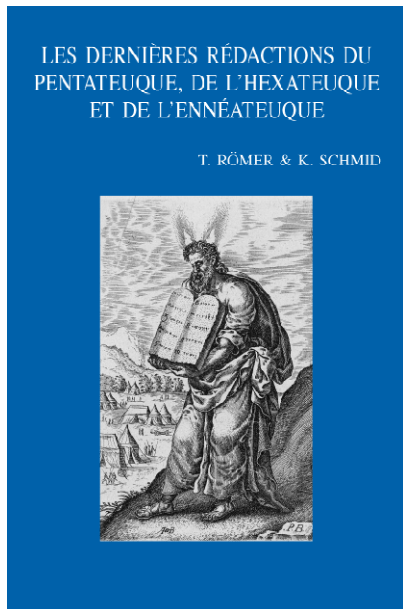


RBL 11/2008



Römer, Thomas, and Konrad Schmid, eds.

***Les Dernières Rédactions du Pentateuque, de
L'Hexateuque et de L'Ennéateuque***

Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum
Lovaniensium 203

Leuven: Peeters, 2007. Pp. x + 276. Paper. €65.00. ISBN
9789042919020.

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This book is a compilation of twelve papers presented at a 2005 seminar devoted to the final redactions of the Pentateuch, Hexateuch, and Enneateuch. The goal, according to the editors, is “d’offrir aux lecteurs un état de la question ainsi que des perspectives nouvelles” (5). This goal is not only met; it is far surpassed by dint of the depth of scholarship and insight displayed in each entry. Even when readers disagree profoundly with the views presented, they will have to acknowledge the well-constructed nature of the argument and the thorough citations of the evidence. The level of engagement with scholarship both past and present is also noteworthy.

Thomas Römer and Konrad Schmid open the book with their jointly written introduction in which they survey the current views on the subject as well as outstanding questions and conclude with a brief synopsis of the contributions. They note that, although there is indisputable historical evidence of an autonomous Pentateuch, “[i]l ne fait aucun doute que la fin du Pentateuque est une fin ouverte” (2). The actual end comes in Joshua. And yet even with Joshua it is difficult to maintain a conclusive ending, since one “pourrait déceler dans l’ensemble des livres de Gn à Rois une macrostructure: de la prise de possession du pays promis à sa perte” (4). Some of the questions surrounding this Enneateuch concern the function of Josh 24 and the evidence for the existence of an

Enneateuch scroll. Also, the Bible itself seems to have references to a Tetrateuch, Pentateuch, Hexateuch, and Enneateuch.

Römer leads off the papers with his “La construction du Pentateuque, de l’Hexateuque et de l’Ennéateuque: Investigations préliminaires sur la formation des grandes ensembles littéraires de la Bible hébraïque.” Here he provides a review of scholarship and a synthesis of current views combined with his own insights. He then concludes with some questions dealing with whether certain key chapters in the Bible are conclusions or transitions, the origin of the division of the Pentateuch into five books, and how to define wide-scale redactions. In his synthesis Römer notes that the Deuteronomistic History is best seen as a “library” of a group of scribes from which Deuteronomy separated as early as the Assyrian period. Also from the Assyrian period are traces of a history of Moses that forms part of Exodus. But as a whole “[l]es livres de Gn à Lv reflètent très probablement l’étendue du document sacerdotal (Pg + Ps); il est donc fort possible d’imaginer l’origine du Pentateuque dans une rencontre entre le milieu sacerdotal et le milieu deutéronomiste” (28–29). Numbers would serve as a literary bridge between the two. Römer concludes his synthesis by noting “qu’à l’époque maccabéenne en tout cas, on a compris l’Ennéateuque comme une ‘unité de sens’, comme le montre le système chronologique du texte massorétique qui fut introduit en Gn–R après la dédicace du temple de Jérusalem en 164, mais qui reste à l’exception de 1R 6,1 limité au Pentateuque” (29).

Konrad Schmid follows with his “Une grande historiographie allant de Genèse à 2 Rois a-t-elle un jour existé?” Here he deals with two potential weaknesses of the concept of an Enneateuch: length and content. Is it possible to have a scroll long enough to contain such voluminous content, and does the content form a reasonable unity? In answer to the first question, he maintains the possibility, so long as the writing surface was leather and not the more fragile papyrus. As for the logical flow of the content, he notes, “La ligne concrète la plus élémentaire en Gn–2R consiste dans le thème du pays: Gn–Jos raconte la prise de possession du pays promis depuis le tout début, Jg–R sa perte” (42). These notions can also be linked with the prophetic collection of Isaiah–Malachi by seeing Genesis–Joshua as a history of salvation, Judges–2 Kings as a history of misfortune, and Isaiah–Malachi as a view of a renewed and beneficial future.

Thomas Krüger comes next with “Anmerkungen zur Frage nach den Redaktionen der grossen Erzählwerke im Alten Testament,” in which he juxtaposes older biblical models with current ones and urges certain caution for Enneateuch proponents. He describes the current Enneateuch model thusly: differing traditions were combined into an early and patriarch history (Genesis), an exodus-land taking history (Exodus–Joshua), and a monarch history (Samuel–Kings). To this were added priestly writings and the book of

Judges to form an Enneateuch, which was later subdivided into Torah and Former Prophets. Since this model assumes a second half of the first millennium compositional time frame, the events related in the narratives stand so chronologically distant from the writing down of the events that the narratives themselves must be metaphorical, allegorical, or fictitious. Krüger then turns his attention to the inconsistent way scholars use the word *redaction* and how the arrangement of the biblical books differs from the MT in the Peshitta and the Septuagint. The latter lead to a completely different narrative flow from that of the MT. Further caution is also needed when we encounter transitional chapters in the Bible that divide the text differently from our current books. Krüger ends by noting the dangers inherent in tracing literary layers through individual biblical books and how much more uncertain the findings will be if such attempts are made on large text complexes.

Next is Erhard Blum's "Pentateuch–Hexateuch–Enneateuch? oder: Woran erkennt man ein literarisches Werk in der hebräischen Bibel?" He answers this question by stating the necessity of knowing where and how a text begins and ends. For him the break between the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets is the most fundamental of the Enneateuch, and yet "jeder Toraleser kann gar nicht anders, als auch den Fortgang der Geschichte in den Vorderen Propheten im Blick zu haben und umgekehrt!" (72). But this observation must not lead to uncritical identification of literary links, since unrelated later editing can produce deceiving intertextual connections, as is the case with the Rahab pericope (Josh 2:1–3:1 linked with Numbers and Deuteronomy) and Joshua's Torah of God (Josh 24:26 linking Joshua's and Moses' Torahs together to form a Hexateuch). The independence of the Torah is both inveterate (dating from the time of Deuteronomy) and inherent, and its formation was driven by the concepts of Moses as the originator of the Torah and as the greatest of all the prophets. Blum holds to Noth's basic premise and observes, "In seinen Hauptschichten ... präsentiert sich das Deuteronomium nicht nur als eigenständige Tora-/Bundes-Urkunde, sondern es erweist sich als der autarke Anfang eines Werkes, zu dem wenigstens *Jos, m.E. darüber hinaus ein Grundbestand in *Ri–*Kön gehörte" (93).

Albert de Pury follows with "P^s as the Absolute Beginning" in which he avers that the first edition of P (=P^s) was written by an individual author between 535 and 530. This work was the first to combine the separate Genesis and Exodus traditions into a self-standing narrative spanning Gen 1 to Exod 40 (see 109–11 for the specific chapters). Its structure was "tripartite: the Adamites, the Abrahamites, and the Israelites, understood as the three concentric circles of humanity" (111). Israel's role in the world is "to establish and keep the dwelling that will allow Yhwh (i.e. Elohim in his ultimate identity) to reside among humanity in the midst of the Israelites" (111). This work forms the "absolute beginning" of the Pentateuch in as much as a linked Genesis and Exodus form the "most fundamental structure" of the Pentateuch (112). De Pury also maintains that this P^s author was an

ardent supporter of Cyrus, as can be seen in the fact that “the transition between the unstructured and the structured takes place in Gen. 1 without any conflict.” There is thus no “*victory over chaos*” motif. This is in agreement with the Cyrus propaganda: “Elohim creates the world with the same ease—and the same ‘natural’ authority—that Cyrus reveals when he strides through the opened gates of Babylon!” (103).

Next comes Olivier Artus’s “Les dernières rédactions du livre des Nombres et l’unité littéraire du livre.” Here he discusses “l’éventuelle unité littéraire du livre des Nombres, dans sa forme finale, à l’aide d’une analyse synchronique” (132). This unity is achieved by a network of semantic and thematic links that join the three sections of the book together (Num 1–10; 11:1–22:1a; 22:1b–36:13). Each of these sections is distinguished by a specific theological feature. Regarding the first one Artus observes, “La *séquence communauté-lévites-prêtres-sanctuaire* reflète la ‘hiérarchie de sainteté’ qui préside à l’organisation d’Israël” (137). The aim is a divinely organized community ahead of the conquest. But the second section calls this goal into question through its depictions of lethal rebellions against the deity. The third section “insiste sur la *dimension paradigmatique* des événements du désert, tandis que la réorganisation de la communauté en vue de la prise de possession du pays manifeste la permanence de la promesse de Yahvé en faveur d’Israël, au-delà de la désobéissance et de la mort de la première génération sortie d’Égypte” (138–39). The alternation between laws and narratives so frequent in Numbers is intentional: the laws state the principles, while the narratives illustrate them. Artus concludes by noting that the compilation of Numbers was driven by theocratic and hierocratic ideas that sought to show the irreversible individual and communal consequences of deliberate sin.

Christophe Nihan then follows with “La mort de Moïse (Nb 20, 1–13; 20, 22–29; 27:12–23) et l’édition finale du livre des Nombres,” in which he traces the activity of a theocratic editor who worked after a “Pentateuch redaction” on a post-P Numbers text (i.e., one that had already merged P and non-P tradition into a unified narrative). The first evidence of this editor in Numbers is in 20:1–13. Here he rewrites Exod 17:1–7 in order to explain that the deaths of Moses and Aaron outside of the promised land had to be the result of a sin, namely, the sin of striking the rock instead of speaking to it. Nihan goes on to note that this passage “sert également ... à introduire la succession d’Éléazar (Nb 20, 22–29) qui est présenté comme le véritable chef politique et religieux de la communauté (Nb 27, 12–23)” (173). The theocratic editor’s goal with these last two passages is to show the reversal of roles between lay leaders and religious leaders (Moses: Aaron :: Eleazar: Joshua): henceforward the former are subject to the latter. Theocratic editing is also seen in the book of Joshua, as Eleazar “supervise la division du pays” and his death notice and not Joshua’s concludes the book (182).

Schmid's second essay, "Der Pentateuchredaktor: Beobachtungen zum theologischen Profil des Toraschlusses in Dtn 34," is next. Here he discusses the three motifs of promised land, Moses as a chief prophet, and Moses' death at the age of 120. He observes, "Theologisch akzentuiert dieses erste Motiv der eidlichen Landverheißung an Abraham, Isaak, und Jakob den Diaspora-Charakter der Tora, der sich ohnehin daraus ergibt, dass sie erzählerisch vor dem Eintritt Israels in das Gelobte Land endet" (187). This notion is also borne out by the fact that most of Israel's history takes place outside of Israel in the Torah. Regarding the second motif, Schmid remarks, "Mose wird hier grundsätzlich von den Propheten abgesetzt und als Erzprophet dargestellt, dem keiner von den späteren Propheten mehr gleichkam" (188). This also separates Moses and by extension the Torah from the Former Prophets. The last motif is literarily linked with Gen 6:3 and explains Moses' death even though he is hale and hardy and his subsequent failure to enter the promised land as nothing more than "just am Tag vor dem Eintritt die 120 Jahre seines Lebens abgelaufen sind" (193). There is thus no sin or transferred divine displeasure attached to his failure. Schmid ends by arguing for a late Persian period date for the Pentateuch.

Next is Rainer Albertz's "Die kanonische Anpassung des Josuabuches: Eine Neuberwertung seiner sogenannten 'priesterschriftlichen Texte.'" He identifies a number of passages as Priestly supplements to Joshua (see 202 for the full list). These passages "nicht zu der gleichen Redaktion wie Num 26–36 gehören, sondern diese eher voraussetzen und von ihr teilweise geprägt worden sind" (203). Likewise, "[a]bgesehen von Jos 4, 15–17 beziehen sich alle priesterlichen Texte des Josuabuches deutlich auf bestimmte Verse oder Vorstellungen des Pentateuchs zurück" (214). These passages thus reflect an attempt to adapt Joshua to the canonical Torah, and Albertz briefly discusses each in the body of his work. He ends by postulating an end of the fifth or beginning of fourth century date for the canonizing of the Pentateuch and late third century date for the canonizing of the Former Prophets.

Ernst Knauf follows with "Buchschlüsse in Josua." He observes, "Im Josua-Buch gibt es keinen Buchanfang—es setzt in jeder seiner erkennbaren Buchgestalten zumindest die Mose-Exodus-Erzählung voraus,—aber eine ganze Reihe von deutlich markierten Buchschlüssen" (217). The first of these is Josh 10:42, which concludes the history begun in Exod 2. The second is 18:1, which concludes the priestly writings (P⁸). The third is 11:15–23, which concludes a first Hexateuch redaction. The fourth is 21:43–45, which concludes a second Hexateuch redaction. The fifth is chapter 24, which concludes a third Hexateuch redaction. (Ch. 23 is a secondary elaboration on ch. 24.) Last is the ending of the book of Joshua in the Septuagint, which is a Former Prophets redaction (i.e., it incorporates Joshua into the Former Prophets). It is thus not a true conclusion at all, since its point is to guide the reader to the following narratives, not the preceding.

Reinhard Achenbach is next with “Der Pentateuch, seine theokratischen Bearbeitungen und Josua–2 Könige.” He observes three phases in the formation of the Pentateuch: a Hexateuch phase; a Pentateuch phase; and a theocratic editing phase. The first combined various sources in order to portray the history of early Israel as a history of salvation. The second sought to portray the Pentateuch as Mosaic Torah. The third sought to establish priestly leadership in Israel. Achenbach goes on to identify further theocratic editing in Numbers and Joshua and finds that the borders-of-Israel concept governing this editing is that of the Persian satrapy Trans-Euphrates, which spanned from the Euphrates River to Egypt. He further finds that theocratic editors intentionally omitted working on Judges, since the failure of complete conquest blocked the establishment of a permanent place for the sanctuary. Instead, they finished up their work by focusing on the Solomonic temple in 1 Kgs 6–8, which did establish a permanent sanctuary.

Adrian Schenker ends the book with “Pourquoi le judaïsme s’est-il désintéressé de la Septante au début de notre ère? En même temps d’une des raisons pour lesquelles la Septante fut négligée dans la critique redactionnelle vétérotestamentaire moderne.” As for the first question, he maintains, “On abandonna ... la LXX à cause de ces différences irrémédiables, et non pas à cause des chrétiens” (267). The timeframe for this abandonment “coïncide avec les nouvelles traductions grecques de la Bible connues sous les noms de Théodotion (1^{er} s. après J.-Chr.), Aquila (2^e s.) et Symmaque (fin 2^e s.)” (255). He then explains the origin of these differences thusly, “Les écarts semblent provenir de modifications du texte hébreu et araméen entre le 3^e et 2^e s., époque de la première traduction des livres bibliques en grec, et le 1^{er} s. avant notre ère” (263). As for Schenker’s second main question, he cites four reasons for the absence of the LXX in modern redactional criticism: doubts about the fidelity of the translation; the interpretation of differences exclusively along textual error lines; inadequate knowledge about the original LXX and the history of its text; and fundamental disagreement about how to interpret the relationship between the MT and the LXX as to which is original and which is secondary.