's wife "How could I do this most wicked thing, and sin before God?" – he speaks about *Elohîm*!¹⁷ Only in Gen 39:2, 3, 5, 21, and 23, when Joseph is delivered into slavery, did a scribe stress several times that "Yhwh was with Joseph." The omniscient narrator thus gives the reader hints to a hidden work of divine providence, and that even the Egyptian Potiphar could be aware of the its effect (Gen 39:3: "his master saw that Yhwh was with him"). Since there is no hint of a notion that the name Yhwh had been revealed to Potiphar, the sentence means that he implicitly recognised divine agency,

¹⁷ The non-P narrative in Genesis in the older layers avoids relating the usage of the holy name from the mouths of foreigners, cf. R. ACHENBACH, "How to Speak about GOD with Non-Israelites. Some Observations about the Use of Names for God by Israelites and Pagans in the Pentateuch", in: F. Giuntoli/K. Schmid (ed.), *The Post-Priestly Pentateuch*, 35–52, on pp. 44–6.

because he recognised Joseph's success in everything he undertook. The Yahwistic reworking of the story wants to interpret the novella as an example of Yhwh's blessing the people through the children of Israel (Gen 39:5). But none of the figures in the Joseph story mentions the holy name itself. Joseph, in his final speech, says, "Elohîm intended it for good!" (Gen 50:20).

Thus, we can see that the basic layer of the non-P narrative connected with P (Gen 37:1–2*... 41, 46*; 46:6–7; ... 47:8–11, 27–28; 48:3–7; 49:1a, 29–33; 50:12–13; 50:22, 26a*) presented a universalistic *Elohîm*-Theology: Joseph is connected in a special and close manner with the one and true God, but whoever among the non-Israelite people is addressed, might also *fear* this true and only God. It has often been observed that the Joseph story was not part of an ancient pre-exilic source, but in its present form is a diaspora novella.¹⁸

For Gen 12–36; 38 it was shown long ago that the promises to the ancestors did not belong to the ancient base of the narratives.¹⁹ They are "late additions to pre-existing narratives or to narrative cycles in order to 'update' them, reinterpret them, and deduce a new meaning from them on the basis of the concerns of the Postexilic period."²⁰ Recent investigations of the Abraham narratives have confirmed the analyses that find the oldest layers of their tradition in an Abraham-Lot-narrative (Gen 13* and 18–19*), and perhaps an Abraham-Sarah-Hagar-narrative in Gen 16*.²¹

¹⁸ K. SCHMID, "Die Josephsgeschichte im Pentateuch", in: J.C. Gertz et al. (ed.), *Abschied vom Jahwisten. Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion*, BZAW 315, Berlin/New York 2002, 83–118; T. RÖMER, "The Joseph Story in the Book of Genesis: Pre-P oder Post-P?", in: F. Giuntoli/K. Schmid (ed.), *The Post-Priestly Pentateuch*, 185–202.

¹⁹ J. HOFTIJZER, *Die Verheissungen an die drei Erzväter*, Leiden 1956; KÖCKERT, *Vätergott und Väterverheißungen*; C. LEVIN, "Die Väterverheißungen: Eine Bestandsaufnahme", in: F. Giuntoli/K. Schmid (ed.), *The Post-Priestly Pentateuch*, 125–143, distinguishes between the P texts (Gen 17:2–8, 16, 19–21; 28:3–4; 35:11–12; 48:3–4) and the oldest examples of promises which he ascribes to a *yahwistic redactor* (Gen 12:2–3, 7a; 16:11; 18:10a; 26:2aa, 3a; 28:13a, 15a; 31:3; Ex 3:7*, 8aa) and postpriestly layers (Gen 13:14–15a; 15:5 et al.).

²⁰ J.-L. SKA, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, Winona Lake/IND. 2006, 87–8.

²¹ O. LIPSCHITS/T. RÖMER/H. GONZALEZ, "The Pre-Priestly Abraham Narratives from Monarchic to Persian Times", *Semítica* 59, 2017, 261–96; the chapters Gen 20–22 that are deeply affected by an *Elohîm* theology can be interpreted as post-priestly composition within the framework of P, cf. M. KÖCKERT, "Gen 20–22 als nach-priesterliche Erweiterung der Vätergeschichte", in: F. Giuntoli/K. Schmid, *The Post-Priestly Pentateuch*, 157–76.

The non-P Abraham story starts in Gen 12:1–3. There is no other introduction of his name outside of P,²² such that, based on the exclusively non-P narrative, we do not really know where we should imagine Yhwh speaking to Abraham. Traditionally some scholars assume that the P text in Gen 11:27–32 contains non-P fragments, but the evidence is far from convincing.²³ In the present composition, Gen 12:1–3 incorporated the account of P with the itinerary reporting that Abraham and Lot went from Haran (11:31) to Canaan (12:4b, 5). The omniscient author mentions the name of Yhwh, 12:1a and reports about an oracle in Haran. Interestingly enough, the deity does not introduce himself by name.

Gen 12

1 Now *Yhwh* said to Avram, “Get yourself out of your country, away from your kinsmen and away from your father’s house, and go to the land that I will show you. 2 I will make of you a great nation, I will bless you, and I will make your name great; and you are to be a blessing. 3 I will bless those who bless you, but I will curse anyone who curses you; and by you all the families of the earth will be blessed.” 4 So Avram went, as *Yhwh* had said to him, and Lot went with him.

(P*) *Avram was 75 years old when he left Haran. 5 Avram took his wife Sarai, his brother’s son Lot, and all their possessions which they had accumulated, as well as the people they had acquired in Haran; then they set out for the land of Kena’an and entered the land of Kena’an.*

This is very unusual for a narrative when the actors are first mentioned and introduced. The person who combined this text with the P narrative must have been aware of the special way in which God was addressed in the previous and following texts. Did the scribes think of changing the name of Abraham with respect to P in Gen 17, but without taking care of the use of the divine name? Quite the contrary seems to be the case! By introducing the non-P text into P, the scribe made sure that, according to his interpretation, *Elohîm* was essentially identical with Yhwh. Thus, he suggested that whenever the Priest-

²² Those scholars who assume that pre-exilic source of the text beginning already with a Primordial History in Gen 2–4; (6–8*); 9–11, understand Gen 11:2–5, 6a, 8a as sufficient preparation for Gen 12:1–3, cf. R.G. KRATZ, *Die Komposition der erzählenden Bücher des Alten Testaments*, UTB 2157, Göttingen 2000, 261–3. The theory only works when the story has no connection with Babylon, because the Ziggurat there still existed in exilic times, so that the myth should be dated in late Achaemenid times (C. UEHLINGER, *Weltreich und “eine Rede”*. Eine neue Deutung der sogenannten Turmbauerzählung [Gen 11,1–9], OBO 101, Fribourg/Göttingen 1990) or even later.

²³ Cf. SCHMID, *Erzväter*, 165–9. J. BLENKINSOPP, *The Pentateuch. An Introduction to the First Five Books of the Bible*, New York 1992, 54–6, determines the complete non-P text of Gen 1–11 as post-P.

ly account mentioned that it was *Elohim* revealing himself to the fathers, the reader should be aware of the identity of both. This means that according to this composition the scribe teaches that Abraham did not leave Babylonia or Haran of his own volition, but that from the outset he followed a divine voice to do so. And – in order to obey that voice – Abraham identified this voice with the divine, although God had not yet revealed his name to him, but merely spoke to him. Abraham even adhered to this voice, doing what Yhwh had commanded him (v. 4a), as in the previous P-narrative Noah had already done what *Elohim* told him (Gen 6:22).²⁴ The holy name is only mentioned on the narrative level, so that the reader can identify the deity. From the perspective of the characters in the story, the name remains unmentioned. The same is the case in the story Abraham and Sarah in Egypt: only the MT narrative says that Yhwh afflicted Pharaoh; the *Vorlage* of the LXX does not mention the name in (Gen 12:17 – וינגע יהוה את פרעה, LXX: καὶ ἤτασεν ὁ θεός (> אלהים) τὸν φαραῶ!²⁵).

The itinerary in Gen 12:6, 8a, 9 describes the way of Abraham across the whole land of Canaan from the north via Shechem and the hillside east of Bethel to the Negev. This itinerary is used to include notes about further revelations of Yhwh to Abraham. The narrative mentions the name, but in the oracle itself, God does not disclose himself to him. However, Abraham builds an altar that is devoted to Yhwh.

Gen 12

6 Abram passed through the land as far as the site of Shechem, at the terebinth of Moreh. The Canaanites were then in the land. 7 *Yhwh appeared* (וירע יהוה) *to Abram and said, “I will assign this land to your offspring.” And he built an altar there to Yhwh who had appeared to him* (ליהוה הנראה). 8 From there he moved on to the hill country east of Bethel and pitched his tent, with Bethel on the west and Ai on the east. *And he built there an altar to Yhwh and he invoked the name of Yhwh* (ויקרא יהו בשם יהו). 9 Then Abram journeyed by stages toward the Negev.

The itinerary touches important stations and landmarks in the promised land. Shechem is connected with the Jacob narrative (Gen 35:4 and 12) and the famous account about the renouncing of foreign deities at Shechem (Josh 24:1, 25, and 32) at the end of the Hexateuch

²⁴ The redactor combined both divine names in Gen 2:4b (יהוה אלהים), and in the following versions sometimes filled up former notions of Yhwh (cf. Gen 7:5 ריעש נה ויעש נה – LXX: κύριος ὁ θεός).

²⁵ LXX in the editions of A. RAHLFS and J.W. WEVERS.

composition. The hill site between Bethel and Ai is a place from where Abraham is able to view the promised land.

Obviously some scribes wanted to connect these landmarks with characteristic memorial altars, symbols for the divine presence (Exod 20:24b) from even the earliest times symbolizing the hope that this would be a land of Yhwh worship. These scribes stated that the worship of Yhwh already had its roots in the antediluvian period (Gen 4:26b), but only with Abraham did they first report about such a practice (Gen 12:8; 13:4; in Beer-Sheba with the epithet *El 'ōlam* Gen 21:33, ויקרא שם בשם יהוה אל עולם; 22:14). In Mamre, the story (Gen 13:18; 18:1a) about Abraham addressing Yhwh was replaced by Gen 18:23–33. The same model is then applied to Isaac (Gen 26:25),²⁶ but not explicitly to Jacob. Here, in the etiological tradition about Bethel, the text avoids the holy name, saying (Gen 35:15), ויקרא יעקב את שם המקום אשר דבר אתו שם אלהים בית-אל – “Jacob gave the site where Elohim had spoken to him, the name of Bethel!” And it is Elohim who reveals himself before him (Gen 35:9). The original story of Bethel’s cult aetiology was connected to Jacob; the analogous narratives about Abraham and Isaac are short retrojections to make sure that Jacob stood in a line of dogmatically correct revelations from Yhwh alone. The story could speak about Elohim, but scribes and their addressees would know that the Holy One was intended with this name. On the other hand, when the ancestors directed their prayers to the Holy One, they could call upon the name of Yhwh without stating it explicitly!

If we read these “Yahwistic” texts in a synchronic way with the Elohim texts and P in Exodus 6, the scribes must have had an implicit understanding of the sentence “to call upon the name of Yhwh.” Again, we get the impression that the text emphasizes the idea of an identical presence of God, but an implicit idea of the perception of God: Abraham in prayer to God implicitly invokes the name, although God has not yet explicitly revealed the name to him. Alternatively, we can explain the text in such a way that it basically remedies or intentionally or unintentionally ignores the priestly theory. However, Gen 12:7 and 8b argue for the concept of Abram’s religious landscaping of the promised land with altars, an idea that matches the late priestly narrative in Josh 22. It is at least possible that these elements of the itinerary are additional. The rest of the

²⁶ The itineraries, connected with a report on altar building, seem to follow a narrative scheme, but they are not applied consequently in every case; cf. Itinerary (Gen 12:6, 8; 13:18; 26:23; 35:6), altar building (Gen 12:7, 8; 13:18; 26:25; 35:7), divine epiphany (Gen 12:7; ... ; 18:1; 26:24; 35:9 (Elohim)); invocation of Yhwh by the ancestor (Gen 12:8; ... ; 26:25; ...).

chapter would suit the composition of non-P with P without inner contradiction.

Even when the narrative reports on the work of Yhwh, as in Gen 12:17 (וַיִּגַע יְהוָה אֶת־פַּרְעֹה), the pagan Pharaoh neither recognises nor identifies the deity explicitly, although he is aware that he is afflicted through a divine undertaking.

The narrative about Abraham and Lot in Gen 13, whether in the version according to P (cf. Gen 13:6, 11b–12*), or in the non-P story (Gen 13:2, 7–10a, 11a, 12b) does not mention *Elohîm*. Again the divine oracle of promise to Abraham (Gen 13:14–18a) is introduced with the name Yhwh on the level of the narrative, but the oracle itself fails to mention the name in an introduction to the patriarch. The name is mentioned only in connection with additions to the itinerary (13:4b, 18b; see above) and in additional notes on Sodom and Gomorrah (v. 10b, 13b).²⁷ Thus, the basic texts of the non-P tradition do not mention a revelation of the name to Abraham or any other person. The late yahwistic additions support the view of an intrinsic knowledge of God's identity, or they remain on the narrative level as information for the reader and not the characters.

Genesis 14 represents a special case of precognition of the legendary person of Melki-Sedek (Gen 14:18–20, 22: *El 'Elyôn*²⁸). The name of Yhwh in v. 22 is lacking in 1QGenAp, LXX, and the Syriac version and seems to be a very late addition. However, the story as a whole seems to be younger than the yahwistic additions to the itinerary that now form a frame for Gen 14–17 in Gen 13:18 and 18:1a. The chapter as a whole cannot be assigned to any of the traditional sources.²⁹

Genesis 15 is a very special case. The chapter was not part of ancient sources,³⁰ but a programmatic new text about the role of Abra-

²⁷ LXX in Gen 13:10(2x), 13, 14 renders יהוה MT by ὁ θεός.

²⁸ LXX ὁ θεός ὁ ὑψιστος.

²⁹ J.A. EMERTON, "Some Problems in Genesis XIV", in: *idem*, *Studies in the Pentateuch*, VTS 41, Leiden 1990, 73–102; J.A. SOGGIN, "Abraham and the Eastern Kings. On Genesis 14", in: Z. Zevit/S. Gitin/M. Sokoloff (ed.), *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots. Biblical Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield*, Winona Lake/IND 1995, 283–91. Recently C. BERNER, "Abraham amidst Kings, Coalitions and Military Campaigns. Reflections on the Redaction History of Gen 14 and its Early Rewritings", in: C. Berner/H. Samuel (ed.), *The Reception of Biblical War Legislation in Narrative Contexts*, BZAW 460, Berlin/New York 2015, 23–59, has suggested that Gen 14:2, 8a. b, 10a, 11a would form an ancient core of the story that later was connected by v. 14, 15a, 16a to chapter 15*; the episode on Melki-Sedek would be assigned to a very late layer.

³⁰ O. KAISER, "Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung von Genesis 15", *ZAW* 70, 1958, 107–26; A. CAQUOT, "L'alliance avec Abram (Genèse 15)", *Semitica* 12, 1962, 51–66.

ham as the blessed and rich righteous ancestor of all Israelites in a universal understanding (15:1–6). Additionally, he was the witness to the divine promise of the land in the form of a covenantal oath (15:7–10, 17–18), and even a visionary who already has foreseen the first catastrophe of a 400-year long slavery in Egypt (15:11–16).³¹ Abraham appears as a prophetic figure who receives the word of God in a vision (Gen 15:1 יהיה דבר יהוה במחזה לאמר cf. v. 4). God presents himself before Abraham with the words “I am your shield!” (אנכי מגן לך), perhaps an allusion to the narrative about conflicts with foreign kings in Gen 14. Abraham answers – as we find it in the book of Ezekiel – “o Lord, YHWH” (אדני יהוה). The LXX version does not mention the name, but Abraham says only Δέσποτα = אדני! However, the whole text sketches an image of Abraham that combines in his person features of charismatic prophetic vision and almost royal leadership.³²

In Gen 15:7 MT we have the formula of self-introduction in parallel with the Decalogue (אני יהוה אשר הוצאתיך מאור כשדים), and Abraham answers אדני יהוה (v. 8). Yet in the LXX, the name is lacking in v. 7 (Ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν σε ἐκ χώρας Χαλδαίων), so that again in the divine revelation the holy name is not spoken. Thus, Abraham must have “known” it by prophetic inspiration when he addresses God with the name that has not yet been revealed to him by God himself (LXX: Δέσποτα κύριε)!³³ Other than this possibly editorial gloss in Gen 15:7 MT the name appears only on the level of the external narration (Gen 15:1, 4, 6, 18). The verse interprets the exodus from Ur of the Chaldeans (Gen 11:31, P) as a typological event that already alludes to the exodus from Egypt and the introduction of the Decalogue (Exod 20:2) in combination with the promised land as attested in the Holiness Code (cf. Lev 25:38)! The promise of progeny (Gen 15:5) transcends even the conception of the Priestly code (Gen 17:6).³⁴ The measures of the promised land (Gen 15:18–21) go beyond all traditional descriptions of Israel’s borders.³⁵ The self-

³¹ The arguments for a dating at the late Persian period have been presented by M. KÖCKERT, “Gen 15: Vom ‘Urgestein’ der Väterüberlieferung zum ‘theologischen Programmtext’ der späten Perserzeit”, ZAW 125, 2013, 25–48.

³² מגן is an epithet of God with respect to David (2 Sam 22:3, 31, 36 etc.) and the righteous in Israel (Ps 33:1, 20; 84:10, 12 et al.).

³³ The address Δέσποτα κύριε is rare in the LXX, cf. Jer 1:6; 4:10; Jonah 4:3; Dan 9:15; Jud 5:20; 11:10; see also Josh 5:14.

³⁴ Even according to late priestly layers, the Israelites can be counted at the Exodus (Exod 12:37) and when entering the promised land still can be counted (Num 1; 26).

³⁵ The land as described in Num 34:1–12 is now extended and covers the area between the Euphrates and the Nahal Mizrajim (Deut 1:7b; 11:24; Josh 1:4), not only the former realm of 7 peoples as in the Hexateuch Composition (Exod 3:8, 17;