

**Jeremiah's Kings –
a Study of the Book's Treatment of the Monarchy,
with Special Reference to Chapters 21-24.**

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Jeremiah's Kings –A Study of the Book's Treatment of the Monarchy with Special Reference to Chapters 21-24.

Summary of a thesis presented to Sheffield University by John Brian Job.

Starting from an analysis of approaches to the book of Jeremiah adopted towards the end of the last century, this thesis enquires what light is thrown on its redactional history by the way in which the kings purportedly reigning during the prophet's ministry, and also David and Nebuchadnezzar, are treated in the book.

One objective is to see where the book should be placed in the spectrum of conclusions arrived at in recent years, supposing that the commentary of W.L.Holladay stands at one end of this spectrum with his belief in the historical reliability of most of the information contained in the book, and that of R.P.Carroll at the other with his scepticism from this point of view.

The starting point for this enquiry is the collection of material about kings in Jeremiah 21-24, but succeeding chapters of the thesis, dealing in turn with those concerned, namely Josiah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin and Zedekiah, examine also other parts of the book where they are mentioned. David and Nebuchadnezzar are both seen to be important figures in Jeremiah with regard to the question of the monarchy, and both very relevant to the argument. A distinctive stance is taken with regard to the obscure figure of Zerubbabel.

The main conclusion is that throughout the book of Jeremiah there is evidence of a lengthy history of redaction, not only in the case of alterations made by scribes for no significant reason, but also in many passages where changes have been made from contrasting religio-political points of view, not least with regard to the understanding of the monarchy itself.

A final chapter offers reflections on the question how, taking serious account of its complex and turbulent redactional history, the book of Jeremiah may be read today as Christian scripture.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. Conventions adopted in this work.

In each chapter a full statement of publication details is given on the first mention of any given author. Thereafter, citations are by author and short title.

In the case of German authors quoted, the older convention of spacing for emphasis has been retained, but the division of chapter and verse effected in many German works by a comma has been replaced, except in the Bibliography, by the colon used in our own citations of biblical texts.

Manuscripts cited for the Septuagint are represented by the superscript *sigla* used by Swete; Vulgate manuscripts by the superscript *sigla* used by Gryson.

In the index of passages, and in cross-references within the footnotes themselves, where a note is cited, there may be mention of the point in question in the body of the text on the same page, as well as in the note.

2. General Abbreviations and Sigla¹

3.

Bo..... The Bohairic Version (H. Tattam [ed], Oxford, 1852)

Eth..... The Old Ethiopic Version (J. Schäfer [ed])

Ⲭ..... The Old Greek version of the Old Testament (Septuagint)

Ⲁ..... Earlier form of the Hebrew text not necessarily pre-Masoretic in character

ℒ..... Vetus Latina (The Old Latin Version)

Ⲁ..... A Hebrew text in the tradition culminating in MT

MT..... The Masoretic Text

Q..... Q^{re}

Ⲕ..... The Peshitta

Tg..... Targum Jonathan to the Prophets

ℳ..... The Vulgate

BM..... British Museum

ET..... English translation

FS..... *Festschrift*

GK..... Gesenius-Kautzsch (Cowley), *Hebrew Grammar*

Golah.... Jews exiled to Babylon in 597BCE, or their descendants

κτλ..... καὶ τὰ λοιπά (= et cetera)

OAN ... The oracles against foreign nations (Jer 46-51)

*..... An asterisk accompanying a biblical reference implies that the form changed subsequently to produce the present text.

√..... Hebrew root or stem

(≅) ≅ (Almost) equivalent to

¹ For Septuagint manuscripts, see Swete.

4. Sources of Ancient Manuscripts, Texts and Versions²

5.
1QIsa^a Isaiah scroll found in Qumran Cave 1
4QJer^{a-e} = 4Q70-72b: fragments of Jeremiah found in Qumran Cave 4
MT..... BHK, BHS
NTUBS..... *The Greek New Testament*, ed B.Aland *et al*, 4th edn 1998
⊕ H.B. Swete (ed), *The Old Testament in Greek*
J.Ziegler (ed), *Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae*
⊕^L The Lucianic recension of ⊕
ℒ..... Vetus Latina
§..... A.M.Ceriani (ed), *Translatio Syra Pescitto Veteris Testamenti*
Syro-Hexaplar..M.Norberg (ed), *Codex Syriaco-Hexaplaris Ambrosiano-Mediolanensis*
t..... Tosephta
Tg..... J.Ribera Florit, *Targum Jonatán de los profetas posteriores en tradicion Babilonica: Jeremias*
℥..... *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem ad Codicum Fidem* (ed. R.Weber)
α'..... Aquila
θ'..... Theodotion
σ'..... Symmachus

4. Rabbinic works³

Baraita t Yad..... *Tosephta*, ן' ך' ך'

5. Periodicals, Reference Works⁴ and Serials

- AASF..... *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*.
AB..... Anchor Bible
AnBib..... *Analecta Biblica*
ANET..... *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, ed J.B.Pritchard.
ATANT..... *Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments*
ATD..... *Das Alte Testament Deutsch*
BA..... *Biblical Archaeologist* (latterly *Near Eastern Archaeology*)
BAH..... *Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique*
BB..... *Biblische Beiträge* (Einsiedeln)
BBB..... *Bonner Biblische Beiträge*
BDB..... F.Brown, S.R.Driver and C.A.Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*

² For full details, see Bibliography, section 1, below, 294.

³ For full details, see Bibliography, section 3, below, 297

⁴ For full details, see Bibliography, section 1, below, 294

BDF.....F.Blass and A.Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament etc*, ed and tr R.W.Funk, 1961
 BETHL.....Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
 BHK.....*Biblia Hebraica*, ed R.Kittel
 BHS.....*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*
Bib.....*Biblica*
BJRL.....Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
 BS.....The Biblical Seminar
 BST.....Basel Studies in Theology
BZ.....*Biblische Zeitschrift*
 BKAT.....Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament
 BWA(N)T.....Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament
 BTS.....Biblich-theologische Studien
 BZAW.....Beihefte zur ZAW
 CB.OT.....Coniectanea Biblica, Old Testament Series
CBQ.....*Catholic Bible Quarterly*
 CBSC.....Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges
CR:BS.....*Currents in Research: Biblical Studies*.
 EdF.....Erträge der Forschung
ExpT.....*Expository Times*
 FAT.....Forschungen zum Alten Testament
 FRLANT.....Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FzB.....*Forschung zur Bibel*
 GK.....*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* (ed E.Kautzsch, revised and translated by A.E.Cowley)
 HKAT.....Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HBT.....*Horizons in Biblical Theology*
 HR.....Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance to the Septuagint*
 HSM.....Harvard Semitic Monographs
 HSAT.....Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments
 ICC.....International Critical Commentary
 IDB.....The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible
IEJ.....*Israel Exploration Journal*
 IES.....Israel Exploration Society
 Int.....Interpretation – A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
 IVP.....Inter-Varsity Press
JANES.....*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*
JAOS.....*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL.....*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JNES.....*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JQR.NS.....*Jewish Quarterly Review (New Series)*
 JSNT.S.....Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Supplement Series
JSOT.....*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
 JSOT.S.....Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series
JSS.....*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS.....*Journal of Theological Studies*

- KAT.....Kommentar zum Alten Testament
 KHC..... Kurzer-Handkommentar
 LS..... Lewis and Short, *A Latin-English Dictionary*
 LSJ⁹..... Liddell and Scott *et al.*, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edn
 NCB.....New Century Bible Commentary
 NICOT..... New International Commentary on the Old Testament
 NEA.....*Near Eastern Archaeology* (Formerly *Biblical Archaeologist*)
 NEBNew English Bible
 NIV.....Holy Bible: New International Version
 OBC..... The Oxford Bible Commentary
 OBO..... Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
 OTL..... Old Testament Library
 OTS..... Oudtestamentische Studiën
 PEQ.....*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
 PJ.....*Palästina-jahrbuch des Deutschen evangelischen Instituts für
 Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes zu
 Jerusalem*
 QD.....Quaestiones Disputatae, ed. K. Rahner and H. Schlier, Freiburg:
 Herder, 1958-; Eng edn, New York, 1961-
 RB.....*Revue Biblique*
 REB.....*Revised English Bible*
 RevQ.....*Revue de Qumran*
 RSR.....*Recherches de Science Religieuse*
 SB..... Strack, H.L. and Billerbeck, P., *Kommentar zum Neuen
 Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*
 SBLDS..... Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
 SBT..... Studies in Biblical Theology
 SOTS..... The Society for Old Testament Study
 TB.....*Tyndale Bulletin*
 TGUOS.....*Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*
 ThLZ.....*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
 TOTC.....Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
 VT.....*Vetus Testamentum*
 VTSup Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum*
 WMANT..... Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen
 Testament
 ZAW..... *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
 ZPPK.....*Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik*

I

Introduction

1. Three influential commentaries on the book of Jeremiah

The Scots preacher Robert Murray McCheyne died in 1843. In 1844, his friend Andrew Bonar published a book in his memory¹. It consists of poems, sermons, letters and a biographical narrative. On the fiftieth anniversary of his death certain appendices were added in a second edition. In 1986, three major commentaries on Jeremiah appeared. It is instructive by way of introduction to this thesis to consider how their writers would have reacted to a comparison of the book of Jeremiah with Bonar's memoir.

On the view of W.L.Holladay², similarities would be many and close. The poems in Jeremiah are seen as authentic, as also the prose sermon-like passages. The narrative is largely attributed to the prophet's contemporary, Baruch, and regarded as historically reliable. Later additions are seen as of minor significance. Holladay regards the whole book as having roots traceable in detail to different phases of Jeremiah's own career.

In sharp contrast stands the work of R.P.Carroll, who minimized the book's historical roots, comparing the tenuous relationship between the shadowy Amler and Macbeth and the heroes of Shakespeare's plays³. The poetry in his view is only linked to Jeremiah by the prose framework in which it is now placed, and much of the book simply reflects post-exilic disputes.

Between these two approaches, but undoubtedly nearer to Carroll's, stands the work of W.McKane⁴. He certainly sees the poetry as coming largely from the prophet himself, but regards the rest as attesting complex processes of

¹ A. A. Bonar, *Memoir and Remains of Robert Murray McCheyne*, 1844, republished, Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1892.

² W.L.Holladay, *Jeremiah*, Hermeneia, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, vol 1, 1986, vol 2, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989.

³ R.P.Carroll, *Jeremiah*, OTL, London: SCM, 1986, 45.

⁴ W.McKane, *Jeremiah*, ICC, vol 1, Edinburgh: T. & T.Clark, 1986, vol 2, 1996.

redaction, summing up with his description: a “rolling corpus”. In the case of chapter 19, (see figure I.1) he has argued for at least eight stages of development in the text.

Both Carroll and McKane envisage editorial interventions without clear overall direction. They agreed with the classic verdict of B.Duhm, that “das Buch ist ...langsam gewachsen, fast wie ein unbeaufsichtiger Wald wächst und sich ausbreitet, ist geworden, wie eine Literatur wird, nicht gemacht, wie ein Buch gemacht wird”⁵. They see the various parts of the book as comprising something quite different from Bonar’s memoir, with its appendices clearly attributed, and no problems arising from who wrote what and when.

The thesis which follows was stimulated by the mutual incompatibility of these three commentaries and also by a desire to see how, in the light of a more satisfactory solution to the question of the composition-history of Jeremiah, it may be viewed as Christian scripture. The heart of the present work consists of a detailed study of the treatment of kings mentioned in the book, with special reference to the collection of relevant material in chapters 21-24. In the present chapter we shall survey the course of research leading up to the commentaries mentioned, together with what has followed later. In view of its volume this review inevitably concentrates on elements relevant to the present work.⁶

2. Earlier literature

2.1 Before 1900

While J.G.Eichhorn’s *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (first edition 1780-83)⁷ is often regarded as a starting-point for modern biblical scholarship⁸, in view of

⁵ B.Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia*, KHC IX, Tübingen and Leipzig: J.C.B.Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1901, XX.

⁶ For a book-length account of Jeremiah research, to date of writing, see S.Herrmann, *Jeremia und das Buch*, EdF 271, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990. On a more modest scale, Carroll wrote two articles surveying the latest literature (a) ‘Surplus Meaning and the Conflict of Interpretations: A Decade of Jeremiah Studies’, CR:BS 4, 1996, 18-58; (b) ‘Century’s End: Jeremiah Studies at the Beginning of the Third Millennium’, CR:BS 8, 2000, 115-159 (the latter published posthumously).

⁷ J.G.Eichhorn, *Einleitung ins Alte Testament*, Reutlingen: Johannes Grözinger, 4th edn 1823/4.

⁸ E.g. by O.Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament, an Introduction*, ET Peter R.Ackroyd, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965 (1st German edn, Tübingen: J.C.B.Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1934), 3; T.K.Cheyne, *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, London: Methuen, 1893, 13-26.

the importance for Duhm of the contrast between poetry and prose, Robert Lowth, who discovered this distinction⁹, and first used the term *parallelismus membrorum*¹⁰ deserves mention. Another early figure is F.K.Movers¹¹, who ascribed chapters 30-31 to the writer of Isaiah 40-55, and like W.M.L.de Wette¹², saw in Jer 52 a link with the books of Kings. A commentary admired by S.R.Driver¹³ was that of K.H.Graf¹⁴, from which he complains that C.H.Cornill¹⁵ omitted much “of permanent value” when he revised it to accommodate the conclusions of contemporary scholarship. Nonetheless he rates the work of Cornill highly, as also that of F.Giesebrecht, an early exponent of the influence of Deuteronomy on Jeremiah¹⁶, whom Driver followed in the view that Jeremiah was an advocate of the Josianic reform. But he regarded Duhm as “original and brilliant, but arbitrary”¹⁷, though allowing that like Cornill, he draws a sympathetic picture of Jeremiah and his work. Cornill recognized prose as indicating editorial addition, but attributed much of this to the prophet himself.

2.2 B. Duhm

It is easy to see why Duhm was viewed with disapproval even by a scholar not averse to modern critical methods like S.R.Driver. Duhm divided Jeremiah into three parts, calculating 280 verses of poetry, the work of Jeremiah himself, and

⁹ R.Lowth, *De sacra poësi Hebraeorum*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1753, 25-33.

¹⁰ Eissfeldt, *Introduction*, 57.

¹¹ F.K.Movers, *De utriusque recensione vaticiniorum Ieremiae...Graecae Alexandrinae et Hebraicae masoreticae indole et origine. Commentatio critica*, Hamburg: apud Fridericum Perthes, 1837, 38.

¹² W.M.L.de Wette, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Halle: Schimmelpfennig und Campagnie, 1806, 184, notes too the critical implications of Jeremiah’s attitude to sacrifice and the fact that he “verweist nie auf ein Gesetzbuch”.

¹³ S.R.Driver, *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah*, London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1906, 1.

¹⁴ K.H.Graf, *Der Prophet Jeremia*, Leipzig: T.O.Weigel, 1862: perhaps the first to note (page 429) the important connection in Jer 22:6 between Lebanon and *cedar palaces* (cf. also 22:14-15).

¹⁵ C.H.Cornill, *Das Buch Jeremia*, Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1905. Of Cornill, Herrmann, *Jeremia*, 56, comments that “bei aller Hochachtung vor dem Werk DUHMS ging er seinen Weg weiter”. Hence his place is really in the pre-Duhm era of Jeremiah research. He particularly took exception to Duhm’s basic narrowing of the Jeremianic passages to the poetic sayings, and the theory that the only metre used by Jeremiah was that of the *Qinah* (pp XLVf).

¹⁶ F.Giesebrecht, *Das Buch Jeremia*, HKAT III/2, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1894, 2nd edn 1907, 71, “..da Jer nach v6 [sc. Jer 11:6] in den Städten Juda’s für das Deuteronom. wirkte”.

¹⁷ Driver, *Jeremiah*, li.

ascribing 220 verses to Baruch, which he also valued highly. But overt disrespect for the other 850 verses, the work of *Ergänzer*,¹⁸ must have been a major reason for Driver's misgivings. Duhm criticises these elements in section after section of his introduction¹⁹ – first from the point of view of their historical unreliability, then for their portrait of Jeremiah, who has been turned into a “Thoralehrer”, because “Die Thora ist ihr Ein und Alles”, and finally for their literary character, with their “rhetorischen Übertreibungen, in einer Überfülle stereotyper, oft unpassend angewandter Redensarten”. This scathing verdict no doubt reflects a widespread tendency in German scholarship towards the end of the nineteenth century to regard the prophets as the highpoint of the Old Testament and the post-exilic documents as an inferior amalgam of priestcraft and legalism²⁰. But such a critical and subjective attitude on Duhm's part probably lies behind Driver's opinion. On the other hand, J. Skinner, writing in 1922²¹, while parting company with Duhm over the historicity of Jeremiah's call narrative²² and also in a detailed argument aimed at attributing to the prophet himself the passage about the new covenant (31: 31-34), significantly consigned by Duhm to the status of the *Ergänzungen* as still betraying a legalistic mould²³, has many respectful references to Duhm's work, and even in the context of this argument speaks of Professor Duhm's “usual perspicacity and incisiveness”.

In fact, Duhm's work was archetypal in two important ways: (a) influenced by the Pentateuchal criticism which had crystallized a generation earlier in

¹⁸ Duhm, *Jeremia*, XVI.

¹⁹ Duhm, *Jeremia*, XVI-XX.

²⁰ W. Thiel comments (*Die deuteronomische Redaktion von Jeremia 1-25*, Neukirchener Verlag, 1973, 7) that the general atmosphere around 1900 was such as “das Ideal der autonomen Persönlichkeit auf ihre Fahnen geschrieben hatte”. Thiel goes on: “Im Bereich der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft war es gerade DUHM, der dieser Grundtendenz Ausdruck gab, als er in seinem Buch über die alttestamentlichen Propheten [Thiel, 7nn20f, identifies *Israel's Propheten*, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1916, 2nd edn 1922, 270, 280, 283f] diese als autonome ethische Persönlichkeiten darstellte und speziell Jeremia als den Entdecker des menschlichen Herzens für die Religion, als den Schöpfer des Individualismus und der Innerlichkeit in der Religion feierte”.

²¹ J. Skinner, *Prophecy and Religion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922.

²² Skinner, *Prophecy*, 29.

²³ Skinner, *Prophecy*, 330. See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 255 and also below, 22 and 79n79.

Wellhausen's work²⁴, he regarded the collection of poems and Baruch's "book" as *sources*²⁵; (b) his concept of *Ergänzungen*, as later insertions between the columns of the text, deduced from 36:23 to have preserved "viel freien Raum"²⁶, introduced the idea of *redaction*²⁷, a process envisaged as lasting from early Persian times to the point of the bifurcation of the pre-Ⓞ (or Alexandrian) and pre-Masoretic traditions²⁸ and beyond.

2.3 Belief in written sources

2.3.1 S.Mowinckel

Arbitrary dismissal of much of Jeremiah by Duhm as inferior *Ergänzungen* is seen by Carroll²⁹ as an important factor in S.Mowinckel's dominance as a starting-point for subsequent work on the prophet. The attraction, although Mowinckel regarded the oracles against other nations (OAN) in chapters 46-51 as a later appendix³⁰, no doubt lay in his explanation of the bulk of the book as issuing from three main sources, thus retreating from Duhm's position, since

²⁴ J. Wellhausen, 'Die Composition des Hexateuchs', *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 21, 1876, 392-450, 531-602; 22, 1877, 407-79, material which appeared in 1885 as a book, whose 2nd (1889) and 3rd (1899) editions bore the title, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments*; see Eissfeldt, *Introduction*, 164-6.

²⁵ Duhm does not use the word *Quelle* directly to describe the poems and the work of Baruch. However, in the one use of the word in his introduction (*Jeremia*, XVIII), disparaging the use made by the *Ergänzer* of their sources, "der leichtverständliche Baruch" is mentioned as one of a number of sources (*Quellen*) abused and misunderstood by them. He also sees chapters 1-25 in a shorter form as the "Urgestalt des Jeremiabuches" (*Jeremia*, XXI), hence clearly a source. However, it is interesting that Duhm's concept of the book's growth is in principle similar to McKane's, with more emphasis on the ongoing process of redaction than on the collocation of sources.

²⁶ Duhm, *Jeremia*, XX.

²⁷ Redaction had been envisaged before Duhm, but Thiel, *Redaktion*, I. 5f, comments, "Das Neue das DUHM zur Diskussion stellte und das in der Tat wohl die folgenreichste Entdeckung dieses scharfsinnigen Beobachters darstellte war die Charakterisierung dieser literarischen Schicht hinsichtlich ihrer schriftstellerischen und theologischen Eigenart, ihrer sprachlichen Verwurzelung (*sic*), ihres geschichtlichen Ortes, und der Methode ihrer Arbeit am vorgegebenen Stoff".

²⁸ We refer to the actual Septuagint text (unless indicated, Codex Vaticanus) as Ⓞ. The abbreviation Ⓢ will be used to represent a Hebrew text wherever it is not appropriate to use the term MT (Masoretic text). Duhm, *Jeremia*, XXII, says that the process of translating into Greek lasted a long time and "geht gewiss nicht auf eine einige hebräische Vorlage zurück".

²⁹ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 39.

³⁰ S.Mowinckel, *Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia, Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1913, No 5*, Kristiania (= Oslo): Jacob Dybwad, 1914, 14.

all at least had roots broadly contemporary with Jeremiah. They were: A, the poetic oracles, viewed as virtually untouched by editors, thus traceable to the prophet himself;³¹ B, the narratives describing the prophet's activities, in particular the lengthy block from chapters 26-45³², but excluding 30-31, which in Mowinckel's view was in a sense a fourth source, D, but inserted later³³; finally, C³⁴, sermon-like material which stands out clearly from surrounding poetry in such passages as 7:1-8:3; 11:1-5, 9-14, sharing many common expressions with Deuteronomy and literature, thought to be affected by the concerns and language of that book, hence often termed Deuteronomistic³⁵. Factors which led Mowinckel to his theory of sources were (a) the number of doublets in different parts of the book; and (b) in the case particularly of C, the monotony of diction, the demand for repentance, the insistence on inevitable judgement, and the distinctive introductory formula³⁶ found with several, though not all of the passages assigned to this category³⁷.

Mowinckel envisaged the combination of A and B in aristocratic circles of the Egyptian diaspora between 580 and 480 BCE. Source C, on the other hand, with its flavour of "fertigen Judentums" could not be older than Ezra³⁸; D and chapters 46-51 could not be convincingly dated, but, apart from passages missing in \mathfrak{C} , the existing book must have been assembled by 165 BCE³⁹.

Mowinckel's concluding characterization of his three main sources is instructive: "A stammt von einem treuen Sammler und Erhalter der prophetischen Tradition, B von einem geschichtlichen Verfasser und einem

³¹ Mowinckel, *Komposition*, 21.

³² Mowinckel, *Komposition*, 24-5.

³³ Mowinckel, *Komposition*, 45-48.

³⁴ Mowinckel, *Komposition*, 31.

³⁵ Deuteronomistic literature consists largely of the Hebrew canon from Deuteronomy - 2 Kings, first seen as a composite block by M.Noth in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien, Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament*, Halle (Saale):Niemeyer 1943, 2nd edn, Darmstadt:Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, 1957; reprinted 1963; ET J.Doull,*The Deuteronomistic History* (revised by J.Barton & M.D.Rutter), JSOT.S 15, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981. See, however, below, n62.

³⁶ For criticism of this last point, see below, n43.

³⁷ Passages without the formula, assigned by Mowinckel to Source C, are: chapter 27; 29:1-23; 3:6-13; 22:1-5; 39:15-18 and chapter 45.

³⁸ Mowinckel, *Komposition*, 57.

³⁹ Mowinckel, *Komposition*, 48-51.

Bewunderer der Person und des Lebens des Propheten, C dagegen von einem Verfasser, der die tradition nach einer Theorie und einem Schema umgebildet hat⁴⁰. In his later book⁴¹, influenced by interest in tradition history associated with his Scandinavian colleagues, Engnell and Nyberg, Mowinckel propounded a theory of oral tradition developing *pari passu* with written.⁴² This did not alter his concept of the various bodies of material as sources for the book, but with the use of the word *umbilden* (reshape), a further stone in addition to Duhm's *Ergänzungen* was laid in the foundation for theories that successive *redactions* held the key to the composition process behind the existing book. Mowinckel himself had not reached this point. Certainly he believed in the redaction of his various sources independently, and in an editorial process by which the sources were assembled, but this contrasts with a view that a single line of editorial interventions developed an original nucleus (until, of course, the time of the bifurcation of pre-Masoretic and Alexandrian traditions), with any additions to be characterized as *Umbildung*, whether deliberate or not, of what was there before⁴³.

2.3.2 W.Rudolph

W.Rudolph was largely responsible for the endorsement which Mowinckel's work received, particularly in Germany. Since the earlier of Mowinckel's two books there had appeared in English the work of J. Skinner⁴⁴, who, though critical of P. Volz ; somewhat resembled Volz in outlook⁴⁵, and was content to

⁴⁰ Mowinckel, *Komposition*, 39. He eschews the notion of "biography" as a genre first emerging in Greece (24n1).

⁴¹ S.Mowinckel, *Prophecy and Tradition*, Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1946.

⁴² Mowinckel, *Prophecy*, 62.

⁴³ This important distinction is well brought out by P.K.D. Neumann, in 'Das Wort, das geschehen ist... zum Problem der Wortempfangsterminologie in Jer I-XXV', *VT* 23, 1973, 207-8. He argues that the introductory formulae characteristic of several so-called Source C passages are not signs of a common source, but symptoms of a common layer of redaction. C.Maier, *Jeremia als Lehrer der Tora*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002, 49, 54, sees the absence of 7:1f in Ⓢ as evidence of their secondary character, with 7:1 supposedly replacing μου in v 11. On the other hand, it could be argued that "this house which is called by my name" is more likely to be original than "my house which is called by my name", and it is possible that the Alexandrian tradition has modified the text to avoid the siting of the incident in the Temple.

⁴⁴ See above, n21.

⁴⁵ P.Volz, *Die vorexilische Jahweprophete und der Messias*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1897. Volz's commentary, *Der Prophet Jeremia*, KAT 10, Leipzig:Deichert, 1st edn 1922; 2nd edn 1928, could hardly have been known to Skinner, and even his earlier work, *Studien zum Text des Jeremia*, BWAT 25, Leipzig:Deichert, 1920, intended as a supplement to

create an account of Jeremiah's life and thought as if any part of the biblical book could be translated straightforwardly into historical information about the prophet. Skinner has been criticised too for allowing much to be read between the lines by way of factual reconstruction⁴⁶. To judge by criticism of the theory shared by Duhm, Hölscher⁴⁷ and Mowinckel, the work of these writers was well known to W.O.E.Oesterley and T.H.Robinson,⁴⁸ who divorced from the historical Jeremiah elements with a "Deuteronomic flavour"⁴⁹.

Their own division of three types of material called A,B,C is evidently a reaction to Mowinckel, though the contents, particularly of their "B" and "C" elements, differed somewhat from his, and were based on the distinction between first and third person reporting⁵⁰. But it was Rudolph's commentary⁵¹, following an earlier article in 1930⁵², which influentially advanced the kind of analysis associated with Duhm, but also popularized Mowinckel.

Rudolph accepted Mowinckel's division of sources to a large extent⁵³, but differed from him in one important respect. Noting that there seemed to be an attempt in chapters 1-25 to connect the various sections, he concluded from the fact that this did not obtain where source C was found that this element

his already "druckfertig" commentary, was scarcely published in time. But Skinner nevertheless has much in common with Volz, certainly sharing with him what has been called Volz's "biographisch-psychologische Betrachtungsweise", which Thiel, *Redaktion*, I.14, criticises as a backward step in the quest inaugurated by Duhm for a literary solution.

⁴⁶ E.g. by T.Polk, *The Prophetic Persona. Jeremiah and the Language of the Self*, Sheffield:JSOT.S 34, 1984,7n45, who envisages a portrait of Jeremiah painted by the text, which cannot be identified with the historical prophet.

⁴⁷ G.D.H.Hölscher, *Die Profeten*, Leipzig: J.C.Hinrichs, 1914, was in mind; Oesterley and Robinson's note is not explicit. Hölscher stood out as the greatest supporter for Duhm in this period, though he gave greater emphasis than Duhm to the supposed effect on Jeremiah of the Ezekiel tradition. See Hölscher, *Profeten*, 381-5.

⁴⁸ W.O.E.Oesterley and T.H.Robinson, *An Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament*, London:SPCK, 1934.

⁴⁹ Oesterley and Robinson, *Introduction*, 304.

⁵⁰ Oesterley and Robinson, *Introduction*, 291: the position was first set out in an article by Robinson, 'Baruch's Roll', *ZAW* 42, 1924, 209-21, where he aims to attribute the first person speeches to the original scroll spoken of in Jer 36.

⁵¹ W.Rudolph, *Jeremia*, HAT I/12, Tübingen: J.C.B.Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1st edn 1947, 3rd edn 1968.

⁵² Rudolph, 'Zum Text des Jeremia', *ZAW* 48, 1930, 272-81.

⁵³ Rudolph, *Jeremia*, XIV-XVI. Rudolph thought that the writer of B, namely Baruch, had written in Egypt and that his work reached Palestine c.570.

constituted the main framework of the book, with other material introduced as appropriately as possible⁵⁴.

Mowinckel conversely had thought that, as a later document, it had been Source C which was fitted into the combination of A and B⁵⁵. Although Rudolph still thought of C material as a source, and, like Mowinckel, probably misinterpreted the peculiar form of the introductory expression⁵⁶ as a characteristic of it, the conclusion that the C material, though later, constituted a framework for the book was an important shift towards crediting editors with a more creative role than simply that of combining sources⁵⁷.

Rudolph also envisaged a final redaction based on chronological considerations⁵⁸, whereby 1:1-3 introduced chapters 1-39 as the section dealing with events up to the fall of Jerusalem and 40:1ac introduced chapters 40-45 recounting what happened subsequently. For Rudolph this showed that at this stage the OAN (chapters 46-51) immediately followed chapter 25, and that chapter 52 had not yet been added. But most interestingly he saw this division as secondary.

Thus, as with Mowinckel's idea of *Umbildung*, we can see in Rudolph too the seeds of developments which were to follow. But, as Thiel points out⁵⁹, Rudolph never abandoned source criticism as the key, and resorted to special pleading for chapters 19, 32 and 44 to maintain that the C material was a source rather than evidence of redaction⁶⁰.

⁵⁴ Rudolph, *Jeremia*, XIX.

⁵⁵ Mowinckel, *Komposition*, 53.

⁵⁶ For the significance of this *Wortgeschehensformel*, see Neumann, 'Das Wort', esp. 208f. He argues that Rudolph, no less than Mowinckel, was mistaken in seeing the formula as the characteristic of an existing source, rather than as a sign of redactional activity.

⁵⁷ This was, however, a point which Rudolph did not pursue, but instead (*Jeremia*, XX) decided in favour of a further editor, for whom "Stil und Wesen der C-Quelle innerlich am meisten lag".

⁵⁸ Rudolph, *Jeremia*, XIX.

⁵⁹ Thiel, *Redaktion*, I. 19.

⁶⁰ Rudolph, *Jeremia*, XX.

2.4 The concept of Deuteronomistic redaction: J.P.Hyatt, S.Herrmann, E.W.Nicholson, W.Thiel.

2.4.1 Affinities to Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic literature⁶¹.

The question how to account for similarities in Jeremiah to Deuteronomy and the so-called “Deuteronomistic History”⁶² came to dominate research. Attempts to answer it fall into various categories. First, there have been those who have sought a solution along the same lines as Volz, by making Jeremiah at the same time preacher, poet and writer⁶³. J.Bright, for example, arguing on the one hand from what he saw as the general reliability of the historical narratives and on the other from the linguistic similarity of speeches to the other prose in Jeremiah sees his way to denying their dependence on Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic material, emerging with the conviction that the book presents a picture of Jeremiah without serious distortions.⁶⁴ Eissfeldt similarly posited with Bright that a form of preaching current among priests and prophets ca 600 BCE was adopted by Jeremiah. Hence passages of this form were attributed to the *Urrolle* of Jer 36⁶⁵, thought to be historically a “first edition”.

⁶¹ The terms “Deuteronomic” and “Deuteronomistic” are problematic for three main reasons. (a) While the basic distinction, which we shall adhere to, is clear enough – that the former refers to the book of Deuteronomy and the latter to literature which has close connections with that book – sometimes putative later additions to Deuteronomy are referred to as Deuteronomistic. (b) Although Hyatt and Thiel (*Redaktion*, I.302, cf. I.29) both dated the redaction to c.550BCE, Hyatt used the word “Deuteronomic” for what was later more logically distinguished as “Deuteronomistic”. (c) Who the “Deuteronomists” were is at present hotly disputed: “Hat man sich unter ihnen bzw dem ‘Deuteronomismus’ eine theologische Schule, eine Volksbewegung, einen einzelnen Mann, eine langfristige theologische Strömung oder den Geist der spätexilischen Zeit vorzustellen?” (K.Schmid, *Erzväter und Exodus*, WMANT 81, Neukirchen-Vluyn:Neukirchener Verlag, 1999, 159).

⁶² The definition of this historical work as stretching in the Hebrew Bible from Joshua to 2 Kings goes back to Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, but this is challenged by Schmid, *Erzväter*, 129-165, who argues that it included an early version of Exodus.

⁶³ Volz, *Jeremia*, XXXVII.

⁶⁴ J.Bright, ‘The date of the prose sermons of Jeremiah’, *JBL* 70, 1951, 15-35.

⁶⁵ Eissfeldt, *Introduction*, 16, 352. H.H.Rowley, ‘The prophet Jeremiah and the Book of Deuteronomy’ in *id* (ed), *Studies in Old Testament prophecy*, FS T.H.Robinson, Edinburgh 1950, 157-174, took a similar view. He thought, p174 (like Skinner, *Prophecy*, 106), that Jeremiah knew Deuteronomy and initially supported the reform, but was disappointed with its failure to achieve its Deuteronomic objectives. H.Cazelles too, ‘Jeremiah and Deuteronomy’, in L.G.Perdue/B.W.Kovacs (edd), *A prophet to the nations*, Winona Lake, 1984, 89-111 (French orig: ‘Jérémie et le Deutéronome’, *RSR* 38, 1951, 5-36), sees Jeremiah’s basic approval of the reform signalled by his friendship with its supporters, and explains the absence of any mention of the prophet in 2 Ki 22f as due to his being at that stage an unknown priest in Anathoth (pp 110f).

The identification of a preaching form is highlighted by its inclusion in one of the preliminary sections of Eissfeldt's work⁶⁶, symptomatic of the important place given to form-critical considerations in the mid-twentieth century. In a distinctive trend, which not only Eissfeldt represented, A. Weiser and H. Graf Reventlow, taking their cue from the tendency to label chapters 7 and 11 as sermons, associated Jeremiah closely with the cult. Referring to von Rad⁶⁷, Weiser claimed a form of cultic speech going back before Jeremiah's day, and hence available for the historical prophet to use.⁶⁸ Reventlow extended this approach much further, and explained a number of other forms found in Jeremiah too as evidence of a close connection with the cult⁶⁹. J.W. Miller, also influenced by form-criticism, after drawing attention to the ways in which the prose speeches in Jeremiah differed from Deuteronomy, but arguing that this marked their genuineness, explained that Deuteronomy like Jeremiah had drawn on the language of the cult⁷⁰. Miller thought to add weight to his conclusions by pointing out undeniable similarities in Jeremiah to parts of Ezekiel⁷¹. Confident that Ezekiel itself could be accepted at face value, he supposed that a copy of the *Urrolle* of Jeremiah dating to before 597 must have been accessible. The explanation begs many questions, but links between the two prophetic books are important.

Claiming that the process of transmission from the lips of the prophet to the written page is likely to have been much simpler than envisaged by "the majority of liberal scholars on the subject", R.K. Harrison linked the bulk of the book, like Bright, closely to Jeremiah himself: "One thing is sure, namely that the history of its composition and growth is not to be explained on a purely

⁶⁶ Eissfeldt, *Introduction*, 12-18.

⁶⁷ G. von Rad, *Deuteronomium-Studien*, FRLANT NF 40, Göttingen, 1st edn 1947, 2nd edn 1948; ET D.M.G. Stalker, *Studies in Deuteronomy*, London: SCM, 1953.

⁶⁸ A. Weiser, *Das Buch des Propheten Jeremia*, ATD 20/21, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1952/5, 6th edn 1969, XXIII-XXVII.

⁶⁹ H. Graf Reventlow, *Liturgie und prophetisches Ich bei Jeremia*, Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1963.

⁷⁰ J.W. Miller, *Das Verhältnis Jeremias und Hesekiels sprachlich und theologisch untersucht mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Prosareden Jeremias*, Assen: Gorcum/ Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1955, 25-27.

⁷¹ Miller, *Verhältnis*, 118.

literary basis”⁷². However, if one thing is sure, the mere comparison of MT and \mathfrak{C} suffices to show that literary analysis is likely to play a vital role in unravelling the problems of the book’s origin. Added to that, the peculiar lay-out of the material in either version⁷³, together with the wealth of intertextual relationships evident in the book, makes unsurprising the persistence that has been shown in looking for literary solutions.

2.4.2 J.P.Hyatt

The characteristic which unites the writers mentioned in the previous paragraph is that they all demur from Duhm’s category of *Ergänzungen*, and so salvage in one way or another the concept of “genuineness”. As soon as certain elements of “Source C” material are assigned to a date outside Jeremiah’s lifetime this issue becomes pressing. But the plea may still be made that though such and such a passage is of later origin it nevertheless embodies a genuinely Jeremianic element. The writer who first clearly grasped this nettle takes the record back to 1942.

An article by J.P.Hyatt⁷⁴ in that year clearly envisaged a Deuteronomistic redaction, although, as we saw⁷⁵, he called it “Deuteronomic” because he saw its purpose as to enhance the standing of Deuteronomy, and show Jeremiah’s

⁷² R.K.Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, London: Tyndale Press, 1970, 815.

⁷³ As far as the overall lay-out of the book is concerned, a case has been argued both for the priority of the Alexandrian tradition (represented not only by \mathfrak{C} , but by two fragments in Hebrew from Qumran, now known as 4QJer^{b,d}) and for that of the \mathfrak{B} tradition. Thus, for example, Duhm (*Jeremia*, 200), Rudolph (*Jeremia*, 163) and, among others, J.G. Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah*, HSM 6, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1973, 116, have seen in the OAN, positioned in the middle, as in Isaiah and Ezekiel, reason for regarding \mathfrak{C} ’s order as original. But S.Soderlund, *The Greek Text of Jeremiah. A Revised Hypothesis*, JSOT.S 47, Sheffield, 1985, cast doubt on this conclusion albeit with a study largely limited to Jer 29 \mathfrak{C} , and K.Schmid, *Buchgestalten des Jeremiabuches*, Neukirchen-Vluyn:Neukirchen Verlag, 1996, 311f, and note 529, shows at least that the case is less clear-cut than had been envisaged (cf. also G.Fischer, ‘Jer 25 und die Fremdvölkerversprüche’, *Bib* 72, 1991, 479 and, most recently, A.G. Shead, *The Open and the Sealed Book. Jeremiah 32 in the Hebrew and Greek recensions*, JSOT.S 347, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002, 257-263). More generally, in dealing with any passage, evidence from each tradition has to be assessed on its merits, since, while its shorter text often indicates priority, the Alexandrian (pre- \mathfrak{C}) tradition, as we shall see (below, 212f, 226, 231, 239, 256), bears marks of *tendentious* modification.

⁷⁴ J.P.Hyatt, ‘Jeremiah and Deuteronomy’, *JNES* 1, 1942, 156-173. Hyatt in ‘The peril from the north in Jeremiah’, *JBL* 59, 1940, 511, had already paved the way for these developments by dating Jeremiah’s original appearance to ten years after the Josianic reform.

⁷⁵ Above, n61.

familiarity with it. One intention was in Hyatt's view to place Jeremiah's call before Josiah's reforms, thus enlisting him as a supporter – something which cut across the historical truth that the prophet's activities not only began later, but even militated significantly against the spirit of those reforms. According to Hyatt this redaction produced on the one hand the book's emphasis on Jerusalem's downfall as resulting from idolatrous disobedience, and on the other the forecast of future prosperity. In a further article⁷⁶, condensed later in *The Interpreter's Bible*, Hyatt, while positing also later redaction, envisaged a "Deuteronomic school" responsible for an edition of Jer *1-45 based on three sources ([1] Baruch's 604 scroll, [2] collection/s of Jeremiah's oracles, [3] Baruch's memoirs) and also for the redaction of the books from Joshua to 2 Kings, – activity which took place, possibly in Egypt, ca 550 BCE⁷⁷. Crucially, despite supposed areas of agreement between Jeremiah and his "Deuteronomic school", Hyatt envisaged significant rewriting of history, an important step beyond viewing redactors as merely collectors and arrangers of existing sources.

2.4.3 S.Herrmann

S.Herrmann opens an interesting window into the early sixties. Reacting to a critical review⁷⁸ of his *Habilitationsschrift*⁷⁹ by H.Cazelles, in which he was taken to task for using "cette notion 'deutéronomique' insuffisamment analysée", creating for it "l'impression de jouer le rôle de Deus ex machina", he says that in the years pending publication (1959-1965) a development had taken place in scholarly circles, later (though not, he confesses, widely) called⁸⁰,

⁷⁶ J.P.Hyatt, 'The Deuteronomic Edition of Jeremiah', *Vanderbilt Studies in the Humanities* I, ed. R.C.Beatty *et al.*, Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1951, 71-95: "Since we must distinguish at least two stages, it is best to think of a school... for the sake of convenience we shall designate them simply by the symbol D" (p76).

⁷⁷ Hyatt, 'Jeremiah', *The Interpreter's Bible*, ed. G.A.Buttrick *et al.*, New York: Abingdon, vol V, 1956, 788.

⁷⁸ H.Cazelles, Review of S.Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartung (sic) im Alten Testament*, VT 17 (1967) 244-248, esp. 244-245. See also below, n81.

⁷⁹ Published in S.Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im Alten Testament. Ursprung und Gestaltwandel*, BWANT 85, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1965.

⁸⁰ N.Lohfink, 'Gab es eine deuteronomistische Bewegung?' in W.Groß (ed), *Jeremia und die "deuteronomistische Bewegung"*, BBB 98, Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum Verlag, 1995, 320, speaks of the accelerating discovery of redaction layers in almost all books of the Old

“pandeuteronomistisch”. With hindsight he might have been more guarded. Herrmann, reacting to Mowinckel’s work, was struck by elements of “source C” not only in the large speech sections ascribed to it, but also elsewhere in Jeremiah. Speaking in 1980,⁸¹ he says “Das brachte mich dazu “dem deuteronomistischen⁸² Element breiteren Raum im Jeremiabuch zu geben, als es bis dahin im allgemeinen geschehen war”. Herrmann did not call in question the main thrust of Jeremiah’s message as the starting point of texts which spelt out a prosperous future for Israel, but believed the texts reflected clearly the deep influence of Deuteronomy and its exponents.

The key point was his conviction, in Thiel’s words, “daß diese Texte ein durchdachtes, fertig vorliegendes System bereits voraussetzen”⁸³. This meant tracing their origin to a literary process, – one amounting to “eine von bestimmten Interessen geleitete Nacharbeit”⁸⁴. But Herrmann claims⁸⁵ that while he did not doubt the part played by what he calls the “deuteronomistische Schultradition”, “doch blieb [er] gegenüber dem Gedanken einer weitgehenden deuteronomistischen Gesamtedaktion in Jer 1-45 auf Distanz”. He wondered whether the style and diction of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History were shared by the relevant parts of Jeremiah. But the work of Hyatt and Bright, though seen as still provisional, impressed upon him the necessity of a thoroughgoing investigation of the “Prosaüberlieferung Jeremias unter dem Gesichtspunkt deuteronomistischer Gestaltung” (a phrase quoted by Herrmann from his *Habilitationsschrift* of 1965)⁸⁶. Unable to undertake the work himself, he recommended it to his student, W.Thiel.

Testament as “Pandeuteronomismus” and warns against “pandeuteronomistischen Kettenreaktionen”.

⁸¹ At the 31st session of the Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense: S.Herrmann, ‘Jeremia – der Prophet und die Verfasser des Buches Jeremia’, in P.-M.Bogaert (ed), *Le livre de Jérémie*, Leuven University Press, 1st edn 1981, 2nd edn 1997, 198.

⁸² Italics mine, J.B.J. But, whether consistently or not, Herrmann had used this word in 1965 (see below, n86)

⁸³ Thiel, *Redaktion*, 1.27.

⁸⁴ S.Herrman, *Heilserwartungen*, 190.

⁸⁵ Herrmann, *Jeremia*, 79.

⁸⁶ Herrmann, *Jeremia*, 79 n139, *Heilserwartungen*, 193 n74.

2.4.4 E.W.Nicholson

Thiel expresses regret that E.W.Nicholson's major work⁸⁷ only became available when his own book was virtually complete⁸⁸. For Nicholson made much more of Deuteronomistic influence for the interpretation of Jeremiah than others who had detected this element in the book. Not only did he see this influence extended beyond what Mowinckel had called the C source to include the quasi-biographical narrative material (B), but he explained it as teaching sited in sixth-century Babylon, relating Jeremiah's message to those in captivity. It is strange then to find Thiel saying that both Nicholson and [H.]Weippert "lehnen die redaktionsgeschichtliche Fragestellung als Lösungsweg ab."⁸⁹

Weippert defends the prose in Jeremiah as different from that of Deuteronomy or the Deuteronomists, questionably inferring that it is Jeremianic⁹⁰: to her Thiel's comment seems appropriate; but hardly to Nicholson. Certainly, it is a problem with Nicholson's work that while purporting to preserve a basis in the person and sayings of Jeremiah himself, he leaves the reader wondering how then so much can be thoroughly Deuteronomistic. This is well illustrated by his treatment of chapter 36. He says that this is both story-telling and history, arguing carefully for a combination of factual core and Deuteronomistic concern⁹¹. But McKane can complain⁹² that his catalogue of parallels with 2 Ki 22 invites the question "whether the passage is parasitical on 2 Ki 22 and has no historical content". If then Nicholson's handling of this passage leads to such criticism, he does seriously posit a "redaktionsgeschichtliche Fragestellung". Nicholson had reason to place this Deuteronomistic activity in Babylon, since

⁸⁷ E.W.Nicholson, *Preaching to the Exiles. A Study of the Prose Tradition in the Book of Jeremiah*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970, places the writing of the preaching material in Babylon.

⁸⁸ Thiel, *Redaktion*, I.v,31.

⁸⁹ Thiel, *Redaktion*, I.31, n150.

⁹⁰ H.Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches*, BZAW 132, Berlin/New York:W.de Gruyter, 1973, esp. 228-234. Her work is justly criticised by McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.xlvi-xlvii.

⁹¹ Nicholson, *Preaching*, 43 n2.

⁹² McKane, *Jeremiah*, II.911.

evidence of support for the exilic community makes it hard to see, if dated in exilic times, how it could have originated in Palestine. But Herrmann and Thiel had inherited this latter view from Noth⁹³. For Herrmann the motherland was “wo die unmittelbare Erinnerung an den Propheten weiterlebte und die Redaktion auch anderer Prophetenbücher nachweislich erfolgte”⁹⁴. But interestingly, Nicholson was governed by his conviction that the Jeremianic tradition underwent in Babylon what can only be called redaction.

2.4.5 W.Thiel

Perhaps partly owing to the war, but also to endorsement by Rudolph’s influential commentary of Mowinckel’s source-critical approach, Hyatt’s work received a relatively modest response⁹⁵. Thiel’s research, however, led to strikingly similar conclusions to Hyatt’s. When Herrmann reviewed their two lists of Deuteronomistic features, he made only minor additions to the common ground they shared⁹⁶, pointing out that the findings were all the more important in that “Thiel Hyatt nicht kopierte”⁹⁷! Characteristic of Thiel’s work is his view of the whole book of Jeremiah as the product of an overall Deuteronomistic redaction, executed in Judah around 550⁹⁸, albeit with some later additions. From the point of view of our present concern, Thiel marks an important milestone: although the results in what follows differ greatly in detail from his, they arise from the testing in one particular area (that of the book’s treatment of various kings) of an axiom fundamental to Thiel’s approach that the book of Jeremiah arose out of a long process of editing and re-editing, making “die redaktionsgeschichtliche Fragestellung” evidently “die dem Problem angemessenste”⁹⁹.

⁹³ Herrmann gives the impression, *Jeremia*, 105n198, that Nicholson also places in Babylon the editing of Jeremiah in *Deuteronomy and Tradition*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1967, but this is not so. Nicholson does, however (p 114), cite *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 2nd edn 1957, 91ff, for Noth’s view referred to by Herrmann, as registered below, n94.

⁹⁴ Herrmann, *Jeremia*, 106 gives no detailed reference to Noth’s work.

⁹⁵ Thiel, *Redaktion*, I.31.

⁹⁶ Herrmann, *Jeremia*, 80f.

⁹⁷ Herrmann, *Jeremia*, 82.

⁹⁸ Thiel, *Redaktion*, II.114.

⁹⁹ Thiel, *Redaktion*, I.32. He goes on to say that it is not simply a matter of this method being fashionable, but that “sie den Textverhältnissen am besten zu entsprechen scheint”.

In this respect, he stands in sharp contrast to Weippert, who emphasizes features of the prose in Jeremiah which make it distinctive, and hence (in her view) attributable to Jeremiah himself¹⁰⁰, thus minimizing later editorial changes, and maximizing links with Jeremiah's own day. Whereas Mowinckel had categorized the stereotyped introductory formula in 7:1, 11:1, 18:1, 21:1, 25:1, 30:1, 32:1, 34:1,8; 35:1, 40:1, 44:1 as the hallmark of *source C*, Thiel sees it as typical of his "D" *redaction*¹⁰¹. He states the two main concerns of this redactor as (a) the right understanding of the present as shaped by the judgement of Yahweh; and (b) the expectation of a prosperous future¹⁰², and employs three criteria for isolating redactional insertions: (a) the language used, indicated by stereotyped phrases¹⁰³; (b) the presence of prose, as more congenial for redaction than poetry¹⁰⁴; and (c) the rhetorical style particularly evident in the prose speeches.¹⁰⁵

However, Thiel's approach, though sound compared with source-critical or form-critical explanations, has proved simplistic: (a) he overlooks the degree of inconcinnity found within many prose passages ascribed to the one redactor¹⁰⁶; (b) he has been accused of investing the redactor with a Procrustean policy requiring the prose of chapters 1-25 to be "amenable to this hypothesis"¹⁰⁷; but, most fundamentally, (c) he has given the impression that the book as created by the redaction is more cohesive and tidier than is warranted by careful observation¹⁰⁸ and (d) he has not been fully aware that some passages within his

¹⁰⁰ Weippert, *Prosareden*, 230f actually wants to avoid the impression that the record is of Jeremiah's words, or that "Predigt" is a suitable word, since in reality, she says, it is "Worte Jahwes"(sic) that were uttered. See also Herrmann, *Jeremia*, 99.

¹⁰¹ Thiel, *Redaktion*, I.106.

¹⁰² Thiel, *Redaktion*, II.107.

¹⁰³ Thiel, *Redaktion*, I.36, II, 93.

¹⁰⁴ Thiel, *Redaktion*, I.42.

¹⁰⁵ Thiel, *Redaktion*, I.42.

¹⁰⁶ Maier, *Lehrer*, 22 n 68 notes without comment, that in Thiel's view, "gehöre sowohl die Heilserwartung für die Exilierten (Jer 23:3f, 7f; 24:4-7; 29:5-7, 10-14; 32:36-41) als auch für die im Land Gebliebenen (Jer 42:11f) sowie an Israel und Juda gerichtete Verheißungen (30:3; 31:27,31-34)".

¹⁰⁷ McKane, *Jeremiah*, I. xlix.

¹⁰⁸ McKane, *Jeremiah*, I. xlix. While McKane's criticism here is justified, his own view of the thoroughgoing untidiness of the text needs itself careful appraisal (cf. section 3.3 below).

“D” material are at odds with the teaching of Deuteronomy, as, for example, 31:31-34.¹⁰⁹

3. Reaction to the hypothesis of a Deuteronomistic redaction

3.1 General

Thiel’s work won wide acceptance. In particular his teacher, Herrmann, himself an acknowledged expert on Jeremiah, considerably modified his position in response¹¹⁰. The ensuing thirty years have seen various reactions, ranging from those arguing for a maximum of Jeremianic input into the textual tradition to those highly sceptical of drawing firm historical conclusions from the book.

3.2 W.L.Holladay and H.Weippert

At one end of this spectrum stand Holladay and Weippert. As early as 1960, Holladay suggested¹¹¹ that many typical expressions in prose passages are a reshaping of phrases found either freshly minted, or not new, but put to an original use in his oracles. Holladay saw this as the work of Jeremiah himself, and supported by H.Weippert’s thesis,¹¹² carried this conception into his commentary.¹¹³ Weippert aimed “die Betrachtung der Prosareden frei zu machen von Prämissen, die in der Deuteronomiumforschung des 19. Jahrhunderts ihre Wurzeln haben”¹¹⁴. This objective she pursued by

¹⁰⁹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 302f. Here Thiel followed Herrmann’s conviction (*Heilserwartungen*, 179; cf. Thiel, *Redaktion*, I.101n78) that “Sprache und Gedankenwelt dieses Abschnitts gehören unverkennbar in die deuteronomistische Schule”. But it is very important, as Schmid makes clear, that although the concepts of this passage have affinities with the Deuteronomic thought-world, they are in fact deployed to *modify* and *contradict* key elements of its teaching. Here Schmid has benefited not only from C.Levin’s examination of the passage (*Die Verheißung des neuen Bundes in ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Zusammenhang ausgelegt*, FRLANT 137, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985, *passim*), but also particularly from Carroll’s observation (*Jeremiah*, 613), which Schmid cites (303n491), “Deuteronomistic influence must be acknowledged in the passage, but in view of the fact that the Deuteronomists do not themselves at any point in their writings propose a new covenant, not even in the late piece relating to the restoration of Israel in Deut 30:1-10, it must be questioned whether they are responsible for this addition to the cycle”.

¹¹⁰ Herrmann, *Jeremia*, 86: “...erscheint die Annahme einer deuteronomistischen Redaktion des Jeremiabuches (D) als gut begründet”. Herrmann goes on to say (p87), however, that there were those (starting, before Thiel, with Robinson and Bright) who were not convinced of the correctness of such an approach.

¹¹¹ W.L. Holladay, ‘Prototype and copies’, *JBL* 79 (1960), 351-367.

¹¹² See above, n90.

¹¹³ See above, n2.

¹¹⁴ Weippert, *Prosareden*, 234.

investigating the prose in Jeremiah, and was indeed successful in pointing to differences compared with Deuteronomy and the “Deuteronomistic History”, particularly with reference to distinctive semantic use of the same vocabulary. A *locus classicus* is Jer 7, where Holladay cites Weippert for claims that the prose is not monotonous but carefully crafted, not repetitive, but precise, with much that suggests immediacy and emotion¹¹⁵. McKane argues that she claimed too readily that demonstrating such distinctions constituted proof of Jeremianic authorship¹¹⁶. Holladay assigned nearly every part of the book to episodes in Jeremiah’s career. He sees as very important the injunction to read the Deuteronomic law ceremonially every seven years¹¹⁷, creating opportunities for Jeremiah’s intervention. But though the result commands admiration for the unity achieved in the portrait of the prophet, it has to be seriously questioned not only for the speculativeness involved in the method, but also for failure to register evidence in the book for later redactional activity on a scale much greater than Holladay allows for¹¹⁸.

3.3 R.P.Carroll and W.McKane

This is the criticism which Carroll levels against a number of writers (including Bright and Holladay), whose lengthy biographical introductions bespeak the possibility of reading Jeremiah as “a historically accurate portrayal of the man Jeremiah and as representing a record of his sayings, deeds, adventures and travels”¹¹⁹. Before writing his commentary¹²⁰, Carroll described Jeremiah as “a series of strategies for survival after the collapse of the Judaeen state”, including “attempts at the legitimation of parties in the reconstruction of the Jerusalem community”. Here Carroll takes “the core of the poetic oracles as the work of the poet/prophet Jeremiah”¹²¹, whereas in his commentary, the emphasis falls differently: “It is the redactional framework which attributes the

¹¹⁵ Weippert, *Prosareden*, 26–48, Holladay, *Jeremiah*, I.240.

¹¹⁶ McKane, *Jeremiah*, 45.

¹¹⁷ Holladay, *Jeremiah*, I. 27. Cf. Dt 31:10f.

¹¹⁸ Holladay, *Jeremiah*, I.24, lists the few passages which he thinks are exilic or later.

¹¹⁹ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 33f.

¹²⁰ R.P.Carroll, *From Chaos to Covenant. Use of Prophecy in the Book of Jeremiah*, London: SCM, 1981, 2.

¹²¹ Carroll, *Covenant*, 9.

poems to Jeremiah; there is nothing inherent in the poetry to identify who the speaker might be (a function of the prose)”¹²². And when it comes to the prose, Carroll sees in place of the prophet (possibly until deuteronomistically transformed, a *poet* – witness the slash in the above citation), as many authors as the redactions which they performed.

Carroll and McKane part company over the extent of any historical kernel. The latter, though scathing about the search for precise historical situations for each passage,¹²³ does not seriously doubt Jeremianic authorship for most of the poetry¹²⁴, and is critical of the extent of Carroll’s scepticism throughout the second part of the book¹²⁵. However, McKane is ubiquitously hesitant in any historical conclusion he draws and, compared with Rudolph, bears much resemblance to Carroll. McKane and Carroll view the text alike as having grown like Duhm’s “unattended wood”¹²⁶, a point at which both are susceptible to Schmid’s critique¹²⁷. Carroll uses the word “gallimaufry” to describe its untidiness¹²⁸, and McKane’s expression “rolling corpus” aims to dismiss the guiding hand envisaged by Thiel in his “D” redaction¹²⁹.

3.4 C. Hardmeier and H.-J. Stipp

Apart from conservative views such as Holladay’s, there have been two significant quests for historical roots in the prose tradition. In the first¹³⁰ C. Hardmeier explained what he called the *Erzählung von der Gefangenschaft und Befreiung Jeremias* in Jer 34:7, 37:3-40:6 as a counterblast some few years after 587 to a document now preserved both in 2 Ki 18-20 and Isa 36f. The

¹²² Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 47.

¹²³ McKane, *Jeremiah*, I. lxxxviii-xcii.

¹²⁴ But McKane rejects as unauthentic (I.xcii) the OAN.

¹²⁵ E.g. McKane, *Jeremiah*, II 912, “The denial of historical content to chapter 36 reaches its final destination in Carroll”.

¹²⁶ See above, n5.

¹²⁷ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 2-12.

¹²⁸ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 38.

¹²⁹ McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.li, “Other expansions ...can be associated with a broader editorial intention [sc. than the many small-scale scribal exegeses etc] but not with an overarching editorial plan or a systematic theological tendency”.

¹³⁰ C. Hardmeier, *Prophetie im Streit vor dem Untergang Judas. Erzählkommunikativen Studien zur Entstehungssituation der Jesaja- und Jeremiaerzählungen in 2 Reg 18-20 und Jer 37-40*, BZAW 187, Berlin/New York, 1989.

latter passage purports to be a narrative about the siege of Jerusalem in Isaiah's day, but Hardmeier interprets its origin as propaganda put out by Jeremiah's opponents: what Isaiah said in his situation is what Jeremiah ought to be saying in his, whereas he in fact advises a policy of surrender, as recommended in the earlier situation by none other than Rabshakeh, the Assyrian emissary. In a later article¹³¹, Hardmeier argued that Jer 32:2, 6-15 constituted the beginning of this narrative, but this proposal in particular has been convincingly refuted¹³².

A more general critique of Hardmeier's work by H.-J. Stipp claims¹³³ to find evidence of a sharp division between the Judahite notables, some mortally opposed to Jeremiah, others, descended from Shaphan (2 Ki 22:3), representing themselves as his supporters. Stipp analyses the text so as to bring out elements which are due either to Deuteronomistic or to Shaphanid redaction.

3.5 K-F. Pohlmann

Although Thiel's book met with considerable acceptance, K.-F. Pohlmann as early as 1976-7 exposed its serious shortcoming, recognized later also by McKane¹³⁴. Pohlmann's work pioneered in important respects¹³⁵ the way taken by Schmid in the most thorough of all the redactional analyses of the book's composition¹³⁶. While agreeing with Thiel that Mowinckel and Rudolph's source-critical explanation of Jeremiah was unsatisfactory,¹³⁷ Pohlmann argues that Thiel has *vorprogrammiert* the outcome of his analysis. McKane serves to clarify this obscure expression, saying that "Thiel has a way of arguing, which amounts to heads I win, tails you lose." McKane continues: "The

¹³¹ C. Hardmeier, 'Jeremia 32:2-15 als Eröffnung der Erzählung von der Gefangenschaft und Befreiung in Jer 34:7; 37:3-40:6', in W. Groß (ed), *Bewegung*, 187-214.

¹³² Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 88n164.

¹³³ H.-J. Stipp, *Jeremia im Parteienstreit. Studien zur Textentwicklung von Jer 26, 36-43 und 45 als Beitrag zur Geschichte Jeremias, seines Buches und jüdischer Parteien im 6. Jahrhundert*, BBB 82, Frankfurt am Main: Anton Hain, 1992, 141-150.

¹³⁴ See above, n129.

¹³⁵ P.R. Ackroyd had already made the important observation that "underlying the narratives as they are now presented [sc. in chapters 37-44], there is a clear tradition that Jeremiah, at the point at which Judah collapsed, saw the real hope for the future not particularly with the exiles in Babylon, but with the community gathered round Gedaliah". *Exile and Restoration. A study of Hebrew thought of the sixth century BC*, London: SCM, 1968, 57 (see also *ibid*, n27 and K.-F. Pohlmann, *Studien zum Jeremiabuch*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978, 187).

¹³⁶ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, esp. 253-269.

absence of parallels to prose vocabulary of the book of Jeremiah does not deter him from identifying this prose as Deuteronomic or Deuteronomistic". McKane comments that the procedure might be regarded as arguing in a circle¹³⁸.

However, Pohlmann sees a fundamental problem in Thiel's treatment of chapter 24, together with the determination to stick for his supposed redaction both to the location (Palestine) and date (c.550 BCE) advocated by Rudolph and others¹³⁹. Starting with this chapter¹⁴⁰, Pohlmann builds up a convincing case for a *golah*-oriented redaction, attributing it to the growing influence of the *Diasporajuden* some time after the return¹⁴¹. The theory of a *golah*-oriented redaction was endorsed and developed along different lines by C.R.Seitz.¹⁴²

3.6 C.Levin

Another influential exponent of redaction criticism is C.Levin, who envisages four stages for 31:27-34 alone¹⁴³. Thus he envisages an early exilic basis in 31:27a, 29a β y γ -30a; 31:31a, 34a α ¹. At a second stage the promises of fresh planting and new covenant were imported (31:27b-29a α , 31b-32, 33b, 34b α ² β γ). Then at a late stage of the Old Testament's development came the promise of the Torah written on the heart (31:33a), and finally 31:30b was inserted late as a gloss. Schmid has levelled two main criticisms against this position¹⁴⁴. One relates to the inadequate basis for Levin's form-critical decision to make his basic layer a distinctive *Gattung*; the other is his failure to see the way in which 31:31-34 as a whole is intended to modify the thrust of Deuteronomy 6:4-9, a factor of the most fundamental importance. Nevertheless, Levin is important for the growth of a redactional approach to the book. In some ways he resembles McKane – for example with his comment on the

¹³⁷ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 17.

¹³⁸ McKane, *Jeremiah*, xlv.

¹³⁹ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 17n35.

¹⁴⁰ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 19-31.

¹⁴¹ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 191 esp. n21: "Daß wesentliche Impulse für die Entwicklung in Juda aus der babylonischen Gola gekommen sein müssen, ist im Blick auf die Hervorhebung von Persönlichkeit wie Serubbabel, Nehemia und Esra deutlich".

¹⁴² 'The crisis of interpretation over the meaning and purpose of the exile', *JT* 35, 1985, 78-97; *Theology in Conflict, Reactions to the Exile in the Book of Jeremiah*, BZAW 176, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1989, esp. 223-4.

¹⁴³ Levin, *Verheißung*, 60, 260.

¹⁴⁴ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 69f.

Prosareden that they attest “hundert Hände in hundert Jahren”¹⁴⁵. But he shows signs of more comprehensive redaction, particularly in the way he sees covenant theology developing.

3.7 B.O.Bozak, T.Polk, J.R.Lundbom and K.M.O’Connor

Before coming to the recent major work of K.Schmid, brief mention must be made of a number of writers who have steered a course away from the concerns of redaction criticism, each in their way paying lip-service to it, but concerned to interpret synchronically the existing text. Using this method, Bozak¹⁴⁶ points to a patterned structure for chapters 30-31 which can hardly be anything but deliberate, challenging claims that the book has developed without any overall direction. Comparable literary shaping has been found by F.D.Hubmann¹⁴⁷, notably in the passage 11:18-12:6, where it seems likely that this has been brought about by additional material intended to echo and form patterns with what was there before.

More recently, J.R.Lundbom’s commentary¹⁴⁸ has pursued his earlier enquiry¹⁴⁹ based on rhetorical criticism, and K.M.O’Connor lists a number of writers who have in recent years developed the synchronic approach which she adopts. Some room is left for reconciliation with a redactional approach by seeing these writers as engaged with the “final form” of the text. But the chapters ahead and Schmid’s own work indicate the weaknesses involved in sidestepping redaction criticism’s contribution to an understanding of the book.

¹⁴⁵ Levin, *Verheißung*, 65.

¹⁴⁶ B.A. Bozak, *Life “Anew”*. A Literary-Theological Study of Jer 30-31, Analecta Biblica, 122, Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1991. Work along comparable lines appeared in Polk, *Persona* (see above, 8n46). Polk too envisaged the likelihood of complex redaction, but, in a careful analysis of the existing text, was concerned to draw a sharp distinction between the figure of the prophet as presented in Jeremiah and the kind of portrait which psychologizes its statements about the prophet’s reception of the word directly from Yahweh as evidence of sensitive intuition. Writers such as J.Skinner (see above nn21, 44) are criticised for painting, with details outside the text, a biographical picture, on the basis of a theory that, particularly with Jeremiah, Israelite religion burgeoned into a discovery of individual fellowship with God. See Polk, *Persona*, 12n16.

¹⁴⁷ F.D.Hubmann, *Untersuchungen zu den Konfessionen, Jer 11:18 -12:6 und Jer 15:10-21*, Forschung zur Bibel, 30, Würzburg:Echter, 1978, 165-319.

¹⁴⁸ J.R.Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, AB, New York:Doubleday, 1999.

¹⁴⁹ J.R.Lundbom, *Jeremiah, A Study of Ancient Hebrew Rhetoric*, SBLDS 18, Missoula: Society of Biblical Literature and Scholars Press, 1975 [2nd edn, Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns, 1997].

3.8 K.Schmid

By the time that Schmid wrote (1996), operations were needed on two fronts: (a) Thiel's notion of a Deuteronomistic redaction had still to be addressed¹⁵⁰; (b) there were the various positions already opposed to Thiel – whether that of McKane and Carroll, who believed in redaction (not, however, comprehensive or overarching), or that of writers who had resorted to a synchronic interpretation of the text, accepting the possibility of complex redaction history, but regarding its study as unproductive.

By contrast Schmid not only defends a theory of a *golah*-oriented redaction fundamentally similar to Pohlmann's but elicits evidence from the text for a whole series of redactions or *Buchkonzepten*¹⁵¹ spreading from late pre-exilic or early exilic times to the bifurcation of pre-Masoretic and Alexandrian traditions and one further step beyond¹⁵² as late as the 3rd century BCE.

Schmid analyses first the “hopeful” chapters 30-33, his primary focus, which he sees as susceptible to redactional analysis, starting from the late exilic period when the initial stages of this section were inserted (stage 2) into a book already consisting of parts of chapters 21-23 and *46-49 (OAN), to which also parts of chapters *2-3, 4-6, 8-10, 11-20 and chapter 50 had likewise been added.

He shows how new material was added to chapters 30-33 at stage 3 (6th century), when the book was geared to the idea of seventy years' supremacy for Babylon; stage 4 (*golah*-oriented redaction, early 5th century); stage 5 (hope extended to whole diaspora, late 5th century); stage 6 (inclusion of conditions for future blessing, late 5th /early 4th century); stage 7 (addition of new covenant material, late 4th century); stage 8 (prophecy of judgement upon all the earth, end of 4th century); stage 9 (emergence of the LXX pattern with OAN in the middle of the book, end of 4th century); stage 10 (addition of 33:14-26 to 𐤀, 3rd century). At each juncture additions in chapters 30-33 are

¹⁵⁰ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 346, “Damit stellt sich [diese Arbeit] gegen eine These, die sich für die Forschung zunächst als mit großer Überzeugungskraft ausgestattet erwies”. Schmid justifies this statement with reference to Herrmann, *Jeremia*, 66-87.

¹⁵¹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 434.

¹⁵² Based on the absence in 𐤀 of 33:14-26 MT.

envisaged¹⁵³, except at stages 6 and 9. Schmid does allow that there might have been Deuteronomistic redaction in chapter 7; 25:1-13; chapter 35 and also in minor additions in chapters 4-23, where the key factor is the theological appraisal of entitlement to the land in terms of obedience to the law¹⁵⁴. In a private communication, Schmid has said that the reason for ‘not working out a “*Buchgestalt*” of its own’ for 25:*1-13 was uncertainty as to what texts in chapter 7-25 belonged to such a layer and also about the implications of connections between chapter *1 and the basic layer of chapter 25. Had he been more confident of a Deuteronomistic *Buchgestalt*, it would have a place, he says, between stages 2 and 3, and “historically, 25:*1-13 probably belongs to the exile”, with this and comparable texts in chapters 7-25 presupposing the “Deuteronomistic” texts in *Samuel-Kings”.

3.9 C.Maier

Schmid left the question of a Deuteronomistic redaction undecided, and in the light of dissatisfaction with “*Pandeuteronomismus*”, C.Maier has grappled with important outstanding issues in this area in a study of Jeremiah as teacher of the law¹⁵⁵. After an introduction (part 1) the heart of her book consists of a number of detailed studies of *Prosareden* (part 2) and then of texts which employ the concept of *הַדָּבָר* (part 3). Her conclusions are different from Thiel’s in that, though allowing that there may be “*authentisches Material*” embodied (e.g. in 7:9¹⁵⁶ and 11:15f¹⁵⁷), she does not see the *Prosareden* as exilic sermons based on detectable Jeremianic texts, and she shows convincingly that post-exilic changes to these texts have been made which alter the portrait of the prophet from that of a *Mahner und Umkehrprediger*¹⁵⁸, conveyed by a redaction interested in the interpretation of past judgement and its implications for the future, to that of a *Toralehrer* with a particular eye to social issues in post-

¹⁵³ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 433-436.

¹⁵⁴ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 347.

¹⁵⁵ Maier, *Lehrer*.

¹⁵⁶ Maier, *Lehrer*, 356.

¹⁵⁷ Maier, *Lehrer*, 357.

¹⁵⁸ Maier, *Lehrer*, 371.

exilic society. However, Maier does not see additions, for instance to chapters 7 and 11, as altering the slant of the book in the way that Schmid does with his various *Buchgestalten*. She prefers to call them *Fortschreibungen*. On the other hand, the move she perceives to enlist the authority of the prophet for the tackling of post-exilic social problems must not be too severely contrasted with the use made of him in the Deuteronomistic redaction. So her view is unlike McKane's or Carroll's, who were more sceptical of discovering any consistency in redactional trends. Recognizing the weakness "eines reinen Fortschreibungsmodells" she expresses sympathy with Schmid's attempt "die Modelle von Redaktion und Fortschreibung zu verbinden"¹⁵⁹.

3.10 Summary

Has Schmid allowed enough room for "non-programmatic" redaction? While he certainly does not preclude modifications to the text with little significance for the general thrust, he underestimates evidence prompting McKane's verdict of a "rolling corpus". Schmid does less than justice too to striking rhetorical features – especially examples of *inclusio*¹⁶⁰ – that may point to overall shaping of the book at a late stage of its composition. However, the kind of analysis made by Hubmann of 11:18-12:6¹⁶¹ suggests that such devices are not necessarily restricted to the final stage, and Schmid's own handling of the addition of 33:14-26¹⁶² serves to show that one elegant structure can make way for another in the course of the redactional process. Further, any approach ignoring the element of debate, as one position vied with another, must miss an important facet of the book's meaning. Hence, though one can see why source-criticism gave way to form-criticism and then to redaction-criticism, any move to leave redaction criticism behind is likely to miss important insights that the unravelling of the text's history can provide, or end in an approach to the text which is dubiously subjective. This conclusion is borne out by Maier's study of

¹⁵⁹ Maier, *Lehrer*, 33, citing Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 377-383.

¹⁶⁰ As claimed by Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, who, however, believes that the book was substantially in its present form by the beginning of the exile (p5).

¹⁶¹ Hubmann, *Untersuchungen*, 57-108.

¹⁶² Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 49f. Schmid's argument is that when 31:38 -33:26 is joined to 30:1 - 31:37 the underlying structure of the latter is mirrored as the basis for the addition, so that, for example, the guarantee of creation ordinances in 31:35-37 finds its counterpart in 33:19-26.

the *Prosareden*, which adds extra dimensions to Schmid's work and throws light particularly on the way in which Jeremiah's role changed with the parallel emergence of the Pentateuch into one in which he is seen as Moses's successor and with parallel authority to his.¹⁶³ Probably Moses was made into a prophet like Jeremiah¹⁶⁴, but later Jeremiah was made into a champion of the law like Moses.

4. The present work

4.1 Choice of subject

If the redaction-critical approach is valid, one can expect it to justify itself in a small-scale study of a significant topic. During the period of the present investigation, this is indeed what Maier has done. However, as Levin justly pointed out with his epigram quoted above¹⁶⁵, the overall picture presented by the book is extremely complex, and the present study aims not only to confirm the path that redaction-historical enquiries have taken, but shed new light on it too. Our concern is the treatment of various kings. This has the merit of allowing concentration on a self-contained section (chapters 21-24), the more attractive in that chapter 24 has featured prominently in earlier discussion as important evidence of "programmatically" redaction¹⁶⁶. But notably in the narratives of the second half of the book and the "hopeful chapters", 30-33, there are also other references to several kings. To deal with these too should add breadth to a study otherwise rather narrowly confined. Several of the kings who give their names to the chapters ahead are, of course, those represented as Jeremiah's contemporaries and fellow-countrymen. However, David and Nebuchadnezzar are also promising grist for the mill, so these have also been included. The latter may seem a strange bedfellow to accompany the other kings discussed. But, as we shall see, there is good reason to include him.

¹⁶³ Maier, *Lehrer*, 371.

¹⁶⁴ Schmid, *Erzväter*, 196, and n153.

¹⁶⁵ See above, 23n145.

¹⁶⁶ Particularly Pohlmann; see above, 3.5.

4.2 Method

Redaction criticism arises from a perception that a text is not all of a piece, but shows signs of having developed over time, as different hands, or redactors, have made their contributions. Hence the main concern here is to see how various passages adopt different attitudes to the kings mentioned in them, and to examine the extent to which this confirms the reality of successive redactions of the book and unravels their complexities. Thus, while comparison of diction will sometimes be of interest, it is much rather contrasts in the differing profiles of the various rulers that will be the chief consideration. Occasionally, as with Nebuchadnezzar, Jehoiachin and Zedekiah, the spelling of the king's name in the MT will be taken into consideration for light that it may throw on different layers of the tradition. Sometimes, as, for example, in the treatment of Jehoiachin, variations in ⚡ will be seen as significant, and treated on the basis that the question whether the pre-Masoretic or the Alexandrian tradition has the better claim to priority has to be settled case by case. In this respect, it is a policy implying agreement most recently with Maier that the relationship between the two traditions should not be resolved by making one simply a second edition of the other,¹⁶⁷ but envisaging a common *Vorlage* from which both versions developed independently. More rarely the Vulgate (⚡)¹⁶⁸ or Peshitta (⚡)¹⁶⁹ is seen as relevant to the discussion.

4.3 Implications of redaction criticism for the treatment of Jeremiah as Christian scripture

The guarded reaction to Duhm¹⁷⁰ can be psychologically explained as the attempt to salvage adequate historicity for the tradition¹⁷¹. But even with the framework of thinking involved in redaction criticism, it is possible to infer at any rate probabilities about the stance which the historical Jeremiah took, and

¹⁶⁷ Maier, *Lehrer*, 366. Cf. G.A. Smith, *Jeremiah*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1923, 15 who cites with approval Duhm, *Jeremia*, XX, "Darüber ist von Fall zu Fall zu entscheiden".

¹⁶⁸ E.g. below, 52, 77n66; 126, 131fn29; 151n12.

¹⁶⁹ E.g. below, 129, 133; 138f.

¹⁷⁰ See above, 3n17.

¹⁷¹ That this is still a live issue is seen in Maier's sarcasm that Thiel "in gut protestantischer Tradition die dtr Redekompositionen als Aufnahme und Erläuterung überlieferter Jeremiaworte versteht"(Maier, *Lehrer*, 369).

to be sure that evidence from earlier elements of the tradition is likely to reflect historical facticity better than later ones. A clear example would be the way in which an earlier strand has Jeremiah promising that there would be property dealings almost immediately after the downfall of Jerusalem, while a later one arguably alters this thrust to refer to a period after the return from exile¹⁷². It may not be certain that the former of these is historical, but of the two its historicity is far the more probable.

However, the problem can be viewed in three ways. First, even if one could reconstruct a plausible account of what actually happened and what the prophet actually said in the years around 600 BCE, the result would not reflect the concerns of the book. This is an important aspect of Polk's criticisms of Skinner¹⁷³. So to the question whether Skinner's kind of historical reconstruction is an essential, or even possible method of "cashing" the value of the book or any Old Testament book as Christian scripture a firm negative answer has to be given. But in chapter 11, we shall explore the importance of a link between the Old Testament and the real past, and suggest that this is crucial for its present-day interpretation as scripture.

Secondly, acceptance of a representation of the book as bearing the marks of successive redactions with different and even diametrically opposed accounts, not simply of what Jeremiah said, but of what God said to him, clearly impugns the unconsidered simplicity of: "This was God's message through Jeremiah then: what is God saying to us now?"

The third point arises out of the New Testament's attitude to the Old Testament, all the more pressing because of the stance attributed to Jesus. If Jeremiah records statements purporting to be factual, when some (like chapter 24¹⁷⁴) are concluded to be propaganda of a particular theological or political party, how is this consistent with the ordinary understanding that biblical authority (that is,

¹⁷² Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 253f.

¹⁷³ See above, 23n146.

¹⁷⁴ See below, esp. 42-51.

the capacity of scripture for delivering accurate impressions of the character of God, and its status as the supreme rule of faith and practice) is compromised by the discovery of departures from historical veracity, especially if they are by no means trivial?

These are issues to be addressed in the final chapter.

II

Jeremiah 21:1 - 24:10

1. Introduction

Material on various kings in Jeremiah is found (a) concentrated in chapters 21-24, where, together with a comparable collection on prophets, sayings on a number of rulers contemporary with the prophet are assembled; and (b) in scattered references throughout the book. Do these texts indicate that the book, as we now have it, is the kind of document envisaged by such writers as W.L.Holladay or H. Weippert, who maximize the extent to which its contents can be traced back to Jeremiah himself, with little ascribed to later redaction? Do they suggest that there was no governing objective accounting for the way in which development of the book took place? Do these texts on the other hand militate against the theories of E.W.Nicholson and W.Thiel, who both envisage an *overall Deuteronomistic* redaction of Jeremiah as an explanation for its present form, albeit with minor later amendments? What positive light do these references to kings shed on the nature of the book? What implications do they have for a Christian reading of Jeremiah?

We begin then with the so-called *Königssprüche*.¹ The purpose here is to set this section of the book in its context and to deal briefly with aspects not requiring the detailed treatment offered in later chapters.

2. The limits of the section

Not even advocates of a “snowball” theory dispute evidence of discrete sections in Jeremiah: these are not only evident through changes of subject matter, but often rubricated in the text by introductory and concluding formulae. This indicates editorial shaping which no one would deny. Before 21:1, now introducing the *Königssprüche*, there is an obvious caesura: almost all the poetic material, apart from the oracles in 46:1-51:58 MT on other nations

¹ W. Rudolph, *Jeremia*, HAT I/12, Tübingen: J.C.B.Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 3rd edn, 1968, 136, uses this term for the material in 21:11-23:8. But we shall include the introductory and concluding material, however different, relating to Zedekiah – added, as we argue, after the initial combination of the collection on kings with the material on prophets.

(OAN), lies behind it and chapter 20 contains the last of the so-called “confessions”, with one so pessimistic as to signify some kind of conclusion, if only for a particular section.

The principal reasons for seeing 21:1-24:10 as self-contained are these. (a) The expression *הַדְּבָר אֲשֶׁר הָיָה... לֵאמֹר*, since not always used directly before any *oracular utterance*, evidently represents an editorial marker². (b) Before 21:1, the only dating expression comes in 1:2, with the next in 25:1. (c) Since chapter 25 begins with a reference to Josiah and acts as a summary of what has gone before³, chapters 21-24 are bracketed with material about Zedekiah (21:1-10; 24:1-10⁴), striking for the fact that historically Zedekiah came later than Josiah and the other kings mentioned. (d) The explanation for this looks likely to be that the first part of the original twofold core relates, with no mention of Zedekiah himself, to other kings (21:11-23:8)⁵. (e) Important for the history of textual development is the observation that the two parts of this core (cf. 21:11, kings; 23:9, prophets) are each introduced by the preposition *לְ*, in the sense of “with regard to”⁶, as also five of the oracles on other nations (OAN) (46:2, 48:1, 49:1, 49:7, 49:23). If these passages once stood together, as is likely, the feature not being matched elsewhere, terms with this *לְ* are to be explained as

² Cf. P.K.D. Neumann, ‘Das Wort, das geschehen ist...Zum Problem der Wortempfangsterminologie in Jer I-XXV’, *VT* 23, 1973, 202, points out (albeit with a misprint: “WGF.A” in the last line of section 5.3 should read “WGF.B”) that 21:1 shares with 25:1a time-expression, matched by several further instances in the later parts of the book – something which supports his view (cf. below, section 3.1) “that the formula has an “übergreifende-kompositorische Funktion”. K. Schmid claims, however (*Buchgestalten des Jeremiabuches*, Neukirchen-Vluyn:Neukirchener Verlag, 1996, 5), that *לְ* levels out the caesura at 21:1 to suit its distinctive shaping of the book.

³ Note 25:3, “For twenty-three years – from the thirteenth year of Josiah” (cf. Jer 1:2).

⁴ We shall argue below (46, cf. also 174) that 21:1-10 was added to the text later than 24:1-10.

⁵ Why then was chapter 24 not placed between the *Königssprüche* and sayings on the prophets? Probably because it indicts both Zedekiah and fellow-travellers (24:8), and is thus appropriate after the section on prophets, which represented these by synecdoche.

⁶ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 203n12, cites GK 119u for use of the term *lamedh inscriptionis* in this connection. This expression, however, should be reserved for a case like Isa 8:1, where the *לְ* is simply to be represented by the (double) inverted commas: ‘Write, “Maher-shalal-hash-baz”’. Closer to the “*lamedh* of reference” here, where Jer 23:9, for instance, is not covered by “subordination of nouns to the verb” (GK 119) are the examples in GK 143e. See also below, 186n19.

headings⁷, and during the text's history, the two passages on kings and prophets have been separated from the OAN. If so, this confirms that in the existing book, 21:1-24:10 constitutes a well-defined section, with the material about Zedekiah an accretion to the core by virtue of his being also a king. The passage has minimal connections, if any, with what immediately precedes and follows, although placed with care, as we shall argue, in the book as a whole.

(f) It may be significant that at the beginning of the book and in chapter 24 there are striking resemblances to visions in the book of Amos⁸. Not only does this suggest an intended *inclusio*, making chapter 24 conclude a “prophetic” section (to be followed by a narrative, “fulfilment” section), but, as Schmid suggests, the Amos model may have been attractive in that, since the whole point of Jer 24 is to stress the termination of life in Judah,⁹ there is now a counterpart to the *end* of the northern kingdom accentuated by Amos¹⁰.

Clearly also chapter 25 is a summary of what has gone before. With such echoes of the general introduction as “the thirteenth year of Josiah” (25:3, cf. 1:2), it probably occupied its position in some form before the use of chapters *21-24 served as (a) a new conclusion to chapters 1-20, matching their note of humiliation for Jeremiah (20:18) with that of utter destruction for Zedekiah and those left in Jerusalem (24:10); and (b) the beginning of Jeremiah's vindication as a prophet, as also of a section of the book which would both see the fulfilment of Jeremiah's doom-laden prophecies for Jerusalem, and contain

⁷ Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 138, claims the absence in ℳ's Vorlage of ך at the beginning of 21:11 and argues from the impossibility of any real connection with 8αα that 11αα is intended as a heading parallel with 23:9. However, since οἶκος, as in verse 12, is evidently vocative, raising the question whether the definite article ὁ in v11 hides an original ὦ, ℳ may have paraphrased an expression *with* the ך. Further, MT does *now* link v11 with v8αα. But this is a late development: originally the phrase in v 12αα represented by οἶκος Δαυείδ was construed after the imperative, and not before “thus says Yahweh”, as in MT, justifying Rudolph's conclusion, now generally accepted, that לְבֵית מְלֶכֶךְ יְהוּדָה was indeed once a heading parallel with לְנְבִיאִים in 23:9.

⁸ For extensive details, see Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 262f.

⁹ Further support for this comes from the likely reference to Amos 8 in Gen 6:13, and Ezek 7:6 in a chapter which has significantly close ties with Jer 21: e.g. “sword, plague and famine” (Ezek 7:15); וְלֹא תִחַם עֵינַי (Ezek 7:4), cf. Jer 21:7.

¹⁰ קַץ, with its play on קָץ (summer-fruit), the contents of the basket matching the basket of figs in Jer 24:1-2. Note particularly the identical question in Jer 1:11, 13; 24:3; Amos 8:2.

hope for those who had gone into exile in Babylon¹¹. It is certain, as we shall see, that chapter 21 has strong links with the second half of the book – particularly with chapter 37. Further evidence of the Janus-like character of chapter 21 is that it begins with a formula which links it to the prophetic part of the book¹², yet has (apart from 1:1-4, as just noted above) the first of several chronological references built into the introduction of units, thus relating it to the latter part.

3. The relationship of Chapters 21-24 to the book as a whole

3.1 The heading (21:1)

The *Wortereignisformel* opening this section הַדְּבָר אֲשֶׁר הָיָה אֶל-יְרֵמְיָהוּ ... מֵאֵת יְהוָה¹³, found eleven times overall¹³, is unique to Jeremiah. Are all instances of the expression then symptoms of the same redaction? This cannot be taken for granted, since the usage could easily have occurred in an earlier phase before being imitated later. However, P.K.D. Neumann, who gives reasons in his article for abandoning the view of Mowinckel and Rudolph that a heading was an indicator of a particular *source*¹⁴, makes the important point

¹¹ Important here is Jer 32, where an incident originally interpreted as swift return to normal after the Babylonian crisis, was reinterpreted to imply that restoration would only occur with the exiles' return. See Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 253f. Arguably, this note of hope for the *golah* is implied by the rehabilitation of Jehoiachin in 52:31-34. See below, 95, 144, 147, 150n4.

¹² In 21:1, the *Wortereignisformel* appears as a heading, whereas in 37:6 a similar (probably earlier) formulation is built into the narrative (cf. K.-F. Pohlmann, *Studien zum Jeremiabuch*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978, 58).

¹³ Viz. 7:1; 11:1; 18:1; 21:1† (without אֶל-יְרֵמְיָהוּ); 25:1† (without מֵאֵת יְהוָה and with עַל instead of אֶל); 30:1; 32:1† (without אֶל-יְרֵמְיָהוּ); 34:1†; 34:8†; 35:1†; 40:1† (without אֶל-יְרֵמְיָהוּ). In obelized instances, a more or less lengthy chronological reference is included. Closely resembling these, and almost identical with one another, are 26:1 and 36:1, which introduce mutually related passages (cf. 26:3 with 36:3), as Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 243, notes. But more likely both were in place before the insertion into the poetic section of the prose chapters 7 (probably dependent on chapter 26, with which it has a number of points in common – Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 53) and 11, whose purpose, according to Schmid, is to prepare for the material about the new covenant in 31:27-34.

¹⁴ Neumann, 'Wort', 207-9, argues (a) that because the headings have an "übergreifende-kompositorische Funktion" Mowinckel's theory that the headings relate only to *units of a particular source* is contradicted; (b) that Rudolph's theory that source C is the main framework of the book, and that its presence is signalled by the heading in each case, leaves the question why, if it was one and the same source, the heading needed to be repeated, and why this source was being constantly interrupted by quite different material. Neumann's particular objections to Rudolph are not convincing, but the point made against Mowinckel is cogent and

that the shift from an expression like דְּבַר יְהוָה, found frequently in references to divine communication with the prophet, arises from avoiding anthropomorphic implications of face-to-face conversation: “the word” is hypostatized, to make a kind of “buffer zone” between Yahweh and the prophet¹⁵. This would suggest a point of entry into the tradition for this form of introduction comparable with the date of P. Furthermore, in several cases the usage arguably introduces an insertion into earlier material. This certainly applies where there is a striking change from verse to prose as in 7:1 and 11:1,¹⁶ especially if Schmid is right about the purpose of these two passages.¹⁷ The formula is found in chapter 34, where 34:1 may be dependent on 34:8, and 35:1, both chapters without structural significance in the formation of the book,¹⁸ likely to have been late insertions in their context. This is borne out by the fact that there are instances where the actual words supposedly introduced are either far removed, as in the case of 32:1-6, where verse 6 does not fit well as the continuation of verse 1, and the verse with which we are particularly concerned here, 21:1, where again there is no smooth transition from verse 1 to verse 4, as in the cases where the more or less immediate sequel of לֵאמֹר is followed by what Yahweh says to Jeremiah. These considerations certainly favour Neumann’s conclusion that, at any rate within chapters 1-25 (the area to which he restricts his work), the book was at a certain stage deliberately

applies equally to Rudolph.

¹⁵ Neumann, ‘Wort’, 204n2, supports this suggestion with the observation that P represents “the wrath of Yahweh”, no longer with אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה (e.g. 2 Ki 24:20), but with such an expression as יָצָא הַקִּיץ מִלִּפְנֵי יְהוָה (Num 17:11). Neumann’s argument (172n3) that the formula אֲשֶׁר הָיָה דְבַר יְהוָה אֶל־יִרְמְיָהוּ, confined to chapters 1-25 and 46-51, could have been a scroll-title, but turned in 14:1 into a heading for chapters 14-17, while still revealing its original function of introducing certain OAN (e.g. 47:1; 49:34), supports the possibility of finding clues to the relative age of various layers of the Jeremiah text. He is rightly criticised, however, by T. Seidl, ‘Die Wortereignis in Jeremia – Beobachtungen zu den Formen der Redeeröffnung in Jeremia im Anschluß an Jer 27:1, 2’, *BZ* 23, 1979, 24n25, for the unjustified conclusion that Jeremiah himself was responsible for this supposedly oldest of all *Wortereignis* examples in the book.

¹⁶ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 5, explains the minus in Ⓢ at 11:1 along with the variation in Ⓢ by comparison with MT at 2:1f, 37Ⓢ [MT 30]:1 and 25:14Ⓢ (MT 46:1) by saying that from this later perspective there was no longer any need to make any distinction between Jeremiah’s reception of the word and his utterance of it.

¹⁷ See above, 34n13.

¹⁸ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 208, “Beide Kapitel [sc.34 and 35] können einen alten Kern enthalten, der jedoch aufgrund der je ganz besonderen Thematik für die Frage der Buchkomposition keine zentrale Rolle spielt”.

structured with subdivisions marked by various types of *Wortereignisformel*. If these were already in place, their “writ” might be extended (as where the heading for the “drought liturgy” [14:1] covers material up to the end of chapter 17); but in the case of 7:1, 11:1 and 18:1, where prose sections are inserted different in style from what precedes¹⁹, not only was the *Wortereignis* put in to effect the subdivision in each case, but probably the prose sequel as well.

The *Wortereignis* in 21:1 matches 7:1, 11:1 and 18:1. On the other hand, the character of the passage is different from these. In them Jeremiah is commissioned to take some initiative, and the burden of the divine message ensues immediately (7:2; 11:2; 18:2). Here, by contrast, the word *לֵאמֹר* is missing, as also indication of what the “word” of Yahweh to the prophet was, although the *Botenformel* is to be found in v 4. Supposing then that chapters 7 and 11 at any rate were inserted at the same stage as each other with the same aims in mind – partly to subdivide the text, and partly, if Schmid is correct²⁰, to prepare the way for the new covenant passage (31:31-34) – a different explanation is needed for 21:1, even if the *Wortereignisformel* is used in part as a sub-division marker. It is not likely to have found its place in the tradition at the same stage. A beginning to the section has therefore clearly been artificially created by the heading, and this means that since v 11 marks the start of the older collection introduced by the *ל* of reference (see above, 32n6), 21:1-10 constitutes a sub-unit to be considered by itself.

3.2 The relationship with chapter 37

As the book stands, chapter 37 begins a narrative continuing to chapter 44. Its original beginning and the extent of the narrative’s modification have been greatly disputed²¹. Pohlmann envisages the original start at 37:11 (although

¹⁹ The “sabbath” passage (17:19-27) is prose, but its addition may postdate attachment to 17:18 of 18:1. See C.Maier, *Jeremia als Lehrer der Tora*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002, 205-225.

²⁰ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 295.

²¹ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 48f, cites Volz, Nötscher, Rudolph and Weiser on the side of those who regard the MT narrative as essentially in its original form; Duhm, Kremers, Rietzschel and Wanke, by contrast, as positing a high measure of redactional alteration, while Thiel envisages a unitary Deuteronomistic redaction. Pohlmann himself, in a detailed study, sees somewhat less than half as the original kernel of the passage (*Studien*, 208-223).

needing an introduction which may now appear in ch 34):²² what stands before this (37:1-10) comes from a tendentious redactor, seeking to make Jeremiah responsible for the message that Jerusalem's fall was inevitable, whereas in the original narrative the prophet held out hopes of a reprieve (38:17). Pohlmann also attributes 21:1-10 and chapter 24 to the same redactor,²³ the drastic changes producing a *golah*-oriented edition of the book – that is, an edition which favoured the exiles accompanying Jehoiachin in 597 or their descendants.

The relationship of chapter 21 to 37:1-10 is therefore important for the role of 21:1-24:10. Numerous links relate the two passages.

Compare first the two situations. Both describe the sending of two envoys to the prophet (21:1; 37:2): in both Zephaniah, the priest appears; both envisage a request to the prophet whether to “pray” or “enquire”; both include the combination, “King, servants and people”(21:7; 37:2²⁴). H. Weippert has argued that differences between the two accounts make it unlikely that the earlier one is a doublet of the other²⁵. But she does not explain the positioning of chapter 21. Further, there are echoes of 2 Ki 19:1-4 (=Isa 37:1-4) in both passages²⁶: (a) there is the sending of two *named* emissaries (Jer 37:2); (b) there is the inclusion of priests, though these are added later in 2 Ki 19:2 (=Isa 37:2); (c) there is the request for prayer (2 Ki 19:4=Isa 37:4, Jer 37:3): in Jer 21:2 the word **דָּרַשׁ** is used, but note the similarity between Isa 37:4, **אֲוֹלֵי יִשְׁמַע** and Jer 21:3 **אֲוֹלֵי יַעֲשֶׂה**, which would constitute an *answer to prayer* rather than a response to an enquiry; (d) the situation in 2 Ki 19 (=Isa 37) is strikingly similar, with an enemy besieging the city, Sennacherib, whose withdrawal is

²² It cannot however, according to Pohlmann (*Studien*, 58n65), have been the original start to the narrative, since it assumes knowledge of the situation on the part of the reader; part at least of what is missing in chapter 37 may be preserved in chapter 34 (*Studien*, 62).

²³ See below, sections 4 and 5.5, where his view is criticised.

²⁴ Noted by Pohlmann, *Studien*, 66n96.

²⁵ Weippert, *Prosareden*, 71f.

²⁶ It is this evidence particularly which is the Achilles heel of W. McKane's denial (*Jeremiah*, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1986, I.492f) of any literary interdependence between the two passages.

mentioned (2 Ki 19:8, cf. Jer 38:5). The same root שָׁרַר is used at Jer 37:7, strengthening the link with Jer 21:2. But most important, שָׁרַר is the stem used at 2 Ki 22:13, where Hezekiah sends emissaries to Huldah the prophetess to *enquire* of Yahweh. There are two areas of apparent confusion here²⁷: (a) 37:7 has “enquire”, when “pray” would have been consistent with 37:3; this matches the fact mentioned above that in Jer 21:2 אֱלֹהֵי יְעֻשָׁהוּ, anticipating answer to prayer (cf. 2 Ki 19:4 = Isa 37:4) is similarly inconsistent with the use of שָׁרַר. The other is that a situation (21:2) in which Jerusalem is being attacked (נִלְחָמוּ) is one where *prayer* might be the apposite request, whereas one in which the Babylonians had withdrawn might be suited to *enquiry* as to whether they would return. Whatever the explanation of this strange evidence, the significant point is that each passage alludes to both Hezekiah and Josiah, making the point that whereas these kings were both promised a reprieve, it will not be the case for Zedekiah²⁸. The aim in 21:1-10 is to have Jeremiah preempting any suggestion that Babylon’s withdrawal might be permanent, and countermanning in advance the indications (in the original form of the narrative, if Pohlmann is right²⁹) that Jeremiah *did* offer conditional hope to Zedekiah at a late stage of the siege (38:4).

If someone were trying to reproduce exactly the same incident and situation in chapter 21 as supposedly described in a *Vorlage* containing 37:1-10, the result is unbelievably clumsy. But Weippert’s argument to this effect is only pertinent to salvaging historicity for both accounts. It does not in any way militate against a solution which sees the two passages as compositions envisaging respectively (a) the Babylonians besieging the city and (b) their temporary withdrawal. Growing evidence for both polemical motivation and literary allusion,³⁰ however, makes it likely that here, composed to make the point, is a

²⁷ Cf. Maier, *Lehrer*, 97f.

²⁸ H. Weippert, ‘Jahwekrieg und Bundesfluch in Jer 21:1-7’, *ZAW* 82, 1970, 402-409, shows how 21:4f marks the reversal of holy war, but the undoubted presence in the text of allusion to Hezekiah (and probably also Josiah) is equally important.

²⁹ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 62.

³⁰ B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia*, Tübingen and Leipzig: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1901, 169, comments appositely on 21:2: “...als ob Zedekia Jes 37 gelesen hätte wie unser Autor!”

determined attempt to undermine Zedekiah's image, the status of those left in Jerusalem, and any suggestion that Jeremiah held out any hope for them. Furthermore, McKane is right that whereas the emphasis in 21:1-10 is on the fate of Zedekiah (named in v7), and appropriate for the beginning of a collection on *kings*, in 37:1-10 it is on the fate of the *city* (note the repetition in vv8, 10).³¹

If different situations are envisaged, there is no longer any problem with the appearance of Jehucal in 37:3 as against Pashhur in 21:1. On the contrary the fact that the emissaries are different shows that two incidents are in the redactor's mind. His choice of Pashhur may be related to the fact that a (different) Pashhur figures in 20:1-6: Rudolph may well be right that a contrast is intended between the official who sought to humiliate Jeremiah and the official who had to come to him cap in hand³². Pohlmann firmly attributes both 21:1-10 and 37:1-10 to the same writer³³, but the situation is more complicated: the writer of 21:1-10 was probably employing existing material in the form of one or both sayings introduced by the *Botenformel*, vv 4, 8 (a possibility discussed below, 40f, as also the possible addition of vv 8-10). Two stages are likely, allowing the writer of 21:1-10 already to have had 37:1-10 at least in some form before him. Such a gradual metamorphosis is more plausible than postulating two complete inventions thrust into the text at the same time. If so, the probability that Pashhur son of Malchiah also comes from the same narrative (38:1) indicates *modification* of the earlier text (i.e. 37:1-10) to match the context into which the later (21:1-10) was to fit³⁴.

3.3 Historical considerations

McKane rightly notes on 21:1-10 that no historically coherent picture can be reconstructed from evidence in other parts of Jeremiah³⁵. Problems of relating

³¹ W. McKane, *Jeremiah*, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986, I.493.

³² Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 135.

³³ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 58.

³⁴ So Duhm, *Jeremia*, 168, who draws attention to the later spelling of Zephaniah in 21:1 (contrast Jer 37:3). See below, 46 and 123-5.

³⁵ McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.492.

these verses and 37:1-10 to one historical incident have been discussed above – an important pointer to the conclusion that, although there are common factors, 21:1-10 is probably free composition creating a different incident focused on Zedekiah. But there is also a contrast between the fate predicted for Zedekiah in 21:7 and his recorded experience (52:11). It is unsatisfactory to resolve this by suggesting that historically Jeremiah made this prediction at the time envisaged but events transpired differently. One has simply to insist that for the writer of 21:1-10, Zedekiah's *end* was paramount, as in 37:1-10 it was the end of the city.³⁶

4. The internal coherence of 21:1-10

Older material begins with 21:11,³⁷ but vv1-10 constitute no straightforward unit. The conflict between 52:11 and 21:7 could be avoided if v7 were deleted as secondary. McKane,³⁸ advocating this, sees it as expansion connected with the addition at the end of v 6 of “they will die of a terrible plague”, – an attempt to create a three-stage timetable based on 2 Ki 25. That 21:9~~6~~ lacks “plague” favours the adventitious character of this phrase in v6, and, if McKane's suggestion is correct, a more coherent earlier stage could be restored. By contrast, Pohlmann argues on the strength of the continued use throughout of holy war imagery that there is sufficient coherence to attribute the whole unit to the same writer³⁹. He, however, misses the grammatical problems: whereas Jeremiah addresses the envoys in 21:3, he himself is addressed in v8.

One might argue from the phrase “and to this people” (v8) that in an earlier version, Yahweh's instruction just before was to say something, not to Zedekiah, but possibly to the same addressees as in v 8, since the “you” is plural (v 4), and Zedekiah is referred to in the 3rd person in verse 7, if that was already in place. An editor could have found in the tradition such sayings as those introduced by the *Botenformel* in verses 4 and 8 and adapted them to his

³⁶ However, the conflicting evidence of 52:11 does make it unlikely that chapter 52 was inserted by the redactor responsible for 21:1-10.

³⁷ See above, section 2.

³⁸ McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.500.

³⁹ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 39.

objective of highlighting Zedekiah, by prefixing the emissary-incident. He could have added v7 with its reference to him, if that verse was not already present. But more significantly he could have imported at this stage the *Wortereignisformel* intended to cover the whole section (chapters 21-24), together with the envoy scenario, in order to make the unfavourable comparison between Zedekiah and (particularly) Hezekiah, discussed above. It may be too that envoys were essential in the mind of the writer to create a plausible situation for Jeremiah to address the king, an important clue to an earlier conception of what prophets could and could not do than the Elijah-like scene in 22:1f.⁴⁰ While the difficulties in the text as it stands are incompatible with Thiel's view of an overall Deuteronomistic redaction⁴¹, Pohlmann's solution, without some such assumptions to explain the inconcinnities, looks simplistic.

Another, more probable solution is to envisage 21:8-10 as a later addition, betrayed by the grammatical problem of *וְאֵלֶיךָ*, which cannot have the envoys as its subject, yet lacks evidence of being addressed to Jeremiah⁴². If the arguable inconsistency of the third person singular suffix of *עָמַרְוּ* and *וְעַבְדְּךָ* (*Q^ere*, *וְעַבְדְּךָ*) indicates addition at 22:4⁴³, "people" and "servants" may also have been added at 22:2, 21:7 and even 37:2. All these passages could reflect a tendency, which might also be at work in 21:8-10 (note *עָמַרְוּ* in v8), to *Demotisierung*⁴⁴. Thus a message at one stage directed at the king is broadened to include the whole community, but at the same time, the element of choice associated with Deuteronomy is introduced, carrying the message that the ancient disaster does not have to be repeated.

⁴⁰ See below, section 8.

⁴¹ W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1-25*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973, 230.

⁴² H.-J. Hermisson, 'Die "Königsspruch"-Sammlung im Jeremiabuch – von der Anfangs- zur Endgestalt' in: E. Blum *et al* (edd), *Die Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1990, 298, n32. See also below, 188n29.

⁴³ Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 140.

⁴⁴ See below, 182f and n7.

5. The relationship of 21:1-10 and chapter 24

5.1 Earlier discussion of chapter 24

The approaches adopted by earlier scholars to Jer 24 in large measure mark typical dividing lines between different understandings of the book as a whole. Thus (a) there is a view that the passage is closely related to a situation between 597 and 586, with only minor alterations coming from a later date, giving historical information about the prophet Jeremiah himself. Among those who have to this extent followed Rudolph⁴⁵ are Lindblom⁴⁶, Bright⁴⁷, Weippert⁴⁸ and Holladay.⁴⁹ Of these, some think that actual baskets of fruit were seen by Jeremiah⁵⁰; others that rotten fruit in an actual offering of first-fruits lacks verisimilitude⁵¹.

(b) Nicholson,⁵² Thiel⁵³ and Clements⁵⁴ all envisage a Jeremianic nucleus, but with Deuteronomistic elaboration.

(c) Hyatt⁵⁵ does not posit any such Jeremianic nucleus, but it is he who has in large measure paved the way for Thiel's theory of a comprehensive

⁴⁵ Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 157, is led by the fact that it is in the form of a *Selbstbericht* to attribute chapter 24 to a collection of "originalen Jer-Worte (Quelle A)".

⁴⁶ J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962, 140.

⁴⁷ J. Bright, *Jeremiah*, AB, Garden City: Doubleday, 1965, 194, derives it "from Jeremiah's own reminiscences".

⁴⁸ Weippert, *Prosareden*, 187-9, argues against attempts to deduce Deuteronomistic provenance from the use of words such as *הַקָּבֵה*, *הַקָּבֵה*, and *הַקָּבֵה*.

⁴⁹ Holladay, *Jeremiah* I. 655-6, argues particularly against May's view (see below) that the passage has the hallmarks of Ezra-like exclusivism, and dates from Ezra's time.

⁵⁰ R.E. Clements, *Jeremiah*, Interpretation, Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1988, 145, speaks of "an actual experience"; Lindblom, *Prophecy*, 140, envisages "real baskets".

⁵¹ Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 157, rules out a real experience, "einmal weil die guten Feigen mit Frühfeigen nur ver gleichen [emphasis, Rudolph's] werden (2a) also nicht selbst solche gewesen sein können, und dann, weil es doch nicht anging, Feigen, deren schlechte Qualität besonders hervorgehoben wird, Jahwe als Erstlingsgabe darzubringen". Holladay, *Jeremiah*, I. 657, agrees with Rudolph, albeit drastically mistranslating the first of his points!

⁵² E.W. Nicholson, *Preaching to the Exiles*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970, 110.

⁵³ Thiel, *Redaktion*, I. 258-61, by adopting particularly 24:1-10 as part of his Deuteronomistic redaction, inevitably identifies this redaction with the interests of the *golah*, but because he uses linguistic criteria for the recognition of redactional features, the comprehensive aspect of his theory has been criticised, especially by Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 33.

⁵⁴ Clements, *Jeremiah*, 145.

⁵⁵ J.P. Hyatt, *The Book of Jeremiah*, IB, vol 5, New York: Abingdon, 1956, 998, speaks of the chapter as wholly a literary product, not a true account of a vision experienced by Jeremiah, for it does not represent his own thought.

Deuteronomistic redaction⁵⁶.

(d) Duhm⁵⁷ and May⁵⁸ had earlier concluded that the chapter was post-exilic.

5.2 A real historical experience of the prophet?

Citing Calvin for a time when the Jerusalem remnant might have written off the exiles as lost for ever, Holladay favours 594 as the most likely date for chapter 24, and criticises May on three grounds: (i) The link with the passage about the sabbath (chapter 17), on which May sets store as also dating from the Ezra period, amounts to no more than that both are in prose. Holladay declares as a late addition the reference to Egypt (24:8), which has sometimes led to a theory of an emigration there earlier than that mentioned in Jer 41:17.

(ii) May misses the point with his observation that the distinction between “good and bad figs” conflicts with the wholesale attribution of guilt in 5:1-9; according to Holladay, this passage does not make the “good figs” innocent, but simply announces a future for the exiles, so that the Jerusalem remnant should not feel superior. McKane, however, argues correctly that, while grace may not be beside the point, Jerome is right to claim an element of worth in what is implied of the good figs⁵⁹.

(iii) May’s supposed discrepancy between the disaster forecast for the “bad figs” (24:9f) and the relatively mild prognosis in 34:1-5 reckons without the fact that where any hope is expressed for Zedekiah, it is predicated on the king’s surrender.

⁵⁶ S.Herrmann, *Jeremia und das Buch*, EdF 271, Darmstadt:Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990, 58.

⁵⁷ Duhm, *Jeremia*, 196 says, “Das Stück muss aus einer Zeit stammen, wo die Judenschaft in zwei Teile gespalten war. Der eine teil, dem der Verf. angehört, betrachtete sich als Nachkommen der v o r n e m e n [emphasis, Duhm’s] Gola, die mit Jojachin abgeführt wurde, und sah mit Verachtung auf die übrige Juden herab.”

⁵⁸ H.G.May, ‘Towards an Objective Approach to the Book of Jeremiah: The Biographer’, *JBL* 61, 1942, 148f.

⁵⁹ McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.609.

Apart from any proposal for a more satisfactory theory, Holladay's position on chapter 24 is open to criticism: (i) He has done no justice to the problem of less vindictive views of Zedekiah, which are probably present in the original narrative beginning at 37:11, may even lie behind 23:5f⁶⁰ and are, in spite of the possibly *conditional* character of 34:1-5, undoubtedly a feature of that passage.

(ii) Holladay's deletion of the reference to Egypt in 24:8 has no text-critical justification and should be regarded as special pleading. As early as Qimhi⁶¹ it was related to events in chapters 42f. It is notable that only those remaining in Jerusalem and those who fled to Egypt are mentioned, without any reference to those who, according to Jer 39:9f and 2 Ki 25:11f, were taken to Babylon.

(iii) The reminiscence of 2 Ki 24:16 in Jer 24:1, although not exact, suggests a writer familiar with that text. To omit it as unoriginal again smacks of special pleading, thus leaving the difficulty of ascribing it to a genuinely Jeremianic "I-report".

5.3 Is there a Jeremianic kernel in Jeremiah 24?

Nicholson's only argument for genuinely Jeremianic material in Jer 24 is the striking nature of the comparison, implying presumably that it is too vivid to have been wholly redactional. Apart from the danger of underestimating editors' skill, the key factor, noted by Thiel, is the resemblance to Am 7:1-8; 8:1f. This literary connection suggests that the writer used the model of the earlier prophet both to include the Jerusalem remnant in the same final condemnation as the northern kingdom and to exempt the Babylonian *golah*. Carroll rightly compares visions in Zechariah, noting the relative complexity of this one, to the effect that borrowing was from, rather than by, the Amos passage. Visions themselves, he argues, attest lateness in Jeremiah – the only others are in the call narrative in chapter 1⁶². The link noted by Schmid⁶³

⁶⁰ See below, 198.

⁶¹ Cited by McKane, *Jeremiah*, 1.608.

⁶² R.P. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, London: SCM, 1986, 484.

⁶³ Schmid, *Erzähler*, 272n581, says that P is at pains to see the fulfilment of prophetic

between Amos 8, Ezek 7-9 and Gen 6:13 may be significant in this connection.

5.4 Is Jeremiah 24 part of a comprehensive Deuteronomistic redaction?

Thiel envisages a redaction in the mid-sixth century⁶⁴. His view, as we have seen, is problematic: he predominantly invokes linguistic evidence, finding Deuteronomistic material where language matched either that of Deuteronomy or the “Deuteronomistic History”⁶⁵. Where radical differences of *outlook* are found, as for example detected by Schmid cardinally in 31:31-34⁶⁶, his view becomes implausible. A further specific point against an exilic date is that chapter 24 is silent about those exiled in 586. If the passage was written many years after the final disaster, this might be understandable in a tendentious writer, but it is difficult to explain within little more than a generation of the events concerned. Of great importance for later research, however, Thiel recognized that 21:1-10 and chapter 24 are together intended to create an *inclusio* for the indictment of kings and prophets in *21:11-23:40⁶⁷.

5.5 Pohlmann’s view of Chapters 21 and 24

Before Thiel’s work was published in 1973, K.-F. Pohlmann had access to it in typescript, since some of the references in his work are to this, others to the book. Clearly Thiel’s view of the redactional relationship of chapters 24 and 21 laid foundations for Pohlmann’s theory, published in 1978⁶⁸. Whereas Thiel and Nicholson both envisaged a Jeremianic kernel, Pohlmann reverted to Duhm’s contention⁶⁹ that chapter 24 was a fundamentally later construct. Not only did he see a strong link between 21:1-10 and chapter 24 but he convincingly shows that the same interests are expressed in a series of

judgement sayings in Israel’s historical Urzeit – something “besonders deutlich zu beobachten an der Rezeption von Am 8 und Ezek 7-9 in Gen 6:11-13”. The intertextual relationships seen here, though not easy to correlate with the same concern with the “end” in Jer 24, lend further support for a later date, – fifth century, unless events surrounding Zerubbabel are in mind.

⁶⁴ Thiel, *Redaktion*, 1.29: “Sie gehört in die Exilszeit und ist um 550 anzusetzen.”

⁶⁵ The notion of a great historical work stretching from Deuteronomy to 2 Kings has become generally accepted since first proposed by Noth in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* (for publication details see above, 6n35). An important recent challenge by Schmid, *Erzväter*, esp. 130-164, argues for an original history stretching from Exodus to 2 Kings, which was later combined with Genesis and even extended to include in its scope the *corpus propheticum*.

⁶⁶ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 302-4.

⁶⁷ Thiel, *Redaktion*, 1.260.

⁶⁸ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 19n1.

⁶⁹ Duhm, *Jeremia*, 196f, envisages a date around the time of Nehemiah.

interventions in the narrative of chapters 37-43, which he believes to have its beginning in the present text in 37:11. As we have seen, 37:1-10 is ascribed by Pohlmann to the same writer as 21:1-10 and chapter 24, evidenced by insistence on inevitable destruction for Jerusalem⁷⁰ – as also chapter 44, which aims to shroud the Jews' Egyptian future in the same gloom⁷¹. The clear denigration of Zedekiah in chapter 24 is also traced in alterations to the original text of chapter 38⁷². Distinctive of Pohlmann's work is his clear outline of a *golah*-oriented redaction, aiming to restrict promises of coming *Heil* to those who had been taken to Babylon with Jehoiachin in 597, or their descendants. But just as important was the shift away from the notion, based on linguistic criteria, of a uniform Deuteronomistic redaction towards differentiating distinctive interventions on the strength of the *interests* expressed.

Pohlmann had no hesitation in ascribing both 21:1-10 and 24:1-10 to the same writer, but this is unlikely to be correct. As we saw, Duhm pointed out the difference in orthography with the name Zephaniah⁷³ – the later apocopated form appearing in chapter 21. The variation could be insignificant. It may on the other hand be one indication that chapter 21 was subsequent: without it, the kings mentioned come in chronological order⁷⁴; its addition could reflect the time when the structure characterized by the distinctive *Wortereignisformel* was imposed, also perhaps intended to be the start of the period of Jeremiah's vindication as a prophet in contrast with the end of ch 20⁷⁵.

5.6 Schmid's view of Chapters 21 and 24

5.6.1 Preliminary considerations

Pohlmann's work evidently appeared too late for McKane's first volume⁷⁶. He mentions it several times in volume 2 in comments on chapters 37-44, but

⁷⁰ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 58. But see below, 46.

⁷¹ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 181.

⁷² Pohlmann, *Studien*, 92f.

⁷³ See above, 39n34.

⁷⁴ It is possible, however, that explicit reference to Zedekiah was only introduced into chapter 24 when 21:1-10 was added: see below, section 5.6.5.

⁷⁵ See above, sections 2 and 3.

⁷⁶ McKane, *Jeremiah*: vol 1, 1986, vol 2, 1996.

largely with regard to relatively minor details of interpretation. The book is noted by Holladay⁷⁷ and Carroll⁷⁸ in bibliographies for both chapters 21 and 24 but receives no further mention in either commentary. The result is that (except in the work of C.R. Seitz, first in an article and then in a monograph⁷⁹) the whole notion of a *golah*-oriented redaction has in the English-speaking world received less than adequate attention.

5.6.2. Schmid's overall position

The importance of considering the *thrust* of particular strata rather than categorizing them purely on linguistic usage, and the hypothesis of a *golah*-oriented redaction were both accepted by Schmid, since along with the acceptance of Pohlmann's position on the *golah*-oriented redaction, he detected a series of editorial layers explaining the gradual build-up of the book, starting from the late exile or early post-exilic period when original material forming the basis for chapters 1-25 was combined with (a) the collection on kings (*21:11-23:6) and prophets (*23:9-40) and (b) the oracles on other nations (chapters *46-51), and finishing even later than the bifurcation of the Alexandrian and pre-Masoretic traditions⁸⁰.

5.6.3 Schmid's view of chapter 24

Schmid lists areas of tension in chapter 24⁸¹, indicative of the chapter's literary disunity. He rejects attempts to discover a Jeremianic core⁸², or Holladay's assertion that a pseudepigraphic vision report is in principle unlikely. He also criticises the conviction of Thiel and Pohlmann⁸³ that it is possible to interpret

⁷⁷ Holladay, *Jeremiah*: vol 1, 1986; vol 2, 1989.

⁷⁸ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 1989.

⁷⁹ C.R. Seitz, 'The crisis of interpretation over the meaning and purpose of the exile', *VT* 35, 1985, 78-97; *Theology in conflict, Reactions to the exile in the Book of Jeremiah*, BZAW 176, Berlin/New York 1989, esp. 223.

⁸⁰ See above, 24f. Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 326, argues for a third century date as a *terminus ante quem* for the latest redaction, particularly on the grounds that Daniel (assigned to the 2nd century BCE) was not included among the prophetic books, making it unlikely that any large-scale addition to the pre-Masoretic *corpus propheticum* would have been countenanced.

⁸¹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 255.

⁸² Schmid *Buchgestalten*, 256n256.

⁸³ The term "literary unity" is ambiguous. Schmid himself seems to conclude that, apart from the minor tensions which result from late redactional intervention, Jer 24 was composed deliberately to effect the kinds of link with other parts of the book mentioned above. This implies literary unity of a kind, even though the result conveys a somewhat disparate impression. There is certainly no sign of radical disagreement with Pohlmann's view of the

the chapter as a literary unity⁸⁴. The key, he claims, is that (a) chapter 24 harks back to the beginning of the book with its vision report, like that of chapter 1, close to Amos 8:1-3, and perhaps a polemical counterblast to the dreamers and false prophets of 23:28⁸⁵; (b) it prestructures chapters 26-44, thus providing a keynote-text for the whole of the existing book prior to its incorporation. Other *inclusio* links with chapter 1 are the dating, which occurs for the first time after 1:1-3 (apart from 3:6), and the *quadriga*, “build, not destroy, plant, not uproot”. Thus (a) 24:1-3 particularly harks back to chapter 1, while (b) positive hopes for the *golah* in 24:4-7 look forward to chapter *29 and chapters *30-33; (c) the destructive forecast for those left in the land or who emigrated to Egypt (24:8-10) anticipates chapters 37-44, where this historical fate is described. While not all tensions are resolved by the detailed exposition of this scheme, Schmid claims that the remainder can be disregarded as insignificant.

5.6.4 Schmid's view of the relationship between Chapters 21 and 24

Like Pohlmann, Schmid sees a close connection between ch 21 and ch 24.

Along with other obvious points of contact, Schmid emphasizes the similarity⁸⁶ between the expressions in 21:7,

אֶתֵּן אֶת־צַדִּיקֵיהֶוּ מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה וְאֶת־עַבְדָּיו
וְאֶת־הָעַם הַנִּשְׁאָרִים בְּעִיר הַזֹּאת מִן־הַדָּבָר...

and 24:8

בֶּן אֶתֵּן אֶת־צַדִּיקֵיהֶוּ מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה וְאֶת־שָׂרָיו
וְאֶת־שְׂאֵרֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם הַנִּשְׁאָרִים בְּאֶרֶץ הַזֹּאת...

5.6.5 Critique of Schmid's view

While there is no doubt that the two passages reflect a similar outlook, there are problems with Schmid's argument that 21:7 was the basis for 24:8, supposedly on the grounds that the אֶתֵּן in 24:8 is elliptical, leaving to be understood the prepositional phrase with which 21:7 continues: “into the hands of

chapter's purpose.

⁸⁴ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 255f.

⁸⁵ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 257n264.

Nebuchadnezzar”⁸⁷. This seems to reckon without the possibility (though Ⓢ παραδώσω militates against this interpretation) of translating (cf. REV): “I will *make* or *treat* [sc. Zedekiah... like the bad figs]”. However, there is evidence enough (cf. the ill-fitting לְרַעְיָהוּ [24:9]) that 24:8 with its similarities to 21:7 has been influenced by that verse. This probably means that a text with originally no mention of Zedekiah was adapted to conform to the anti-Zedekiah tone of chapter 21. Thus, even if 24:8 was assimilated to 21:7, *elements of chapter 24 were probably in place first*, as also chapters *37-44, which, as Schmid says are *vorstrukturiert*⁸⁸ by chapter 24. Hostility to those not belonging to the *golah* is thus given greater definition, and denigration of Zedekiah⁸⁹, probably not mentioned in the original form of chapter 24, becomes crucial both in 21:1-10 and in the present form of 24:8⁹⁰. Schmid and Pohlmann envisage here a single redaction. But whatever the exact process of development, nothing alters Schmid’s contention, in an important part of his thesis, that the motive was to restrict legitimate monarchical succession to Jehoiachin’s descendants.⁹¹

5.6.6 Wider implications of Schmid’s view

Schmid proceeds⁹² to show links between Jer 24 and other passages in the Old Testament. He compares Amos 9:4 with Jer 24:6 and Amos 9:15 with Jer 24:6,15. It certainly seems reasonable that the much less developed conclusion

⁸⁶ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 261.

⁸⁷ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 256: “In 24:8 geht לְרַעְיָהוּ ins Leere (Levin *Verheißung*, 166); wohin Jhwh den »schlechten Feigen« entsprechenden Personen gibt bleibt ungesagt”.

⁸⁸ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 258: “Jer 24 läßt sich als ein Text lesen, der diesen Ablauf vorbereitet, ja sogar *vorstrukturiert* (italics, Schmid’s)”.

⁸⁹ Detected by Pohlmann in modifications to chapters 37-44 (*Studien*, 48-57)

⁹⁰ The fact that a different word is used for “officials” may mean that a yet further hand was responsible for making changes to 24:8-10, but the important point is that the specific concern with Zedekiah probably originated in 21:1-10 and his subsequent appearance in chapter 24 came about as a result of this development.

⁹¹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 261. Schmid goes on to argue that the *golah*-oriented redaction did not advert to the OAN, because particularly the oracle against Babylon was all past history. To this extent the same is true of chapter 25 as of chapter 50, but the earlier redaction responsible for introducing the idea of “seventy years” (25:12; 29:10) for Nebuchadnezzar’s supremacy is of great importance (see below, 76, 111, 115, 120, 138, 154, 175, 213, 216n28; 221-226, 234, 239-41, 242, 245f): their expiry serves to confirm these prophecies and give historical legitimacy to the pre-eminence of those exiled in 597. “They have fitted into Yahweh’s world plan, and hence are Yahweh’s elect”.

⁹² Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 263-5.

of Amos was in place before Jer 24 was finalized. Schmid thinks that Jer 24 has taken its negative aspects from Dt 28, and its positive aspects from Dt 30. If this is correct, it means that Deuteronomy had likewise reached a relatively finished stage before this. But, if so, the *golah*-oriented redaction of Jeremiah *limits* the diaspora-oriented outlook probably already present in Dt 30:3. Schmid, noticing that the negative side of Jer 24 does not follow Dt 28 as closely as the positive side follows Dt 30, and arguing that the literary influence of 37-44 on the development of earlier passages is modest, asks whether there is a biblical source for Jer 24:8-10. There may be some background, he thinks, in Jer 8:1-3, but along with the use of קלל common to Gen 12:3 and Jer 24:9, the array of reversals when Jer 24:9 is compared with the beginning of Gen 12 is striking:

Abraham		“Bad figs”	
A great people	Gen 12:2a α	A horror	Jer 24:9a α
Blessed	Gen 12:2a β	A curse	Jer 24:9b α ¹
Famous	Gen 12:2a β	Infamous	Jer 24:9b α ²
Name used as a blessing	Gen 12:2a β	Name used as a curse	Jer 24:9b α ³ , b β .

The significant *inclusio* Gen 12:1-Dt 30:20 makes this suggestion more attractive. However, links noticed by Schmid between Jer 24:9 and Dt 28:25 (cf. also Dt 28:37) concern the same verse in Jer 24 as the links with Gen 12, and this suggests further that while the intertextual connections of Jer 24:8-10 were originally confined to verse 9, not only was 24:8b added at the time when 21:1-10 was incorporated (as argued above), but also 24:10, with close links to the “sword, famine and plague” of Jer 21:7, 9⁹³. *Ex hypothesi* the writer of 21:1-10 was not satisfied with reproach, ridicule and cursing for Zedekiah and the Jerusalem remnant: only complete annihilation would suffice!⁹⁴

⁹³ H. Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches*, BZAW 172, Berlin/New York, 1973, 148-91, has made a study of the triad, and concluded (as in the case of other criticisms of Thiel’s explanation in terms of a Deuteronomistic redaction) in favour of Jeremianic origin. But McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.326, has shown that she has not made out her case.

⁹⁴ Further evidence for the lateness of chapter 21 may lie in (a) the spelling of מַלְאָכָה (21:1) (see above, 38n30) and also the form of the *Wortereignis* (see above, 35n15).

6. The collection on kings and prophets

So far we have been concerned largely with the two important *pericopae*, chapter 24 and 21:1-10, which (discounting late additions to the former), we have argued, arrived (a) separately in that order; (b) at a relatively late stage of the book's development. We have seen in section 2 above that a likely key to the development of the core passage bracketed by these two passages is the use of the *lamedh* of reference. This indicates an original connection between the material on kings and prophets and the OAN (*46-51), these being the only areas of the book where this feature is found⁹⁵. Neumann's suggestion⁹⁶ that Jeremiah himself could have earmarked them with this *lamedh* of reference may be fanciful, but it is not implausible that each oracle was at some point on a separate scroll, labelled in this way. If so, the relative brevity of the OAN which have this heading (46:2, 48:1, 49:1, 7, 23) suggests that originally the same was true of the message on the "house of the king of Judah" (21:11), so that just as the section on prophets contains both early and late material,⁹⁷ the content of the section on kings probably grew. Disparity between various units of the section confirms this, particularly the mixture of prose and poetry. Hermisson, in a particular study of chapters 21-24, though he believes in a *Deuteronomistic* redaction, sees as the material present in the kings-collection before this 22:10, 13-17a, 18aβb, 19, *24, *26, *28-30⁹⁸.

In what follows, important issues to be dealt with in the ensuing treatment of individual kings are left on one side. We are concerned at this point rather with the overall structure of the collection.

7. Jeremiah 21:11-14

The secondary nature of the \aleph introducing 21:11 was already noted by Duhm⁹⁹,

⁹⁵ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 203.

⁹⁶ Neumann, 'Wort', 199, criticised by Seidl, 'Wortereignisformel', 24n25.

⁹⁷ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 203.

⁹⁸ Hermisson, "'Königsspruch"-Sammlung', 296. The details may be questionable, but the principle of a brief original collection is highly probable.

⁹⁹ Duhm, *Jeremia*, 171: "Diese Überschriften sind für uns ein Novum und scheinen auf einen besonderen Diaskeusten hinzuweisen".

who recognized the parallel with 23:9, and Rudolph, we saw, endorsed this.¹⁰⁰ The similarity between the heading in 21:11 to the almost immediately following vocative, “O house of David” makes it likely that v12 begins a later insertion, and this favours the view that the original form started with 22:10, and that, consistent with the tone of 23:9, it was more a lament than an indictment¹⁰¹. This suggests that the whole section *21:12- 22:30 could cohere as a transformation of this lament (in the first place on Shallum – 22:11) into an indictment of Jehoiakim and (at this early stage) Jehoiachin, corresponding with the verdicts on both of them in 2 Kings 23:37, 24:9¹⁰². The prose elaboration in Jer 22:1-5 is separated from 21:12 by vv13f, which are difficult and may be an addition¹⁰³. Clements has sought¹⁰⁴ to establish their position here, arguing that the first line should be translated, “Behold I am against you, you who are enthroned over the valley”, so that the reference could be to a king, a view supported by the masculine κατοικοῦντα (v 13 ♂)¹⁰⁵. Rudolph, however, attractively emends העמק to העפל and המישר to המשגב and restores a clear reference to Jerusalem, hardly thinkable as dwelling in a *valley*. The end of v13 certainly fits Jerusalem (cf. 2 Sam 5:6) and could well reflect a genuinely Jeremianic castigation of Zion theology, especially if C.Hardmeier’s analysis of the prophet’s historical stance is to be believed¹⁰⁶. MT’s feminine יִשְׁבָהּ (cf. *habitatricem* ♀) has usually been seen as referring to a city¹⁰⁷, but with the prominent mention of Nehushta, Jehoiachin’s mother (Jer 13:18)¹⁰⁸, she too deserves consideration, and could explain (a) the fact that the term

¹⁰⁰ See above, 33n7.

¹⁰¹ Compare Hermisson, “Königsspruch”-Sammlung’, 296.

¹⁰² It is suggested below that at a later stage it was particularly on Jehoiakim that the burden of guilt was laid, and this is probably reflected in the complexities of the present text of 22:24-30. See below, 130-137, for the problems involved.

¹⁰³ Thiel, *Redaktion*, I.207, argues for the original contiguity of 21:12 and 22:1-5.

¹⁰⁴ Clements, *Jeremiah*, 128.

¹⁰⁵ This, however, may be explained by the rendering of צִיִּר by Σόρ = Tyre, itself in the light of Tyre’s insular location an unconvincing reading.

¹⁰⁶ C.Hardmeier, *Prophetie im Streit vor dem Untergang Judas. Erzählkommunikative Studien zur Entstehungssituation der Jesaja- und Jeremiaerzählungen in II Reg 18-20 und Jer 37-40*, BZAW 187, Berlin/ New York: W.de Gruyter, 1989, *passim*. His thesis is that the narrative Jer 37-40 is a counterblast to that concerning Isaiah and Hezekiah in 2 Ki 18-20, which he argues was originally a propaganda document to persuade *Jeremiah* to adopt a stance in keeping with belief in Zion’s invincibility.

¹⁰⁷ Cf Rashi, tr. F.Breithaupt, Gotha: Schall, 1713, 402: “Hierosoluma sita est in medio vallis.”

¹⁰⁸ Another possibility, though less likely, is *Jehoiakim*’s mother: see below, 102n16.

“house of David” is used, rather than the king’s name and (b) the plural form of *הַצֵּילֹת* and *הָאֲמָרִים*. McKane¹⁰⁹ resists the exegesis seen in Carroll’s claim¹¹⁰ (following Rudolph, who cites I Ki 7:2¹¹¹) that the mention of Lebanon in 22:6f, 23 supports the understanding of “forest” in v14 as a reference to the king’s cedar palace. But, even if McKane is right that vv13f did not originally belong to this passage, they could have acquired a meaning of this kind by being placed here. Indeed the twin interests of oppression and luxurious palace-construction favour this conclusion.

8. Jeremiah 22:1-5

The impression created by the command to go down to the palace is that of a historical incident. However, this is unlikely¹¹². First, it is reminiscent of 21:11-12 (13f), which, depending on the conclusion as to the status of 21:13f, it more or less immediately follows, and it is one of a number of passages which McKane has collected, “triggered” by a corresponding poetic unit¹¹³. Neither the idea of separate development for a prose tradition, later distributed throughout, as envisaged by Mowinckel,¹¹⁴ to suit its subject matter, nor the somewhat different understanding of how source material was built up into the book according to Rudolph¹¹⁵ is plausible in the light particularly of Neumann’s research into the use of the *Wortereignisformel*¹¹⁶. One has to think therefore of a situation in which what was regarded as a saying of Jeremiah was expounded to apply to later circumstances, with the result then itself being incorporated into the tradition. The profile of Jeremiah is very different from the ordinary mortal seen in the original narrative beginning in 37:11 – much more like the figure portrayed in chapter 43:8, where the prophet is seen digging up the pavement outside Pharaoh’s palace in Egypt! This image of the

¹⁰⁹ McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.512.

¹¹⁰ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 415.

¹¹¹ Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 137.

¹¹² Pace Qimhi and A. Weiser, *Das Buch des Propheten Jeremia*, ATD 20/21, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1952/5, 6th edn 1969, 183. Weiser thinks of an occasion such as the annual festival of enthronement in the reign of Jehoiakim, but McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.515f, is rightly sceptical of such specific historical attribution.

¹¹³ McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.lxix.

¹¹⁴ S. Mowinckel, *Prophecy and Tradition*, Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1946, 22

¹¹⁵ Rudolph, *Jeremia*, XIX

¹¹⁶ Neumann ‘Wort’, 207-10.

prophet is not unlike that of Elijah as portrayed in Kings, likewise ordered by Yahweh to go and present himself to the king (1 Ki 18:1). At the same time there is an important difference from the thrust of 21:1-10: the Deuteronomic notion of a choice, seen clearly here in 22:4f (cf. Dt 30:15), stands in contrast with certain doom (21:7,10). However, a Deuteronomistic perspective was not submerged for ever by the *golah*-oriented phase of the tradition, and it is likely that this passage was written at a time when the ancient prophets were highly respected figures, and their records searched for and elaborated with relevant comment on contemporary issues. Thiel adds to the influence of 21:11-14 on this passage 7:1-15 and 17:19-27¹¹⁷. This indicates that what is here supposedly addressed to the monarchy as a demand for proper *judicial* activity was applied to the need for social responsibility¹¹⁸. It seems likely that such a passage was added after 21:1-10, since it apparently alludes to that passage with the mention of kings accompanied by “their officials (עֲבָדָיו) and their people (עַמּוֹ)” (cf. 21:7).¹¹⁹ If, as is probable, the passage is later than the abortive attempt to restore the monarchy at the time of Zerubbabel, the deadening hand of Persian imperial power as far as such hopes are concerned might have been relieved only by the victories of Alexander the Great, pointing perhaps to a very late date. However, unlike 33:14-26, where Davidic expectations shine brightly, this passage is firmly anchored in the Septuagint.

9. Jeremiah 22:6-9

If 22:1-5 is a late construct, was it intended (with the addition of v 6a) to relate not only to 21:12-14, but also to 22:6b-7? In favour of this, supposing there had been a phase when 22:1-6a was not yet present, 22:6b would have fitted well after the reference to “forests” and “fire” in 21:14; while furthermore 22:1-6a not only has the backward reference to oppression and robbery (compare 22:3 with 21:12), but also a preparatory reference to אֲרָזִים מִבְּחַר אֲרָזִים (v 7) with the

¹¹⁷ Thiel, *Redaktion*, I.238f.

¹¹⁸ Thiel, *Redaktion*, I.239; cf. McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.515; Maier, *Lehrer*, 249.

¹¹⁹ Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 140, deletes this phrase on the grounds of *falscher Numerus*. However, it may have been left in the singular either to make the point that only one king at a time would be involved (cf. McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.514), or as a deliberate reminiscence of, and therefore counterblast to, 21:7; or the editor responsible for the addition wanted to interpret the passage as an allusion to 21:7.

word “palace” in 22:1,6a – thus pressing into service poetry which probably had originally nothing pertinent to king or palace. This possibility should be seen in the light of themes related to Jehoiakim in 22:18, such as (a) his extravagant palace-building (22:13-15a), and (b) the contrast with the just and beneficent Josiah (22:15b-17). Then, on the basis of the original sayings,¹²⁰ which at first indicted both Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin, the whole passage from 21:11b-22:23 developed at about the time when chapters 26 and 36, particularly condemning Jehoiakim, were likewise used as a bracket to lock material into the growing corpus. There came a point when Josiah’s death was seen to mark the beginning of Babylon’s seventy year period of supremacy, and in conformity with this, the end of the Judahite monarchy, earlier identified with the exile of Jehoiachin (22:30), was transferred to the reign of Jehoiakim (36:30)¹²¹.

Whether explanation in terms of condemning Jehoiakim will cover everything in this passage (21:11b - 22:30) is, however, doubtful. The short prose section 22:8f strongly resembles Dt 29:23-28 with the three points of similarity, (a) comment by the nations; (b) covenant-breaking; (c) idolatry. Increasing the likelihood of this connection, the MT has arguably added **וְיָדַעְתֶּם** to a text corresponding with the *Vorlage* of **וְיָדַעְתֶּם** to conform with **וְיָדַעְתֶּם** (Dt 29:23).

The question and answer style exemplifies a catechetical method suspected as a later feature by P. Volz¹²². This suggests a didactic approach, different from and later than the highly politicised concerns of a redaction anxious to represent Jehoiakim as one who would have no royal successor.

¹²⁰ Hermisson, “‘Königsspruch’-Sammlung”, 296 gives these as 22:10; 22:13-17a; 22:18aßb, 19; 22:*24, *26, *28-30 (see above, 51n98). Compare Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 203n11. See also below, 188n29.

¹²¹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 245, who takes this view (see further below, 111), writes of the narrative in Jer 36, “Die Erzählung gipfelt in dem Gerichtswort 36:29-31 gegen Jojakim, das unter Benutzung des bereits vorliegenden Worts gegen Jojakim aus 22:13-19 (Vgl Wanke, *Baruchschrift*, 68f; Lohfink, *ZAW* 1978, 325, Anm 21) und desjenigen gegen Jojachin aus 22:28-30, nun neu auf Jojakim hin ausgelegt (vgl **וְיָדַעְתֶּם** 36:30/22:30), nichts anderes als den Abbruch der Davidsdynastie besagt”.

¹²² P. Volz, *Der Prophet Jeremia*, KAT 10, Leipzig: Deichert, 1922; 2nd edn, 1928, 219n. See also Maier, *Lehrer*, 319-20.

10. Jeremiah 22:10-19

These verses referring both to Shallum (whom we argue to be Jehoahaz) and Jehoiakim, will be dealt with in the chapters concerning these. We shall argue that they are central to the whole “collection” and contain the kernel around which it developed.

11. Jeremiah 22:20-23

Clearly this passage is related to 21:13f and 22:6b-7, raising similar questions about its real relevance to a collection of material concerning kings. Even in these other two passages, the identification of Jerusalem is problematic, but nonetheless, if not with regard to the original meaning, at least to its significance in their present context, probably correct. The link between “forest” (21:14 — the intention of which in its context is less speculative in view of the threat of burning) and “cedars” (22:23), which is then explicitly connected with Jehoiakim’s palace-building, should probably be seen as a clue to how vv20f were to be understood: it was appropriate enough that Jerusalem’s fate should be linked with that of Jehoiakim.

One striking factor is the use of “Lebanon” in v 20. Parallel with “Bashan” and “Abarim” it has a literal meaning different from v 23, where, even to begin with, it seems likely that it was used figuratively to refer to Jerusalem, as indicated by the “cedar (buildings)” and the lack of any reason to address those living in Lebanon itself. The most attractive explanation is that vv21f are a pastiche of earlier poetry¹²³, used to link verses 20 and 23: these perhaps originally stood together, connected by the catchword “Lebanon”.

12. Jeremiah 22:24-30

We have seen that the sections on kings and prophets may both have begun as laments¹²⁴. But the development into a *collection* in both cases had the effect of

¹²³ Compare McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.538. The following echoes are notable: (a) refusal to listen, 6:17; (b) “wicked from youth”, 3:24f; (c) lovers (אֱוֹרָתָא = allies, or possibly foreign gods (the word used at 4:30 is the obscene אֱוֹרָתָא and this was probably eschewed for that reason); (d) shepherds = kings (3:15, 10:21); (e) devastating wind (4:11).

¹²⁴ See above, section 6.2.

producing an *indictment*, and, in the case of the kings criticized, one motive was to emphasize the similarity between them – that they had all *departed*. That this was an early connecting link is supported by the later change of emphasis in the case of Jehoiachin¹²⁵. Jehoiachin’s inclusion in the collection may thus be as early as that of Jehoiakim, and even reflect a correct assessment of Jeremiah’s own attitude to both kings, especially if 13:18 refers to Jehoiachin¹²⁶. In any case, treating the two kings as equally unsatisfactory represents the earliest accessible stage of the tradition here, matching 2 Ki 23:37 and 24:9.

However, Jer 22:24-30 in their present form are very problematic and very important, and will be given detailed treatment in the chapter on Jehoiachin.

13. Jeremiah 23:1-8

13.1 General

The absence of early or poetic material about Zedekiah at this point, or anywhere in this collection, is striking. Did Jeremiah approve of and sympathize with Zedekiah or at least have a very different attitude to him? An extreme version of this view, canvassed by Carroll¹²⁷, is that vv5-8 are actually about Zedekiah in the sense that he is the king “who will reign wisely” and whose name is alluded to in יהוה צדקנו (23:6). At any rate, in their present form the disparagement of Zedekiah in chapters 21-24 as a whole is entirely different in style and character from the critique of Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin and serves in the end to make Zedekiah the climax of Yahweh’s destructive judgement.

13.2 Jeremiah 23:1-4

As these verses stand, they are an elegant chiasmus: v4 picks up the “bad

¹²⁵ See below, 130, section 4.1.

¹²⁶ See below on the less likely possibility that 13:18 may refer to Jehoiakim, 102n16.

¹²⁷ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 446. See below, 175n114.

shepherds” from v1 and replaces them with good ones; v3 picks up the idea of exile from v2 and reverses it with the promise of return. But this probably hides two earlier stages of composition. First, it is not appropriate for the promise of good shepherds to be made specifically to bad ones, and McKane argues that the promises in v4 refer to those mentioned in v3, and not those in v2. The thought in vv1f which speak of shepherds scattering and driving away sheep may simply refer to bad government, with exile only imported by explicit mention of return (v3). This is supported by the fact that making Yahweh the subject of **וַיִּשְׁׁרְטוּ** looks like a reinterpretation of v2, where the same verb is used with the shepherds as subject¹²⁸. Thus vv1f, as a general charge of incompetence against “shepherds”, might have an appropriate place within a collection on kings, while vv3f look like a subsequent addition concerning Yahweh’s ultimate solution¹²⁹.

Nevertheless, for all their difference in outlook, vv3f are geared to the diction of vv1f. The shepherd-sheep imagery is maintained, and interestingly **פָּקַד**, used in a threatening way in v2, is invested with a positive meaning in v4, making it clear that vv3f are a later *comment* on v2, not another saying which has been placed, domino-like, beside it merely because of its existing affinities.

But were vv1f an original unit? A better solution is that v1 was an original saying, perhaps Jeremianic, which referred originally to a *contemporaneous group* of bad leaders (compare Ezek 34). Verse 2 repeats much of the diction of verse 1, but significantly introduces the word **וַיִּשְׁׁרְטוּ**, which is an innovation: this will have imported the idea of exile, and laid responsibility for it, by placing the two verses at what at the time was the end of the collection on the monarchy, on a *succession* of bad kings.

¹²⁸ Thiel, *Redaktion*, I. 247, argues in favour of Deuteronomistic integrity for 23:1–4 that there is parallelism between the two uses of the verb, but McKane rightly refutes this on the basis of the *different outlook* involved in the change of subject from the shepherds (2nd person plural) to Yahweh.

¹²⁹ Contrast Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 145, who thinks vv1, 2 and 4 are original and Jeremianic, with only v3 interpolated later.

There are echoes of Dt 30¹³⁰ here, but the change in diction made to Dt 30:9 in v3 (to match Ezek 36:11 and Gen 1:28) probably shows that Dt 30 was already in place and that these verses are even later. Dt 30 already reflects both the possibility of return and the idea that it was God who was responsible for the exile (30:3). But something more eschatological is envisaged in the present form of these verses than the mere historical return from Babylon, and an important feature is the extension of hopes for the future to those now dwelling “in all the lands”.

13.3 Jeremiah 23:5f

In Chapter VIII, where we deal with these verses in detail, we shall argue that they relate in origin to hopes set on Zerubbabel. Here we are concerned with the position occupied by this poem in the collection on kings. Thiel has proposed that vv 5f break the continuity between 23:4 and 23:7¹³¹. If this were the case, it would be difficult to resist the conclusion that 23:5f was added *after* vv1-4 and that one reason at any rate for their appearance here was the catchword **יְהוָה קָמַת**, which occurs both in v4 and v5. In view of the eschatological flavour of vv 1-4, and the nature of their composition as argued above, it would be impossible, if Thiel were right, to interpret vv5f as having anything to do with Zerubbabel in spite of the reference to “branch” (v5). However, though the catchword makes an obvious link between vv4 and 5, Schmid’s argument from the Septuagint (see below, n132) refutes Thiel’s connection between vv4-5 and vv6-7. Schmid claims that it was the effect and occasion of including 33:14-26 which led to transposing vv7f to their present position from the end of chapter 23¹³², something which happened after the bifurcation of the Alexandrian and pre-Masoretic traditions. But, if vv7f arrived at this late stage, there is no reason why the catchword should not work retrospectively, allowing vv1-4 to be placed *before* vv5f, since the argument about vv5f supposedly breaking a

¹³⁰ e.g. Thiel, *Redaktion*, I.247-8n55, mentions Dt 30:3. McKane, *Jeremiah*, I 557, misprints 30:3 as 3:3 with reference to this.

¹³¹ Thiel, *Redaktion*, I.248n60

¹³² Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 274n347.

connection between v4 and v7 is in this case inapplicable.

13.4 Jeremiah 23:7-8

These verses not only occur in a different position in \mathfrak{C} , but are found also in 16:14-15. Duplicate passages may be a sign of the existence of different collections, as, for instance, in the case of Pss 14 and 53. But the explanation may rather be, as perhaps in the case of Mic 4:1-3 and Isa 2:2-4, that late but reputedly important passages could be inserted in more than one place. Carroll says that wherever the theme of return is broached, it is a late strand interrupting the context.¹³³ However, the form is significantly different in the two situations, and greater precision may be attainable at least as far as the two positions in chapter 23 is concerned. Schmid argues that 23:7f was placed immediately before chapter 24, as in \mathfrak{C} , in order to extend future hopes expressed for the whole diaspora, and not restrict them, as chapter 24 does, to the *golah* of 597. Because the diction has been tailored to this position,¹³⁴ it is likely that it has been adapted from the form in which it appears in 16:14f.

According to McKane¹³⁵ only if \mathfrak{C} did not have 23:7f in their present position, as in MT, was it possible for the phrase ἐν τοῖς προφήταις (in place of לְנִבְיָאִים [v9 MT], “with regard to the prophets”) to have been attached to verse 6. But this would only obtain if verse numbers and punctuation were in place! If, for whatever reason, vv7f had not been present or fallen out at whatever stage, v6 and the phrase ἐν τοῖς προφήταις would have been juxtaposed. So the real question is why \mathfrak{C} represents the Hebrew phrase לְנִבְיָאִים in this way. McKane¹³⁶ mentions the fact that Jerome, who recognized the heading, rendering “*ad prophetas*”, criticises \mathfrak{C} for attaching the phrase to v6, and also other authorities for attaching it to v9. But how could it be known

¹³³ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 448, rightly also pointing out the way in which 23:7f “spoil” the appropriate “closure” (23:5f), cites J.Lust, “‘Gathering and return’ in Jeremiah and Ezekiel” in P.-M Bogaert (ed), *Le Livre de Jérémie: Le prophète et son milieu, les oracles et leur transmission*, Leuven:Leuven University Press, 1st edn 1981, 2nd edn 1997, 133-136.

¹³⁴ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 271.

¹³⁵ McKane, *Jeremiah*, 1.566.

¹³⁶ McKane, *Jeremiah*, 1.567.

that Ⓞ intended to attach the phrase to v6? Presumably Jerome saw it as impossible for ἐν to mean “concerning”, or “against” or “addressed to” or (if construed with συνεπίβη, v9) “by”, and concluded that Ⓞ’s interpretation of the name, however ridiculous, was “Josedeck among the prophets”. Perhaps the translator saw this righteous king as an antitype of his infamous predecessor, once dubbed Σαοὺλ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις (I Sam 10:11Ⓞ)! Interestingly Ⓞ or its *Vorlage* read “Yahweh” twice, incorporating one instance in the name and making the other (Κύριος) the subject of the verb. Unlike Zedekiah, whose name was given to him by Nebuchadnezzar, this king was to receive his from a higher authority.

14. Conclusions

14.1

In the present text, the section relating to kings and prophets is clearly circumscribed: it begins at 21:1 and ends at 24:10, while an earlier form of the text is marked by the two uses of the *lamedh* of reference which introduce (a) the material on kings (21:11) and (b) the material on prophets (23:9).

14.2

Although the particular heading used in 21:1 is one with late “anti-anthropomorphic” features comparable with P, and has a role in the deliberate demarcation of the text, it should not be seen as characteristic of one particular source and there are reasons for seeing its use here as distinct from that in 7:1 and 11:1.

14.3

Both 21:1-10 and 37:1-10 are characteristic of editing in the interests of the *golah* of 597. But Pohlmann’s view that they are both from the same hand is probably incorrect, 21:1-10 being later, derived from 37:1-10, and intended to

represent a different occasion, though both are fictions inspired by 2 Kings 18, with 21:8-10 representing a yet later perspective, shifting the balance away from the king in the direction of the people (*Demotisierung*).

14.4

The different things said in the book about the fate of Zedekiah cannot be reconciled: the content of chapter 21 is determined by emphasis on Zedekiah's unconditional and inevitable end.

14.5

Chapter 24 is not to be thought of as expressing a genuine historical experience of the prophet (Holladay) nor as part of an overall Deuteronomic redaction with a Jeremianic core (Thiel), nor as the work of the same writer as chapter 21 (Pohlmann): rather it has been constructed on the basis of the visions in Amos and with reference to other passages in order to relate to other parts of the book at the point when it was added (Schmid). It was concluded that 21:1-10 was probably included at a later stage than chapter *24, but had the effect of explicitly introducing Zedekiah at 24:8b.

14.6

If, as is likely, the individual units introduced by the *lamedh* of reference were originally short, both the section on kings and that on prophets accumulated further material in the course of later redaction.

14.7

With regard to 22:1-5(6a), the portrait of the prophet, emphasis on the Torah and intertextual references all point in the direction of late composition, probably later than 21:1-10, with the revival both of the possibility of choice and hopes of a Davidic successor; later too than 22:6b-7, whose likely link with 21:14 it obstructs. A similarly late date should probably be assigned to 22:8f, where political interests of an earlier period have given way to didactic and ethical concerns.

14.8

The continuation of the redaction interested primarily in Jehoiakim probably included 22:6b-7, where again the reference to Lebanon and cedars was adapted to apply to this king's luxurious palace-building in Jerusalem.

14.9

Jehoiachin is likely to have been included on an equal footing with Jehoiakim in the original collection. But the changing perspective associated with orientation of the tradition in favour of the *golah* of 597 led to alterations in the text of 22:24-30 of a very complex nature, and these will be addressed in chapter VI.

14.10

Although McKane's argument for the absence of 23:7f in their present position in the *Vorlage* of \mathfrak{G} is untenable, an original position for these verses at the chapter's end is likely, preparing for chapter 24. This makes it possible for the catchword יְהוֹשֻׁעַ , which indicates a link between 23:1-4 and 23:5f, seen by Thiel as a sign that the latter was added after the former, to be explained in the opposite way. It becomes possible in this way for 23:5f to refer originally to Zerubbabel¹³⁷, while the later move of 23:7f MT, associated with the incorporation of 33:14-26 (lacking in \mathfrak{G}) from \mathfrak{G} 's position after 23:40, links 23:7f with the reference to David in 23:5f.

14.11

The foregoing analysis of 21:1-24:10 shows already that the treatment of various kings in the book of Jeremiah has been affected by a succession of redactional interventions, and this will be substantiated by the investigation of individual rulers which follows.

¹³⁷ For the less likely possibility that 23:5f reflects a period of enthusiasm on the part of Jeremiah for Zedekiah (So Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 446f) see further below, 176n114

III

Josiah

1. Introduction

The beginning of Jeremiah's ministry is placed in Josiah's thirteenth year (1:2f). Other passages (3:6, 25:3, 36:2) also refer to Josiah. But lack of clear evidence within the text of any concrete political event in this period has cast doubt on their historical veracity. The king's reforms, as recorded in 2 Ki 22f, go unmentioned and this complicates the issue. We need first (section 2) to survey these historical questions to provide a framework for the important texts which do mention Josiah (section 3). A further historical question concerns the officials of King Josiah, whose descendants also receive mention in the book of Jeremiah (section 4), and finally there are considerations arising from the developing canon and the book's place within it (section 5). Josiah is treated in different ways in the course of the book, and these are summarized in section 6.

2. Historical matters

2.1 The credibility of Josiah's reforms as described in 2 Kings 22f

Without doubt Josiah died in 609BCE, though the usual hypothesis of a battle at Megiddo is disputed, as is also whether, if it was a battle, it took place at Migdol, an unknown place, presumably (to explain Josiah's strategy) further south.¹ He probably did not share Egyptian misgivings about Babylon's advance towards the coastal corridor, perhaps expecting a political reward from Babylon², and objecting to Pharaoh Necho's attempt to bolster the crumbling Assyrian empire and maintain the balance of power, or gain control of Asia³. Assyrian decline restored long lost independence⁴, and the model of David's

¹ H. Niehr, 'Die Reform des Joschija', in W. Groß (ed), *Jeremia und die "deuteronomistische" Bewegung*, Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum Verlag 1995, 43, sees 2 Chron 35:20-27 as historically dubious elaboration of the source of 2 Kings 23:29, the latter arguably indicating a *meeting*, not a battle. For the Chronicler's motivation, see H.P. Mathys, '1 and 2 Chronicles', in OBC, 2001, 307. For the possibility that "Megiddo" hides an original "Migdol", see below, 89n10.

² B. Oded, 'Judah and the Exile', J.H. Hayes and J.M. Miller (edd), *Israelite and Judean History*, London: SCM, 1977, 468.

³ Of Necho, Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, X.5.1, writes: Μηδους πολεμήσαν καὶ τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους, οἱ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων κατέλυσαν ἀρχὴν τῆς γὰρ Ἀσίας βασιλεῦσαι πόθον εἶχεν.

⁴ Niehr, 'Reform', 42-47, believes that Egypt immediately assumed hegemony over Israel as

regime⁵ may have stimulated Josiah's resistance to cavalier use of Israel's territory by the northward-marching Egyptian army. In Egypt, with its vigorous Pharaoh, Josiah probably saw more to fear than from either waning Assyria or Babylon⁶. If Josiah's aim was 'golden age' restoration, this may be reflected in territorial dispositions actually ascribed to Joshua⁷. Assyrian decline makes plausible such unity as Josiah secured between the former northern and southern kingdoms, as also at least some elements of the account of Josiah's reform in 2 Kings 22f. This has been challenged because of its story-like structure,⁸ with particular suspicions raised by similarities to Jos 24⁹. But though Kings has undergone redaction, the core notion of Josianic reforms is likely to be historical¹⁰. Noth upheld single authorship for the whole so-called Deuteronomistic History¹¹, but one among several views envisages an earlier version ending with Josiah, and written before his death¹²: hence the apparent conflict between the outlook of this earlier edition and the king's ignominious

Assyrian control waned. If, however, Josiah was Egypt's vassal when Assyrian power *began* to dwindle, why would Josiah have opposed Necho? He was probably defending a measure of independence threatened by Egyptian support for Assyria, which, if he was prepared to withstand the Pharaoh, he may have enjoyed for some time.

⁵ D.Böhler, 'Geschlechterdifferenz und Landsitz', in Groß (ed), *Bewegung*, 117,125, sees the echo of Psa 72:17 in Jer 4:2 as evidence of Jeremiah's enthusiasm for a "davidischen Renaissance" in Josiah's day. The passage probably reflects later construction, but may not be untrue to Josiah's aspirations.

⁶ S.Herrmann, *Jeremia und das Buch*, EdF 271, Darmstadt:Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990, 14

⁷ See A.Alt, 'Judas Gaue unter Josia', *PJ* 21,1925,100-116, in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Munich:C.H.Beck, vol 1, 1953, 276-305; M.Noth, 'Israelitische Stämme zwischen Ammon und Moab', *ZAW* 60,1944, 49-57.

⁸ E.Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige*, ATD11, 2, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984, 445-462, refers to three envisaged parts (22:3-11; 22:12-20; 23:1-27) of "idealen Szenen, in den verschiedene deuteronomistische Kreise Stellung nahmen zu wichtigen Fragen und Auseinander-setzungen ihrer jeweiligen Zeit".

⁹ Herrmann, *Jeremia*, 12. But Jos 24 could well have been composed with 2 Kings 22f in mind.

¹⁰ C. Uehlinger, 'Gab es eine josianische Kultreform? Plädoyer für ein begründetes Minimum', in Groß (ed), *Bewegung*, 70-81, produces archaeological evidence from Josiah's day for the removal of the horses of the sun-god, roof-altars and 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏. Dismissal of Nathan-Melek, as an Assyrian appointee supervising Assyrian-style sun-worship, would indicate combined political and cultic objectives. Historicity of Josianic temple renovation is corroborated by a recently published ostrakon (P.Bordreuil, F.Israel & D.Pardee, 'King's Command and Widow's Plea: Two New Ostraka of the Biblical Period', *NEA* [formerly *BA*], 1998, 61:2-13.

¹¹ M.Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, Teil I, Halle:Niemeyer,1943, 66-71.

¹² F.M.Cross, 'The themes of the Book of Kings and the Structure of the Deuteronomic History', in *id* (ed), *Canaanite myth and Hebrew Epic*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1973, 274-289.

demise¹³: the style changes at the end of 2 Kings¹⁴, with the omission of theological interpretation prominent at other important places in the work. Possibly some of the material about the final disaster in 2 Ki 25 has been drawn from Jer 40f – with reference to Jeremiah himself significantly eschewed¹⁵. If, however, behind the present form of 2 Kings lies a contemporary account of Josiah's achievements, doubts about, for example, the discovery of the book of the law (2 Ki 22:8)¹⁶ do not mean a verdict of fiction root and branch¹⁷.

2.2 J. Scharbert's discussion

Some type of cultic reform activity by Josiah therefore probably did take place, but further historical problems have emerged in discussion of Jeremiah's attitude to them. J. Scharbert¹⁸ has outlined four characteristic positions:

- (a) Jeremiah received his call after the death of Josiah¹⁹;
- (b) Jeremiah supported the reform²⁰;
- (c) Jeremiah strongly resisted the reform²¹;
- (d) Jeremiah remained silent during the reform:
 - (i) because he was in sympathy with it and needed to take no further steps²²;
 - (ii) because he was sceptical about it²³.

¹³ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, London, SCM, 433.

¹⁴ Compare R. Rendtorff, *The Old Testament – An Introduction*, London: SCM 1985, 186.

¹⁵ Stipp, H.-J., *Jeremia im Parteienstreit: Studien zur Textentwicklung von Jer 26,36–43 und 45 als Beitrag zur Geschichte Jeremias, seines Buches und jüdischer Partienim 6. Jahrhundert*, BBB 82, Frankfurt am Main: Anton Hain, 1992, 9, ascribes this to *odium theologicum* on the part of Deuteronomistic writers held responsible for these additions to Kings towards Jeremiah.

¹⁶ Rendered suspicious by somewhat similar accounts of convenient "discoveries" in J. Herrmann, 'Ägyptische Analogien zum Funde Deuteronomiums', ZAW 28, 1908, 291-300. See also above, n 10.

¹⁷ See note 10.

¹⁸ Scharbert, 'Die Reform des Joschija' in P.-M. Bogaert (ed) *Le Livre de Jérémie*, 40.

J. Schreiner, 'Die Reform des Joschija' in Groß (ed), *Bewegung*, 28, reviewing this discussion, concludes laconically that a Jeremiah understood as deuteronomically motivated is supposed to be a supporter of King Josiah's deuteronomically-conceived cultic reform without his saying anything about it.

¹⁹ Scharbert cites among others J.P. Hyatt, 'Jeremiah and Deuteronomy', *JNES* 1, 1942, 156-173.

²⁰ Scharbert's latest reference is to N. Lohfink, 'Die Gattung der "Historischen Kurzgeschichte" in den letzten Jahren von Juda und in der Zeit des Babylonischen Exils', ZAW 90 (1978), 319-347, 326 note 23. Still more recently, Böhler, 'Geschlechterdifferenz', 91-127 has supported Lohfink's position on the strength of a detailed analysis of 2:2 - 4:2.

²¹ Scharbert cites R. Davidson, 'The Interpretation of Jeremiah xvii', *VT* 9, 1959, 202-205

²² Scharbert cites among others: F. Puukko, 'Jeremias Stellung zum Deuteronomium' in A. Alt *et al.*, *Alttestamentliche Studien, FS Kittel*, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1913, 126-153.

²³ Scharbert cites most recently, G. Fohrer, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1969¹¹, 429. (cf ET, Nashville: Abingdon, 1968, p396)

Scharbert then enumerates three points to be clarified for any decision about the correct conclusion.

- (a) Can the sayings of Jeremiah which come in the so-called *Urrolle* be assigned to the reign of Josiah? This begs the question whether there ever was historically such a scroll, but Scharbert considers the poetry in chapters 1-6 as typical (below 2.1.1).
- (b) In what relation does the judgement of Huldah on Josiah stand to Jeremiah's preaching? (Below 2.1.2)
- (c) Are there to be found, outside chapters 1-6, texts which comment on Josiah's reforms? (Below 2.1.3).

2.2.1 Are there sayings datable to Josiah's reign?

In 1981, Scharbert could regard doubts about attributing parts of the book to Josiah's reign as daring; starting with chapters 1-6, he argues that references to the "foe from the north", once identified as Scythians on the strength of Herodotus's testimony (I.103-106)²⁴, could perfectly well be seen as pointing up the danger from the Assyrians, whose empire only began to look vulnerable around 620²⁵. Scharbert then summarizes typical features of the message of chapters 1-6, – objections to idolatry, promiscuity, behaviour of priests and leaders, false prophecy, perjury, injustice, greed and deceit. Such reproaches may have prepared for reform, "as Micah was reckoned to have done for Hezekiah's" (26:18f)²⁶. Scharbert's most important point here is that though Jeremiah's strictures have material similarities to Deuteronomy, they are expressed in non-Deuteronomistic language – something difficult to understand if Jeremiah was already familiar with Deuteronomy, though explicable if both Deuteronomy and Jeremiah had been affected by a northern tradition, perhaps

²⁴ First suggested by H. Venema, *Commentarius ad Librum Jeremiae*, pars prior, Leuwarden: H.A. de Chalmot, 1765, 142f.

²⁵ This is questionable in view of Nabopolassar's assertion of independence as early as 626 BCE (D.J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings*, London, British Museum, 1961, 6). An effectively nine-year gap in the Chronicle to 616 BCE sadly deprives us of a Babylonian perspective on growing Assyrian weakness.

²⁶ Scharbert, 'Reform', 44.

involving Hosea. Scharbert lists expressions leading some²⁷ to postulate dependence on Deuteronomy, but claims convincingly that they do not amount to a persuasive case. As we shall see, it is uncertain that these chapters are homogeneous in date and provenance, but even if so, the possibility of sayings in chapters 1-6 similar to Deuteronomy but independent of it would not necessarily be precluded. Significantly there is no concern in Jeremiah for Deuteronomy's demand for cult-centralization. Outside these chapters, Scharbert suggests that 16:1-4 (the "celibacy" passage) may likewise be early. With plenty in Jeremiah that echoes Deuteronomistic diction, the argument that sayings which do not, though they may be Deuteronomistic in content, are likely to be early, has a measure of strength, but is hardly conclusive. Moreover, to account for Jeremiah's apparently long silence from 621-604 is problematic.

2.2.2 Huldah's judgement and Jeremiah's preaching

Scharbert then faces the difficulty of this silence. Could it be consistent with the words in 25:3, which report a constant ministry throughout this period? Before supporting his case with texts for assignment to these years, Scharbert engages in a comparison between Jeremiah and Huldah, thus facing his second question (above, 2.1b). It is not clear how Scharbert sees his points here as corroborative of his argument. But he says that Huldah's attitude is the same as explicit references to Josiah in Jer 22 impute to Jeremiah, contrasting a favourable view of the king with pessimistic expectations for the people. Presumably the comparison corroborates a role for Jeremiah in Josiah's reign, though much depends on the historicity of 2 Kings 22, as Scharbert admits. One may well credit the basic facts of the reform of Josiah, but neither discovery of the law-book, as related, nor words in Huldah's mouth are reliably historical.

Deuteronomists explained the disaster (a) as a result of the people's inveterate wickedness, and (b) in spite of Josiah's reforms: both of these points could have determined what was attributed to Huldah. It may, however, be significant that

²⁷ E.g. H.H. Rowley, *Men of God, Studies in Old Testament History and Prophecy*, London/New York: Nelson, 1963, 161.

with Jeremiah not a *wholehearted* supporter, as Scharbert himself argues, seeing the reform as pressurizing, nationalistic, and ineffectual in dealing with the people's shortcomings, the prophet could still make (a) a comment not clearly derogatory (22:10), bidding his hearers to mourn no longer for "the dead king" (probably Josiah)²⁸; and (b) a comment which was without doubt favourable: he says of Josiah in a passage condemning Jehoiakim, "Did not your father have food and drink?²⁹ He did what was right and just, so all went well with him. He defended the poor and needy, so all went well". However, the idea that all went well for Josiah³⁰ is hard to square with his untimely death, and a similar problem besets Huldah's prophecy to the effect that Josiah would be gathered to his grave in peace (2 Ki 22:20). The question arises whether such passages have not been affected or even inspired by later glorification of Josiah³¹. It is clear because of the likely effects of veneration for Josiah on the text of both Kings and Jeremiah, that Scharbert's argument from the similarity of Huldah's and Jeremiah's views of the king is far from cogent.

2.2.3 Possible references to Josiah's reforms outside chapters 1-6

Turning to his third question (above, 2.2c), Scharbert portrays the post-reform period, looking for Jeremiah's possible activity. For example, the passage about the scribes in 8:8-11 supposedly reflects much frenetic activity in pursuit of the reform by those publicizing it throughout the land, with 8:10 interpreted as an indictment of greed arising out of confiscation of property from those who resisted the reform. Scharbert assigns the core of chapters 30-31 to this period: they indicate that Yahweh will now work with the northern tribes deported by Sargon II, who are to be brought home. Some have seen this as compatible

²⁸ "Die Totenklagen den gefallenen König einzustellen" (p.47). Scharbert's translation of Jer 22:10a involves interpretation, but the verse probably does counsel against *excessive* grief, insisting that Shallum's deposition was more sinister even than the death of Josiah.

²⁹ Questionably paraphrased by Scharbert as "Joschija hat auch Hof zu halten verstanden": "Did he not 'hold court' [i.e. live up to the standards expected of a king]?" (p.48). Instances such as 1 Ki 18:41, Prov 23:7, Isa 22:13, Cant 5:1, Eccl 2:24f, 3:12f suggest rather that "eating and drinking" connotes an unworried or free and easy life (cf. Mt. 11:18f).

³⁰ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 433.

³¹ The repetition, probably secondary, in Jer 22:15MT of "all went well" is certainly reminiscent of enthusiasm for Josiah in later stages of the tradition (cf. 2 Chr 35:26, Ecclus 49:1).

with enthusiasm for centralization³². Scharbert, however, evidently thinks³³ that the pilgrimage to Zion (31:12) is the result of later redaction. His interpretation is that Jeremiah is no critic of the law-book itself, but bitterly sceptical about the superficiality of the reform purporting to be based on it. The prophet's attitude to it would have struck his contemporaries as carping and pessimistic, and, above all, inappropriate, as proved by the temporary prosperity enjoyed in the decade of Assyria's decline. Hostility thus engendered might then have kindled the so-called Confessions, as Jeremiah brooded on the difficulties of a prophet whose message of doom seemed not to be fulfilled (17:15).

More recent work, indicating the complex redaction of Jeremiah over centuries rather than decades and confirmed by the present study, leaves fragile such anchoring of sayings in external historical situations, with the possible exception of passages where kings are *addressed* (Jer 22:15) or very specifically referred to (v10).

2.3 The views of N.Lohfink and D.Böhler

Another attempt to establish Jeremiah as a protagonist in Josiah's day is that of N.Lohfink: chapters 30-31 mark a pre-prophetic phase of Jeremiah's life, when he supposedly acted "nicht anders als ein[] Propagandist des Königs Joschija und seiner Politik"³⁴. But evidence for such early activity is lacking, – always a problem for those who have wanted to substantiate ministry in this period as a historical reality. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that Herrmann ridicules rather than criticizes Lohfink's view.³⁵

³² E.g. W. Johnstone, 'The Setting of Jeremiah's Prophetic Activity', *TGUOS* 21, 1965-6, 47-55, who bases his view on the supposed friendship of Jeremiah with the Shaphanids. But this conflicts with the likelihood that it was only later that the Jeremiah tradition was reconciled with that of the Deuteronomists.

³³ Scharbert, 'Reform', 52

³⁴ N. Lohfink, 'Der junge Propagandist und Poet', in Bogaert (ed), *Livre*, 367 (1981). In his postscript for the second edition (1997), Lohfink notes the sympathy with which K. Schmid (*Buchgestalten des Buches Jeremias*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchen Verlag, 1996, 271) views his literary analysis of chapters 30-31, but Schmid's judgement of his historical conclusions as "ganz und gar hypothetisch" prompts Lohfink to say optimistically, "Die Akten sind nicht geschlossen".

³⁵ S. Herrmann, *Jeremia*, BKAT XII, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1986, 155.

Böhler has recently adopted a similar position, as we have noted³⁶, based on detailed examination of 2:2-4:2. The key to his analysis involves equating the “people of Jacob, families of Israel” (2:4) with the northern Israel of Josiah’s day. Schmid dismisses this³⁷; but possibly his own view that the reference is to Israel as a whole, including Judah, may reflect the construction put on the passage at a later stage. Nevertheless, the complex literary structure which Böhler revealed, together with its intertextual allusions, militates against origin in the historical reality of contemporary support for Josiah’s reforms, and so indicates scholarly composition in exilic times, or later. Böhler’s article carries conviction not for his own position, but for the view first set out by F. Horst³⁸, that Jeremiah was made into a supporter of Josiah’s reforms, as part of a move to turn the king into a champion of Deuteronomic principles.

2.4 The Shaphanid connection

Even if so, however, evidence for near-contemporary support for some features of Scharbert’s position comes from H.-J. Stipp. He shows that the “*Notabeln*”, a translation for שְׂרָפָיִם chosen to avoid any misleading connotations, are not portrayed consistently in Jeremiah. The key point in his exposition of the narrative in chapters 26-44 is that when these members of the Judahite “aristocracy”, depicted, unlike the king’s שְׂרָפָיִם with a measure of independence from the monarchy, almost as a kind of “opposition”, are mentioned *without naming of individuals*, they often express hostility to Jeremiah. But wherever the family of Shaphan (the secretary involved in the episode of the lawbook in 2 Ki 22) is mentioned, “no shadow falls on them” in Jeremiah. Stipp thus envisages³⁹ that Shaphanid influence shaped the book at some stage, in order to recruit Jeremiah firmly as a “Deuteronomistic” hero, and play down involvement of their family in the aristocratic hostility whose reality is patent from the fact that no attempt was made *in a general way* to expunge it. If the Shaphanid editors could plausibly present Jeremiah as

³⁶ Above, 65n5; 67n20.

³⁷ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 142

³⁸ See below, 75n51.

³⁹ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 8

sharing their enthusiasm for Josiah, the prophet can hardly have been against the entire gamut of the king's reforms, nor would this be surprising, if idolatrous worship was one of its targets.

2.5 W.L.Holladay's view

The view that Jeremiah's ministry did not take place at all in Josiah's day has been developed by W.L.Holladay⁴⁰, for whom it is crucial for the chronology throughout his commentary. Scharbert refers to Holladay's work under the heading of the first position mentioned,⁴¹ as though Holladay saw Jeremiah's *call* as taking place after the end of Josiah's reign. This is not strictly the case, since Holladay's view is that the call came to Jeremiah in the womb (viz. in 627, Josiah's 13th year, as in Jer 1:2). This theory becomes problematic when Holladay compares the call narratives of Moses and Gideon (and their analogous objections). The comparison is significant, but the echoes of the visions in Amos indicate a literary rather than historical explanation of Jeremiah's call: that is, the narrative aims to place Jeremiah in a prophetic tradition⁴². A postscript to Holladay's article⁴³ sadly records the rejection of his position by S.Herrmann⁴⁴, W.McKane⁴⁵, D.R.Jones⁴⁶ and unnamed reviewers, but he remains unmoved.

2.6 Summary

Clearly the status of dates is a factor of crucial importance, and it will be convenient to discuss them in relation to specific texts which mention Josiah. Activity on the part of the prophet in Josiah's reign should not be ruled out; but, without the premise that these dates are historically reliable, Scharbert's case remains insubstantial.

⁴⁰ W.L. Holladay, *Jeremiah*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989, II. 25. He does, however, envisage (I. 2) *support* by the prophet for Josiah's reforms in the years from 615 BCE.

⁴¹ See above, 2.1.

⁴² The call of Moses in Ex 3 may, however, be modelled on that of Jeremiah (cf. K.Schmid, *Erzväter und Exodus*, Neukirchen-Vluyn:Neukirchener Verlag, esp.186-209).

⁴³ Holladay, in Bogaert (ed), *Livre*, 1997, 425.

⁴⁴ Herrmann, *Jeremia*, 20f.

⁴⁵ W.McKane, *Jeremiah*, Edinburgh:T.&T. Clark, 1986, I.3.

3. References to Josiah

3.1 Possible *ipsissima verba* of the prophet (Jer 22:10,15)

3.1.1 *Jeremiah 22:10*

The date in 2 Ki 22:3 for the lawbook discovery (621 BCE) marks a time of accelerating Assyrian decline. Asshur and Nineveh were soon to fall, and the aggression of Nabopolassar, already seen in the year after he first “sat upon the throne of Babylon”⁴⁷ (625/4BCE), was probably maintained thereafter during the eight-year lacuna of the Babylonian Chronicles.

Vigorous reform at this time is therefore quite credible. The Assyrians were not able to prevent Josiah from reoccupying parts of the northern kingdom⁴⁸ or areas (witness Hebrew inscriptions) previously occupied by Philistines, and it would not have been surprising if such steps towards reunification were represented as a revival of the Davidic age, or if Josiah saw himself in the role of a David *redivivus*. Centralization of the cult not only chimed with Deuteronomic teaching, but also with the tradition of Jerusalem’s capture by David for use as capital of a united kingdom at the outset.

This would explain Josiah’s opposing Necho’s advance on his way to Carchemish. Clearly, Egyptian interests lay in having access, threatened by Babylon, to Asia Minor. Hence Necho was probably seeking to support the Assyrians against Babylon. Josiah on the other hand was as much threatened by the Egyptians as the Babylonians, whom he possibly regarded as friendly. He would certainly oppose support for the Assyrians whose territory he had on their view usurped. This scenario enables us at least tentatively to suppose that the death of Josiah was a tremendous psychological shock to the nation,

⁴⁶ D.R. Jones, *Jeremiah*, Grand Rapids:Eerdmans, London:Marshall Pickering, 1992, 25.

⁴⁷ BM 25127, Obv15, Wiseman, *Chronicles* 51, Plates I (photograph); VII, VIII (transcription).

⁴⁸ Oded, ‘Judah’, in Hayes and Miller, *History*, 464. Niehr, *Reform*, 45, cites R. Wenning, ‘Mesad Hašabyahu’, in F.-L. Hossfeld (ed), *Vom Sinai zum Horeb, Stationen alttestamentlicher Glaubensgeschichte*, Würzburg:Echter, 1989, 169-196, for evidence from this northern site dating rather from Jehoiakim’s reign, which implies no interval of independence for Josiah between c.627 and 609. But Niehr’s analysis does not explain why Necho killed Josiah, if not to terminate aspirations of independence. Josiah’s marriage to a Galilean woman (2 Ki 23:26) and use of Greek mercenaries, indicated by an inscription from Arad (Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions*, Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981, 13n13) favour the supposition of an autonomous

seriously damaging the notion that a period of Yahweh-endowed **יְהוָה** was unfolding. Even if Jeremiah did not appear in Josiah's reign (and it is important that both 22:10 and 22:15 are *retrospective* references to Josiah), there is no need to write off as implausible Scharbert's hypothesis that, if the prophet was not whole-hearted in his support for Josiah's reforms, it was because, while enthusing about the ethical positions of the newly discovered lawbook, he had grave doubts about the pressure with which the reform was being imposed, and the nationalism of Josiah's policy. This would point to a plausible interpretation of Jer 22:10: the death of Josiah had been greeted with mourning which ran to excess because of the disappointment of nationalistic hopes entailed by the king's death; it is Jeremiah's misgivings about these hopes and the manner of their pursuit which led to any lack of enthusiasm about Josiah: the verse should not be read as wholesale condemnation of Josiah. In any case, it is not primarily about Josiah, but *Jehoahaz*, whose fate as one taken to Egypt in exile perhaps carries with it the ominous warning: if it is a fate worse than death, it is a fate which awaits Jeremiah's hearers. Whether this was in the prophet's mind or not, it is certainly an irony which the passage gathered as time went on. However, if the saying reflects an audience disappointed by the frustration of nationalistic hopes, the command not to mourn for Josiah does carry at least the message that Jeremiah was not a convinced and wholehearted supporter of everything the king stood for. The comparison with Jehoahaz seems to limit his approval, something perhaps which caused later enthusiasts for Josiah to see the dead king **אֲשֶׁר יְהוֹיָכִים**⁴⁹.

3.1.2 *Jeremiah 22:15*

But that there *was* approval is clear from the other reference to Josiah in the collection on Judahite kings, 22:15. Here he is compared with Jehoiakim. To prove that Jeremiah was at odds with Josiah, it has even been claimed that allowing that he did what was "right and just" is only to award him a pass-mark for kingship⁵⁰. But it is unfair to say that even here Josiah is being damned with

Josiah during the latter part of his reign.

⁴⁹ See below 90-93, 98.

⁵⁰ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 10: "Damit attestiert er ihm jedoch nur die den Herrscher in der

faint praise. More to the point is whether, in the shadow of his disastrous death, all could properly be said to have gone well with him, and whether therefore the notion of his prosperity was a Deuteronomistic dogma from a later age. But is this consideration enough to rob the passage of any possibility of being the prophet's *ipsissima verba*? Negative prospects for Jehoiakim might have been enough by contrast to allow Jeremiah to make this judgement in spite of Josiah's unhappy end.

3.2 Other relevant passages

3.2.1 *Jeremiah 1:2 and 25:3*

C. Levin has revived F. Horst's theory⁵¹ that the Josiah datings (1:2, 3:6, 25:3, 36:2) first arose in a late phase of the book's development to represent Jeremiah as a trailblazer for the Josianic reforms. This eliminates the problem of Jeremiah's silence during Josiah's reign⁵². S. Herrmann⁵³ has resisted this because of the difficulty of explaining specifically "the thirteenth year", five years before the date in 2 Kings 22 for the discovery of the law-book.

However, dating Jeremiah's call to effect a forty-year ministry, perhaps first privately suggested by J. Blenkinsopp to Holladay⁵⁴, arguably tips the balance in favour of an artificial dating system.

Bound up with this theory is the possibly uncritical admiration for Josiah's reaction to God's word implied by chapter 36, – admiration arguably qualified, as we shall see, when 3:6-11 (with date expressed differently) was added.

Schmid has plausibly explained 3:6-11 in conjunction with the "new covenant" passage in 31:31-34⁵⁵, both being assigned to a relatively late stage in the tradition. Probably therefore 25:3 and 1:2 built on the comparison with Josiah

altorientalischen Königsideologie auszeichnende ideale Rechtspflege".

⁵¹ F. Horst, 'Die Anfänge des Propheten Jeremia', *ZAW* 41, 1923, 94-153. McKane, *Jeremiah*, 5, also tentatively follows Horst.

⁵² C. Levin, 'Noch einmal: Die Anfänge des Propheten Jeremias', *VT* 31, 1981, 440; Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 190, 200.

⁵³ S. Herrmann, *Jeremia*, BK XII, Neukirchen Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1986, 21f.

⁵⁴ W. L. Holladay, 'A Coherent Chronology of Jeremiah's Early Career' in Bogaert (ed), *Livre*, 63n15; see also Levin, 'Noch einmal', 434f. Carroll, *Jeremiah* 90, plausibly compares the periods assigned to Moses's leadership (Dt 29 5) and David's rule (1 Ki 2:11).

⁵⁵ See below, 3.2.3.

implied in chapter 36, with 36:1 receiving its date only together with 25:3. The different style of dating in 3:6 evidences a later addition with a different outlook towards Josiah, as is clear from scepticism of the reform in 3:10. With the seventy years assigned to Babylonian supremacy (25:12)⁵⁶ date calculation plays an important part in chapter 25 a passage which is probably the dating system's primary focus. T.C.Gordon attempted implausibly to explain 1:2 differently, emending "ten" to "twenty", so as to advance Jeremiah's call to 616⁵⁷; McKane criticises other attempts, wrongly relating 25:1 and 26:1 to Jeremiah's call, to improve the date: both purport to date not this, but Jeremiah's *utterances*.⁵⁸ Other reasons for suspecting the dates as artificial are (a) Schmid's explanation of 27:1⁵⁹; (b) the fact that the MT, Samaritan, and LXX present different dating systems for the Pentateuch, showing that artificiality in this respect is an undoubted factor in the tradition⁶⁰. If artificial dates are possible, it would be no surprise if later editors used them to associate Jeremiah with Josiah. He, as we shall see, probably came to be regarded as the last genuine king in David's line⁶¹: hence the attraction of linking Jeremiah with him. Furthermore, redactional complications in 1:1-3⁶² enhance the likelihood that the reference to Josiah is late rather than original.

3.2.2 *Jeremiah 2:16*

"Men of Noph (Memphis) and Tahpanhes have crushed/will crush your skulls" (Jer 2:16) has sometimes been interpreted as a reference to the death of Josiah at the battle of Megiddo.⁶³ Jones comments that there is no evidence of any such humbling of Israel by Egypt in the period⁶⁴, but this seems rather question-begging if it might be a reference to either Necho's victory or regicide!

⁵⁶ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 190 n 673, cites several such views.

⁵⁷ T.C.Gordon, 'A New Date for Jeremiah', *ExpT* 44, 1932/3, 562-565, criticised along with other emended datings by Herrmann, *Jeremia*, 28.

⁵⁸ McKane, *Jeremiah*, 1.3.

⁵⁹ Schmid *Buchgestalten*, 225. See also below, 111n47.

⁶⁰ Schmid, *Erzväter*, 19f, "Wie wichtig diese Fragen waren, läßt sich nicht zuletzt ersehen, daß die Abspaltung der Essener nach 152 v. Ch. vom Jerusalemer Tempel wegen Kalenderstreitigkeiten erfolgt".

⁶¹ The seventy years assigned to Babylonian supremacy arguably have as their starting point the death of Josiah (Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 226 See above, n59)

⁶² Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 90.

⁶³ McKane, *Jeremiah*, 37.

⁶⁴ Jones, *Jeremiah*, 88.

However, the temptation to relate it to Josiah's reign is partly motivated by a desire to anchor early sayings in the book in this period, and thereby justify the long stretch in Josiah's reign when according to 1:2 the prophet was supposed to be active. If, on the other hand, the introductory verses are late and involve an artificial date, the case for ascribing early material to Josiah's reign becomes far from secure. Further, 2:16 bristles with difficulties: (a) It lacks parallelism, raising suspicions of later intrusion, especially with the tendency to deplore foreign alliances⁶⁵. (b) The reading יָדַעְתִּי is unsafe⁶⁶. (c) It is widely felt that this line breaks the connection between v15 and v17⁶⁷, and this marks it as a premature comment triggered by 2:17. However, 2:17 makes it difficult to relate this to Josiah, since he was opposing Egypt at Megiddo, and seems to have been implementing a policy of independence from foreign powers calculated to make this poem ill-conceived as a comment on *his* behaviour⁶⁸. (d) Schmid gives reasons⁶⁹ for siding with M.E.Biddle rather than Böhler in favour of seeing "Israel" in 2:4 as a late reference to the combined people of Judah and Israel rather than the kind of address to the north which could be interpreted as an anchor in the Josiah period. But we have suggested⁷⁰ that Böhler might be right that the original intention was to compose an address to the north in 2:2 - 4:2, *but not that this section might then be genuinely Jeremianic*; the writer might rather have *represented* Jeremiah as one who in

⁶⁵ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 37.

⁶⁶ Not too much store must be set by this. The readings $\epsilon\gamma\nu\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$ (⊗) and *constupraverunt* (⊖ – significant in view of its tendency to follow MT) point to יָדַעְתִּי , read by some Hebrew manuscripts. But Jg 8:16 uses יָדַע in a way which suggests the possibility of the meaning "strike" (cf. J.Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Old Testament*, 19; D.Winton Thomas, 'The Root יָדַע in Hebrew', *JTS* 35, 1934, 298-306; 'More Notes on the Root יָדַע ', *JTS* 38, 1937, 404f, for discussion of other meanings of יָדַע besides 'know'), and this might favour יָדַעְתִּי . W.Johnstone, however, 'YD' II, "Be humbled, humiliated"?' *VT* 41, 1991, 49-62, is critical of Winton Thomas's position. Furthermore, J.R.Lundbom's solution (*Jeremiah, 1-20*, AB, New York:Doubleday, 1999, 269, note b), יָדַעְתִּי ($\sqrt{\text{יָדַע}}$: break), is attractive (cf. NEB), preserving the future reference of the MT.

⁶⁷ McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.37.

⁶⁸ If v16 is dropped, vv18 and 36 are still problematic for application to Josiah, unless *per impossibile* he is to be seen as seeking comfort from Egypt.

⁶⁹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 278n361, cites M.E.Biddle, *A Redaction History of Jeremiah 2:1-4:2*, ATANT 77, Zürich:Theologische Verlag Zürich, 1990, 220; D.Böhler, 'Geschlechterdifferenz', esp. 90-93. Schmid objects unconvincingly to Böhler's interpretation of 2:18 as a reproach to northern circles resistant to Josiah's reforms. The plausibility of his objections lies in doubts about Böhler's thesis that this is the historical Jeremiah speaking. There is no problem if 2:2-4:2 is a later construction, seeking to make him a spokesman for Josiah's programme.

Josiah's day addressed both north and (beginning at 4:3) south.

3.2.3 Jeremiah 3:6-11

This passage is ascribed by the text itself to the reign of Josiah. Following Böhler, Schmid⁷¹ has analysed the section from 3:1-4:2 as an elegant chiasmus in the following way:

A 3:1	ושוב אלי	Ist Umkehr möglich?
B 3:2-3	על־שָׁפִים	Sieh auf die Höhen! Wo hast du dich nicht schänden lassen?
C 3:4	קראתיו לי אבי	Riefst du nicht eben zu mir, "Vater"?
D 3:5	הינטר לעולם	Zürnt er für ewig?
E 3:12α ²	שובה	Kehre um
	משובה ישראל	eine Umkehr, Israel...
D' 3:12αβb,13	לא אטור לעולם	Ich zürne nicht für ewig...
C' 3:19f	תקראו־לי אבי	"Vater" rufen
B' 3:21-25	על־שָׁפִים	Horch auf den Höhen...
A' 4:1-2	אלי תשוב	Umkehr ist möglich.

On this Schmid builds a theory that there is a significant change from second person feminine singular to second person masculine, explaining that whereas return of a divorced wife to her husband is forbidden by Dt 24, reconciliation of father to son has no legal encumbrances⁷². Thus he argues⁷³, citing McKane⁷⁴,

⁷⁰ See above, 65n5; 67n20.

⁷¹ Schmid *Buchgestalten*, 280.

⁷² Böhler, 'Geschlechterdifferenz', analyses the alternation of genders throughout the whole section (2:2-4:2) as turning on the contrast between landless woman and inheriting male. To this extent Böhler's view and Schmid's may not be incompatible.

⁷³ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 279n374.

⁷⁴ W. McKane, 'Relations between Prose and Poetry in the Book of Jeremiah with Special Reference to Jeremiah iii 6-11 and xii 14-17', in J.A. Emerton (ed), *Congress Volume, Vienna*

that 3:6-11 is not an original part of this passage 3:1-4:2, but prose commentary on preceding and following material, betrayed by its non-poetic character. One need not assume then that the writer of 3:6-11 was *mistaken*. But the conclusion that 3:6-11 is secondary is sound enough. It is supported by similarities to Ezekiel 16:51-52⁷⁵.

More importantly, Carroll regards mention of Josiah as an indication that this section (3:6-11) belongs to the same strand as 1:1-3 and ch 25. But if Josiah is mentioned *honoris causa* as a king with similar antipathy to the apostasy castigated in 3:6-11, his reforms were not to be seen as effective at any deep level (3:10). The passage 3:6-11 plays a consistent theological part in the first half of 3:1-4:2, both on Böhler's and Schmid's understanding of that first half as representing an incorrigible female *persona*, matching the Israel or Judah portrayed in Ezek 16. But, whether or not 3:6-11 was deliberate preparation for the new covenant passage (31:31-34) as Schmid argues for chapters 7 and 11⁷⁶, it in any case serves to emphasize the human impossibility of repentance and need for a divine initiative. There is a crucial difference between the statement here (3:10) that the reforms were not pursued wholeheartedly and the explanation for disaster in 2 Ki 23:26f, 24:3 (cf. also 21:11⁷⁷), that the reason for Judah's demise *in spite of Josiah's reforms* was Manasseh's misdemeanours. 2 Kings makes no suggestion that there were deficiencies in Josiah's reforms, except that they could not undo the effects of Manasseh's reign: the analysis is entirely in keeping with Deuteronomic principles⁷⁸. Schmid shows that Jer 31:31-34 likewise manifests important theological differences from Deuteronomy over human ability to keep God's law⁷⁹. He supports this by reference to the Book of Baruch which makes great use of the "salvation chapters" in Jeremiah, but ignores the new covenant passage: "Im spät-deuteronomistischen Konzept von Baruch hat der neue Bund ~~keinen~~ Platz"⁸⁰.

1980, VTSup 32, 223-235.

⁷⁵ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 145.

⁷⁶ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 295.

⁷⁷ J. Gray, *I and II Kings – A Commentary*, OTL, London: SCM, 2nd edn (revd) 1970, 705.

⁷⁸ On the interpretation of 2 Kings 22f, see further below, 83.

⁷⁹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 302f.

⁸⁰ Schmid *Buchgestalten*, 302n490.

Whereas therefore the bulk of 3:1-4:2 is consistent with Deuteronomy in making successful return dependent on repentance, by contrast 3:6-11, without necessarily casting aspersions on Josiah and perhaps mentioning him because his reign and reforms marked as good a candidate as any for an occasion on which a new leaf was turned over, demonstrates that nothing important changed at bottom, thus preparing for a different kind of solution – that which 31:31-34 sets out as dependent on God’s initiative.

Schmid argues⁸¹ that at a certain stage in the book’s development, there is a correspondence between Isaiah and Jeremiah, with treatment of Babylon in Jeremiah matching that of Assyria in Isaiah. Building on Barth’s research⁸², he sees the reign of Josiah as the fulfilment of prophecies of *Heil*, after the judgement brought about by the Assyrians, who, however, themselves suffer judgement, just as Jeremiah promises judgement for Babylon. This seems to mean that Josiah’s reign is a *type* of the coming salvation envisaged in Jeremiah. Clearly, it must have been a problem why the *Heil* of Josiah’s day did not last. A possible explanation of this may be intended by Jer 3:10: “Her false sister Judah did not return to me *with her whole heart*, but in pretence”. There seems little doubt that the reference to Josiah is explained by 3:10: the reform for which Josiah’s reign was famous needed to be played down, though probably without denigrating Josiah himself.

4. Josiah’s officials and their descendants

A striking connection between 2 Kings 22 and Jeremiah is the presence in the latter of descendants of officials mentioned in the former. The data may be summarized as follows:

4.1 Hilkiyah

Hilkiyah is mentioned in the heading (1:1). Could he be intended as the same

⁸¹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 350.

⁸² H. Barth, *Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit. Israel und Assur als Thema einer produktiven Neuinterpretation der Jesajaüberlieferung*, WMANT 48, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchen

Hilkiah as was Josiah's high priest (2 Ki 22:4), as Carroll suggests⁸³? This is attractive in view of the implied comparison between chapter 36 and 2 Kings 22, Hilkiah being an honoured figure in that context. The reference to Anathoth may not be incompatible with this, since Jeremiah himself could have ministered in the Temple, where he was evidently a familiar figure according to the tradition; alternatively all references to Anathoth in the book may be as adventitious⁸⁴ as they are infrequent, and derived from the account of Abiathar (II Ki 2:26), something which might suit a phase of redaction when Jeremiah was seen as inimical to the monarchy.

4.2 Shaphan, Ahikam and Gemariah

Shaphan was the secretary in Josiah's day (2 Ki 22:3), and Shaphan's son is already mentioned in 2 Ki 22:12. Thus it is probable that "Ahikam, son of Shaphan" (Jer 26:24), responsible for supporting Jeremiah and rescuing him, refers to the same two people. Another son of Shaphan "the secretary", Gemariah (36:10) is represented as sympathetic to Jeremiah, since from his room Baruch reads the scroll (36:11).

4.3 Achbor and Elnathan

In 2 Ki 22:12, 14 Achbor is mentioned twice. As an emissary of Jehoiakim to Egypt to pursue Uriah, a prophet with an identical message to Jeremiah's, Elnathan, "son of Achbor" does not appear in so honourable a light. However, after a neutral mention in 36:12, he joins with Gemariah and one Delaiah, also mentioned in verse 12, in urging the king not to burn the scroll⁸⁵.

4.4 Stipp's study of the Judahite leadership

A particular study has been made of these officials by Stipp, pointing out that constant mention of them in chapters 26, 36-43 indicates a special interest⁸⁶.

Verlag, 1977, esp. 270-275, where his position is summarized.

⁸³ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 90.

⁸⁴ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 91.

⁸⁵ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 247; J.A. Dearman, 'My servants the scribes: Composition and Context in Jeremiah 36', *JBL* 109, 1990, 411n17; E.W. Nicholson, *Preaching to the Exiles. A Study of the Prose Tradition in the Book of Jeremiah*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971, 43.

⁸⁶ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 7.

But the text is inconsistent: e.g. in 26:10-16, the “notables”⁸⁷ resist demands for Jeremiah’s death; in 37:15f they denounce Jeremiah as a deserter, and have the prophet thrown into a cistern (38:1-6). Matters are complicated by the Greek text, which sometimes represents an older layer, sometimes the same text as MT. But Stipp’s case is convincing that corrections have been made to exculpate the family of Shaphan from responsibility for cruel opposition to Jeremiah; but these also serve to recruit the prophet for support of Josiah’s reform⁸⁸.

These references to Josiah’s officials and their offspring serve (a) to corroborate the impression that chapter 36 is not only about Jehoiakim’s disobedience, but also about Josiah’s exemplary obedience; (b) to confirm evidence that particularly at the stage at which chapter 36 was incorporated in Jeremiah there was a motive to link him with Josiah, and perhaps claim him for the support of Josiah’s reforms.

5. The proto-canonical view of Josiah

5.1 Preliminary considerations

If one proceeds to assess the place of Josiah in the developing tradition, it is clear from the references in Chronicles that any doubts raised by the Book of Jeremiah about Josiah’s status as a quasi-Davidic figure were offset by the Chronicler’s panegyric treatment, not least the claim that Jeremiah wrote laments for him (2 Ch 35:25, cf. also 35:18). It is significant in this connection that Ben Sirach links Josiah with Hezekiah as one of three exceptions to the rule that all Judahite kings were guilty of wrong-doing (Sir 49:4). There was a tradition of interpreting Jeremiah which ignored, or did not understand, that the passage about the new covenant introduced an approach which, while, of course, thoroughly Deuteronomic in its *language*, actually contradicted the notion in Deuteronomy that the law was humanly capable of fulfilment⁸⁹.

⁸⁷ Stipp chooses the word “Notabeln” in order not to prejudge their exact role; cf. above, 71

⁸⁸ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 21-28.

⁸⁹ See above, 78nn73f.

5.2 The envisaged redaction of Genesis - 2 Kings signalled by Genesis 15 and Joshua 24

An important new perspective on this development has been introduced by the theory at the heart of Schmid's major work, *Erzväter und Exodus*. His two key passages are Gen 15 and Jos 24, which serve together with other factors to create a redactional overview, embracing the whole section Genesis - Malachi, according to which Gen 1-Jos 24 represents *Heilsgeschichte*, for which Yahweh is responsible; Judges 1- 2 Ki 25 represents *Unheilsgeschichte* for which Israel and particularly Israel's kings are responsible; and the latter-prophetic corpus in its totality represents hopes of restoration parallel with the picture of Yahweh's fulfilled promises in the Hexateuch⁹⁰. It has generally been assumed that the account of Josiah's reforms in 2 Ki 22f paints a positive portrait of Josiah as the Deuteronomist *par excellence* and this would certainly accord with the view that there was at one stage a Josianic edition of the material in Kings. However, this portrait of Josiah is out of keeping with the thrust of such an overall redaction "governed" by Genesis 15 and Jos 24, with their clear "democratizing" and theocratic implications⁹¹. Furthermore, taking these passages into consideration eases the ambivalent picture in 2 Kings of Hezekiah⁹² and the laconic report of Josiah's death. In both cases, cold water is perhaps poured on the enthusiasm of an earlier presentation. One of the factors singled out by Herrmann⁹³ in the account of Josiah's reforms in 2 Kings as probably embellishing earlier tradition is Josiah's covenant in 2 Ki 23:3, with its striking similarity to Jos 24:25⁹⁴. But particularly important is the evidence

⁹⁰ See Schmid, *Erzväter*, esp. 278-301.

⁹¹ For the antimonarchical thrust of Gen 15 and Jos 24, see esp. Schmid *Erzväter*, 184: 'Gen 15 scheint die Dynastieverheißung an David 2 Sam 7 auf die Nachkommenschaft zu übertragen: Die Nachkommensverheißung ist kein königliches Privileg, sondern galt schon dem Stammvater Abraham. Die Anleihen an der Königstradition und an Davidsaussagen sind vermutlich nicht neutrale Präfigurationen, sondern haben ein kritisches Aussagepotential: Gen 15 "demotisiert" die Königstradition und ist – in Aufnahme der königlich geprägten Verheißung Gen 12:1-3 – sozusagen der erste königskritische text im Alten Testament. Hierin trifft sich Gen 15 mit Jos 24: auch die Darstellung der Königswahl in Jos 24 übt fundamental Königskritik'.

⁹² 2 Ki 20:12-19 (cf. Isa 39) casts a dark shadow on the hero of the Assyrian siege story, and hints at disaster to come.

⁹³ Herrmann, *Jeremia*, 12f.

⁹⁴ Concern with bones is a noteworthy link between Jos 24:32 and 2 Ki 23:18. That bones are no trivial matter is shown by the sequence concerning Joseph's bones, (Gen 50:25, Ex 13:19, Jos 24: 32), which, in Schmid's view (*Erzväter*, esp. 231-233), is one factor used to unite

that the present form of 2 Ki 22f implies what is explicit in Jos 24:19 that the covenant is *doomed to failure*, – compare the strong Deuteronomistic panegyric of 2 Ki 23:25 with the acid of vv26f.

Turning to Jeremiah, clearly at some stage chapter 36 was intended to compare Jehoiakim unfavourably with Josiah, and this would be consistent with a time when Josiah was regarded as a Deuteronomistic hero, especially in the light of the nature of the comparison. However, it is equally clear that Jer 31:31-34 together with the ironical chapters 7 and 11⁹⁵, are strongly anti-Deuteronomistic, changing the thrust from demanding human obedience to the law to promising God's regenerative activity. This emphasis is in keeping with the whole sweep of the redaction of Genesis-Malachi, as envisaged by Schmid.

Schmid dates his postulated redaction of Genesis to Malachi c.480 BCE, whereas he assigns Jer 31:31-34 to the late fourth century. Between these two dates we probably have Chronicles⁹⁶, which could hardly be more fulsome in its praise for Hezekiah and Josiah, and much later (c 180BCE) in Sir 49:4 this is echoed by the statement that every king was guilty of wrongdoing apart from David, Hezekiah and Josiah, though he does add that the kings of Judah *came to an end* (ἐξέλιπον)⁹⁷. It is clear that there is an unresolved question whether there was in any sense an authorised tradition which altered its thrust from one period to another or whether one should envisage different constituents of what was to become the canon in a competition eventually

Genesis with the Exodus tradition and may have a link with Ezek 37.

⁹⁵ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 295, cites C. Levin, *Die Verheißung des neuen Bundes in ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Zusammenhang ausgelegt*, FRLANT 137, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985, 56,60 and B. Gosse, 'L'ouverture de la nouvelle alliance aux nations en Jérémie III 14-18', *VT* 39, 1989, 386f, for the view that this material prepares the way for 31:31-34.

⁹⁶ H.G.M. Williamson, *I & II Chronicles*, London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott/Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982, 16, favours a mid-fourth century date, but admits its insecurity; H.P. Mathys, 'I and II Chronicles' in OBC, 2001, 267, "Late Persian, or more probably early Ptolemaic times."

⁹⁷ Ben Sirach is building up to an encomium of Simon the high priest, who, coming as a climactic figure after a basically chronological summary of Israel's heroes and a brief section marking out those of particular distinction, is seen as a quasi-messianic personage, incompatible with any future for the Davidic line. Ben Sirach's theology is, like that of Baruch, thoroughly Deuteronomistic: he does not read the Old Testament in the light of the critique offered by the redaction governed by Gen 15 and Jos 24 or, if it is different, the slant reintroduced by Jer 31:31-34. Repentance is preached as a realistic possibility (Sir 17:25f).

decided by giving prizes, so to speak, to both sides of the debate in a compromise solution. For our immediate concern, the point seems worth serious consideration that in the light of Schmid's analysis of Genesis -Malachi the book of Jeremiah shows signs both of a thrust very similar to that of the Deuteronomists and one (whether or not at more than one stage⁹⁸) which was very different (31:31-34); and this is quite apart from the view of Josiah which the historical Jeremiah actually held.

6. Conclusions

6.1 Holladay's attempt to advance Jeremiah's call to 615 BCE is generally discredited, but in spite of weaknesses in any claim that Jeremiah was active in Josiah's reign, it remains historically possible. Scharbert has produced evidence consistent with this, but insufficient for certainty, and the view, propounded most recently by Lohfink and Böhler, of Jeremiah as an early propagandist for Josiah's reforms, tenable, if 2:2-4:2 could be tied to the historical Jeremiah, has rightly been resisted in the light of a better explanation of that passage and for lack of other convincing evidence.

6.2 Dates involving the name of Josiah are a later construction, designed to make Jeremiah a supporter of Josiah's reforms, and this conclusion greatly weakens the case for seeing as historical Jeremiah's involvement in Josiah's reign.

6.3 Prominence of the families of Shaphan and Achbor in Jeremiah, together with references in 2 Kings 22, reflects the involvement of these families with the reform, and with any "Deuteronomistic movement". They did not historically see eye to eye with Jeremiah; vestiges of their opposition to the prophet are evident in the text. But later, the correctness of Jeremiah's analysis

⁹⁸ I.e. one stage implied by inclusion in a redaction governed by Gen 15 and Jos 24, and a later one when this emphasis was endorsed by the inclusion of Jer 31:31-34. Maier, *Lehrer*, 352. dates to the late fifth century the phase when Jeremiah was represented as a teacher of the law and places 31:31-34 even later, since with it "scheint die Rolle des Toralehrers obsolet zu werden" (p372).

and the respect accorded to the prophet led to playing down this opposition as the tradition developed, and hence they implied that Jeremiah had indeed ministered during Josiah's reign and been a supporter of the reform – something which, though lacking convincing documentation, may have been true as far as the ethical demands of Deuteronomy were concerned, but probably not with regard to the nationalistic pressure with which centralization was pursued.

6.4 The function of 3:6-11 is to show the inadequacy of the Josianic reforms and therefore represents the same thrust within the book as 31:31-34, where likewise the need for divine initiative is indicated to solve the problem of human inability to repent.

6.5 The figure of Josiah thus runs through a number of stages in the course of the book.

6.5.1 He is assessed with moderate approval in passages which may come from Jeremiah himself. There is no conclusive reason for regarding as non-Jeremianic references to Josiah in 22:10,15. In any case they represent an early strand in the tradition.

6.5.2 He is idealized by the implicit comparison with Jehoiakim found in chapter 36⁹⁹ and also by the dating scheme, which may be intended to ascribe to him a reign comparable in length with that of David, or the ministry of Moses. The way in which Jehoiakim is depicted in Jer 36 shows that Josiah's death is seen to mark the end of the Davidic kingdom, though there is evidence of different views within the Jeremiah tradition, not least in 33:14-26 (missing in \mathfrak{C}), as to whether this end was permanent.

6.5.3 The passages 3:6-11 and 31:31-34 represent a subsequent stage (or perhaps more than one stage) when the rationale of Deuteronomic theology was

⁹⁹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 245.

challenged, and the limitations of Josiah's reform were expressed. The reference to Josiah therefore in 3:6 reflects an understanding by the redactor or author that Jeremiah had been enlisted as a supporter of the Deuteronomistic movement, but that supposed support is likely, as we have seen, to have been a literary construction, and to draw a veil over serious historical differences between Jeremiah and the party probably identified with Deuteronomistic ideas – differences which widened as Jerusalem's disaster approached.

6.5.4 We have argued that attention must be paid to the development of a canonical perspective *pari passu* with the growth of Jeremiah. Thus the present form of 2 Kings bears traces of a redaction envisaging the monarchy as a time of *Unheilsgeschichte* playing down any idealization of Josiah, and a similar view is implicit in the anti-Deuteronomic thrust of Jer 31:31-34, but if this passage is rightly assigned a much later date, it has to be concluded that an elusive debate both about the position of the monarchy and the status of Deuteronomistic theology continued over many years.

6.5.5 Finally, however, as far as the pre-Masoretic tradition is concerned, envisaging Davidic restoration, Josiah was no doubt seen again as a secondary archetypal figure. This was achieved without any further alterations to the text explicitly relating to Josiah, but is implicit in the slant which Jer 33:14-26 imposes on the book as a whole, according to which Josiah came to be viewed as the David-like hero seen in Sir 49:1-4, although here (49:6 Ⓞ), there is no question, as ἐξέλιπον makes clear, of any Davidic restoration.

IV

Jehoahaz (Shallum)

1. Introduction

The name Jehoahaz, by which alone Josiah's successor was known in Kings (2Ki 23:30f, 34) is absent in Jeremiah. Was the Shallum of Jer 22:11, Josiah's son in a prose explanation of v10, the same person? If so, and if the redactor's explanation is right, v10 may not only be Jeremianic, contributing to evidence that Jer 21-24 contains passages from the earliest core, but may also clarify the prophet's political circumstances, yielding a vital criterion for establishing the redaction history of the book.

We examine the reference to Shallum (Jer 22:10-12) in section 5, but turn first to relevant historical matters (section 2), then to whether Shallum can be identified with Jehoahaz (section 3), and why, if so, he is called Shallum in Jeremiah (section 4).

2. Historical factors

What happened to Josiah? D.R.Jones has proposed recently that the obscurity of 2 Ki 23:29 means that Necho somehow captured Josiah and executed him.¹ A battle is clearly envisaged in 2 Chron 35:20-24, where Josiah, only wounded, was carried to Jerusalem to die. But this is suspicious: (a) the similarities to Ahab's demise recorded in 1Ki 22:29-38² suggest that the account of Josiah has been elaborated by the Chronicler or his source: both Ahab and (in a way) Josiah failed to heed prophetic warnings³, which may reflect a felt need to explain the disharmony between Huldah's intimation of a peaceful death for

¹ D.R.Jones, *Jeremiah*, NCB, Grand Rapids:Eerdmans, 1992, 288, following M.Noth, *History of Israel*, 2nd edn (ET revd by P.R.Ackroyd), London, A & C. Black, 1960, 278n1, where it is convincingly argued that *both* prepositions in the phrase ... עַל־הַר־פְּרִתָּה עַל־ should be read as לְ, so that Josiah was trying to prevent Necho from *helping* Assyria. More recently,

H.Niehr, 'Die Reform des Joschija', in W.Groß (ed), *Jeremia und die "deuteronomistische" Bewegung*, Tübingen, 1995, 43f, also believes that there was no battle. Cf. above, 64n1.

² H.G.M.Williamson, *I & II Chronicles*, Grand Rapids:Eerdmans /London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1982, 409.

³ Williamson, *Chronicles*, 408.

Josiah⁴ and his recorded demise. Whereas Jehoahaz is so called in 2 Chron 36:1, the name is missing in 1Chron 3:15, while Shallum, who is mentioned, is represented as Josiah's youngest son. Streane points out⁵ that comparison between 2Ki 21:31, 36 and 24:18 makes Zedekiah younger than Jehoahaz. Perhaps the Chronicler, envisaging as Josiah the father whom Shallum succeeded in Jer 22:6⁶, added Shallum to the list in 1 Chron 3:15. A further possibility is that the Jehohanan there mentioned as Josiah's eldest son is a mistake for Jehoahaz.

On the other hand, Williamson is impressed by A.Malamat's acceptance of the Chronicler's account of Josiah's death⁷. While this may have elaborated somewhat, Josiah would not have been the first to block the pass;⁸ he probably resisted Asshurballit's request to allow Necho⁹ safe passage¹⁰. Whatever the exact circumstances, Josiah¹¹ thus died opposing infringement of his new-found independence. In any case, it was the "people of the land"¹² who made

⁴ H.G.M. Williamson, *Variations on a Theme – King, Messiah and Servant*, Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998, 88, shows the importance of obedience or disobedience to prophetic warning in Isaiah with the contrast there between Ahaz and Hezekiah. This reflects the likelihood that Isaiah has been edited from a standpoint comparable with that of 2 Kings, where a similar contrast between Ahaz and Hezekiah is intended.

⁵ A.W. Streane, *Jeremiah and Lamentations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913, xiv.

⁶ As he also probably based expansion of 2Ki 23:29 on Jer 46:2 (Noth, *History*, 278n1).

⁷ A.Malamat, 'Josiah's bid for Armageddon: the background of the Judean-Egyptian Encounter in 609 BC', *JANES* 5, 1973, 267-278.

⁸ Noth, *History*, 278n 2 cites A. Alt, 'Pharao Thutmos III', *PJ*, 10, 1914, 53-99 for a similar incident in the days of Thutmosis III (15th century BCE).

⁹ Herodotus, 2.157, records a 27-year siege of Ashdod by Necho's predecessor, Psammetichus I, indicating Egypt's interest in the coast-road; if Necho was prepared to help Assyria, control of the route to Asia Minor (something perceived to be threatened by a Babylonian victory) was probably the real goal.

¹⁰ Y. Yadin, 'The Historical Significance of Inscription 88 from Arad: A Suggestion', *IEJ* 26, 1976, 9-14, interprets an inscription at Arad to this effect. Contra Aharoni, Yadin thinks that מלכת (followed simply by extant ב) in this fragment indicates not a claim on the part of

Josiah to be ruling בבל דארץ, but one in a *copied* missive from the Assyrian king, claiming still to be exercising power בבל רכמי, and requesting provisions from Josiah for Necho's proposed aid expedition. The statement (Herodotus 2.159) that Συρίοισι περὶ ὁ Νεκῶς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μιγδαλῶ ἐνίκησε may site what happened not at Megiddo but a more likely (though unknown) place called Migdol further south.

¹¹ In Groß (ed), *Bewegung*, Niehr, 'Reform', disputes the notion of Josiah's independence, 33-55, but C. Uehlinger, 'Gab es eine josianische Reform?' 67-83, adduces evidence for cultic changes at Jerusalem involving rejection of Assyrian control.

¹² C.R. Seitz, *Theology in Conflict, Reactions to the Exile in the Book of Jeremiah*, BZAW 176, Berlin/New York 1989, 42-51, 55-71, sees the people of the land as a party inclined, when given the opportunity, to install a successor to the throne on the basis of a queen mother

Jehoahaz king, contradicting the view that Josiah was responsible for this, while the reason for Jehoahaz's selection, whether or not he was the youngest of Josiah's sons, but all the more, if it was contrary to the order of primogeniture, presumably lay in hopes of the same anti-Egyptian policy as Josiah's. This would also explain Necho's replacement, in expectation, since Jehoiakim was another of Josiah's sons, of a totally different policy from his brother's.

3. The identity of Shallum

Jehoahaz is known in Jeremiah only as Shallum¹³. This, of course, presupposes that the Shallum mentioned in Jer 22:11 is indeed the Jehoahaz of 2 Kings 23¹⁴. McKane¹⁵ raises the question whether Shallum should be identified rather with Jehoiachin (Qimhi) or both Jehoiachin and Zedekiah (Rashi), Jehoiakim being the person dead (v 10). Jehoiakim is also clearly signified by the relative pronoun in Jerome's statement, "*quo mortuo regnavit filius eius Iechonias*". Ibn Ezra (d 1167) is the earliest authority for equating the dead king with Josiah, and the "going" one with Jehoahaz. Jerome, Qimhi, and Rashi are a formidable trio to gainsay, but it is possible that their view was based on the inappropriateness of discouraging tears for Josiah. The text gradually developed

originating from outside Jerusalem. He infers from this and the fact that they were taxed by Jehoiakim (2Ki 23:35) a sociological group distinct from the priests, prophets and royal officials, having come as refugees perhaps in Hezekiah's day, living in, or immediately outside the city. The issue is much disputed. For the view that "the people of the land" originally represented the Judahite landed aristocracy, survived to a degree the disaster of 587 and were later opponents of Nehemiah, having mixed with non-Jews, see K.Schmid, *Buchgestalten des Jeremiabuches*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1996, 119. See also E.W.Nicholson, 'The Meaning of the Expression יְהוּדֵי הָאָרֶץ in the Old Testament', *JSS* 10, 1965, 66; he concludes that there is no fixed and rigid meaning of the term from text to text.

¹³ McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.525 discounts as interpretation five Lucianic MSS, where, at 22:11, corrections or margin read $\omega\alpha\chi\alpha\zeta$ instead of $\Sigma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\mu$, the form appearing at 2 Ki 15:10 $\text{\textcircled{L}}$ and 2 Ki 22:14 $\text{\textcircled{L}}$.

¹⁴ B.Blayney (*Jeremiah and Lamentations, A New Translation; With Notes Critical, Philological and Explanatory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1784, 137) and H.Venema (*Commentarius ad Librum Jeremiae, I - II*, Leuwarden: H.A.de Chalmot, 1765, 544f) were both early exponents of this view. C.H. Cornill, *Das Buch Jeremia*, Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1905, 251, writes, "Die Meinung dass Joahas hier wegen seinen kurzen Regierung Sallum genannt werde, weil Sallum von Israel nur einen Monat regierte 2 Reg 15:13 'wie Isebel den Jehu Simri Mörder seines Herrn' (*sic*) ist durchaus abzurweisen". J.Bright too takes for granted identification of Shallum with Jehoahaz (*Jeremiah*, AB 21, New York: Doubleday, 1965, xlvi).

¹⁵ McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.525: in fact Rashi, tr. F.Breithaupt, Gotha: Schall, 1713, 403, clearly identifies Zedekiah with Shallum, though he does see $\text{\textcircled{L}}$ as referring to both.

a higher and higher view of him¹⁶, and this could mean that it became impossible to refer 22:10 to him, even if earlier this was intended. However, it seems preferable to adopt a solution which yields a chronological sequence from Josiah to Jehoiachin, one which does not omit Jehoahaz, or require the meaning “grandfather” for אב , or evade what seems to be the obvious interpretation of “reigned in place of Josiah his father” (22:11)¹⁷. Furthermore, although doubts surround his evidence, the Chronicler refers to “Shallum” as Josiah’s fourth son¹⁸ (1 Chron 3:15) and then speaks of a Jehoahaz in 2 Chron 36:2. Whatever difficulties this raises, the fact that Josiah is credited here with a son called Shallum supports the identification with Jehoahaz in Jeremiah.

4. The name Shallum

Why was Shallum so called in Jeremiah? Streane favours the explanation that this was his pre-accession name¹⁹. J.Gray²⁰ doubts whether he ever did formally accede, since the ceremony for this would have been in Tishri (September/October), whereas D.J.Wiseman shows²¹ that his deposition had already taken place in Elul (August/September). Other suggestions Streane considers are (i) that it alluded to the same-named king of Israel with reference to the shortness of his reign (cf. 2 Ki 15:13); (ii) that it is connected with the Hebrew root meaning “requited” or “punished”. But in view of the other changes of name attested for the period (cf. Eliakim = Jehoiakim; Mattaniah = Zedekiah), Streane’s own view is to be preferred. These subsequent renamings may have to do with assertion of the superior’s suzerainty, an explanation impossible with Jehoahaz, but Shallum may have had a throne name before any accession ceremony²². He had after all been anointed, according to 2 Ki 23:30.

¹⁶ See above, chapter III, section 5.1.

¹⁷ McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.526.

¹⁸ See above, §9 n5: Streane points out that Zedekiah was younger than Shallum, if the evidence of 2 Kings is reliable.

¹⁹ Streane, *Jeremiah*, 133.

²⁰ J.Gray, *I and II Kings – A Commentary*, OTL, London: SCM, 2nd edn (revised), 1970, 749.

²¹ D.J.Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings*, London: British Museum, 1961, 62.

²² A.M.Honeyman, ‘The Evidence for Regnal Names among the Hebrews’, *JBL* 67, 1948, 25.

5. The interpretation of 22:10-11

5.1 Does 22:10 refer to Jehoahaz?

If 22:11 refers not to Jehoiachin or Zedekiah but to Shallum (*alias* Jehoahaz) and if it correctly explains v10, this verse can qualify, as Schmid points out, as the earliest Jeremianic saying whose content warrants dating.²³ Schmid, in conformity with his view that the collection on kings and prophets was in its original form part of the early core of the book,²⁴ seems inclined to accept v10 as a genuine utterance of the prophet, datable to 609/8 (cf. 2 Ki 23:33f). One objection to ascribing 22:10 to Jeremiah in this way is that the “obsequies of the dead king” would have been over before Jehoahaz had been deported.²⁵ Against this D.Schneider’s citation of C.Westermann²⁶ deserves consideration: “Da die Totenklage um einen König lange dauert, trauert man über Josia auch dann noch, als Ioahas (=Schallum) schon weggeführt ist”.

However, this straightforward interpretation according to which 22:11, even if itself a later comment, accurately elucidates v10, is not without challengers.

Carroll says²⁷ that only the prose comment links 22:10 to Josiah or Shallum: in isolation, it could be a proverbial saying that somebody who is dead is enviable, compared with anybody taken into exile. However, such a proverb might seem to be beside the point in a collection of material on kings, so that by the time it was included here, even if a proverbial saying underlies it, there was already a distinctive application to these two rulers. Carroll’s comment may be relevant to whether 22:10 can be safely regarded as *ipsissima verba* of the prophet, but it does not gainsay the fact that, *even if v10 was included in the collection before the prose comment of v11 was added*, such inclusion already intended a

²³ K.Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 190n674, citing O.Kaiser, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament – Eine Einführung in ihre Ergebnisse und Probleme* (5th edn), Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1984, 256. [In the 4th edn, the point is made on p226, J.B.J.].

²⁴ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 203.

²⁵ R.P.Carroll, *Jeremiah*, London: SCM, 1986, 424.

²⁶ D.Schneider, *Jeremia*, Wuppertal: R.Brockhaus Verlag, 1977, 157.

²⁷ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 423f.

reference to two kings. And the likelihood is, quite apart from the prose comment, that those two kings were, at least originally, Josiah and Shallum (=Jehoahaz).

5.2 Did Jeremiah approve of Shallum?

The writer of 2 Ki 23:32 evidently disapproved of Jehoahaz, something which Gray thinks was simply Deuteronomistic interpretation of his miserable fate.²⁸ Exactly what this was is doubtful, first because of the coincidence that according to 2 Ki 23:33 he was taken to Riblah on the Orontes, where Nebuchadnezzar also later had his headquarters (2 Ki 25:6, 20), and *likewise put Zedekiah in chains*. Suspicions about this account of Jehoahaz are aroused by the *a priori* improbability of such a journey (whether of his own volition, or at Necho's behest), but much more by a detailed comparison with 2 Chron 36. Here in v 2c Θ reads (with minor variations other than the one noted):

καὶ ἔδησεν αὐτὸν Φαραὼ Νεχαὼ ἐν Δαβλαθὰ ἐν γῆ
Ιεμάθ τοῦ μὴ βασιλεύειν [+αὐτὸν – B^{ab}] ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ.

2 Chron 36:3 MT reads: ... $\text{וַיִּסְרְהוּ מֶלֶךְ־מִצְרַיִם בִּירוּשָׁלַיִם}$.

Θ indicates haplography in MT resulting in the omission of מֶלֶךְ ²⁹, needed to make sense of בִּירוּשָׁלַיִם , and Θ 's μετέστησεν (rather than ἔδησεν) at 2 Ki 23:33 points to an original וַיִּסְרְהוּ , which 2 Chron 36:3 MT has preserved.

This solution is supported by the use of מִן after סוּר *hiphil* in 1 Ki 15:13 = 2 Chron 15:16.

We have seen how Jerome envisaged the father and son here as Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin respectively – an interpretation perhaps owing something to a determination that the father should not be Josiah – one whose passing it was *ex hypothesi* thought appropriate to mourn indefinitely. But then, if this entailed that Jehoiachin was stigmatized as one who would not return, it might have become unthinkable for Shallum to be equated with him, and this could have

²⁸ Gray, *Kings*, 749.

²⁹ At 2 Chron 36:2c Θ clearly read the Hebrew as מֶלֶךְ . But the phrase $\text{וַיִּסְרְהוּ מֶלֶךְ־מִצְרַיִם}$ (1 Ki 15:13) suggests that the original text intended מֶלֶךְ (cf. 1 Sam 15:23, GK 119x, BDB, 58,7b).

led to identifying Shallum with Zedekiah. It is, at any rate, striking that the text of 2 Kings 22:33 has almost certainly been altered to assimilate Jehoahaz's experience to that of Zedekiah. But we can conclude that an original account of Jehoahaz's removal from the throne has been contaminated by what happened according to 2 Kings to Zedekiah.

In any case Jehoahaz's fate was bad enough, but it is not certain that its severity explains the statement that he did evil (2 Ki 23:32). One possibility is that, in the redactional layer responsible, Josiah's death was seen to mark the end of the Davidic dynasty, so that all kings after him had to be good for nothing³⁰.

Shallum's character as king turns on whether Jer 22:10 implies *sympathy* towards Shallum, as Streane's comment suggests: "He speaks of him [sc Shallum], as of his father, with kindness and sorrow".³¹ There are a number of possibilities to be distinguished here.

(a) Fundamental is the question whether the words are likely to be in origin Jeremiah's at all. Carroll's tentative solution, as we saw,³² is that editors adapted a proverb which might never have been spoken by Jeremiah. But his explanation of the poem, taken in isolation, is worth considering, even if one envisages a reference to the two kings by the prophet himself: its point is then "to drive home to the mourners that the fate of the one exiled is even worse than that of the dead. The dead one will be gathered to his fathers in accordance with the funeral rites of the community, but the deported one will languish in exile, die there and be buried without interment in the family tomb" (p 424). This suggestion receives some support from the *reversal* of such a situation in Ezek 37. But here it might well have been meant to warn hearers that in reality

³⁰ Schmid, *Erzväter*, esp. 49, 248, has argued that the books of Samuel and Kings belong to an *Unheilsgeschichte* phase (part 2) of a macrohistorical work introduced by Genesis-Joshua, seen as *Heilsgeschichte* (part 1). Warning in Jos 24:19-20 of coming decline matches the hint of restoration in Jehoiachin's rehabilitation in 2 Ki 25:27-30, which paves the way for future prosperity promised by the prophets (part 3). In this way Jehoiachin can be a representative of the *Unheilsgeschichte* associated with the evil kings (2 Ki 24:7), but also the harbinger of future prosperity (2 Ki 25:27-30). See further below, 144, 202n68 (a particularly important note).

³¹ Streane, *Jeremiah*, xv.

³² Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 423f, see above, 93n28.

they should weep for themselves since they would share the fate of Jehoahaz (cf. Luke 23:28).

(b) The second possibility is that Jeremiah did utter this *qinah*, referring to Jehoahaz, but the words, far from kindly, were bitterly satirical. On this view, the prophet is expressing opposition to a hypothetical nationalism (or his preference for Babylon compared with Egypt) represented by the “people of the land (יְרֵאָה־לְאֵמֹנִים)” and embodied in the king whom they had chosen for this reason. Whether or not for exactly the same reasons, then, Jeremiah – like the editors of Kings – could have regarded Shallum as a bad king.

(c) Jeremiah uttered the *qinah* kindly; but later editors, adopting it, wanted the passage to fit into a section critical of Josiah’s successors. In this case the point is that Jehoahaz has gone into exile, a fate worse than Josiah’s death – not that this in the eyes of the envisaged editors is sad, but *richly deserved*. The problem with this is that mourning for somebody is generally sympathetic rather than condemnatory (though see Am 5:2) – a factor which speaks equally against the “satirical” explanation, (b) above. However, later editors may simply have been interested in the fact that a saying of Jeremiah offered no future for Jehoahaz³³. If so, a probable further stage involved a contrast with the end of chapter 52, where Jehoiachin’s release amounted to a ray of light, since, at the end of the book, as it now stands, *his status was changed*³⁴.

Of these explanations, the last (c) seems best. If one considers Carroll’s view, by which later editors applied a proverbial saying to these two kings, why would they have had Jeremiah inviting hearers to *mourn* for Jehoahaz, from their point of view an irrelevantly sympathetic thing to do? Better therefore to postulate their contentment with a saying traditionally ascribed to Jeremiah, because it was evidence of Jehoahaz’s irrevocable departure. If so, the original point for the prophet may simply be that the replacement of Jehoahaz by the Egyptian puppet Jehoiakim was more sinister than Josiah’s death because of

³³ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 423f

³⁴ See below, 143f

disasters awaiting Judah for depending on Egypt; or, as Carroll suggests, because a fate like that of Jehoahaz awaited his hearers. Obviously mistrusted by Necho, Jehoahaz had presumably been chosen to follow in his father's footsteps. Jeremiah approved (if only moderately) of Josiah, and may well have viewed Jehoahaz in the same light. His intense disapproval of Jehoiakim, who levied taxes on the "people of the land" (2 Ki 23:35) suggests that Jeremiah was well-disposed to this group, and likely to have viewed with sympathy one whom they had chosen as king³⁵.

Whichever explanation, however, is preferable, there seems little doubt about the later intention to make these verses relating to Jehoahaz fit the overall thrust of chapters 21-24 as (i) condemnatory of kings and false prophets, something which motivated the original collection; and (ii) underlining the demise of the Davidic dynasty with the refrain harping on no hope of return. This last point, however, we shall argue in the chapter on Jehoiachin, is only true of a certain stage of the tradition, since the emphasis on irrevocable departure is arguably replaced by concern with the question of succession. The correspondence between the uniform emphasis on the *departure* of Josiah's successors in this collection of material on kings in Jeremiah, and their common description in 2 Kings as having "done evil" probably betokens a stage when there was developing agreement between the two traditions about the reasons for Jerusalem's downfall. The prophet himself might have wanted to establish that Jehoahaz offered no hope for the future³⁶; but later editors, wishing to press anti-monarchical views, or alternatively the monarchical claims of Jehoiachin's descendants, could in either case have had reason for preserving the saying.

Rudolph³⁷ follows Volz in ascribing 22:11f to Baruch, hence vouching for the reliability of the interpretation of v10 so offered. But the complex redactional

³⁵ Seitz, *Theology*, 27.

³⁶ Over against those who, Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 423, suggests, represented a party in Jerusalem optimistic of Jehoahaz's return. Carroll recognizes that any division of loyalties between supporters of Jehoahaz and Jehoiakim is "not represented in the relevant texts," but "partisan conflict must have been one element in the political life of the period".

³⁷ Rudolph: "wohl" (*Jeremia*, 139).

process now widely envisaged makes such a judgement insecure. Supporting this objection, McKane rightly rejects any suggestion that vv11f represent a later comment by Jeremiah himself³⁸. The better explanation is that later editors, by manipulating the context, changed the sympathetic thrust of what may well have been Jeremiah's words to hostility or indifference.

5.3 The meaning of אָלַם in Jeremiah 22:10

One further question raised by McKane³⁹ is whether אָלַם means "going into exile" or "about to die". There are satisfactory linguistic foundations for the latter, based both on the cognate *halaka* in Arabic and a number of Hebrew parallels, but since the former is supported by 1 Chron 5:41, it should probably be seen as primary. However, there may have been intended, or perceived, at some point a *double entendre*: the two alternatives are:

- (a) "weep bitterly for him who goes away (sc. into exile), for (אָלַם expressing the motive for weeping) he shall return no more;
- (b) "weep bitterly for him who goes away (sc. on a road to death) for (אָלַם expressing the reason for using אָלַם in this sense) he shall return no more.

6. Conclusions

6.1 There are many uncertainties about this reference to Shallum, making even identification with Jehoahaz only probable.

6.2 However, Jeremiah could be the author of 22:10, intending the poem to refer to Jehoahaz (and Josiah). The issue is not settled by 22:11f, which is a later addition, but it is natural to see in its phraseology a reference to Josiah and his *immediate* successor.

6.3 If the poem is Jeremianic, it may be either *kind* or *satirical*. Since mourning is generally a sympathetic activity, and Jeremiah's hostility to Jehoiakim signals affinity to the "people of the land", it is likely on Jeremiah's

³⁸ McKane, *Jeremiah*, I. 523.

³⁹ McKane, *Jeremiah*, I. 523.

lips to be kind, albeit with a warning for his hearers. In its context in the collection of material on kings, however, its thrust was at a later stage probably assimilated to the verdict of 2 Ki 23:32, that Jehoahaz's fate was *deserved* in view of the likely temper of the collection.

6.4 The main reasons for the catalogue of kings in this section of Jeremiah are (a) to explain the disaster which had befallen Jerusalem by the time it was first assembled; but, more importantly (since there is no indication here at any rate that Shallum had in any way offended) (b) to indicate the mistaken character of hopes which might have been at whatever stage placed in them.

6.5 We shall examine further probable changes to the thrust of the collection on kings particularly in the chapter on Jehoiachin. But arguments as to whether Jehoiachin could be seen as representing through his descendants hope for the future never altered the implications of Jer 22:10-12 that the prophet had precluded any expectations based on Jehoahaz. These verses would not have been any problem for the *Demotisierung*⁴⁰ of kingship, supposing this became a feature of the tradition after the time of Zerubbabel.

6.6 It is clear from the interpretation of Jerome, Qimhi and Rashi that there came a point when the kings mentioned here were not (or were no longer) thought to refer to Josiah and Jehoahaz, but Shallum was interpreted as Jehoiachin or Zedekiah, with the dead king being seen as Jehoiakim. This is unlikely to have been the original meaning of the passage, hence probably reflects a heightened view of Josiah, precluding the injunction not to mourn for him, perhaps, as we shall see, when the prophet was "recruited" as a *Lehrer der Tora*⁴¹. Identification of Shallum with Zedekiah could have arisen from confusion in the development of 2 Ki 23:32, where elements credible with regard to Zedekiah's fate (2 Ki 25:20) are implausibly ascribed to Jehoahaz.

⁴⁰ For *Demotisierung*, see below, esp. 183n8, 202n68, 235n98.

⁴¹ C. Maier, *Jeremia als Lehrer der Tora*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002, esp. 282-352, argues convincingly for the development of this image of the prophet within the text of Jeremiah. See also below, 100n4, 114n56.

Jehoiakim

1. Introduction

We saw in chapter II that the collection on kings was probably built around Jeremiah's indictment of Jehoiakim. He, therefore, is a prime candidate for consideration in unassigned references to kings in Jer 1-20. Strength is added to this argument if Seitz's analysis¹ of the role of "the people of the land" and of the provenance of the queen mother is correct, making Shallum (Jehoahaz) and Zedekiah politically congenial to one hailing, as Jeremiah did, from outside the city – over against Jehoiakim (an Egyptian appointee, who taxed "the people of the land" [2 Ki 23:34f]), and his son, Jehoiachin. It will be helpful, therefore, to treat Jehoiakim under three headings, dealing generally with Jer 1-25 (below, section 2), the important passage in chapter 22 (below, section 3), and finally the interconnected references in chapters 26 and 36 (below, section 4).

2. Chapters 1-25

2.1 Texts listing kings with other leaders

A number of texts in Jeremiah (1:18, 2:26, 4:9, 8:1, 17:25, 22:2, 4; 25:18, 32:32, 44:17, 21) link mention of king (4:9, 22:2) or kings with that of כֹּהֲנִים . A similar text which does not mention officials is 13:13. Of these, 2:26, 4:9, 8:1, 32:32 also mention priests and prophets in the same list, together with kings and officials. Some of these passages may be explained by the kind of homogenization responsible for growing uniformity attested by comparison with כֶּסֶף in the triad, "sword, famine and plague". No "genealogical" arrangement is possible, but they probably represent a development from the collection (still probably uncompleted) on kings and prophets in Jer 21-24. The formulaic nature, particularly of the *quadriga* embracing kings, כֹּהֲנִים , priests and prophets is indicated by Neh 9:32, where universal blame for Jerusalem's catastrophe is obvious.

Not all the passages are necessarily so late, but the pattern of *general blame* for Judah's problems suggests later reflection rather than the immediacy of

¹ See above, 89n12.

confrontation. Support for this accrues from 44:17 and 44:21, which belong to a passage in any case to be reckoned a late pastiche on idolatry², and from 17:25, where concern for the sabbath indicates Nehemiah's day³. The phrase "who sit on David's throne" (22:2, 4) comes, like 17:25, in an expression of conditional hope, probably marking a phase of reconciliation with Deuteronomistic thinking⁴. In any case, mention of kings in 17:25 shows the "theoretical nature of the sermon"⁵; hence (against Holladay⁶), 22:1-5 is unlikely to be a sermon actually preached by Jeremiah to Jehoiakim, or Zedekiah⁷. It seems more than likely that 22:1-5 owes its position to catchwords which link it with 21:11f⁸ and its general affinity with those verses, which may indeed have generated it⁹.

The fact that 21:11f does not name Jehoiakim may mean that these verses already show signs of generalizing. On the other hand, if 21:11 represents a saying of the prophet, it probably dates to Jehoiakim, the king most susceptible to censure for injustice (cf. 22:13). If so, the author of 22:1-5 may also have envisaged Jehoiakim. Even if not, concern with obedience to the law, a theme of 22:13-19 explicitly applied to Jehoiakim, may mean that all three passages *in the book as it stands* relate, even if not exclusively, to Jehoiakim. In the other passages too, Jehoiakim will certainly have been included, but it is uncertain whether the plural (21:11) reflects (a) simply those kings figuring in Jeremiah, (b) the wider gallery of those stigmatized in Kings, or (c) a merging of one into the other in the course of the formation of the canon. Certainly an overall movement from particular to general is likely as time went on, particularly in the light of a stage when

² W. McKane, *Jeremiah*, ICC, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996, II. 1083-1095.

³ R. P. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, OTL, London: SCM, 1986, 368.

⁴ C. Maier, *Jeremia als Lehrer der Torah*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002, 213-248, favours for both passages a time when Jeremiah was being represented as a teacher of the Torah.

⁵ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 368.

⁶ W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986, I. 580.

⁷ As proposed by *NIV Study Bible*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1987, *ad loc.*, 1138.

⁸ Holladay, *Jeremiah*, I. 580.

⁹ McKane, *Jeremiah*, I. 514.

hopes for future kingship were democratized¹⁰, rather than vested in David's line.

Once only (4:9) does מֶלֶךְ, singular, occur. But the similarity to 2:26, where, however, מְלָכִים appears, precludes reference to a particular king – rather, with Rudolph,¹¹ it means, “whoever the king may be at the time”. But v9 should probably be detached from what precedes, postulating a glossator writing *post eventum*, who adapted an existing *quadrige* passage to the moment of disaster, when only one king could be reigning. In all these examples (1:18, 2:26, 4:9, 8:1, 13:13, 17:25), though no two have exactly the same phraseology, the bracketing of kings with all or some of officials, priests and prophets, points the finger at leaders of various kinds, or if “all living in Jerusalem” (13:13, 17:25) are included, the developing aim would make the indictment universal¹².

The frequent inclusion of prophets perhaps reflects chapters 22f, and an extension of the combination of kings and prophets bracketed in those chapters, no doubt to assign also to the latter major responsibility for Judah's demise. Where “prophets” are omitted (1:18), מְלָכִים may have changed from a pejorative to an honorific term. Perhaps 6 has omitted “priests” in this prominent verse in deference to priestly rule in Jerusalem. This would not be the only passage where 6 has arguably modified its translation to avoid giving offence¹³.

¹⁰ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 102: “Jhwh schließt seinen ewigen Bund nicht mit einer Mittlerfigur, sondern mit dem Volk Israel: Jer 32:36-41 hat die Königsideologie demotisiert. Das zukünftige Israel ist als ganzes ein königliches Volk”. See below, 182, 183n8, 202n68, 235n98.

¹¹ W.Rudolph, *Jeremia*, HAT I/12, Tübingen: J.C.B.Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1st edn 1947, 3rd edn 1968, 34 follows P.A.Munch, *The expression “Bajjom hahu”, is it an eschatological terminus technicus?* Oslo: Dybwad, 1936, in resisting Duhm's “eschatological” explanation.

¹² The reading αὐτοῦ, 1:18 6^B, which probably gave rise to αὐτῶ *6^A and the correction to αὐτῶν by the original scribe to agree with πᾶσιν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι (cf. θ'), suggests that the Vorlage of 6 (cf. 4:19) read the singular “king” by haplography of final ך before הַיְהוּדִים, which was then deliberately altered to the plural with the addition of “all”, demonstrating extension of the generalizing tendency to very late times.

¹³ J.M.G.Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996, 126, n2.

2.2 The identity of king and queen mother in 13:18

Most commentators refer 13:18 to Jehoiachin and Nehushta: Carroll, however, suggested¹⁴ Jehoiakim and his mother¹⁵ Zebuddah¹⁶. The circumstances in which Jehoiachin took over the throne could be seen as making reference to his “proud crown” inappropriate, and the verse is underestimated (but far from certain) evidence for *ipsissima verba* of Jeremiah addressed to Jehoiakim in the extant text.

2.3 Contrast with named references in chapter 22

Apart from 13:18, probably connected with Jehoiachin and Nehushta because of their fate (as in 2 Ki 24:15), the indeterminacy of the passages discussed contrasts sharply with the situation in Jer 22. Here there is a lengthy passage concentrating on the monarchy, and naming particular kings, including Jehoiakim (22:24). Passages discussed in section 2.1 on the other hand, apart from the peculiar conditional promise in 17:25, share an atmosphere of hostility to the monarchy, with accusations of opposition to the prophet and idolatry, leading to threats of judgement. These serve to create a link with the disparaging treatment of Jehoiakim in chapter 22.

3. Chapter 22

3.1 Possibility of sayings original to Jeremiah in chapter 22

A foundation stone for Schmid’s theory¹⁷ of the book’s formation is the distinctive *lamedh* introduction to the collections on kings (21:11), on prophets (23:9), and the nations (e.g. 46:1). Of course, this explanation does not exclude later additions for each “compartment”, however difficult to

¹⁴ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 301.

¹⁵ For the suggestion that the queen mother was significant in having, besides a political role, a key part in the worship of the asherah accepted as an element of the royal cult in Judah, see H.S.Pyper, ‘Jezebel’ in P.R.Davies (ed), *First Person – Essays in Biblical Autobiography*, London and New York: Sheffield Academic Press (Continuum), 2002, 81. But his reference to S.Ackermann, “‘And the women knead dough’: The Worship of the Queen of Heaven in Sixth-Century Judah’ in A.Bach (ed), *Women in the Hebrew Bible: A Reader*, New York: Routledge, 1999, 21-32, which he cites for support, makes no specific reference to the queen *mother* – only to the Queen of Heaven (p 27).

¹⁶ In preference to “Zebidah” or “Zebiddah”, 2Ki 23:36Q (where some manuscripts read יהויכין), 2 Chron 36:5 MT makes no reference to Jehoiakim’s mother, but B^{B} has Ζεχωπά and A^{A} Ζεχχωπά, probably based on a misreading or corruption of יהויכין. For the reading δυναστεύουσιν (Jer 13:18 B), see below, 128.

¹⁷ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 203. See above, 32n6.

determine the stage of their arrival in the developing corpus. Nevertheless, if these collections are a fundamental building block of the Jeremiah tradition, we might expect to find early elements of the tradition, albeit surrounded by later redaction, in this section on kings. With words addressed to Jehoiakim in verse, there is the possibility of identifying the prophet's *ipsissima verba*.

Carroll has expressed scepticism here¹⁸: some passages are *dated* to Jehoiakim's reign, but he relates these to Nebuchadnezzar's rise to supreme power. In this he partially anticipates Schmid's theory¹⁹ and is probably right. But it does not follow that, because these dates are artificial, Jeremiah and Jehoiakim never met. The situation relating to Jeremiah and Zedekiah, invoked by Carroll to make his case, is admittedly different. But this may be accounted for simply by the existence of what Stipp refers to as the two narratives which underlie the present text of 34:7, chapters 37-43 – "*Die Erzählung von der Haft und Befreiung Jeremias*" and "*Die Erzählung vom Untergang des palästinischen Judäertums*"²⁰. The fact that no such narratives bring Jeremiah and Jehoiakim together and the fact that no meeting takes place in the one narrative relating to Jeremiah and Jehoiakim (chapter 36) cannot be conclusive: Carroll²¹ claims that many items of verse could have originated quite differently from how they are represented in the book. But since reference is made to Josiah ("*your father*"), 22:15 is not susceptible to this stricture, and is a possible historical utterance by the prophet to the king.

3.2 The contrast between treatment of royal responsibility in Jeremiah 22 and in Kings

As we shall see, the treatment of Jehoiachin in this chapter is problematic. But Jehoiakim's portrait is consistent and there is no doubt that, if 22:15 is rightly referred to him (cf. 22:18), he epitomizes the kind of kingship castigated for Judah's downfall. When, at whatever later stage, the

¹⁸ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 514. He refers to his discussion of the artificiality of the "thirteenth year of Josiah" (p92), but the exact link envisaged between dating of passages mentioning Jehoiakim and the rise of Nebuchadnezzar is not made clear.

¹⁹ See below, 111.

²⁰ H.-J. Stipp, *Jeremia im Parteienstreit*, Frankfurt am Main: Anton Hain, 1992, 330-343.

²¹ E.g. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 57.

conclusion that the Davidic dynasty had been finally dissolved was modified or rescinded, there was never any need to alter the thrust of this chapter as far as the portrayal of Jehoiakim was concerned.

But J.G. McConville²² notes an important contrast between the approach to Jehoiakim here and the treatment of him in 2 Kings. Emphasis falls there on the series of idolatrous rulers culminating in the reign of Manasseh, at whose door the downfall of Judah is explicitly laid, his wickedness incapable of compensation by Josiah's righteous rule (2 Ki 23:26). The contrast between previous bad kings on the one hand and Hezekiah and Josiah on the other is highlighted in Kings, and Josiah's successors are treated summarily (a fact which may reflect the possibility that there were successive editions of Kings²³, one of which ended perhaps in a climax of approval for Josiah, while a subsequent one needed to account for the sad historical sequel, but opened a door of hope with its final reference to Jehoiachin²⁴).

By contrast Jer 22 says nothing of Josiah's predecessors: the weight of condemnation and responsibility for ultimate disaster falls on Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin. If Josiah is made into a paragon, this was achieved implicitly by the deliberate characterization of Jehoiakim as Josiah's antitype in chapter 36. The seeds of that development may be seen in 22:15, where Jehoiakim is urged to "think of his father": strong disapproval of Jehoiakim is combined with *moderate* approval of Josiah. But enthusiasm for Josiah at this point is of a lesser order than that found either in Kings (but see above, p 83), or (by implication) in Jer 36. This is significant for the way it elucidates the relationship between Kings and Jeremiah. Close contacts exist between the two books (for example in the Deuteronomistic emphasis in both on idolatry). But the ethical emphasis in 22:13-17 is much more akin to what is found in Amos. It seems likely therefore that we have earlier, possibly in

²² J.G. McConville, *Judgment and Promise: An Interpretation of the Book of Jeremiah*, Leicester: Apollos, 1993, 56.

²³ F.M. Cross, 'The Themes of the Books of Kings and the Structure of the Deuteronomistic History' in *id.*, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, Cambridge, Mass: Yale University Press, 1973, 274-289.

²⁴ See above 94n30; below, 144, 147, 150n4.

the strict sense Jeremianic, rebukes in (or behind) 22:13-17 and perhaps 13:18, whereas the later more general strictures are influenced by the Deuteronomistic concern with idolatry found in Kings.

3.3 Detailed examination of 22:13-19

3.3.1 *The central core*

Close examination of 22:13-19 reveals a switch from third person (vv13-14) to second (vv15-16[17²⁵]) and back to third (vv18-19). This probably indicates more than one layer, and, if so, the second-person address may represent the original core, as words actually addressed by the prophet to Jehoiakim.

This middle portion (vv15f) may well be determined by the king's actual shortcomings. However, as Holladay points out,²⁶ it coincides with Solomon's pursuit of magnificence, typified by cedar (Jer 22:14) imported from Lebanon. This could have led to later features (vv13f) in the description of Jehoiakim, based on the description of Solomon in Kings: his abuse of fellow-citizens (note עָרַץ in v13) and his insistence on work without compensation (cf. 1 Ki 5:13-18, 11:28). Cedar, mentioned in this chapter several times, typified extreme luxury, perhaps accounting for the inclusion of vv 6f. The same is true of "upper room", which occurs twice here and three times in quick succession in the story of Ehud (Jg 3:20, 23, 24) marking the irony of his murder in splendid isolation.

3.3.2 *Possible intertextual allusions in later additions to 22:13-19*

Holladay notes another possible allusion in Jer 22:14²⁷. The word "windows" is used with the verb קָרַע. Of course, in chapter 36, this verb is significant for the contrast between Josiah who "rent" (קָרַע) his clothes (2 Ki 22:11,19) and Jehoiakim who carved up (קָרַע) the scroll of the prophet's words. But here not only is there an outside possibility that the use of the word with "windows" is drawing a similar unfavourable comparison

²⁵ Verse 17, after **וְהָיָה כִּי יִרְאוּ אֶת הַחַיִּים**, is probably also redactional, with 2nd person address accounted for by the fact that the writer regarded it as a continuation of 15-16.

²⁶ Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 1.594: "1 Ki 5:27-28" should presumably read "5:13-18".

²⁷ Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 1.595.

between Jehoiakim and Josiah (i.e. Jehoiakim ought to have been rending his garments, but instead he was making large windows); but there is also a possible allusion to the use of קָרַע to describe Jerusalem's portrait as a harlot, enlarging her eyes with galena or stibnite²⁸ in Jer 4:30, which may refer anyway to Jehoiakim's excesses. Another passage possibly connected is 2 Ki 9:30: here Jezebel applies eye-shadow and looks through the *window* (חַלּוֹן), a key word in Jer 22:14 and associated, as Holladay remarks, with prostitutes [Josh 2:15 - Rahab; Prov 7:6²⁹]. Such suggestions might seem far-fetched but for McKane's comment on the following words addressed to Jerusalem in Jer 4:30: "And you, O desolate one, what do you mean that you dress in vermilion... that you *enlarge* (תִּקְרַעַי) *your eyes* with eye-paint? In vain you try to beautify yourself. Paramours reject you; they seek your life": "Jerusalem is like a prostitute, keeping up appearances to the end, with her fine clothes, jewellery and cosmetic aids, but she is unaware that death is round the corner"³⁰. The description fits Jezebel's demise, which may well have been in the writer's mind. The suffix in ἐρασταί σου³¹ is absent in Jer 4:30MT. This may reflect the felt need for a euphemism for the obscene עַגְבֵּי (4:30 MT), confirming the status of the woman envisaged to portray Jerusalem. The rare word for vermilion (שֵׁשֶׁר)³², occurs elsewhere only of Chaldean officer uniforms in the insalubrious context of Oholibah's observation of pornographic wall-paintings (Ezek 23:14). Holladay writes³³: "Given these associations, I suggest that Jeremiah's word to Jehoiakim, using the same verb by which the harlot enlarges her eyes, hints that the king has metaphorically indulged in harlotry". Then follow 22:15-16, about Josiah, probably the original core. Verse 17 was perhaps added with the account of Uriah's death (26:22f),

²⁸ J.A.Thompson, 'Eye-paint', IDB, 2:202f.

²⁹ For women at windows, see J.C. Exum, *Plotted, Shot and Painted: Cultural Representations of Biblical Women*, Sheffield:Sheffield Academic Press, 1996, 72-75; H.S.Pyper, 'Jezebel' 90n28.

³⁰ McKane, *Jeremiah*, I. 112. Or was Jezebel's end written up on the basis of Jer 4:30?

³¹ Probably reflecting the adoption of תִּקְרַעַי by ³¹ʿs *Vorlage* at 4:30 from 22:22, where the parallel in רֵעֵי "your shepherds" (required for the combination with תִּרְעָה) marks a pun on רֵעֵי ("your partners").

³² Haematite, according to C.L.Wickwire, 'Vermilion', IDB 4:748-49.

³³ Holladay, *Jeremiah*, I. 595.

when the *inclusio* of chapters *26-36 (below, section 4) was created. Innocent blood in the interests of satisfying greed could also introduce Ahab to the frame with the story of Naboth's vineyard, but Ἀχὰβ (22:15 ㉔^A, where ㉔^B has Ἀχὰζ, MT אַחֲזַי, “cedar”) offers no textual support for this, unless this is a tendentious alteration.

3.3.3 *The threat of non-burial*

Allusions in Jeremiah to the Elijah material are considerable: further possible links between Jehoiakim and Jezebel come with the description of their non-burial³⁴. As far as Jehoiakim is concerned, Jer 36:30 shares this feature with 22:18, and has added significance as contrasting with the statement (2 Ki 24:6) that he rested with his fathers, while 2 Ch 36:8 ㉔ says in addition ἐτάφη ἐν γανοζαῖ ㉔^B (γανοζαν ㉔^A). This is the only place in Chronicles where any evidence of “the garden of Uzza” is found, though it is recorded as the burial place of Manasseh and Amon (2 Ki 21:18,26), where ㉔ translates correctly: ἐν (τῶ – v26) κήπῳ Ὀζά. It is at least possible that in Jehoiakim's case this was omitted in 2 Ki 24:6 in deference to Jeremiah's prophecy that the king would not be properly buried at all. An attempt has been made to explain the discrepancy³⁵ with the suggestion that Nebuchadrezzar violated the tomb. But Schmid's explanation³⁶ is better – that, whether the words in Jer 22:18 were fulfilled or not, their presence in chapter 22 appealed to the writer or editor of chapter 36; his objective might well have been to contrast Jehoiakim in this respect with Josiah, whose burial with his fathers is uncontroversial (2 Ki 23:30, 2 Ch 35:24). The point remains valid, even if the borrowing was in the opposite direction. Jehu's intention to bury Jezebel (2 Ki 9:34) was frustrated: cosmetic arsenic preserved only her extremities from dogs and birds. Jehu added to words recorded as Elijah's prophecy (I Ki 21:23) the following epilogue:

³⁴ For the importance of burial, cf. J. Barr, *The Garden of Eden and the Hope of Immortality*, London: SCM, 1992, 27.

³⁵ Lohfink, ‘Die Gattung der “Historischen Kurzgeschichte” in den letzten Jahren von Juda und in der Zeit des babylonischen Exils’, *ZAW* 90, 1978, 325.

³⁶ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 246n207.

“Jezebel’s body will be like dung on the ground in the plot at Jezreel, so that no-one will be able to say, ‘This is Jezebel’” (2 Ki 9:37).

The fate of being spread like dung on the ground probably originated in Ps 83:11 *לְאֲדָמָה לָּדָמְן*, of Jabin and Sisera. Whether Jer 9:21, “The corpses of men shall fall and lie *like dung* in the fields” has literary dependence on this is debatable, particularly in view of the variation *עַל-פְּנֵי הַשָּׂדֶה / לְאֲדָמָה*. But the reference to Jezebel’s unburied body (“And Jezebel’s corpse shall be *like dung* upon the ground” [עַל-פְּנֵי הַשָּׂדֶה] 2 Ki 9:37) may have a literary relationship with Jer 9:21 (where McKane’s proposal³⁷ to omit *בְּדָמְן* seems unjustified). In view of the contrast with the description of Jehoiakim’s death and burial in 2 Ki 24:6, and the evidence that Jer 36 has been written to contrast Jehoiakim with Josiah, there may be a hint of comparison with Jezebel: “He shall have no one to succeed him on the throne of David, *and his dead body shall be exposed to scorching heat by day and frost by night*”. It is not necessary for these passages in Jeremiah to be dependent on 2 Ki 9:37, but they could allude to what may have been a well known description of Jezebel’s end – also the end of a *dynasty*. How shocking that those who took such pride in the distinction between themselves and the northern kingdom should suffer the notorious fate of the Sidonian Jezebel! If so, this may account also for the insistence that Jehoiakim’s bones were likewise to be denied burial (Jer 22:19, 36:30). Not to be buried was a fate particularly tragic for royalty (2 Ki 9:34). It is one which Jehoiakim is made to share with Jezebel.

3.4 Suggestions as to stratification and chronology relative to Kings

While these admittedly tenuous allusions seem to have some substance, they are hard to interpret. In the case of chapter 36, one might infer that its material comes after a Deuteronomistic account of Josiah, since *קָרַע*, idiomatic for rending clothes (cf. 2 Ki 22:11) has been “stretched” to mean *cutting with a knife*³⁸. In the case of Jer 22, the second-person core (vv15f)

³⁷ McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.212.

³⁸ Of 61 instances, *קָרַע* here alone means ‘cut’; the standard word *כָּרַע* appears 289 times.

may be earlier, while the third-person redaction (vv 13f, 18f), with what may well be a range of intertextual allusions, is probably later. But matters are further complicated by the possibility that v17 is a later addition after **וְהָיָה אִתָּם** and that, if this alludes to Ahab and Jezebel, editors were possibly in touch – as may be true also of other such allusions – with sources independent of the books of Kings: clearly there is a danger of taking for granted that all that was ever available has survived in the tradition, and a case has been argued recently for the view that the Elijah and Elisha material was not in the version of Kings known to the Chronicler³⁹. However, Kings must remain the most likely source, and the borrowing date a time when, supposing the two traditions to have been earlier at odds⁴⁰, reconciliation had taken place.

3.5 Comparative treatment of Jehoiachin in chapter 22

One final point to notice with regard to the treatment of Jehoiakim in chapter 22 (by contrast with chapter 36) is the way in which Jehoiachin is also mentioned. As we shall see, the material about Jehoiachin raises problems of its own. But it is likely, especially in view of 2 Kings 24:9, that at an early stage Jehoiachin was bracketed with Jehoiakim as a bad king with similar responsibility, whether or not to the same degree, for Judah's demise. This would be in harmony with the understanding of the original purpose of this collection on kings and prophets to be an indictment of those who were thought to be primarily culpable for the disaster. The substance of Jer 22:30 at any rate looks like fulfilling this objective and may well have been an original component of the collection. Important here is that in this verse Jehoiachin is seen as the last real occupant of David's throne, something which, as we shall see, conflicts with the position in chapter 36.

³⁹ A.G. Auld, 'Prophets through the Looking Glass: Between Writings and Moses', *JSOT* 27, 1983, 3-23, resisted by H.G.M. Williamson, 'A Response to A.G. Auld', *JSOT* 27, 1983, 33-39, defended by Auld, 'Prophets through the Looking Glass: A Response', *JSOT* 27, 1983, 41-44, and developed further in Auld, *Kings Without Privilege*, T.&T. Clark, 1994, *passim*, see esp. p40.

⁴⁰ See above, 66n15.

4. Chapters 26 and 36

4.1 The extent of possible historicity

In the case of Jeremiah's dealings with Zedekiah, there was a basic narrative which the book at some stage incorporated. In the case of Jehoiakim, evidence for interaction between the king and the prophet was sparse.

Carroll,⁴¹ doubting the historicity of the recorded stand-off, points out that they never met. Such scepticism is excessive: verse passages addressed to Jehoiakim may well represent *ipsissima verba* of the prophet. If so, the creation of the bracket formed by chapters 26 and 36 could have at least as much of a historical basis as some poetic material in chapter 22 provides, and the possibility of an earlier version of chapter 36, discussed below, even if it too depends for its force on a contrast between Jehoiakim and Josiah, pushes its roots further back in the history of the tradition, and increases the likelihood of a historical foundation. On the other hand, it is literary evidence which holds the key for interpreting these two chapters (26 and 36).

4.2 Literary factors linking Chapters 26 and 36

First, there is a similarity between their introductions, pointed out by Wanke⁴², who shows that the first three verses in each case can be analysed as follows:

- (a) Dating (26:1a, 36:1a).
- (b) Introduction of a divine message through the *Wortereignisformel* (26:1b 36:1b).
- (c) First part of the divine message: engagement of Jeremiah (26:2, 36:2).
- (d) Second part of the divine message: object of the commission (26:3, 36:3).

Though closely parallel in phraseology, 26:3 and 36:3, above (d), are not identical. E.Aurelius envisages different sayings⁴³. Schmid, on the other

⁴¹ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 514.

⁴² G. Wanke, *Untersuchen zur sogenannten Baruchschrift*, BZAW 122, 1971, 53.

⁴³ E.Aurelius, *Der Führer Israels*, CB.OT 27, Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1988, 123.

hand, argues⁴⁴ that the two introductions were created simultaneously, to reflect the dating structure which he posits (below 4.3), the change from וְנִחַמְתִּי (26:3) to וְסַלַּחְתִּי (36:3) being brought about by the demands of the particular perspective determining each passage.

4.3 Schmid's theory of the dating system in Jeremiah

Schmid⁴⁵ believes that one of the aims of chapters 26 and 36 is to correspond with an overall concept envisaging the end of David's line with Jehoiakim. It was replaced by Nebuchadnezzar's supremacy, destined, together with that of his successors, to last for seventy years (25:12; 29:10). Whereas at the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign in 609 (the date in 26:1), when Yahweh *planned* this transfer of kingship, there might still have been room for a change of heart on Yahweh's part if the nation repented, the coincidence of Jehoiakim's fourth year (36:1) with the battle of Carchemish (605) meant that such divine *rethinking* was inconceivable – instead, *pardon* after the judgement was possible (note וְסַלַּחְתִּי [36:3]).

4.4 The likelihood of an *inclusio* created by chapters 26 and 36

Apart from the detailed evidence provided particularly in the interpretation of 25:11-12⁴⁶, 27:1 (in which verse Schmid holds that “Jehoiakim” [MT] should be retained⁴⁷) and 29:10, there is to be considered the clear intention to make chapters 26 and 36 brackets enclosing the material intervening at that stage.

4.5 The development of chapter 36 and its relationship with 2 Ki 22

An earlier narrative probably lay behind chapter 36, already striking a contrast with Josiah in 2 Ki 22⁴⁸. Thus Wanke writes: “At least two stages of tradition can be distinguished in Jer 36: a narrative about the fate of Jeremiah's scroll was (ii) extended to include condemnation of his

⁴⁴ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 243f.

⁴⁵ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 244f.

⁴⁶ See below, 222.

⁴⁷ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 1n3, 224, 226, 244, 364. See chapter VII, section 3.4.

⁴⁸ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 246. He rightly discounts Levin's conviction that the original narrative ended with v26 (246n211).

opponent, as is clear particularly from the shape imparted to it by the scolding and threatening word in vv 29-31⁴⁹. He also argues that this (together with 36:24-26) marks insertions into what, at least from v9, is a tightly structured narrative. Apart from being constituted on the same model as chapter 27 and chapter 29 with a three-part structure (1. Jeremiah's action; 2. Jehoiakim's counteraction; 3. Confirmation of Jeremiah, with condemnation and threat against Jehoiakim) this narrative clearly alludes to 2 Ki 22:11-20⁵⁰. Particularly the reference of Jer 36:24 ("And the king and all his courtiers expressed no fear and did not rend their garments") to 2 Ki 22:11 ("The king rent his garments") is evident from the fact that it is unambiguous what standard⁵¹ is being applied to the king: Jehoiakim behaves differently from his father because he fails to react adequately to the book proffered to him. Indeed, instead of his clothes, he rent (עָרַף in both instances) the scroll containing Jeremiah's words.

With the reference to Hezekiah's attitude to Micah (Jer 26:18f), Jehoiakim's treatment of Uriah (vv20-23) and Ahikam's support for Jeremiah (v24), the brackets provided by chapters 26 and 36 make it clear that while there may be some concern for Jehoiakim's attitude to the law, especially if there is at any point an implicit comparison with Ahab and Jezebel, the main concern is that the written form of Jeremiah's *prophecy* is being compared (or identified) with that of the law. Ultimately the presence of 31:31-34 within the bracket of chapters 26-36 would be strongly antithetical to the emphasis on the law as a written book, stressing the inscription of it on the heart. But with its emphasis also on pardon (פָּסַח [31:34]) that passage would also offer a remedy for the disaster brought by Jehoiakim upon the nation through disregarding Jeremiah's prophecy (36:3).

⁴⁹ Wanke, *Baruchschrift*, 72.

⁵⁰ Wanke, *Baruchschrift*, 70.

⁵¹ Schmid cites *Buchgestalten*, 247nn 215 and 216, in further support C.D. Isbell, 'II Kings 22:3-23:24 and Jeremiah 36, A Stylistic Comparison', *JSOT* 8, 1978, 33-45; N. Lohfink, 'Die Gattung der "Historischen Kurzgeschichte" in den letzten Jahren von Juda und in der Zeit des Babylonischen Exils', *ZAW* 90, 1978 (wrongly cited by Schmid [247n 215] as 1987), 340; and H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit*, FRLANT 129, Göttingen 1982, 160.

4.6 The specific role of chapter 26

Whereas there was probably a basic narrative already making Jehoiakim the antitype of Josiah, with his rebellion against the prophet's word instead of repentance, the likelihood that 26:1-3 is an editorial composition and the fact that the only mention of Jehoiakim otherwise relates not to Jeremiah himself but to the otherwise unknown Uriah justifies Carroll to a degree⁵² in drawing attention to the sparseness of contact between Jeremiah and Jehoiakim. The hypothesis must be that the editor, furnished with the narrative underlying chapter 36, and wanting to make an *inclusio* to draw in the evolving material in chapters 27-35, did what he could by means of the matching introductions (26:1-3, 36:1-3; see above) and the two passages (a) about the treatment of Micah in Hezekiah's day (26:16-19), with its implicit contrast with Jehoiakim's behaviour, and (b) Uriah's execution by Jehoiakim himself (26:20-23). McKane has argued against the notion of an anti-monarchical theme in chapter 26 on the grounds that it takes too long to warm up.⁵³ The answer has to be that the objective was to link hostility to Jeremiah (the subject of the rest of the chapter) with Jehoiakim, in spite of the fact that the only available evidence for a specific incident was provided by the contents of chapter 36. The fact that it was to *the people* that Jeremiah was not handed over in 26:24 suggests that Jehoiakim's presence in chapter 26 is secondary, to develop a theme involving him with major responsibility for Jerusalem's disaster and the end of the Davidic line (36:30), rather than Jehoiachin, as in 22:30.

4.7 Implications for the whole section 26-36

Does the intervening material (chapters 27-35) have any coherent theme to account for the enveloping afforded by chapters 26 and 36? E.W. Nicholson offers helpful suggestions⁵⁴. First, he argues that the narrative framework of the whole section intends a history of Yahweh's word. The hostility

⁵² See above, 110n41.

⁵³ McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.672.

⁵⁴ E.W. Nicholson, *Preaching to the Exiles. A Study of the Prose Tradition in the Book of Jeremiah*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971, 106f.

encountered in chapter 26 introduces the further opposition to Jeremiah's prophecies in chapter 27⁵⁵; and chapters 28-29, while describing a different incident, are still very much on the subject of conflict between prophet and prophets. However, Jeremiah's message not only contains judgement for the unrepentant, of whom Jehoiakim and the people described as opposing the prophet in chapters 26 and 36 are typical, but also a message of hope: those in exile will return (27:22), hence the constructive tone of the letter to those already in Babylon, which paves the way for the forgiveness and restoration of chs 30-33. The theme of the rejection of Yahweh's word then recurs, with the incident of the release of slaves (34:1-22), contrasting with the faithful Rechabites (35:1-19). It may be significant that opposition to prophecy (chapters 27-29) is thus balanced by opposition to God's law (chapters 34-35⁵⁶). Allowing for the possibility that some of the above elements could reflect later changes within the various sub-divisions, and in particular for the likelihood that chapters 34-35, with their reference to Zedekiah and concern for the law mark a separate development⁵⁷, the whole section could thus be analysed as follows:

A chapter 26	Opposition to Jeremiah by all the people; hint of Jehoiakim's opposition
B chapters 27-29	Opposition to Jeremiah by false prophets; hint of ultimate restoration
C chapters 30-33	Promises of forgiveness and recreation
B' chapters 34 -35	Opposition to God's law (withdrawal of slave-emancipation; contrasting Rechabite obedience)
A' chapter 36	Opposition to Jeremiah by Jehoiakim and his attendants, culminating in burning of scroll

⁵⁵ McKane argues (*Jeremiah* II.708) that in chapters 27 and 29, the original theme of the material is not false prophecy, though this concern has been imported at a later stage in the process of redaction. This, he says, does not lead to the kind of cohesive or unitary redaction that Thiel envisages: McKane detects "untidiness" in the present text. However, this untidiness does not preclude the possibility of a "false versus true prophet" motif in the mind of the arranger of 26-36. Either this editor had to accept the unevenness or it could have arisen afterwards.

⁵⁶ Maier, *Lehrer*, 280, sees 34:8-22 as closely related to 17:19-27, and the present arrangement of the text may reflect a stage when Jeremiah was being represented specifically as a *Lehrer der Tora*.

⁵⁷ See below, 178.

There may also be discernible here hope for the prophet-respecting Ahikam (26:24) and hope arising from the indestructibility of God's word (36:32). But particularly the undeniable centrality of the hopeful section (chapters *30-33), thought by Schmid⁵⁸ to have been in its earliest form a feature from the first stages of the growth of the book, yet characteristic also of the section embraced by chapters 26 and 36, may well mean that the intervening material (chapters 27-29, 34-35) is also intended to balance, as illustrated above. It has to be admitted, however, that this analysis is very tentative.

Schmid, accepting Rietzschel's view that chapter 36 was originally a separate narrative⁵⁹, and Wanke's, that there was a correspondence between the original form of chapters 27 and 36⁶⁰, sees this earlier version of chapter 36 as concluding the book (apart from the following OAN), the scroll envisaged being the then existing constituents of chapters 1-25⁶¹. The next stage, he believes, was the advent of the redaction layer most obviously recognizable from 25:12 and 29:10, which incorporates a dating system. According to this, the seventy years of Babylonian supremacy are explained by making the start of this period 609 (when Yahweh planned this outcome) and 605 (the year of Carchemish) the moment of implementation. Schmid claims that further support is given to this view by the phrase אֲנֹכִי חֹשֵׁב which only appears in 26:3, 36:3 and 29:11. But most significant for our concern is the proposal that words in 22:30 disqualifying Jehoiachin, *the obvious original target for them*, are now transferred to Jehoiakim (36:30)⁶².

4.8 The parallel contrasts between Jehoiakim and Josiah in Jeremiah 36 and between Ahaz and Hezekiah in Isaiah

H.-J. Stipp has played down (against the common consensus) the correspondence between chapter 36 and 2 Ki 22. But even he concedes the intention of ἐξελήθησαν in 43:24[ⓐ] (for MT 36:24 יִקְרָא) – [ⓑ] reads

⁵⁸ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 212f, 434.

⁵⁹ C. Rietzschel, *Das Problem der Urrolle, Ein Beitrag zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Jeremiabuches*, Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gerd Mohn, 1966, 105.

⁶⁰ Wanke, *Baruchsschrift*, 73.

⁶¹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 247.

⁶² Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 245n207. See also below, 153f.

ἐζήτησαν; Q^{mg} adds τὸν κύριον – to hark back to 2 Ki 22:13, where Josiah instructs his servants to seek the Lord in response to the discovery of the book of the law⁶³. Further support for the importance of the relationship of chapter 36 to 2 Ki 22 is perhaps to be seen in a view of the early chapters of Isaiah, recently put forward by H.G.M. Williamson⁶⁴.

Rejecting (because third-person references in Isa 7 were gratuitously emended) the long-standing thesis of K. Budde (1885⁶⁵ elaborated in 1928⁶⁶) that Isa 6:1-8:18 is a “*Denkschrift*” written by the prophet, Williamson points out that the third-person narrative in Isa 7, with the similarities of 7:1 to 2 Ki 16:5, looks comparable with the later prose material in Isa 36-39, and part and parcel of the same addition to the text. This impression is particularly strengthened by the following correspondences: (a) the king is confronted by an invading army threatening Jerusalem (Isa 7:1; 36:2); (b) he is reduced to near panic (7:2; 37:1); (c) the prophet offers a “fear-not” oracle (7:4-9, 37:f) backed up in each case with the offer of a sign (7:11; 37:30 - in Hezekiah’s case three signs [cf. 38:7, 22]); (d) in each case there is an exactly corresponding mention of the conduit of the upper pool on the highway to the Fuller’s Field (7:3; 36:2), which is a striking coincidence, and hardly to be explained simply by the prospective siege situation in both cases. But most important is the fact that whereas Ahaz rejects the prophet’s admonition, Hezekiah accepts it, and this is the main point of the narrative in both cases.

In Jeremiah there is a similar contrast between Jehoiakim and Josiah, but one which moves in the opposite direction. In this case, of course, the first element of the comparison is in the Book of Kings rather than in the Book of Jeremiah, but the fact that the passage about Hezekiah occurs both in

⁶³ H.-J. Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 107. Stipp believes that the “inappropriate” rendering (ἐξ)ἐζήτησαν (v24a) is an attempt by ℄ to make the connection with 2 Ki 22 (*Parteienstreit*, 76 and n13).

⁶⁴ H.G.M. Williamson, *Variations on a Theme. King, Messiah and Servant in the Book of Isaiah*, Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998, 86-112.

⁶⁵ K. Budde, “Ueber das siebente Capitel des Buches Jesaja”, in *Études archéologiques, linguistiques et historiques, dédiées à Mr. le Dr. C. Leemans à l’occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de sa nomination aux fonctions de Directeur du Musée archéologique des Pays-Bas*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1885, 121-6.

⁶⁶ K. Budde, *Jesaja’s Erleben: Eine Gemeinverständliche Auslegung der Denkschrift des Propheten (Kap. 6, 1 – 9, 6)*, Gotha: Leopold Klotz Verlag, 1928.

Isaiah and 2 Kings and the fact that there is a passage from Kings appended to Jeremiah shows that a close relation developed between the two traditions. It may be argued that at a relatively early stage, the Kings tradition borrowed from Jeremiah material, but, owing to *odium theologicum*, omitted any mention of the prophet. Later, reconciliation took place to account for the dependence on Kings in Jeremiah, as explicitly in the case of Jer 52 and implicitly in the allusion (Jer 36) to 2 Ki 22.

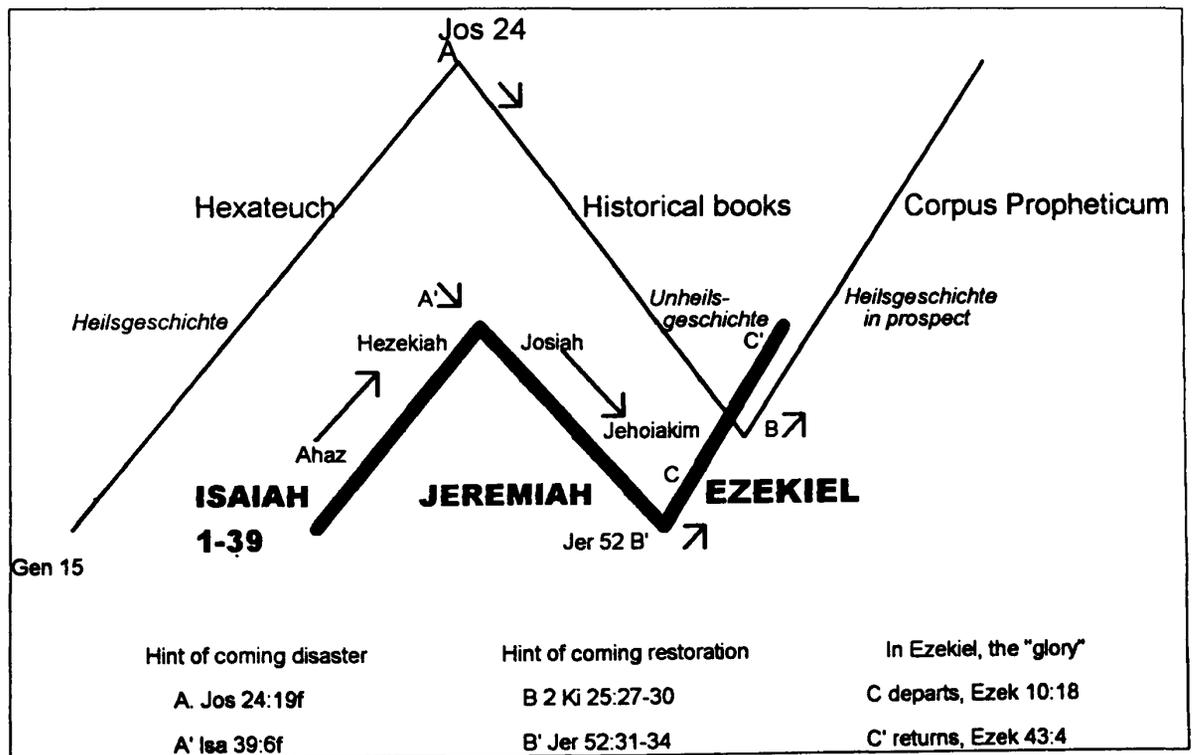
The correspondence between these two comparisons, that of Ahaz (Isa 7) to Hezekiah in 2 Ki 18-20 (= Isa 36-39) and that of Jehoiakim in Jeremiah 36 to Josiah (2 Ki 22), can be looked at as follows. In the account of 2 Ki 18-20 (Hezekiah) and 22 (Josiah), the portrait of a king eulogized for success has arguably received a later addition, in both cases making the point that the forthcoming disaster owing to Manasseh's wickedness would not be averted. These pessimistic additions have been ascribed to Deuteronomistic redaction⁶⁷. A different perspective emerges from a comparison of Isa 1-39 with Jeremiah. In Isaiah there is an upward trajectory from faithless Ahaz to faithful Hezekiah, culminating in the utter defeat of the nation's major enemy, the Assyrians, something achieved *not by military prowess, but by "the angel of the Lord"* (Isa 37:36). In Jeremiah, by contrast, there is a downward trajectory marked by the reversal of this movement from Ahaz to Hezekiah⁶⁸ in the contrast between Josiah and Jehoiakim and culminating in the utter defeat of the Judahites themselves at the hands of the Babylonians (Jer 52). However, just as in Isaiah 1-39 there is the foreshadowing of *disaster* in chapter 39 with Hezekiah's foolish encounter with Marduk-apla-iddina, so there is the ray of renewed *hope* in the restoration of Jehoiachin in Jer 52. Schmid, as we have pointed out, has argued convincingly for a pattern embracing Genesis to 2 Kings which represents a movement of *Heilsgeschichte*, culminating in Joshua 24 with the utter defeat of Israel's enemies (Jos 24:8-13), but "*not with your sword*

⁶⁷ In the case of Hezekiah, see L. Camp, *Hiskija und Hiskijabild*: Altenberge: Telos Verlag, 1990, 251 and in the case of Josiah, W. Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte*, FRLANT 108, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972, 62f, 106f, 134-9.

⁶⁸ Williamson, *Variations*, 104, argues that from the outset Isa 7:14 referred to Hezekiah – against R.E. Clements who thinks this interpretation represents later redaction ('The Immanuel Prophecy of Isa 7:10-17 and its Messianic Interpretation', in E. Blum *et al* [edd], *Die Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1990, 225-240).

or bow”(v12, cf. Isa 37:36)⁶⁹, followed by the *Unheilsgeschichte* of the monarchy, culminating in the disaster of 2 Ki 25. But Schmid sees hints of recovery in Jehoiachin’s restoration (2 Ki 25:27-30) as matching the hint of forthcoming disaster in Joshua’s warning in Jos 24:19f, and paving the way for the *corpus propheticum*⁷⁰, regarded as *Heilsgeschichte* in prospect. If this striking correspondence is deliberate, it points to a manipulation of the prophetic books to match the thrust imparted to Genesis-2 Kings by the addition, if Schmid is right, of Genesis 15⁷¹ and Joshua 24, with their antimonarchical overtones. If so, Ezekiel may figure as the movement corresponding in this “miniature” prophetic pattern with the whole *corpus propheticum* in the larger one.

This suggestion is illustrated in the following diagram:



These correspondences could have been achieved (a) by matching the major prophets to the rest of the material from Genesis to Malachi or (b) *vice versa*

⁶⁹ There is a significant match between the *God-given* victory over Sennacherib and the defeat of the Canaanite nations.

⁷⁰ Schmid, *Erzväter*, 48-49. See also below, 201-202n68.

⁷¹ "Wie oft gesehen, ist Genesis 15 maßgeblich beeinflusst von Jes 7:1-17", Schmid, *Erzväter*, 184, n 88; cf. J.Ha, *Genesis 15*, BZAW 181, Berlin/New York:W.de Gruyter, 1989, 64, 78-89. On the word עֲרִירָה (ἐκκήρυκτος, banished) in Jer 22:30, see below, 132f.

or (c) by adjustments (such as the importation of Kings material into Isaiah and Jeremiah, and of Gen 15 and Jos 24 into the books from Genesis to 2 Kings) to enforce the relevant points. This last seems most likely and, since the allusion to 2 Kings 22 is present in the earlier stage of the redaction of Jer 36,⁷² the Ahaz story was probably added to Isaiah to make a matching contrast at the same time as Gen 15 was composed with its allusions to Isa 7. The further denigration of Jehoiakim as the king responsible for the demise of the Davidic dynasty fits well with the anti-monarchical overtones detected by Schmid in Gen 15 and Jos 24, and whereas Schmid thinks that the words in Jer 22:30b were *transferred* to Jehoiakim, secondary symptoms in that text⁷³ deny a successor equally to both him and Jehoiachin at this same stage, which Schmid convincingly links with a dating scheme (a) involving seventy years of Babylonian supremacy, and (b) associated with the possibility that Isa *40-55 was once the continuation of Jeremiah, with Cyrus as the Lord's anointed (Isa 45:10) then giving way to a view that the people themselves were heirs of "the sure mercies of David" (Isa 55:3)⁷⁴.

The suggestions in this section must be regarded as tentative, but they may throw significant light on Jer 36 with its implied role for Josiah and draw attention to the importance of seeing that the redaction of Jeremiah was ultimately not something which took place in isolation from the whole corpus of Torah and prophets as a developing body of literature.

5. Conclusions

5.1 As far as the references to king or kings in Jer 1-20 are concerned, the fact that most are in the plural (and the exception similar in style) makes it unlikely that any of these, with the possible exception of 13:18, relate closely to Jehoiakim. At a late stage, when Jeremiah's ministry ostensibly covered the reigns of Josiah to Zedekiah, there might have been the notion within the tradition, particularly in the light of chapters 22 and 36, that Jehoiakim was a good example of the points these references make.

⁷² See above, 4.5.

⁷³ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 250.

⁷⁴ For this development, known as *Demotisierung* of kingship, see above n9 and 41 n44. See also Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 220-236, 342.

5.2 Even if Schmid's envisaged original document, which linked the indictment of kings and prophets to the basic oracles against the nations by means of the *lamedh of reference*, did not, as in the present text, point to *named* kings, it is still possible that 22:15 was addressed by the prophet to Jehoiakim, and that it in any case marks an earlier stage in the tradition than what is found in chapters 26 and 36, probably providing the stimulus for the contrast between Jehoiakim and Josiah that chapter 36 develops. But it would be unwise to rule out an underlying historical act of *cutting* on the part of the king: why could he not have been made to *tear* the scroll to provide an exact match with Josiah's rending of clothes (עָרַע)?

5.3 Development in chapter 36 proceeded in two stages. The first made play with the contrast between the king who rent (עָרַע) his clothes, and the king who cut up (קָרַע) the prophet's scroll, while the second stage used the narrative to make Jehoiakim's action the final repudiation of God's word, sounding the death knell for the Davidic dynasty, and embodying the concept of a seventy-year period of supremacy for Babylon which began in the year of Josiah's death and Jehoiakim's accession (609).

5.4 While chapter 36 is likely to owe at least some of its detail to 2 Ki 22, there is a sharp contrast between the explanation of the demise of Jerusalem in 2 Kings and that in Jeremiah. One emphasizes Manasseh's responsibility, hurrying over Josiah's successors in a way that suggests a postscript; the other blames disaster firmly on Josiah's successors and, in Jer 36, specifically Jehoiakim. An important contrast between Jer 22 and chapters 26-36, which more than anything else marks the thrust of the second stage in the development of chapter 36, is that it is now particularly Jehoiakim who is said to have no successor to "sit on David's throne".

5.5 The book arguably went through further stages of development, at least one entertaining the resuscitation of David's line (33:14-26). But no changes of perspective altered Jehoiakim's portrait. His responsibility for disaster, symbolic of the nation's disobedience, remained an enduring feature, though the universalizing of guilt (as well as hope) which accompanied the process of *Demotisierung* could be seen as an issue addressed in 31:31-34.

EXCURSUS : The historical facts about Jehoiakim.

(a) Did Jehoiakim go to Babylon?

After stating that in the third year of Jehoiakim, “Nebuchadnezzar, *king of Babylon*, came to Jerusalem and besieged it”, Dan 1:1 says that Jehoiakim was taken to Babylon, but is silent about his death. A.Lacocque⁷⁵ explains this as consistent with the notion of an *exile* lasting seventy years. It is not precisely exile to which this period refers in Jer 25:11, the likely source, but rather Babylonian supremacy. Lacocque supposes that the year 606 is intended, therefore before Carchemish, and *before* Nebuchadnezzar was king. It is not clear how 606-538 can yield 70 years, but in any case J.G.Baldwin argues⁷⁶ that Daniel uses a Babylonian dating system which would mean that this could have been after Carchemish (605) and Nabopolassar’s death. An attack by Nebuchadnezzar three years before the rebellion which led to events of 597 is mentioned in 2 Ki 24:1. Williamson⁷⁷ and D.J.Wiseman⁷⁸ both argue for the possibility of a visit to Babylon (605/4) from which, to make sense of the dates, Jehoiakim must have returned to resume the throne as Nebuchadnezzar’s vassal. 2 Chron 36:5-10, however, gives the impression that Jehoiakim *stayed* in Babylon and that Jehoiachin did not surrender to a siege, but was *sent for* by Nebuchadnezzar. Although Chronicles seems to have been written on the basis of Kings, or a source similar, there can hardly be any doubt in the light of the Babylonian Chronicles that the Kings version is basically correct. From the perspective of Chronicles, on the other hand, the only siege (before 587) was the one in 606/5. In the light of 2 Chron 36:21, it seems likely that the Chronicler’s account at least was geared to the notion of a seventy-year exile, perhaps calculated to end in 537 (the last date to be mentioned in Daniel [10:1]). It is hard to resist the conclusion that the Chronicler has antedated the siege of 597 and it is likely that similar thinking explains the beginning of the book of Daniel, the writer of which is also governed by Jeremiah’s prophecy⁷⁹. A further implausibility is the implication that the Babylonians either

⁷⁵ *The Book of Daniel*, London:SPCK, 1979, 25.

⁷⁶ *Daniel, An Introduction and Commentary*, Leicester:IVP, 1978, 20f.

⁷⁷ H.G.M.Williamson, *I & II Chronicles*, Grand Rapids:Eerdmans /London:Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1982, 413.

⁷⁸ D.J.Wiseman, *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel*, London:Tyndale Press, 1965, 18.

⁷⁹ Lacocque, *Daniel*, 25.

appointed or were content with a son of the rebellious Jehoiakim.

Furthermore, (against Wiseman and Williamson's view) they would hardly have given a second chance to an appointee of the *Egyptians*.

(b) The burial of Jehoiakim

The evidence of 2 Ki 24:6 is that "Jehoiakim slept with his fathers"; burial is not mentioned. Seitz⁸⁰ thinks this is unusual because throughout the books of Kings the usual formula for ending the account of a monarch's reign includes a reference both to death and burial (the notable exception, he says, being that of Hezekiah, usually put down to inadvertence – contrast 2 Chron 32:33). However, the fact is that, starting with Hezekiah, there are no further examples of either of the two regular formulae used before, so that the omission in Kings in the case of Jehoiakim's burial is not altogether exceptional. Matters are complicated by the notice of his burial in 2 Chron 36:8. It is clear from the reading ἐν γαυνοζαῆ that this is an attempted transliteration of נְטַע יְנֵב, therefore not an internal Greek development.

The reference to the Garden of Uzza is not unique; it occurs in connection with the burial of Manasseh and Amon (2 Ki 21:18,26), where, however, it is not reproduced in Chronicles. The interesting question then is: did the Chronicler find נְטַע יְנֵב in 2 Ki 21:18 (Manasseh), 26 (Amon) and, though missing it out at those points, include it in the case of Jehoiakim, or did he find it also in 2 Ki 24:6, entailing that it has been deliberately left out of an edited version of Kings? The latter alternative is more plausible, in which case a possible explanation for its omission in the Kings tradition which has come down to us is either that Jeremiah was known to have prophesied that Jehoiakim would have the burial of a donkey⁸¹, or that such a prophecy was already recorded in the text (Jer 22:19). Alternatively (but less likely), if there was no reference in 2 Kings to Jehoiakim's burial for sinister reasons, this, in the light of the *Golaorientierung* which arguably characterizes later stages of the book, might be motivated by the wish not to blacken Jehoiachin, his son, by association.

⁸⁰ *Theology*, 113.

⁸¹ I.e. no burial at all.

VI

Jehoiachin

1. Introduction

Several forms of Jehoiachin's name appear in MT (see figure VI.1), indicating unevenness in the text. Here we ask: (a) whether this elucidates the composition of Jeremiah (section 2) and (b) whether there is other evidence of changing attitudes to the king in question (sections 3-7).

2. Textual evidence

2.1 In determining relative age, the form יְהוֹיָכִן found in the late 1 Chron 3:16, 17 and Est 2:6 suggests that יְהוֹיָכִין and יְהוֹיָכִין are earlier and יְהוֹיָכִין later. This is confirmed by E.Y.Kutscher's analysis of 1QIsa^a¹, whose modernizing tendency shortened names like יְהוֹיָכִין and יְהוֹיָכִין .

A similar explanation applies to instances of יְהוֹיָכִין in Jer 27:1-29:23 (see below, section 5). Since יְהוֹיָכִין presupposes an original יְהוֹיָכִין , it is reasonable to infer that יְהוֹיָכִין too is shortened from יְהוֹיָכִין ². One instance of יְהוֹיָכִין probably gave rise to the other, and, if so, it is its appearance in 22:28 (poetry) which is likely to have generated 22:24 (probably a prose comment). But, as we shall see, יְהוֹיָכִין may not have stood originally in 22:28, and this variation of יְהוֹיָכִין could have arisen independently at a stage difficult to

¹ E.Y.Kutscher, *The language and linguistic background of the complete Isaiah scroll*, Leiden: Brill, 1974, 73, cited by A. Saenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 134, who says that *matres lectionis* also indicate lateness, for which 27:20 (Kt יְהוֹיָכִין) is a case in point (see figure VI.1). For the complexity of the evidence on *matres lectionis*, however, see A.R.Millard, 'Variable Spelling in Hebrew and Other Ancient Texts', *JTS* 42, 1991, 108 and E. Waaler, 'A Revised Date for Pentateuchal Texts. Evidence from Ketef Hinnom,' *TB* 53, 2002, 45. Cf. below, 231n90.

² So Carroll, *Jeremiah*, London: SCM, 437, who explains the shorter form as caritative, hence indicating sympathy. This would argue for the priority of 22:28 to 22:24, the latter possibly a sarcastic echo, as is also maintained below, contra W.L.Holladay, *Jeremiah*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986, 1.605, who thinks יְהוֹיָכִין is an extension of יְהוֹיָכִין .

FIGURE VI.1

Conspectus of use of Jehoiachin's names in the Book of Jeremiah.

Jeremiah	MT	Note	MT Qerê	Other passages	G	Note	V	Note
22:24,28	יְחֹנָיָהוּ		No variation		Ἰεχονιάς		lechonias	
24:1	יְחֹנָיָהוּ		No variation		Ἰεχονίαν		lechoniam	
27:20	יְחֹנָיָהוּ	1	יְחֹנָיָהוּ		Ἰεχονίαν (34:17)		lechoniam	
28:4	יְחֹנָיָהוּ		No variation	Ch 3:16, Est 2:6	Ἰεχονίαν (35:14)		lechoniam	
29:2	יְחֹנָיָהוּ		No variation		Ἰεχονίου (36:2)		lechonias	
37:1	יְחֹנָיָהוּ		No variation		Ἰωακείμ (44:1)	2	lechonias	
52:31	יְחֹיָכִים	3	No variation	2 Ki 24:6,8,12,15, 25:27	Ἰωακείμ		loiachim	4

Note 1 יְחֹנָיָהוּ is the form given by some MSS as the Qerê in 27:20.

Note 2 So G_B. A and Q have Ἰεχονίου υἱοῦ Ἰωακείμ. Since the text of Jer G regularly represents Jehoiachin by Ἰεχονιάς, it is likely that Jer 44:1G is influenced by 2 Ki 24G, where Jehoiachin appears several times as Ἰωακείμ. Since it is unlikely that the translator thought Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin had the same name, (cf 2 Ki 24:6), the form Ἰωακείμ probably arose as an internal Greek confusion with Ἰωακείν, the form used by Lucian. "Son of Jehoiakim" could have arisen as an addition independently in both Hebrew and Greek, so that the original reading in 37:1 was probably the simple form יְחֹנָיָהוּ

Note 3 This is shortened in Eze 1:2 to יְחֹיָכִים
G has Ἰωακείμ.
V_A loiachim.
COSTMΦ loachim.
Jerome in his commentary on Ezekiel reads loiachim.
Gryson has loachim.

Note 4 So V_A at Jer 52:31. The form is used elsewhere in this MS for Jehoiakim. 1926-92 Editors of the Vulgate read loiachim.
Gryson has loachim.
In all the passages cited in 2 Ki 24-25, manuscripts of the Vulgate show uncertainty as between forms representing Jehoiakim or Jehoiachin. Here Gryson consistently prints the form loiachim.

determine. The spelling יְבִיָּהּ comes in precisely that part of Jeremiah (27:1-29:23) where נְבוּכַדְנֶאֱצַר is so spelt (contrast other parts which have נְבוּכַדְרֶאֱצַר³).

2.2 יְהוֹיָכִין is closest to the form which appears in four “rations-assigning” tablets⁴. These represent him as king of Judah, still so regarded by the Babylonians in spite of their regent Zedekiah. This adds to evidence that יְהוֹיָכִין was a throne-name⁵. It is likely that both Jer 24:1b and 29:2 are secondary derivatives from 2 Ki 24:14-16⁶. Why then, rather than יְהוֹיָכִין, is יְבִיָּהּ found in Jer 24:1b? In the version of Kings which engendered it יְבִיָּהּ was probably characteristic. The use of the throne name in Kings, if Seitz is right that its present form reflects *golah*-oriented hopes for restoration of the Davidic dynasty⁷, could have resulted from this programme. As נְבוּכַדְנֶאֱצַר is the form found in later rather than earlier texts, corroborated by the spelling in Ⓞ⁸, יְבִיָּהּ comes precisely where Jeremiah appears as יְרֵמְיָהּ rather than

³ נְבוּכַדְנֶאֱצַר is the spelling in Chronicles and (without א) in the Hebrew parts of Nehemiah, Esther, Ezra and Daniel and in Aramaic (e.g. Dan 2:28, Ezr 5:12). The fact that it is spelt נְבוּכַדְרֶאֱצַר in Kings suggests that in Jeremiah the earlier (and more correct) נְבוּכַדְנֶאֱצַר has survived the tendency towards what became the universally standard form.

⁴ In fragments excavated in Babylon by R.Koldewey and published by E.F.Weidner, in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à R.Dussaud*, BAH, Paris:Librairie Orientaliste (Paul Geuthner), tome 30, tome 2 (*sic*), 1939, 923-935, with the numbers (a) 28122, (b) 28178, (c) 28186, (d) 28232, forms representing respectively (a) *ja-’-û-kîmî*, (b) *jja-’-u-kîmî*, (c) *ja-ku-û-ki-mu*, (in which case Judah appears as *ja-ku-du*), (d) *ja]-’-u-kînu* are found. See especially pp925f.

⁵ A seal from *tell bet mirsim*, bears the legend, “Eliakim servant of *Ywkn*”. W.F.Albright ascribed it to a minister of Jehoiachin (‘The Seal of Eliakim and the Latest Pre-exilic History of Judah, with some Observations on Ezekiel’, *JBL* 51, 1932, 77f).

⁶ So W.Rudolph, *Jeremia* HAT I/12, Tübingen: J.C.B.Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1st edition 1947, 3rd edition 1968, 182. Cf. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1-25*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1973, 254; K.Schmid, *Buchgestalten des Jeremiabuches*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1996, 255.

⁷ C.R.Seitz, *Theology in conflict, Reactions to the exile in the Book of Jeremiah*, BZAW 176, Berlin/New York 1989, 215-221. Seitz’s argument was criticised by H.-J.Stipp, *Jeremia im Parteienstreit*, Frankfurt am Main: Anton Hain, 1992, 136-141, but the present form of Kings probably still has *golah*-oriented features. Cf. Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 267n304.

⁸ No spelling other than Ναβουχοδοנוσορ is found in Ⓞ, though HR cite Josephus as having both Ναβοκοδρόσοπος and Ναβουχοδονόσοπος (II.117).

יְרֵמְיָהוּ (i.e 27:1-29:23⁹). Reversion to יְרֵמְיָהוּ (29:27, 29f) may be due to use of source-material distinct from MT's *Vorlage* for 27:1-29:23. That יְרֵמְיָהוּ (with apocope of the final ה) is the spelling in Dan 9:2 and Neh 12:12 indicates the direction of development, confirming that יְרֵמְיָהוּ arose from יְרֵמְיָהוּ, not *vice versa*.

2.3 This then all points to יְרֵמְיָהוּ as the earlier spelling. ⚭ calls Jehoiachin Ἰωακείμ (or perhaps originally Ἰωακείν – see figure VI.1, note 2) throughout 2 Kings and Jer 52:31 [cf. Jer 44:1⚭≅37:1 MT– below, section 2.4]. Otherwise it has Ἰεχονίας, suggesting that יְרֵמְיָהוּ had become normal by the time that ⚭ was written.

2.4 Carroll says¹⁰ that in Jer 44:1⚭ (≅37:1MT) there is no mention of Jehoiachin. But there are complications. Since ⚭ represents Jehoiachin as Ἰωακείμ in 2 Ki 24, and Jer 52:31, which is probably dependent, the same may be true in Jer 44:1⚭. On this view it is “... son of Jehoiakim” rather than “Jehoiachin, son of...” which is adventitious in MT. It is generally recognized that 37:1f is a literary bridge to 37:3¹¹. It is possible, therefore, that 37:1f was included by the hand responsible for glossing 22:28 with the name יְרֵמְיָהוּ. If so, one must conclude that 22:24, where the form יְרֵמְיָהוּ perhaps first occurs, is to be seen as a later riposte to v28, at a time when v28a (and probably also v28b) represented a revision of the anti-Jehoiachin message (v30), which must have been the thrust at the outset. It is clear that in 37:1f there is no question of particular hostility towards Jehoiachin, since these verses reflect a view that *Zedekiah* is the real villain. There is no difficulty therefore in supposing that the same person inserted 37:1f and either glossed 22:28 with the name יְרֵמְיָהוּ or even recast what was originally a negative expression about “this man” in

⁹ Reversion to יְרֵמְיָהוּ (29:27, 29,30) may be due to source-material distinct from MT's *Vorlage* for 27:1-29:23. See further below, section 2.7.

¹⁰ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 670.

¹¹ H.-J. Stipp, *Jeremia im Parteienstreit*, 202.

order, as we shall argue, to query its negative implications. However, Carroll suggests that the reason for the omission of Jehoiachin in 44:1Ϟ (≅ 37:1MT) is that in 36:30, it has been prophesied that Jehoiakim would have no successor. This would tie in with Schmid's theory (discussed above, p 111) that the true ruler of Judah after Josiah was seen as Nebuchadnezzar. In this case, the inclusion of Jehoiachin in 37:1MT could still have been by the hand responsible for 22:28, for clearly it could have been important in the interests of the 597 *golah* to allow no doubt that Jehoiachin had been king.

2.5 It is unusual for ϡ to agree with Ϟ against MT and it is just possible in 52:31 that the reading in Ϟ and ϡ (Ἰωακείμ, *Ioachim*, respectively) reflects deliberate avoidance of any implication of renewed hope for Jehoiachin. But it is more likely that Jer 52:31Ϟ is somehow influenced by the spelling in 2 Ki Ϟ, where Ἰωακείμ is found (for Jehoiachin) without significant variants at 2 Ki 24:6, 8, 12, 15; 25:27; and the fact that ϡ^C has forms representing “Jehoiakim” – at 2 Ki 24:12 (“iohachim”); v15 (“ihoachim”); 25:27 (“ihoachim” in both instances) – where Jehoiachin is clearly required, shows how easily confusion could arise. In the case of 2 Ki 24:19, where MT has יהויכין, even in the Hebrew tradition there may have been confusion¹²: for here ϡ^{LDΦΣ} represent “Jehoiachin”, and it was probably the intention to compare the previous rather than penultimate king with Zedekiah! Conversely, ϡ^{GSA} erroneously represent “Jehoiakim” at 2 Chron 36:8f.

2.6 Rudolph compares Jer 29:2 with 24:1b¹³, arguing for both passages an insertion infringing continuity, both perhaps reflecting 2 Ki 24:14-16. In some ways this solution is attractive. It is strange that different versions of the name for Jehoiachin occur in the two places, but in the case of 29:2 it could have been assimilated to the usage in 28:4. If this view is correct, it is noteworthy that

¹² In view of the uncertainties, caution is needed with Seitz's emphasis on Zedekiah's evil being strikingly compared with that of his half-brother Jehoiakim (*Theology*, 196). But even if יהויכין was originally in the text, the *present* reading יהויקים possibly reflects unwillingness to blacken Jehoiachin's image.

¹³ Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 182.

when the material also found in 2 Kings 24 is used in Jer 52, the form יהויכין is used, as in Kings, whereas in these two other cases, if also dependent on Kings, the name is in one יְהוֹיָכִן and in the other יְהוֹיָכִי. This may point, as suggested, to different stages of the development of Kings, but certainty is impossible.

2.7 The peculiar spellings of Jehoiachin, Nebuchadnezzar, and Jeremiah in 27:1-29:23¹⁴ and the overall theme of false prophecy suggest importation of the passage as a unit¹⁵. But it comes in both MT and \mathfrak{C} . Why then is the name “Nebuchadnezzar” absent from \mathfrak{C} throughout this section?¹⁶ The name must in one way or another surely have come into MT after bifurcation of pre-Masoretic and Alexandrian traditions: in which case, it ceases to be evidence for the self-contained character of 27:1-29:23. There are, of course, places where נְבוּכַדְרֶצְאֶר is found as additions in MT, not represented in \mathfrak{C} . This in its turn pinpoints the unlikelihood of an editor restricting the form נְבוּכַדְרֶצְאֶר to additions in these three chapters. The solution must be that an editor selected a manuscript with these late forms, in which the many additions of נְבוּכַדְרֶצְאֶר were already present, to copy these particular chapters. The relative brevity of \mathfrak{C} suggests that one reason for this preference could be that the manuscript chosen contained a fuller and more *golah*-oriented account than its competitors. In view of the textual variation attested by \mathfrak{C} , this is perhaps plausible enough.

¹⁴ This has often been noted, cf. Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 173n1. Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 236n165, sees it as difficult to explain. He cites A. Graupner, *Auftrag und Geschick des Propheten Jeremia*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991, 62, for the statement that all strata of what is now almost universally agreed to be a many-layered book show the peculiarity, and on the other hand G. Wanke, *Untersuchungen zur sogenannten Baruchschrift*, BZAW 122, Berlin/New York: W. de Gruyter, 1971, 58n62, for the inappropriateness of envisaging a document independently transmitted and later incorporated. *A solution has to meet both points.*

¹⁵ It is not clear how 29:24-32 are related. Their subject matter is not the same, and the link with what precedes is problematic (cf. Holladay, *Jeremiah*, II.145). These verses contain furthermore a version of the name Jeremiah at 29:27, 29 (יְרֵמְיָהוּ) different from 29:1 (יְרֵמְיָהוּ), though this reversion may be due to juxtaposition with chapters 30f, where יְרֵמְיָהוּ is again regularly found.

¹⁶ 34:5 \mathfrak{C}^n (\cong 27:5 MT) omits it (as also Bo, Eth – the latter in a number of passages being supportive of \mathfrak{C}^n) and this marks its presence in other manuscripts of \mathfrak{C} in that verse as secondary.

It might explain also how, if 24:1b and 29:2 are to be seen as originally additions by the same hand, Jehoiachin's name became varied (i.e. the form which was found in 24:1b was originally also in 29:2, where *ex hypothesi* both 24:1b and 29:2 were “modernized” in the *Vorlage* eventually used for 27:1-29:23, but only the latter found its way into MT, because the editor restricted use of the modernized manuscript to 27:1-29:23; alternatively, this passage might have been all or part of an independent pamphlet). In any case, the corollary is that the spelling of “Jehoiachin” in Kings was altered after information contained in Jer 24:1 and 29:2 was drawn from there. With such fluidity in the spelling, this is perfectly possible.

These conclusions are represented in the flow-chart of figure VI.2.

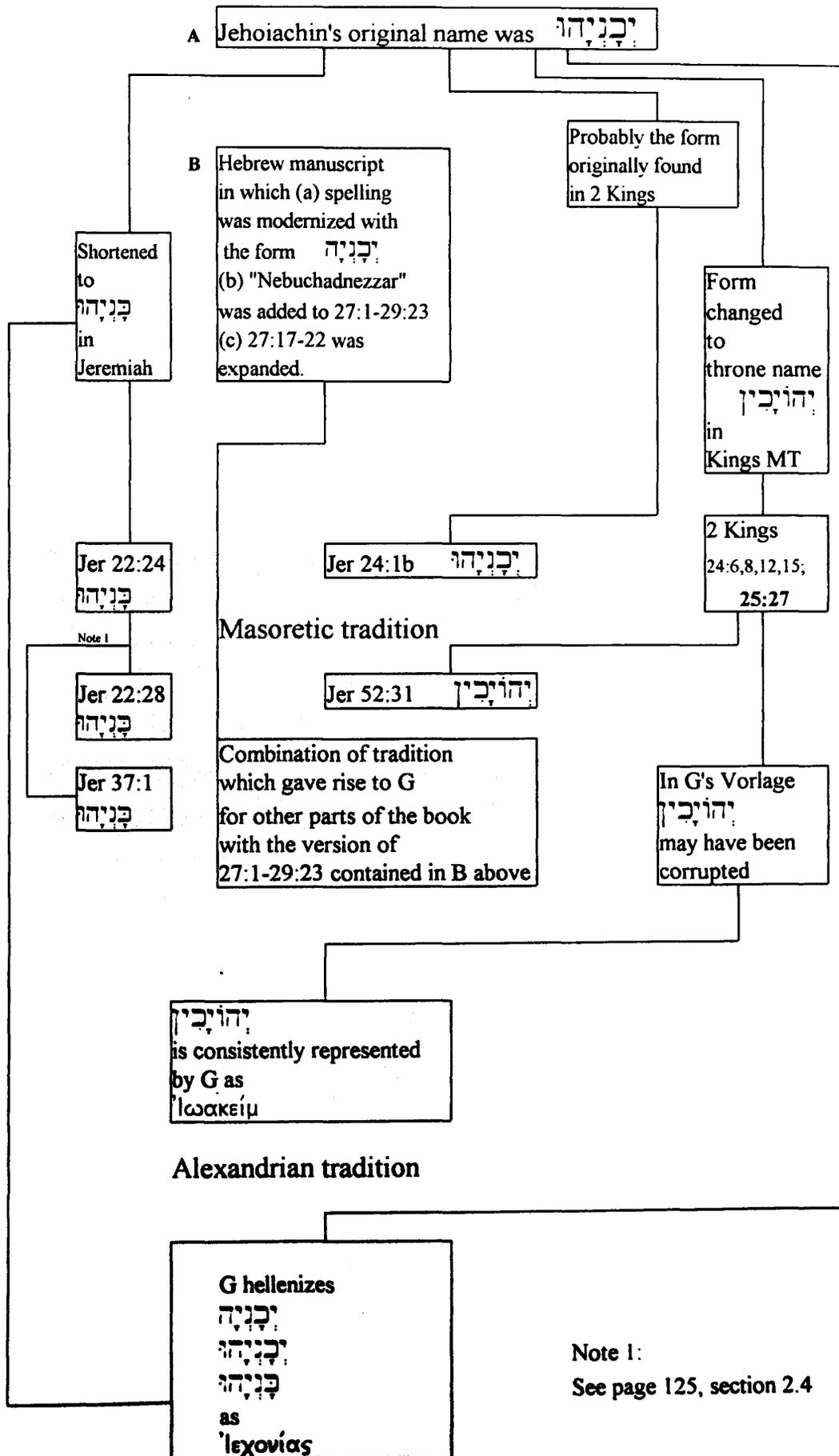
2.8 The reconstruction is consistent with seeing יְהוֹיָחִין as an older form of the name, from which פְּנִיָּהוּ and יְבִכְנִיָּהוּ, both hellenized as Ἰεχονίας, were derived, and that יְהוֹיָכִין (probably a throne name [see above, section 2.2]) enjoyed favour where Kings was ultimately transmitted, though it may not have been in the earliest forms of the text. The earliest appearance of פְּנִיָּהוּ may have been due to late and similarly motivated additions in 22:28 and 37:1 with elision of initial *yodh* in יְבִכְנִיָּהוּ¹⁷ comparable to the apocope which likewise gave rise, probably at a relatively late stage, to יְבִכְנִיָּהוּ.

2.9 References to Jehoiachin therefore occur at distinct stages of the book's development, spreading over a long period during which linguistic habits gradually changed, not simply with regard to “Jehoiachin” but other names too. The evidence concerning פְּנִיָּהוּ in chapter 22 is complex and cannot be used to corroborate (or gainsay) the antiquity of material in this chapter. But changing

¹⁷ See above, 124n3.

FIGURE VI.2

Diagram to illustrate the relationship between different representations of Jehoiachin's name



nomenclature in other passages confirms factors anchoring them in later situations¹⁸.

3. The possible reference to Jehoiachin in 13:18

3.1 We have already seen that this reference could possibly refer to Jehoiakim and his mother rather than, as generally thought, to Jehoiachin and Nehushta, named in 2 Ki 24:8¹⁹. It is unlikely, however that Θ $\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ (\S *rwrbn*) indicates an original וְלִגְבוֹרִים (cf. BHS), instead of וְלִגְבֵי־רָה (cf. α' , σ'): although “crown” is singular, the genitive מִן־אֲשֹׁתֶיכֶם has a plural suffix, and Dahood has produced Ugaritic parallels for reading the difficult מִן־אֲשֹׁתֶיכֶם (MT) as מִן־אֲשֹׁתֶיכֶם , “from your heads”²⁰. Supposing more than one crown, and one of them the king’s, it is more likely that the only other is the queen mother’s than that there were several, belonging to other dignitaries. In any case $\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\sigma\eta$ (α') and the same equivalent for וְלִגְבֵי־רָה in 2 Ki 10:13 Θ mark Θ ’s reading (and that of \S – probably dependent) as inner-Greek variation²¹. Clearly Jer 13:18, which could be taken together with v19²², is a judgement speech, possibly explaining reference to the queen mother in 2 Ki 24:12,15²³ as fulfilment of Jeremiah’s prophecy. If so, the mention of Jehoiachin can be bracketed with earliest material in Jer 22.

3.2 Like such passages in chapter 22, this too is in verse, views the king concerned unfavourably, and is a candidate for being the prophet’s *ipsissima verba*. If so, it would mark Jeremiah’s disapproval of him as making, whether or not with his mother’s encouragement, the wrong decision to withstand

¹⁸ B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia*, Leipzig: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1901, 169 rightly interprets the variation וְלִגְבוֹרִים (21.1)/ וְלִגְבֵי־רָה (37.3) as similarly significant.

¹⁹ See above, 102n16, and for the more usual view, Holladay, *Jeremiah*, I.409.

²⁰ M. Dahood, ‘Two textual notes on Jeremiah’, *C’BQ* 23, 1961, 462. For comparable singularity of the *nomen regens* when plurality is indicated by the *nomen rectum*, see GK124r.

²¹ McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.303.

²² Holladay, *Jeremiah*, I. 409, against Rudolph and Bright

²³ Cf below, 142n60.

Babylon's onslaught. Seitz's analysis of the political implications of the queen mother's provenance (in this case Jerusalem rather than the provinces) and the likelihood that Jehoiachin belonged to the "internal party" inimical to Jeremiah, as opposed to the "people of the land"²⁴ would be consistent with identification of the king in 13:18 with Jehoiachin.

4. Material about Jehoiachin in Jeremiah 22

4.1 At first sight, 22:24-30 seems to dismiss Jehoiachin (in vv24 and 28 called יהויכין). But the passage is far from straightforward. To begin with, vv24-27 are prose, suggesting a comment on the following poetry. This is confirmed by the signet ring in v24: naturally, any interpretation ascribing vv24-27 to Jeremiah involves regarding Hg 2:23 as a reversal of this curse; but Jer 22:24 suggests that somebody has *already been* God's signet ring, and, as soon as it is allowed that parts of this passage may date from a period *later* than Haggai, that suggestion may be explained by what Hg 2:23 says of none other than Jehoiachin's grandson. Later insistence on Jeremiah's hostility to Jehoiachin by ascribing these words (22:24-27) to the prophet was supported by the addition (contrast Hg 2:23) of the asseverating phrase "on my right hand". Carroll correctly prefers this to seeing the prophecy in Haggai as a reference to Jeremiah²⁵. But why such a vehement reinforcement of the following verses? The answer proposed here is that they contain evidence of a dispute.

4.2 However, vv 28-30 are a minefield. Holladay, regarding them as verse, entertains little doubt that they make up a unified utterance²⁶. But the difficulties and variation between G and MT make this unconvincing. To deal first with G – ἠτιμώθη ἰερατείας ὡς σκεῦος οὗ οὐκ ἔστιν χρεῖα αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἐξερρίφη καὶ ἐξεβλήθη εἰς γῆν ἣν οὐκ ἤδει – Holladay translates: "*Jeconiah*

²⁴ Seitz, *Theology in Conflict*, BZAW 176, 1989, 27-31, 52-55. For the influence of the queen mother in Persia about this time, compare Herodotus 7.3.4, where the mother of Xerxes is held accountable for his succession in preference to the elder son, Artobazanes: ἡ γὰρ Ἄτοσσα εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος. See J.Gould, *Herodotus*, Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 2000, 131.

²⁵ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 442, against Hermisson, "Königsspruch"-Sammlung, 252-70.

²⁶ Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 1 608.

is dishonoured like a vessel in which there is no use, for he is hurled and thrown away to a land which he has not known". This does scant justice to the three aorist passives and the imperfect ἦδει. In Greek this sentence reads like a comment on a text which is no longer represented in \mathfrak{G} , explaining what was seen as the obscurity of "this man", or possibly turning what was originally a prophecy into a historical affirmation: "It was *Jeconiah* who was dishonoured like a useless vessel and thrown away to a land which he did not know". It should be noted first that יהוֹיָכִן שִׁסְיָהּ comes twice in MT (vv28, 30). Of these, the less problematic is v30, where Jehoiachin is not explicitly mentioned, although it clearly refers to him. Verse 29 and part of v30, standing alone, could well have been an actual saying of Jeremiah, its original *context* implying who the king was, while the singular verbs in \mathfrak{G} , ἐξερρίφη and ἐξεβλήθη, could mark as secondary the "children" in v28²⁷. Little attention has been paid to the interrogative character of v28MT, and in view of the way that we often find in Jeremiah disagreement with previously existing material in an insertion *before* the passage to be contradicted, this verse probably expresses an *objection* to what follows (note \mathfrak{V} *numquid*, expecting the answer "no"²⁸). Recurrence of יהוֹיָכִן שִׁסְיָהּ makes clear that v 28 is a comment on vv29f, and since, in view of the unparalleled conjunction of יהוֹיָכִן שִׁסְיָהּ with a proper name in this way, either כְּבִנְיָהוּ or יהוֹיָכִן שִׁסְיָהּ is probably adventitious, it is much easier to see how כְּבִנְיָהוּ is the more likely to have been added (probably late, if our view of \mathfrak{G} is correct) to identify יהוֹיָכִן שִׁסְיָהּ, cited from v30. On this view, v28a comes from a writer anxious to rehabilitate Jehoiachin, perhaps an enthusiast for Zerubbabel: "Is this man [Coniah] really a despised earthen pot which is broken²⁹ or a vessel no one cares for?" \mathfrak{G} 's reading would thus derive from a time when the name was not yet in the text, aimed at identifying "this man".

²⁷ So Thiel and Duhm, cited by McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.548.

²⁸ See GK 150d, citing Job 14:4. For *numquid*, see C.T.Lewis and C.Short, *Latin Dictionary*, Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1879, sv *num*, 1224.

²⁹ There seems unnecessary reluctance (on the part of Holladay, *Jeremiah*, I.607 and [contra Thiel] McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.548, who overlooks \mathfrak{G} σκεῦος in his claim that \mathfrak{V} is alone among the versions to translate "pot") to see כְּבִיָּע as a word for earthen vessel. A reference to chapters 18 and 19 may well explain the image and also use of the root II כְּבַע, *shape, fashion*. \mathfrak{V} uses

4.3 Further problems arise in 22:28b. Either the perfects have to be explained as prophetic: “Why will he and his children be hurled out, cast into a land they do not know?” (NIV), or as a question about something which has already happened. The latter is more straightforward. But does it then continue the thought of 22:28a (“Why *ever* were he and his children hurled out?”) or is it a *riposte* to it (“Why *else* [REB] were he and his children hurled out?”)?³⁰ The former is more natural, though וַיִּרְעוּ, not represented by Ⓔ, is probably secondary.

4.4 Coming then to the interpretation of 22:24-7, these verses are couched in future tenses, and to that extent match the threat in vv29f. But did they arrive before or after v28? If v28b was a riposte to v28a, vv24-27 harmonize with the hostile attitude to Jehoiachin of v28b. But preferable is the solution that 22:24-27, anticipating הוֹטְלוּ (v28) with וְהוֹטְלוּ (v26), are inserted to *contradict* the first interpretation of v28b in section 4.3 above, and effectively imply the second. This antimonarchical intervention may even have been the work of the writer of Gen 15:2, wishing to create in Abraham a solution to Jehoiachin’s problem: the singular עֲרִירִי occurs uniquely in Gen 15:2 and Jer 22:30.

4.5 No doubt uncertainty surrounds v28. It could have *originally* been a prophecy exactly comparable with v30 and subsequently turned into questions intended to contradict its initial thrust, with future tenses replaced by past tenses. But *in their present form* vv24-30 are in any case a *debate* about prospects for Jehoiachin and his descendants.

4.6 Significantly, as we noted, Ⓔ has no mention of children in Jer 22:28, as MT does, its reference to them therefore probably added³¹ to prepare for

fictilis, serving both to bring this derivation out, and also to do duty for כִּימֵי – implicitly distinguishing the *vazs* from a vessel intended for noble use (cf. 2 Tim 2:20f).

³⁰ Note opposition to those who saw the exiles of 597, including, of course, Jehoiachin, as victims of judgement in Ezek 11:3.

³¹ So BHS.

“offspring” in verse 30, where 30b, though present in Θ , is also arguably an early addition to \mathfrak{H} . The term ἐκκήρυκτον (v30 Θ) – hardly “childless”³² – has in Greek the clear sense of “banished” so that twice Θ lacks MT references to Jehoiachin’s children. Holladay argues³³ from *mkrza’ dl’ banyn* (v30 \mathfrak{S}) in favour of an original which had both “banished” and “childless”, but a better alternative is that \mathfrak{S} attests a change in the emphasis of עֲרִירִי, brought about by the use of the word in Genesis 15:2, whose writer, as J.Ha convincingly demonstrates³⁴, found the word in Jer 22:30, but, we would argue, changed the original thrust of עֲרִירִי, possibly on the strength of Lev 20:20f, with the addition of 22:30b³⁵. However, 22:30a Θ (to be translated, “Write this man a banished fellow, because ...”) is unlikely to have been the original *Greek* text, since it is unidiomatic to have ἀνθρώπων at all in such a context, let alone after the adjective; hence the first לֹא יִצְלַח or its Greek equivalent has probably fallen out. This is supported by the oddity of αὐξήθη “thrive, grow up”, which requires the same preparation in Greek as לֹא יִצְלַח in v30a MT gives to these words in v 30b MT. One should follow Thiel’s suggestion of an original גָּבַר לֹא יִצְלַח בְּיָמָיו (or simply לֹא יִצְלַח – see further below, section 4.1), postulating a stage not mentioning a successor. Subsequently,

בִּי לֹא יִצְלַח מִזֶּרְעוֹ אִישׁ יָשֵׁב עַל־כִּסֵּא דָוִד וּמִשָּׁל עוֹד בִּיהוּדָה

was added. This clause may be explained as a gloss picking up יִצְלַח as its catchword. The emphasis in this addition on מִזֶּרְעוֹ helps to shift the meaning of עֲרִירִי and explains the reference to children (added later, since not

³² Cf. \mathfrak{A} *abdicatum* (“disinherited”). Plutarch, *Sulla*, 31f, records proscriptions introduced in Rome c.80 BCE involving exclusion from office of children and grandchildren, and “banished” or “proscribed” was probably the original meaning of עֲרִירִי in Jer 22:30 \mathfrak{H} .

³³ *Jeremiah*, 609.

³⁴ J.Ha, *Genesis 15*, BZAW 181, Berlin/New York:W.de Gruyter, 1989, 18.

³⁵ For the antimonarchical thrust of Genesis 15 and the belief that it was written to prestructure the whole of the law and the prophets, see Schmid, *Erzväter und Exodus*, Neukirchen-Vluyn:Neukirchener Verlag, 1999, 130-64. In Lv 20:20f one might have expected a humanly inflicted punishment, involving a stripping of privileges.

represented by 𐤄) in v28. Hence, although 𐤄 itself attests change to an interest in the succession, it retains vestiges of a stage devoid of this.

4.8 Thus both 𐤍𐤎𐤅 in v28 and the likely shift of meaning in 𐤍𐤎𐤅 (v30), which in Gen 15:2 clearly means “childless”, are likely to be secondary, the former retro-development from 𐤍𐤎𐤅 (v30), which alone is represented in 𐤄, but belongs to a clause probably also not originally present. One should not underestimate the cultural links between the Mediterranean and the near east³⁶ and, in the light of the terms *proscribo*³⁷ in Latin and *προγράφω*³⁸ in Greek, 𐤍𐤎𐤅 here more probably refers to a public banishment listing than to a census list³⁹.

𐤄 emphasizes the importance of Jehoiachin’s *departure*, aligning the passage with the repeated theme here (cf. 22:10, “Weep rather for him [sc. Shallum] who is exiled, because he will never return nor see his native land again” ; 22:11, “He will never return...he will not see this land again”; 22:19, “He [sc. Jehoiakim] will have the burial of a donkey – dragged away and thrown outside the gates of Jerusalem”; 22:22, “The wind will drive all your shepherds away”). If, as is likely, the prose passage 22:24-27 is inspired by v28, this indicates the same point at the heart of both of these (note the common use of 𐤍𐤎 “hurl”). Furthermore 22:29-30, represented with minor variations in 𐤄, has probably led to the elaboration in MT, emphasizing Jehoiachin’s childlessness or lack of successor. This development, however problematic, is at least in the order we should expect. Earlier, particularly if we are to see here the possibility of Jeremiah’s *ipsissima verba*, and certainly as a principle governing the collection at a point when Shallum, Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin were included, if this was not the earliest stage, the emphasis will have been on the *expulsion* of kings, whereas at a later stage, the disputed question of *succession* arose. This is

³⁶ Schmid, *Erzväter*, 275.

³⁷ E.g. Cicero, *Rosc. Am.* 6.16.

³⁸ E.g. Polybius 32.5.12.

³⁹ Against J Bright, *Jeremiah*, AB 21, Garden City NY: Doubleday, 1965, 143.

consistent with the striking resemblance of the reference to a signet-ring in Jer 22:24 to Hg 2:23. These two passages are surely related; if so, it is more likely, as we have argued in section 4.1, that the text in Jeremiah rejects the prophecy in Haggai than that Haggai should be recalling a prophetic reference to Zerubbabel's grandfather, over which he might have preferred to draw a veil. But any connection with Zerubbabel involves the question of succession.

4.9 Already it is clear that Jehoiachin's appearance here in Jeremiah became a battlefield. Further evidence for this emerges in the present form of 22:28, which does not seem correctly explained as an open question or, as Carroll suggests,⁴⁰ either rhetorical or requiring the answer yes, but rather as one which expects the answer no (cf. $\text{ו} \textit{numquid} \dots \textit{numquid}$ ⁴¹). This is surely confirmed by the sequel, "Why are he and his children cast out and exiled in a foreign land?" (v28b), whether or not continuing the thought of v28a or representing a further opposing gloss (see above, section 4.3). However, the theme of this collection in chapter 22, and Jeremiah's likely historical stance towards Jehoiachin hardly permit this to have been the thrust of the original nucleus, which surely included him amongst kings *deservedly ejected*. It seems likely, therefore, that in the interests of a *golah*-oriented perspective v28 represents either a rewriting of what it originally contained or a *golah*-oriented gloss. The *sense* of the earliest form of this verse may indeed be preserved by ט , supposing this is a comment identifying "this man" as Jehoiachin. On this view, vv24-27 contradict the revision, violently rebutting Haggai's prophecy about Zerubbabel and picking up the vocabulary (e.g. the use of טוֹל) from v28. In a Hebrew tradition distinct from that of ט 's *Vorlage*, a later stage changed the thrust of $\text{עָרֵי יְרֵי$, emphasizing the "succession" aspects of Jehoiachin's disgrace⁴².

⁴⁰ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 440.

⁴¹ See above, 131n28.

⁴² The word עָרֵי יְרֵי only occurs (apart from this passage) in Gen 15:2 (singular) and Lev 20:20f (plural)

4.10 Jeremiah contains more than one passage in which allusion to Psalms 1 and 2 is suspected. Thus the word **צִלָּהּ** occurs in conjunction with **גִּבֹר** in 22:30. Arguably, the form in which the Jeremiah tradition knows what was to become the beginning of Psalm 1, where **צִלָּהּ** *hiphil* appears in v3, is **צִלָּהּ**: note how Jer 17:8 continues with imagery about a tree by a stream, after v7 starts with these two words. It has been suggested by J.Herrmann that the repetition of “land” (the word occurs three times in MT and twice in **Ⓞ**) is to be related to the use of such repetition in incantations⁴³: he cites Babylonian parallels, and registers the occurrence of “*irtsitum, irtsitum, irtsitum*” among them⁴⁴. This evidence suggests that the effect of 22:29f is to turn into a curse a blessing similar to that in Psalm 1, which may have had some connection with royalty before being united with Psalm 2⁴⁵. It gives support to such allusions that there may well be a link too between the use of **נְפִיץ** in 22:30 and **תִּנְפִצֶנּוּ** in Psa 2:9⁴⁶. Holladay conjectures that Psalm 2 may have graced Jehoiachin’s coronation⁴⁷, this verse thus expressing ironical reversal: instead of smashing his enemies like a potter’s vessel, Jehoiachin would himself be similarly smashed and thrown away. However speculative, this would not be inconsistent with the thrust of v30, and possibly also all or part of the original form of v28.

4.11 Although the virulence towards Jehoiachin is left standing, however, there was arguably a further swing of the pendulum, as Schmid argues *à propos* of the reversal of 22:30 in 33:17, where, in line with I Ki 2:4, 8:25, 9:5, the

⁴³ J.Herrmann, ‘Zu Jer 22:29’, *ZAW* 62, 1950, 321f, refers to G.Meier, *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû*, Archiv für Orientforschung. Beiheft. 2, Berlin: im Selbstverlage des Herausgebers [E.F. Weidner], 1937; reprinted, Osnabruck:Biblio-Verlag, 1967, I, line 37.

⁴⁴ Cf. T.H.Gaster, *Myth, Legend and Custom in the Old Testament*, London: Duckworth, 1969, 605 and 701n1.

⁴⁵ W.H.Brownlee, ‘Psalms 1 –2 as a Coronation Liturgy’, *Bib* 52, 1971, 321-336, has been resisted by J.T.Willis, ‘Psalm 1 – an Entity’, *ZAW* 91, 1979, 381-401, though unconvincingly as far as the point at issue here is concerned. Willis takes no account of the possibly deliberate prefixing of Psalm 1 to form a composite whole some time after Psalm 2 was written.

⁴⁶ Holladay, *Jeremiah*, I.611; J.M.Berridge, *Prophet, People, and the Word of Yahweh*, Zürich:EVZ, 1970, 180n354.

⁴⁷ Holladay, *Jeremiah*, I.611.

unbroken character of David's dynasty is proclaimed in words echoing 22:30⁴⁸. Thus יְהוֹיָכִן excites suspicion as intended to modify what could not be deleted: Jehoiachin might not have prospered יְהוֹיָכִן, but he could still be the ancestor of the coming king. This development arguably presupposes a time when Jehoiachin's importance lay in the question of the Davidic succession, since only so could the combination of יְהוֹיָכִן and the idea of fulfilment implied in צִלְחֵי make any sense. However, chapter 52, drawn from an edition of 2 Kings and recording rehabilitation of Jehoiachin, may indicate that he did qualify in some measure יְהוֹיָכִן to be the subject of the verb צִלַּח.

5. Instances of Jehoiachin's name in chapters 27-29

5.1 Preliminary considerations

As we have seen, three references to Jehoiachin come in 27:1-29:23, which, both on account of the common theme and the peculiarities of the MT orthography, form a kind of unit within the book. The various assessments, which can only be summarized, are: (i) those which give a high degree of credence to the chapters' integrity and their relation to the time of Jeremiah himself (Weiser, Holladay); (ii) those which explain the material as a basic narrative with a unitary Deuteronomistic redaction (Nicholson, Thiel); (iii) those which see the text as having reached its present form by a more complex process (Seitz, Kratz, Hossfeld/Meyer, McKane, Schmid). The discussion of prophecy in chapter 27, which, since Duhm,⁴⁹ has been regarded by some as parasitic on chapter 28, shows undeniable Deuteronomistic features, but apart from this admission, even in this third group, which represents the growing consensus of more recent research, there is disappointingly little concurrence in detail.

5.2 The stratification in Jer 27-29

Some agreement is, however, emerging that one key to the problems lies in recognizing, on the one hand, material which contemplates further existence in

⁴⁸ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 63.

⁴⁹ B Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia*, Tübingen/Leipzig: Mohr (Siebeck), 1901, 216f.

the land for those left after the disaster of 597, and, on the other, a stage, when this was firmly ruled out. Building on this foundation, Schmid argues that this two-stage solution is inadequate; he postulates three stages: (a) a basic layer combining the “yoke” narrative with the “letter” narrative (27:2-4, *11; 28:*1, 2, 10, 12f, 15, 16ab α ; 29:*1, 3, 4a, 5-7, 15, 21f-32a α); (b) the layer which has been in his view governed by the notion of attributing a seventy-year period of supremacy to the Babylonians (27:1, 5-10a, [reading יָבֹנִן in 27:8b, cf. Tg, S], 11, 16, 18, 21f; 28:1, 3-9, 11a, 14, 16b β ; 29:*10-14, 32b; and (c) the layer which he sees as *golah*-oriented: [reading יָבֹנִן in 27:8b], 27:10b, 12f, 15b, 17; 29:*2, 16-20⁵⁰. According to this view, the parenthesis in 29:2 is an important element in making clear that the addressees of the letter concerned were *only the exiles of 597* (since this layer aimed, Schmid says [cf. 29:16-20], to rule out, as does also the change from יָבֹנִן to יָבֹנִן in 27:8b, any kind of future for those left in the city with Zedekiah).

5.3 The occurrence of יָבֹנִן in 27:20

5.3.1 Evaluation of Jehoiachin’s position here must start from the fact that the name is present in \mathfrak{G} at 27:20, 28:4, 29:2, showing that its mention antedates bifurcation of pre-Masoretic and Alexandrian traditions. This is particularly important with regard to 27:20, where (from vv17-22) \mathfrak{G} has much less material in comparison with MT, and witnesses to a presumably earlier stage, when the thrust was quite different. In \mathfrak{G} there is unmitigated gloom: Nebuchadnezzar will return to collect items not already taken away; Jehoiachin’s departure for Babylon is seen as part of a disaster which has still to be completed. This does not mean that \mathfrak{G} represents a text which dates before 587, for the point is that those prophets envisaging a short exile and immediate return were wrong, and Jeremiah right. But the changes apparent in MT, speaking as they do of the restoration of these items, represent Jehoiachin’s departure not as an irremediable disaster, but a temporary stage in an ongoing story.

⁵⁰ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 239f

5.3.2 Strong affinities (see 5.6) link 29:2 with 24:1. Both look like insertions into a pre-existing text, breaking the continuity at each point, and there are reasons for believing that they represent the *golah*-oriented structuring postulated by Schmid⁵¹. But they appear in \mathfrak{G} . In 34:6(≅27:8 MT) ἐκλίπωσιν probably indicates ׁבִּלְבָּד .⁵² This very unusual⁵³ transitive use⁵⁴ in \mathfrak{H} and the readings of Tg and \mathfrak{S} which represent the commoner expression (ׁבִּלְבָּד) suggest that ׁבִּלְבָּד is a later development: Schmid claims it as an important characteristic of the *golah*-oriented redaction. The fact that this reading is present in \mathfrak{G} means that unless \mathfrak{G} abbreviated a more detailed Hebrew *Vorlage* at 27:17-22, which is unlikely, these verses in \mathfrak{G} present an earlier perspective, already containing features of *golah*-oriented redaction. It follows then that the source used by MT for 27:1-29:23 represented a *more thorough-going application* of the *golah*-oriented perspective than had already been put in place before the bifurcation. The effect is to alter the impression of Jehoiachin in 27:20. In \mathfrak{G} , he is part of a disaster still incomplete. This is consistent with 22:30, arguably the oldest element in that chapter, where no hope is held out for Jehoiachin. In MT, on the other hand, the promise of restoration, albeit specifically of the vessels taken from the temple (27:22), opens up a chink of light for Jehoiachin, implied by the fact that there will one day be reversal of the earlier version's apparently irremediable doom. He is no longer portrayed as participating in one-way traffic to Babylon. Not, of course, that he will personally return, but the disqualification of his children (22:30 MT) could have been regarded now as contradicted. Since, as we have seen, there is other evidence for incorporation of a separate source in MT for 27:1-29:23, it is most economical to suppose

⁵¹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 255-269.

⁵² \mathfrak{G} may have had a somewhat different *Vorlage*, as E.Tov suggests (*Exegetical Notes on the Hebrew Vorlage of the LXX of Jer 27 (34)*, *ZAW* 91, 1979, 86), or MT may originally have had ׁבִּלְבָּד *hiphil* (McKane, *Jeremiah*, II.691), but it is nonetheless likely that MT now reflects deliberate alteration of ׁבִּלְבָּד .

⁵³ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 528.

⁵⁴ BDB, 1070, col 2 (Qal 7) cite further only Psa 64:7, where the reading is highly suspect. On the other hand, the phrase ׁבִּלְבָּד ׁבִּלְבָּד = "give into the power of" is common.

that several or all of these changes to the kind of text reflected in ⑥ were present in it. Use of a different manuscript for the pre-Masoretic text may reflect rejection of what was seen as the obsolete pessimism of ⑥'s *Vorlage*.

5.4 The occurrence of יהוֹיָכִן in 28:4

5.4.1 Here the question is whether יהוֹיָכִן was in the earliest text. McKane has argued⁵⁵ that, with no mention in v6, where Jeremiah prays that Hananiah's words might come true, Jehoiachin might originally not have appeared in 28:4. He rejects any suggestion that 28:6 was ironical, claiming support from (most recently) K.Koch⁵⁶. But in the light of the rather similar passage in 1Ki 22:15, where Micaiah utters a prophecy intended to contradict its face value, interpretation of the prayer as ironical seems best.

5.4.2 Secondary insertion of Jehoiachin's name (28:4), as favoured by McKane, could reflect a *golah*-oriented perspective, Jehoiachin needing not to be neglected in any reference to the return of the exiles. On the other hand, its absence in v6 could be accounted for if the editor was working at a time when Jehoiachin was obviously dead, so that to have included his name in this verse would have been to make Jeremiah utter a prayer (however ironically intended) which had not been fulfilled; or he might have felt that the one mention in verse 4 was enough to make the point. If *golah*-oriented features recommended the source used for 27:1-29:23, the alternative that Jeremiah, consistent with his own position in 22:30, is here represented as excluding Jehoiachin from any return, is less likely. Nor would a *golah*-oriented editor have suggested Jeremiah's hostility to Jehoiachin!

⁵⁵ McKane, *Jeremiah*, II 717.

⁵⁶ K.Koch, *Was ist Formgeschichte? Methoden der Bibelexege*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974⁴, 256. Koch cites Jer 11:5, 1 Ki 1:36, where the response of "Amen" is clearly meant seriously, without irony. This is not enough to settle the matter. It is conceivable that a positive response has been introduced to support a *golah*-oriented view by mitigating Jeremiah's historically negative attitude towards Jehoiachin. But particularly the prayer that *Hananiah's* prophecy might be fulfilled favours the explanation that irony is intended.

5.4.3 In any case the addition of מלך יהויכין in 28:4 (lacking in Θ) may again be due to the material labelled B in figure VI.2, although not all such MT pluses are necessarily produced by the same editorial hand. This addition, which may intend to designate Jehoiachin, albeit in exile, as still truly king would point rather to the originality of יְהוֹיָכִן in 28:4 than, as McKane hints, to further alteration⁵⁷. “Jehoiachin” was therefore probably present originally in 28:4.

5.4.4 A more substantial question raised by Hananiah’s optimism about Jehoiachin’s return is whether it reflects Jeremiah’s enthusiasm for Zedekiah’s accession as suiting his preferred policy, submission to Babylon. McKane argues that Jehoiachin’s return would have entailed Zedekiah’s deposition⁵⁸. Hananiah therefore, if there is a historical basis to the yoke narrative, would, if identified with hopes for Jehoiachin’s restoration, have been on dangerous ground. Carroll, perceiving the implication that he would have been in defiance of Zedekiah, the court and the Babylonians, comments drily that he is unsurprisingly dead by the end of the story! In the same vein, Carroll suggests that the oracle in 23:5f may be an inaugural celebration of Zedekiah’s legitimate claim to be king⁵⁹. This will need detailed treatment in chapters VII and VIII. But the notion that there is a connection between the name given to Zedekiah by the Babylonians and the phrase יְהוּדָה צְדִיקָנִי (presented in the MT as it stands, of course, in quite a different way in Jer 23:6) is not unattractive, and if it reflects enthusiasm on the part of Jeremiah for the enthronement of Zedekiah (enthusiasm which wore off, when Zedekiah rebelled), it would be consistent with a scenario early in Zedekiah’s reign with Jeremiah at odds with Hananiah. For on this account, Hananiah prophesied the early return of a king whom Jeremiah had (22:30) roundly denounced. As MT now stands, the fact that Jehoiachin is only mentioned by one seen as a false prophet (i.e. in 28:4)

⁵⁷ McKane, *Jeremiah*, II.717.

⁵⁸ McKane, *Jeremiah*, II.716.

⁵⁹ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 543, 447. we argue below that 23 5f may have referred originally to Zerubbabel, though perhaps with an allusion to Zedekiah (below, 192-194)

means that this instance is insignificant for the light in which Jehoiachin was regarded by one redactor or another. At a stage when Jehoiachin was regarded more favourably, alterations were not necessary simply to gainsay Hananiah's unfulfilled forecast of his early return.

5.5 The occurrence of יְבִנְיָהּ in 29:2

As mentioned above (5.3.2), there are important links between 24:1 and 29:2: (a) they convey, with their reference to Jehoiachin, information which may well have been gleaned from 2 Ki 24:14-16⁶⁰, although in neither case is the diction sufficiently close to make this conclusion certain, and 24:1 and 29:2 manifest also slight mutual differences; (b) interruptions to the verbal flow suggest that part of 24:1 and all of 29:2 are additional. According to Schmid, chapter 24 plays a crucial part in slanting the book in the direction of favouring the *golah* of 597, since he sees it as creating an *inclusio* with chapter 1, and also introducing chapters 26-44⁶¹. With both verses, the point may very well be to bolster a *golah*-oriented perspective. Thus in 24:1 the time reference comes at what seems at first sight a very odd position in the sentence. MT reads:

הָרָאֵנִי יְהוָה וְהִנֵּה שְׁנֵי דוֹדָאֵי תְּאֵנִים מוֹעֲדִים לִפְנֵי הַיְכָל
יְהוָה אֲחֵרֵי הַגְּלוּת נְבוּכַדְרֶאֱצַר מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל אֶת־יְבִנְיָהּ...

The way in which the time-expression interrupts the connection between vv1 and 2 is obscured by many English versions. Ironing out the anomaly, they give the impression that the *vision itself* happened at the time stated. Schmid notices that, placed as it is after וְהִנֵּה⁶², the time reference determines *what the vision stands for*. Thus it strengthens insistence that the exiles referred to as the good figs in the vision are those of the 597 *golah*. Similarly, in 29:2, it looks as though the motive for the awkward intrusion was to restrict the exiles mentioned in 29:1 to those of the 597 *golah*. Both parentheses appear in Ⓔ, neither thus being assignable to a very late stage of transmission. Both passages

⁶⁰ Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 182; Thiel, *Redaktion*, II.11,95.

⁶¹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 259. He claims 24 1b as essential for the sense of what follows (pp258f).

⁶² Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 258.

view the exiles positively; although Jehoiachin is not specifically singled out as a “good fig”, such parentheses effectively include him with those who are.

6. The occurrence of יהוֹיָכִן in Jer 52:31-34

6.1 This passage is part of an appendix comprising material almost identical to 2Ki 25. Schmid notes⁶³ that it has not certainly been added after insertion of “The words of Jeremiah end here”, since this could have been aimed at dividing chapter 52 from the rest. However, regardless of when this appendix was included, its thrust was presumably intended to match the conclusion of 2 Kings. Admittedly this is itself disputed. Stipp has questioned⁶⁴ Seitz’s suggestion that 2 Ki 24 was the original ending of the Deuteronomistic history, the most likely solution being (in Stipp’s view) that of F.M.Cross⁶⁵, that the Deuteronomistic History originally ended at 23:25b. According to Cross, 2 Ki 24:13f is a secondary alteration to the additional material in chapters 24f. But with their disparagement of the number and quality of those left in the land after 597 these verses are probably *golah*-oriented. Even if mention of Jehoiachin’s release had a relatively neutral import when the original incorporation of the final chapters was made, or was simply intended to end the Deuteronomistic History on a relatively hopeful note, so as to be at least some kind of reflection of the optimistic conclusion of Jer 23, the effect of additions indicative of editorial work from a *golah*-oriented standpoint would have been to sharpen up the significance of this final mention of Jehoiachin, especially if it was a matter of obvious relevance to the claims of Zerubbabel. Possibly J.E.Tollington’s theory of the dating of the epilogue of the Book of Judges supports this suggestion as evidence of promonarchical emendation of the “Deuteronomistic History” at just this period⁶⁶. At any rate, positioning of this

⁶³ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 327n602.

⁶⁴ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 139.

⁶⁵ F.M.Cross, ‘The themes of the Books of Kings and the structure of the Deuteronomistic history’, in *id* (ed) *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1965, 274-289.

⁶⁶ J.E.Tollington, ‘The Book of Judges: the result of post-exilic exegesis’ in J.C.de Moor (ed), *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel*, Leiden: Brill, 1998, 186-196, esp p195.

material at the end of Jeremiah indicates *golah*-oriented motivation when it was included, and the fact that it was left at the end of the book shows that, at the point when it became “set in stone”, the last word on Jehoiachin was the arguably favourable notice in 52:31-34, rather than (or at least *as well as*) the harsh criticism of 22:30.

6.2 This conclusion is supported by Schmid’s analysis of the relationship between Genesis, the ensuing history (to which he does not deny the label “Deuteronomistic”, though he believes it to have begun with Exodus), and the prophets⁶⁷. His point *in nuce* is that the hexateuchal *Heilsgeschichte* culminating in Joshua 24 is reversed by the *Unheilsgeschichte* of the monarchy and fall of Jerusalem, but is *prophetic* of restoration to which the *corpus propheticum* points. The release of Jehoiachin on this analysis becomes a hinge between the end and a new beginning.

7. Dating

7.1 Schmid regards any attempt to date the *golah*-oriented redaction as fraught with uncertainty, and it is a good question whether there was simply one such phase in the tradition. He records Pohlmann’s change from a fourth-century proposal⁶⁸ to a fifth-century one in agreement with Levin⁶⁹, influenced by the analysis of a similar tendency in the book of Ezekiel⁷⁰. Schmid himself says that a *terminus a quo* for the *golah*-oriented edition has to be events surrounding Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel.⁷¹ Our investigation points, even within the limits of material relating to Jehoiachin, to ongoing controversy.

⁶⁷ Schmid, *Erzväter*, 34-187.

⁶⁸ K.-F. Pohlmann, *Studien zum Jeremiabuch*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978, 191; contrast ‘Erwägungen zu Problemen in alttestamentlicher Prophetenexegese’, in I. Kottsieper u.a. (ed), “*Wer ist wie du, HERR, unter den Göttern?*” *FS O.Kaiser*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994, 325-41.

⁶⁹ C. Levin, *Die Verheißung des neuen Bundes*, FRLANT 137, Göttingen 1985, 168 argues for not too late a date on the grounds of extensive further development of the book.

⁷⁰ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 267 and n304.

⁷¹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 268.

7.2 Two things can be said with certainty. First, there must have been a crisis over Zerubbabel's credentials and his unrecorded fate to explain Haggai's enthusiasm on the one hand and, on the other, the strange evidence of textual alteration in Zechariah⁷² to write Zerubbabel out of the story. This crisis, as we have seen, may well be reflected also in Jer 22:24, and point to a late sixth century date for the contradiction of *golah*-oriented ideas. Not that there was ever ultimate victory for either party: the Book of Chronicles can be said to be *golah*-oriented, although no longer with an exclusive accent on the 597 *golah*⁷³.

7.3 The other certainty is that the present form of Jeremiah contains expectations of a David *redivivus* (e.g. 23:5). Such messianic hopes developed also on the strength of other Old Testament material and this tradition of interpretation can be seen culminating in such New Testament passages as Mt 1:1-17 and Luke 1:69. Survival of sayings hostile to Jehoiachin nevertheless witnesses to a centuries-long debate. Behind this lay the rise and fall of Zerubbabel and the *Demotisierung* of kingship, evidenced in Isa 40-55. The picture is complicated by the extension of *golah*-oriented ideas to the whole diaspora, as indicated by the way in which Abraham is treated like a king and made the father of many nations⁷⁴.

8. Conclusions

8.1 The varied spelling of Jehoiachin's name suggests the existence of several redactional strata in Jeremiah. Most significant here is that the form closest to the Greek (יהויכין) is likely to be the latest, occurring only in 27:1-29:23, which is distinctive in having enhanced *golah*-oriented features by comparison with

⁷² H.G.Mitchell, 'Zechariah', *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Jonah*, ICC, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1912, 185-6; cf. K.J.A.Larkin, 'Zechariah', *OBC*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, 612. Cf. below, 225n62.

⁷³ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 267n304.

⁷⁴ Isa 41:8, 55:3, Jer 32:36-41, Gen 15: see H.G.M. Williamson, *I & II Chronicles*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans / London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1982, 28; *Variations on a Theme – King, Messiah and Servant in the Book of Isaiah*, Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998, 5, 118-20, 166; Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 102, 282; *Erzväter*, 183-4. (See also below, 183n7).

8.2 If, as is most probable, 13:18 refers to Jehoiachin rather than Jehoiakim, this, being in poetry and carrying an unfavourable picture of the king, could, like 22:30, be amongst the oldest passages in Jeremiah, and even embody the prophet's *ipsissima verba*.

8.3 A comparison of \mathfrak{G} and MT in 22:28-30 indicates the probability that at an earlier stage the concern, as for other kings mentioned in this collection, was about their *departure*, but at a later stage, the thrust has been changed to reflect *lack of successors*. These verses alone arguably bear witness to several stages⁷⁵:

- (i) Verse 30 (hostile) may represent the oldest element in this passage.
- (ii) Verse 28a (sympathetic) picks up the term "this man" with an objection based on Jer 19.
- (iii) Verse 28b either (sympathetic) continues the thought of 28a or, less likely, (hostile) rebuts the objection in 28a.
- (iv) Verses 24-27 (hostile) pick up the idea of "hurling" from v 28 but also introduce the issue of succession, if they are, as argued above, a reference to Hg 2:23.
- (v) The issue of succession is also indicated by the change of intention from "banished" (\mathfrak{G}) to "childless"(MT), a meaning imported by the link with Gen 15:2) and by the addition of "offspring" (cf. 22:28 \mathfrak{G}).

Other solutions are possible, but all indicate traces in 22:24-30 of a debate. There was a yet further stage, when 33:14-26 (not represented in \mathfrak{G}) were added, and hopes of Davidic restoration were reinforced. The interpretation of these verses which we arrive at here can be seen as perhaps the most important and original part of the present thesis. Arguably it reflects the most striking

⁷⁵ McKane, *Jeremiah I*, 542-545, argues, against Thiel, H. Weippert and Rudolph, for the incoherence of 22:24-27. He may well be right; but none of the developments he postulates within those verses indicates a change of *content* from emphasis on removal of Jehoiachin to the question of succession. Such elaborations then have to be counted as subordinate phases within what we here call stage (iv). They do serve to show, on our analysis, the vehemence with which Haggai's hopes for Zerubbabel were rejected.

example within so narrow a compass, not simply of redaction, but of dramatic changes of thrust as the tradition developed. The issue of succession also serves to give the clearest indication that at a key point in the history of the tradition lurks the now shadowy figure of Zerubbabel.

8.4 In 27:1-29:23, the evidence points to two stages of *golah*-oriented redaction, only the first (when 24:1 and 29:2 were included) represented by \mathfrak{G} . In \mathfrak{G} , there are remnants of a pessimistic view of Jehoiachin, portraying his exile as a disaster still to be completed. Reversing what \mathfrak{G} represents as irremediable doom, the source used by MT for 27:1-29:23 opens a chink of light for Jehoiachin, mentioned in 27:20, consistent with the need to rehabilitate him in the interests of renewed hopes of a Davidic succession. In 28:4, “Jehoiachin” comes on the lips of Hananiah, and while mention by a false prophet was inauspicious, the fact that he had been wrong about an early return for Jehoiachin might have been enough for editors to feel that there was no need to alter anything. Though 29:2 and 24:1 are likely intrusions, \mathfrak{G} represents both, indicating earlier rather than later *golah*-oriented redaction. There is no hint here of hostility towards Jehoiachin, and a neutral or favourable attitude towards him can be seen as part and parcel of the initial *golah*-oriented redaction.

8.5 Carroll has pointed out that Jehoiachin figures in the Jeremiah tradition more often than any other named king⁷⁶. References to him are also surprisingly disparate, both with regard to the different forms of the name by which he is mentioned, and also the contrasting import of the various passages. This argues strongly for the extent to which the book might be thought of as a discussion document, or as the minutes of a centuries-long debate in which different parties sought to claim Jeremiah in support.

8.6 Enthusiasm for Zerubbabel, as reflected in Haggai, the later passion for an ancestry among the 597 *golah* and ultimately emerging hopes for Davidic

⁷⁶ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 438.

restoration, which were a feature of the period of the second temple could all at different times have meant the need for gainsaying Jeremiah's historical opposition to Jehoiachin. Certainty about the stages in this long debate is elusive, but examination of material about Jehoiachin certifies its reality, and witnesses significantly to the layered nature of the book.

VII Zedekiah

1. Introduction

For the thesis that Jeremiah represents different points of view and successive redactional layers, serving to modify what was there before, but each largely preserving its *Vorlage*, Zedekiah is particularly important. In the Ezekiel tradition, and arguably also in the present form of 2 Kings, Zedekiah is regarded as a usurper, his image blackened, particularly in Ezekiel, in order to magnify Jehoiachin. This “*golah*-oriented” thrust is also present in Jeremiah. But does it represent the only attitude towards Zedekiah found in the book? Is he presented uniformly even by editors with this perspective? Is it possible to deduce the prophet’s view of him as a matter of historical fact? These questions will be foremost as we survey references to Zedekiah. After a summary of the evidence from Ezekiel and 2 Kings (below, section 2), we shall deal first with passages in Jeremiah of relatively minor significance (below, section 3), then changes in Zedekiah’s image, engaging particularly with the work of H.-J. Stipp (below, section 4), and finally with other relevant passages not included in his discussion (below, sections 5 and 6).

2. Ezekiel and 2 Kings

The relevant sections of Ezekiel are in chapters 17 and 19, where, although C.R. Seitz’s position¹ is not undisputed, he is surely right² that, in the interests of Jehoiachin, an end to Zedekiah’s rule is demanded, and that this represents the spearhead of a tradition favouring the 597 *golah* to the exclusion of the Jerusalem remnant. Seitz has argued³ that 2 Kings was originally written in such a way that 24:14 was an integral part of a work written soon after 597, representing that event as an end for Jerusalem and its people, but that later under Ezekiel’s influence, hope for the future was revived – something

¹ C.R. Seitz, *Theology in Conflict*, BZAW 176, 1989, 121-163.

² Seitz, *Theology*, 145.

³ Seitz, *Theology*, 164-200.

reflected in 2 Ki 25:27-30, where Jehoiachin's rehabilitation raises hopes of a renewed Davidic dynasty⁴. Seitz has been sharply criticised by Stipp⁵, who prefers the common view that 2 Ki 24:13f is secondary, but itself *golah*-oriented. In either case, it is widely accepted that *golah*-oriented views surface at least in the present form of 2 Kings. The statement that Zedekiah was blinded, so no longer fit to rule, and his sons killed, precluding their succession (2 Ki 25:7), is rightly seen by Seitz to reflect such motivation,⁶ as also does the fact that Zedekiah (unlike Jehoiachin) was subjected to neck-stocks⁷.

3. Mention of Zedekiah in passages of relatively minor importance

3.1 Jeremiah 1:3

The expression מֶלֶךְ יְהוֹיָכִן certainly refers throughout the superscription to successive kings, and Zedekiah is allowed the title⁸. This is consistent with 2 Kings 25:2,4, but contrasts with Ezekiel, who uses the term מֶלֶךְ for Jehoiachin, but three times נְשִׂיָּהּ for Zedekiah⁹. Seitz argues plausibly, despite

⁴ The long-standing debate about the significance of 2 Ki 25:27-30 is still in progress, but the balance of opinion is swinging in favour of G.von Rad's position: cf. *Studies in Deuteronomy*, ET D.M.G.Stalker, SBT 9, London: SCM, 1953, 90f: "...the passage (2 Kings 25:27-30) must be interpreted by every reader as an indication that the line of David has not come irrevocably to an end"; contra M.Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 1943 (3rd edition 1973: for publication details, see above, 6n35), ET J.Doull, *The Deuteronomistic History* (revd J.Barton & M.D.Rutter), JSOT.S 15, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981, 97f: "Dtr evidently regarded the divine judgment on Israel as final and definitive". K. Baltzer, 'Das Ende des Staates Juda und die Messias-Frage', in R.Rendtorff/ K.Koch (edd), *Studien zur Theologie der alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen. FS G.von Rad*, Neukirchen-Vluyn:Neukirchener Verlag, 1961, 33-43, sees this text as a contribution to the rise of messianic expectation. Baltzer contrasts the expectation of a Davidic Messiah signified by 2 Ki 25:27-30 with the notion in Chronicles, which shows scant interest in Zerubbabel, that the Jewish monarchy led to *Cyrus* [italics mine, J.B.J.] (pp39-40); "Wichtig ist im Kontext nicht in erster Linie die Begnadigung, sondern die Tatsache, daß hier zum Schluß Jojachin noch einmal mit vollem Titel genannt wird als König von Juda (25:27, 2 mal)" (p38). R. Rendtorff, *The Old Testament – An Introduction*, London:SCM, 1985 (ET J.Bowden. Orig. *Das Alte Testament: Eine Einführung*, Neukirchen Vluyn:Neukirchener Verlag, 1983), 187 says, "It is in fact improbable that Israelite readers would not have thought here of a possible future for the Davidic monarchy". See further below, 202n68.

⁵ H.-J.Stipp, *Jeremia im Parteienstreit*, Frankfurt am Main:Anton Hain, 1992, 136-141.

⁶ Seitz, *Theology*, 218, 270.

⁷ Seitz, *Theology*, 142.

⁸ The phrase "fifth year" shows that מֶלֶךְ יְהוֹיָכִין is in apposition to "Zedekiah", not to the nearer "Josiah".

⁹ Ezek 12:10,12; 21:25.

complexities in Ezekiel's use of גֹּלָה , that this distinction is significant.¹⁰ If then, with probably *golah*-oriented features, 2 Ki 25 can nevertheless call Zedekiah מֶלֶךְ , *golah*-orientation is clearly not one monolithic feature, but susceptible of different manifestations.

3.2 Jeremiah 52

This chapter virtually reproduces 2 Ki 25 together with 2 Ki 24:18-20. Since hopes of a Davidic restoration characterize the latest stages of Jeremiah (23:5, 33:14-26) the conclusion of Jer 52 was seen to contrast the rehabilitated Jehoiachin (vv31-34) with the picture of Zedekiah painted in progressively darker colours, as the book (we are arguing) evolved.

With its air of finality 2 Ki 24:18-20 does not fit easily as the introduction to 2 Ki 25. What belonged originally to an account of the capture in 597, Seitz claims,¹¹ has been made to apply to 586. Whatever the truth of this, its inclusion by the editor of Jeremiah yielded additional ammunition for adversely comparing Zedekiah with Jehoiachin: apart from 2 Ki 24:18-20, Jer 52 presents Zedekiah in a neutral way. Significantly, Zedekiah is compared not with Jehoiachin¹² in 2 Ki 24:19 MT, as one might expect, but with *Jehoiakim*. \mathfrak{C} may have omitted 52:2f (present at 2 Ki 24:20 \mathfrak{C}) to avoid the apparently final judgement of 2 Ki 24:20 or the unsatisfactory seam between chapters 24 and 25. But if \mathfrak{C} 's *Vorlage*, whether Hebrew or earlier Greek manuscript, either read (or was suspected to *mean*) Jehoiachin (v19), this also could explain the omission. The Alexandrian tradition was on its own account inimical to Zedekiah.

Zedekiah had in Hamutal the same mother as Jehoahaz (52:1), but a different one from Jehoiakim's. Seitz has argued for associating the provenance of the

¹⁰ Seitz, *Theology*, 125-31.

¹¹ Seitz, *Theology*, 193.

¹² Though, since read by $\mathfrak{V}^{\text{A1X}\mathfrak{D}}$ and possibly intended in \mathfrak{C} , "Jehoiachin" may be *original*. See above, 126.

queen mother with the political balance in Jerusalem and the input of “the people of the land”¹³. We have seen that Jeremiah was politically at odds with Jehoiachin¹⁴, hence a likely initial supporter of Zedekiah.

3.3 Jeremiah 49:34

In 49:34, the Elam oracle is dated to Zedekiah. But, as B.Huwyler points out,¹⁵ it has several peculiarities: (a) it has first position in 25:14-26:16; (b) the style is quite different from that of the other OAN; (c) Elam was a distant nation uninvolved with Israel when the probable original members – her near neighbours – were grouped together, their oracles characteristically still mostly introduced in MT by *lamedh* of reference (GK 119u);¹⁶ (d) Elam is the only example where 6 and MT agree in a (clearly secondary) *Heilsverheißung* (49:14 [6 25:19]). Huwyler¹⁷ correctly denies that the peculiarity of the heading indicates genuineness; it arose rather to give Jeremiah’s authority to what is actually a much later saying, when Elam, or another nation symbolized by Elam¹⁸, was important. The spelling אֱלָמַי supports this conclusion. This is found here alone in Jeremiah (in contrast to the older form universal in Kings, אֱלָמַי), apart from instances in chapters of MT where, as we have noted, other late name-spellings are used¹⁹. Significantly the same late form occurs in Neh 10:2, though referring to a different person, and 1 Chronicles 3:16, where curiously the older spelling occurs in close proximity (3:15). The argument is

¹³ Seitz, *Theology*, 31-102.

¹⁴ See above, 129.

¹⁵ B.Huwyler, *Jeremia und die Völker. Untersuchungen zu den Völkersprüchen in Jeremia 46-49*, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1997, 256f.

¹⁶ See above, 32n6.

¹⁷ Huwyler, *Völkersprüchen*, 264n769.

¹⁸ W.L.Holladay, *Jeremiah*, Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989, II.5, mentions the possibility of its referring to the Parthian empire (certainly famous for archery [cf. 49:35]), but no development of this is to be found *ad loc* either at 25:25 or 49:34-39. The interesting possibility (first suggested by F.Perles, ‘A Miscellany of Lexical and Textual Notes on the Bible’, *JQR* NS2, 1911-12, 103, where he explains the line not represented in 6 as a doublet in 25:25MT) that אֱלָמַי (25:25) hides an original *athbash* (אֱלָמַי = אֱלָמַי – cf. אֱלָמַי = אֱלָמַי [v26a]) looks, if secrecy plays any part, more likely to favour the Persians (so Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 322n675). Interpretation could, of course, change in the course of time (see below, 227).

¹⁹ See above, 123.

somewhat weakened by the appearance in 49:34 of the usual **יְרֵמְיָהוּ**, rather than the later **יְרֵמְיָה**, found in chapters 27-8; but it remains true that the apocopated form is generally a sign of lateness, even if, as in Chronicles²⁰, coexistence with the earlier form occurs. The formula **אֲשֶׁר הָיָה דְבַר יְהוָה...** which introduces 49:34, 46:1, 47:1, also occurs in 1:1, where Carroll claims its association with a late theory of a forty-year ministry for Jeremiah.²¹ Otherwise this formula occurs in Jeremiah only at 14:1, where lack of ensuing oracle probably marks a late addition, perhaps imitating 46:1.²²

3.4 Jeremiah 27:1-29:23

Two closely linked chapters begin at 27:1, albeit with a highly debatable composition history.²³ They deal with an event plausibly ascribed in 28:1 MT to the fourth year of Zedekiah.²⁴ Most English versions, following **ℳ** and three Hebrew manuscripts, change MT “Jehoiakim” to “Zedekiah” in 27:1 to suit the ensuing passage. Obviously “Jehoiakim” is the *lectio difficilior* and, even if “Zedekiah” was original, manuscript evidence in favour of “Zedekiah” should probably be explained as later rationalization of a seemingly impossible reading.²⁵ The pattern of dating in this area of Jeremiah suggests that chapter 27

²⁰ The longer form is consistently used in Chronicles for the prophet, while the shorter form occurs in 1 Chron 5:24, 12:4, 10 for others of the same name, and also consistently of all those so-named in Ezra and Nehemiah.

²¹ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 90. In an article restricted to Jer 1-25, P.K.D. Neumann, ‘Das Wort das geschehen ist...’, *VT* 23, 1973, 201, says that earlier Jeremiah scrolls had the heading **אֲשֶׁר הָיָה דְבַר יְהוָה**, and that later redactors deliberately used a different formula to distinguish other disparate material, but he counts without the possibility of late imitation in 49:34.

²² So W. Rudolph, *Jeremia*, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 3rd edition 1968, 98.

²³ Similar solutions have been offered by G. Wanke, *Untersuchungen zur sogenannten Baruchsschrift*, BZAW 122, Berlin/New York 1971, 34f, and F.-L. Hossfeld and I. Meyer, *Prophet gegen Prophet*, Einsiedeln: Verlag Schweizerisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1973, 90-103, both accepting that **ℳ**’s omission of 27:1 is original (see also Hossfeld and Meyer, *Prophet*, 87). This involves seeing **ℳ**’s version of 28:1 as originally coming immediately after 27:2f, with 27:4-22 regarded as the key feature of a second major redaction.

²⁴ So clearly **ℳ**, BHS. If 27:1 had been a later arrival and had originally spoken of Zedekiah’s accession year, this could account for the confusion in 28:1 MT: “In that year, in the accession year of Zedekiah king of Judah, in the fourth year in the fifth month”.

²⁵ See above, 111n47.

would have had some such heading,²⁶ so 𐤂 probably omitted the verse as unintelligible. The problems of reading “Jehoiakim” may indeed mean that “Zedekiah” did stand originally in 27:1. But the reading “Jehoiakim” is not completely nonsensical, especially if the translation were possible, “At the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim, this word *had* come...”. Schmid proposes²⁷ that “Jehoiakim” (MT) should be taken seriously, – he does not say whether he believes the verse to have been added specially – as an indication that the divine decision to transfer the kingdom to Nebuchadnezzar, though only *implemented* when he won the battle of Carchemish four years later, took place *in reality* with the death of Josiah, thus making the seventy years from 609 to 539 exactly correspond to the period mentioned in 25:11f and 29:10, with 27:6 representing a deed of gift dated to the beginning of Jehoiakim’s reign²⁸.

In any case Zedekiah is, of course, mentioned several times in these two chapters (27f). But he is in no way central; while he is depicted as listening to misguided prophets, the focus is on them rather than him. It is not clear what stage of development in Zedekiah’s image is presented, but the negative view of prophets here creates an unfavourable impression of him, comparable with 2 Ki 24:18-20.

In this part of the book, which features false prophets, should probably be reckoned chapter 29. Its original material, Schmid says, gained its place in the book simply through its availability, and was subsequently expanded to relate to later situations²⁹. Zedekiah despatches a delegation to Babylon (29:3), which Jeremiah uses to send with the ambassadors a letter of his own. One of these, Elasa, was descended from Shaphan, the scribe mentioned in 2 Ki 22. Stipp, with his theory of a “Shaphanid redaction”³⁰ puts an interesting construction on

²⁶ So Holladay, *Jeremiah*, II.112, *pace* W.McKane, *Jeremiah*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996, II. 685, who argues from 𐤂’s omission that no reconstruction should be undertaken.

²⁷ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 224.

²⁸ The perfect ^𐤂 is performative, cf. Gen 41:41. See below, 222n50; 233.

²⁹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 381.

³⁰ See below, 4.1.2.

the historical background. Since Elasa must have sympathized with Jeremiah, one has to suppose that, when Jeremiah sent his letter advocating co-operation with the Babylonians, both Zedekiah and Elasa were likewise well-disposed towards them. Stipp sees this confirmed by the fact that Gedaliah, likewise a Shaphanid, must have had pro-Babylonian credentials to have been made governor, and that the lack of any mention of the Shaphanids in what he considers to be the underlying source of 34:7, 37:1-40:6 and calls the *Erzählung von der Haft und Befreiung Jeremias* (HBJ-Erz), shows that later in Zedekiah's reign, when he adopted a policy of resistance to Babylon, they were powerless and hence were unable to support Jeremiah.³¹ This account certainly lends credibility to the view that the king began by being loyal to Babylon, but later, under pressure from "aristocrats" wedded to "Zion theology" based on the notion of the city's impregnability, turned to rebellion. This explanation is plausible enough, but Zedekiah is a distant figure in the narrative of chapters 27-29, of little concern to the writer.

4. Changes in the image of Zedekiah in the book of Jeremiah

4.1 The portrait of Zedekiah in 34:7, 37:1-40:6

4.1.1 Preliminary considerations

Duhm observed³² the contrast between downright condemnation of Zedekiah in Jer 52:2f and the more nuanced portrait in chapters 37f. If, as is possible, the non-appearance in **Q** of 52:2f indicates an addition to MT after bifurcation of the two traditions³³, it corroborates what is already suggested by a comparison with the uncompromising summary of his character in 2 Chron 36:12f that "he did what was evil...; he did not humble himself before Jeremiah, the prophet who spoke for Yahweh": blackening of Zedekiah's image was a process extending far beyond its first appearance.

³¹ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 297.

³² B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia*, Tübingen and Leipzig: J.C.B. Mohr, 1901, 377.

³³ Albeit before the bifurcation in 2 Ki 24:19f.

Stipp has devoted the major part of a monograph³⁴ to the analysis of Jeremiah's circumstances and also summarized his findings in a more recent article.³⁵ In the book, he argues that the passage which runs from 37:1 to 43:7, for which C.Hardmeier had claimed the original introduction to be 34:7,³⁶ gained its present introduction, as generally agreed,³⁷ by the secondary insertion of 37:1f, – verses blaming Jerusalem's demise in typically Deuteronomistic language on the wickedness of king and people (cf. 2 Ki 24:19f). He then shows that the whole passage falls into two parallel sections. The basis for one was what he terms the *Erzählung von der Haft und Befreiung Jeremias* (HBJ-Erz) and for the other what he terms the *Jischmael-Dossier* (JD). A later writer then expanded both original documents to form a composite story, the *Erzählung vom Untergang des palästinischen Judäertums* (UPJ-Erz). Only the first part concerns Zedekiah, whose fate, sealed with Jerusalem's, marks the middle. The first story of imprisonment, *as the text now stands*, is aimed, Stipp believes, to change the picture presented by the second. The implausibly represented ability of Jeremiah to speak to the people, when he was supposedly in captivity (37:21), shows that UPJ-Erz is no straightforward record of events³⁸.

4.1.2 “Die Erzählung von der Haft und Befreiung Jeremias”

Stipp analyses HBJ-Erz as a four-part document: (a) 34:7; 37:3,6,9f; (b) 38:1-6*; (c) 38:7-28a; (d) 38:28b, 39:3,14. Apart from the late redaction (37:1f) mentioned above, together with 39:15f, reckoned also to the same stratum, he posits a yet more recent expansion in 39:1f, and a further brief addition. This, because of its mention of Gedaliah, he derives from a redactional layer, prominent in the second half of the UPJ-Erz as well as in chapter 36, which he terms the “*Schafanidische Redaktion*”, interested in putting the family of

³⁴ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*.

³⁵ H.-J. Stipp, ‘Zedekiah in the book of Jeremiah’, *CBQ* 58, 1996, 627-648.

³⁶ C. Hardmeier, *Prophetie im Streit vor dem Untergang Judas*. BZAW 187, Berlin/New York: W. de Gruyter, 1989, 175-178.

³⁷ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 152 n1.

³⁸ Against the older theory (cf. S. Mowinckel, *Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia*, Kristiania (Oslo): Jacob Dybwad, 1914, 24-30) that these third person narratives in Jeremiah are the work of Baruch, or of a single author, see Wanke, *Baruchschrift*, 1-5, 144-47.

Shaphan in a favourable light. All other material in the passage under consideration Stipp ascribes on the strength of detailed reasoning to the major redaction, whose additions he refers to as the *UPJ-Erweiterung* (UPJ-Erw).

A key feature of Stipp's analysis of this passage is the extent of his adoption, despite detailed disagreements, of Hardmeier's theory about the origin of 2 Ki 18f, which has won considerable,³⁹ though not universal⁴⁰, acceptance. Hardmeier explains the core of this passage (generally agreed to consist of 18:17-19:9, 36-37) as written, not as a historical account of Hezekiah's experience with the Assyrians, but as a propaganda document published to counteract Jeremiah's influence in the Babylonian siege. Understood in this way, the import is clear: Jeremiah's message should match what Isaiah *supposedly* offered in the analogous situation a century or so earlier; equally Zedekiah should be relying on the Zion theology which guaranteed Jerusalem's impregnability⁴¹. In contrast, Jeremiah stands here over against such enthused nationalists: "in 37:9 these men succumb to pure self-deception; according to 38:3-6 they are profane-minded, violent criminals"⁴². Thus HBJ-Erz is to be interpreted as a counterblast to this document now found both in 2 Ki 18f and Isa 36f. Detailed resemblances between HBJ-Erz and this propaganda, besides giving credibility to this hypothesis, help to explain the difficulties of using these passages to account historically for Hezekiah's situation⁴³.

In seeking to date the HBJ-Erz⁴⁴, Stipp points out features placing it close to the events recorded. The fulfilment of Jeremiah's prophecies is assumed as something freshly remembered and the capture of Jerusalem is simply a date-

³⁹ E.g. R.E Clements, *SOTS Book List*, 1991, 77. He expresses similar respect in 'The Politics of Blasphemy – Zion's God and the Threat of Imperialism', in I.Kottsieper *et al* (edd), "*Wer ist wie du, HERR, unter den Göttern?*" 1994, 244. Cf. also W.Dietrich, 'I & II Kings', in *OBC*, 261.

⁴⁰ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 88n164.

⁴¹ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 222; Hardmeier, *Prophetie*, 446.

⁴² Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 222.

⁴³ Hardmeier, *Prophetie*, 1-21.

⁴⁴ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 222-4.

marker for Jeremiah's release. Names can be cited without introduction; interestingly those of the prophet's opponents are only identified explicitly with the "aristocratic" **עֲרֵבָה** in UPJ-Erw at a stage after the bifurcation of the traditions. Choosing a circumstantial clause rather than a relative (Jer 38:7) has the force of explaining how Ebed-Melek came to hear about Jeremiah's plight; it does not introduce him to an audience who did not know him. The concrete detail of Benjamin's Gate (38:7) and the graphic description of the material for extracting Jeremiah from the cistern and where it came from likewise arguably⁴⁵ suggest recall of recent historical facts (38:11) – as also the exact location of Jeremiah's audience with Zedekiah (38:14). In favour too of an early date for HBJ-Erz, Stipp says, is the lack of any attempt to enhance Jeremiah's image by defying "everyday probability". The document apparently ends with Jeremiah's freedom "in the midst of his people" (39:14): there is no mention of his departure into Egypt; nothing about Gedaliah's murder; no *theological* ascription of guilt: Zedekiah's failure to capitulate is simply put down to political weakness over a political issue. For all these reasons, Stipp dates HBJ-Erz shortly after Jeremiah's liberation, its writer a supporter of the prophet, but not necessarily Baruch⁴⁶.

Thus, if Stipp and Hardmeier are right, HBJ-Erz aimed to answer the propaganda document detected in 2 Kings and Isaiah. Silence about the fate of Jeremiah's opponents may mean that the audience knew well what had happened to them, or that their future was still open and a hint intended as to what ought to happen. In any case, co-operation with the Babylonians is clearly advocated⁴⁷.

No doubt, therefore, one can expect Zedekiah to be unfavourably presented in HBJ-Erz, since its aim is to vindicate Jeremiah and blacken the image of aristocrats opposed to capitulation, whose advice Zedekiah accepted. It is true,

⁴⁵ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 677, 683, on the other hand, casts repeated doubt on the historicity of the narrative.

⁴⁶ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 224.

⁴⁷ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 212.

of course, that he hardly emerges as a hero. But significantly the impression is not only realistic, as one might hope for from a document with claims to be both contemporary with the events described and within limits historically accurate, but *nuanced*: Zedekiah is no downright villain: his problem is not wickedness but weakness.

Thus Zedekiah does not side with those accusing Jeremiah of a demoralizing message (38:4f). He shows considerable respect for him as a prophet. There is no insincerity in Zedekiah's aspiration to hear the unvarnished word of the Lord, and his reference to "the one who gave us our lives" (38:16), portrays him "als regelrecht YHWH-fromm"⁴⁸. Furthermore, hearing about the prophet's incarceration in a cistern, he immediately responds to Ebed-Melech and sanctions his rescue.

But Jeremiah's prophecies have no effect on Zedekiah, even though he is assured of personal security if he obeys (38:17). He might have had the prophet rescued from the dungeon, but he was the one responsible for the prophet's plight, not even expressing objections to the death-sentence in the face of Jeremiah's opponents (38:5): even after being taken out of the cistern the prophet still remains imprisoned (38:13). Ebed-melech acts on the king's instructions with alacrity, imaginativeness and efficiency; Zedekiah is undecided, half-hearted and ineffective. It is one of the document's subtleties that with the עֲבֵד־מֶלֶךְ remorselessly opposed, and Ebed-Melech boldly on Jeremiah's side, Zedekiah attempts unsuccessfully to walk a tight-rope in between.

Stipp then argues that HBJ-Erz expresses not condemnation for Zedekiah, but pity;⁴⁹ victim of his "barons", his plight matching figuratively what his indecisiveness meant for Jeremiah (38:22), he is "eine eher tragische als böse Figur", still far removed from the negative stereotype manufactured in more

⁴⁸ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 212.

⁴⁹ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 213.

recent strata of Jeremiah⁵⁰. Stipp is rightly critical, when Hardmeier judges: “Mit diesem Bild des Monarchen, der kläglich versagt hat, werden in der Erzählgegenwart u.a. alle monarchistischen Herrschaftsansprüche diskreditiert”⁵¹.

4.1.3 “Die UPJ-Erweiterung”

Stipp uses this term to refer to redactional additions which turned the *Erzählung von der Haft und Befreiung Jeremias* into the *Erzählung vom Untergang des palästinischen Judäertums*. He begins with linguistic arguments for the unity of this redaction across both the material of the HBJ-Erz and the JD⁵². After reviewing the structure and contrasting elements of action and conversation⁵³, he deals with (i) the characterization of the participants⁵⁴, (ii) date and authorship⁵⁵, and (iii) the narrative’s intention⁵⁶. Before approaching the portrait of Zedekiah we need to summarize briefly Stipp’s treatment of these last two points.

Most features of the UPJ-Erw argue for a date close to that of the documents which it expands; others for one somewhat removed. Among the former, it is notable that (a) reference can be made to Jonathan’s house (e.g. 37:15) without further detail; (b) Gedaliah’s governorship is well-known (40:8); (c) brief mention suffices for Jerusalem’s capture. By contrast Irijah needs introduction (37:13), and Kimham’s holding needs explanation (41:17). On the other hand, the writer includes HBJ-Erz, whose expansion in itself demands a certain interval after the initial document, but more significantly, he changes the motivation for opponents’ objections: the charge now is not that of *demoralizing his fellow-Judahites*, but of *collaborating with the Babylonians*.

⁵⁰ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 213n4.

⁵¹ Hardmeier, *Prophetie*, 220.

⁵² See above, p156; Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 241-246.

⁵³ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 246-249.

⁵⁴ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 249-271.

⁵⁵ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 271-278.

⁵⁶ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 278-284.

The handling of this charge shows, Stipp argues,⁵⁷ that fire still smouldered in the minds of the writer's contemporaries: the scope of the reproach could be left from first mention in 37:13 till 38:19 with the assurance that the point would be well understood. The portrait of Zedekiah, far from veering towards later stereotyped negative characterisation, even fares marginally better than in the HBJ-Erz, as we shall see. Nevertheless, it is he who, as in the embedded source, is primarily responsible for Judah's downfall, but his guilt is still not assessed in any "religious" way. Contrary to historical fact, Stipp points out, Jeremiah prophesies that the *Babylonian* king would bring about the return (42:12)⁵⁸, something scarcely conceivable if the document were post-exilic. However, this rests on a much disputed text⁵⁹, and should probably be left out of the argument.

Stipp then refutes⁶⁰ any contention that UPJ-Erz's insistence on the emigration to Egypt of the whole Judahite remnant is not an original feature of the document, but secondary. Nevertheless, all agree that the notion that non-exiled Jews all emigrated to Egypt is completely unhistorical. Could then such a travesty have been perpetrated unless at a much later date? While preconceptions might raise doubts, Stipp proceeds to argue that (a) the writers of 2 Ki 25:22-26, who also have the conception of an empty land, must have depended on UPJ-Erw (albeit omitting reference to Jeremiah because there still lurked unhealed the Deuteronomistic antipathy towards the prophet reflected in the Hezekiah-narrative⁶¹); (b) these verses near the end of 2 Kings must have been written soon after 562 – the year of Jehoiachin's release. Stipp's conclusion, however unlikely it might seem, is that this evidence chimes with other points in favour of a relatively early dating – hardly later than 570⁶².

⁵⁷ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 272.

⁵⁸ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 272.

⁵⁹ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 188, discusses the problem raised by the MT. However, the solution looks very uncertain.

⁶⁰ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 273-275.

⁶¹ I.e. the supposed propaganda ostensibly about Hezekiah and Isaiah, but casting Jeremiah in the role of Rabshakeh, which now appears in Isa 36f. Only later in the exile, according to Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 276, the Deuteronomists changed their attitude to Jeremiah, editing his prophecies so as to turn their villain into a hero.

⁶² Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 278.

As for place of origin, Jeremiah's fate is unrecorded: this, Stipp argues, excludes Egypt. Palestine is logically impossible since the document itself describes it as devoid of Judahites!⁶³ Hence it must have been written in Babylon. The Achilles heel of Stipp's argument is the notion that 2Ki 25:22-26 was written in Palestine soon enough for the writers not to have got over supposed hostility towards Jeremiah but late enough to accept the idea that Judah had been totally emptied, when here already were Judahites (where were they from?) writing this down. However, Stipp is aware of this objection: his answer to Nicholson⁶⁴ and Soggin⁶⁵, who both favour Babylon as the place of writing for the Deuteronomistic History, is that "one would in this case have to suppose against all probability that the Jeremiah of the UPJ-Erw met with rejection among the exiles. That can be absolutely ruled out"⁶⁶. Stipp could be right in his judgement that while it might be inconceivable for a *primary* document to have been at such odds with the facts, "für den Gebrauch von Quellen galten offenbar andere Maßstäbe bzw. hinreichend flexible hermeneutische Regeln"⁶⁷. In any case, even if doubt surrounds the place of composition, an early sixth century date for the UPJ-Erw seems unassailable.

Seeking the writer's intention, Stipp begins by noting that the overall document embraces two situations when co-operation with the Babylonians would have been possible: (a) during the siege; (b) when Jeremiah pleaded with those emigrating to stay in Judah. Both opportunities were frittered away. The combination places great emphasis on the folly of the Judahites who went to Egypt. Not destruction of the city, not exile to Babylon – emigration was the real disaster. They could have been the true remnant, but instead, there was a

⁶³ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 278.

⁶⁴ E.W.Nicholson, *Preaching to the Exiles. A Study of the Prose Tradition in the Book of Jeremiah*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971, 116-22.

⁶⁵ J.A.Soggin, 'Der Entstehungsort des Deuteronomischen Geschichtswerk – Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte desselben', *ThLZ* 100, 1975, 3-8. He concludes with the hope that he has shown, "daß es in Dtr G, und zwar in der exilischen Bearbeitung (für diejenigen freilich, die eine solche annehmen) große und wichtige Teile gibt, die nur dann sinnvoll erscheinen, wenn sie sich an die nach Babylonien Verschleppten richten".

⁶⁶ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 277n23.

⁶⁷ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 277.

vacuum. If there is a theological emphasis, this is where it lies. Nobody is blamed for the Babylonian onslaught in the Deuteronomistic manner of 2 Kings: what excites the writer is that the exiles in Babylon are now to see themselves as those destined to fill the vacuum: to be the remnant, since there is no longer one in Judah⁶⁸. This is borne out by the fact that the second part of the UPJ-Erw is largely free composition.

The Jeremiah tradition is the source of the writer's view of those who emigrated to Egypt. But this raises for him two problems:

(a) Jeremiah was still a controversial figure. How could one be sure that he had not used his role simply to propagate support for his own political agenda? The need was not to persuade those in Egypt, to whom the UPJ-Erw was not addressed, and for whom its writer held out no hope. It was those in Babylon, where doubters might persist. Their scepticism could have been intensified by knowledge that Jeremiah had himself gone – probably, Stipp thinks, voluntarily⁶⁹ – to Egypt: something passed over in silence by the original writer, and only added by redactional intervention, it was probably a well-known fact. The writer counteracts this problem with his build-up for the prophet's utterance at Mizpah: the profuse assurances from the *émigré* leaders (42:5f) and the ten-day waiting period (42:7). The message is that their departure had nothing to do with Jeremiah's lack of prophetic authenticity, *since they themselves had recognized it*.

(b) A further problem is counteracted by the first part of the UPJ-Erw. This is the matter of collaboration. The writer shared the repugnance felt for those truly guilty of this, and prefixed the account of Jeremiah's incarceration (chapter 37) to show that though he was accused of this, the charge was false. Similarity between this and the allegation already in the writer's source concerning demoralization shows that he saw collaboration as specifically crucial. The faceless אֲנֹכִי, Stipp brilliantly suggests, who in the narrative bring up this charge, represent Jewish leaders, who, far from having all been executed by the

⁶⁸ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 279f

⁶⁹ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 280f

Babylonians (*contra* 52:10, which Stipp thinks is greatly exaggerated), or being all in Egypt (according to the narrative itself), may well have been known to regard those in Babylon as tarred with the collaborationist brush. “By repudiating the critics of Jeremiah, sponsors of the UPJ-Erz would be covertly defending themselves.”⁷⁰ The favourable picture of Babylonian magnanimity indicates that while some in Babylon, the writer thought, needed to view the exile positively, others might need to ward off the charge of licking Babylonian boots. *It had to be possible to co-operate with the Babylonians without incurring the label of traitor.*

But the writer’s interest in Jeremiah is limited to the use he can put him to in pursuit of his own objectives: Jeremiah being absent from important parts of the narrative, any suggestion that his intention was *biographical* is excluded.

The import of Stipp’s account of the intention of the UPJ-Erz therefore is that it represents, not in the course of the development of Jeremiah but in its own composition history, the notion, strongly figuring in later developments, that the future for the Judahites lies exclusively with the Babylonian *golah* of 597. Stipp, however, believes that this position originated, not in the UPJ-Erz, but in a supposedly somewhat older text, Ez 33:23-29⁷¹. We have seen (above, section 2) that there are other pointers to the possibility that such emphasis on the *golah* spread into the Jeremiah tradition from that of Ezekiel.

From this review of the author’s likely date, location and intention, it is clear, even if Stipp is not correct in some of his speculations, that Zedekiah is not the primary focus of the UPJ-Erz. This has both advantages and disadvantages for our purpose: on the one hand, although he is much more graphically presented than in the texts considered in previous sections, the writer is still not giving to

⁷⁰ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 283.

⁷¹ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 284

Zedekiah his full attention; on the other, since this is the case, there is less danger of his drawing a tendentious picture. In fact the writer is clearly guided by his source: there is a strong match between the request for an oracle in 37:17 (UPJ-Erw) and that in 38:14 (HBJ-Erz). While the HBJ-Erz has Jeremiah released, the UPJ-Erw has Zedekiah only fulfil Jeremiah's request *au pied de la lettre*: he comes out of the house of Jonathan the scribe, but *on Zedekiah's orders* is further detained. On the other hand, assuring Jeremiah's rations exceeds anything recorded of Zedekiah in the HBJ-Erz, and perhaps the only way to secure either safety or nourishment was to keep Jeremiah on a site within the palace compound. Furthermore, Zedekiah positively seeks to save Jeremiah from the ׀ִרְשָׁׁ in the final scene (38:24-28). We should conclude that the motive of representing the ׀ִרְשָׁׁ as Jeremiah's real enemies has been the factor responsible for moving Zedekiah up a notch as their foil. At any rate the writer of UPJ-Erw did not drastically change his source's portrait of Zedekiah, and if Stipp is right that even this latter document was written within a generation of events described, close correspondence between the two portraits must go some way to endorsing what is found in HBJ-Erz as broadly true to life: in both documents he comes across in the words of H.Kremers⁷² as "weniger schlecht als schlacht".⁷³

4.2 Deterioration of Zedekiah's image

4.2.1 Introduction

In his article⁷⁴ investigating the presentation of Zedekiah in the book of Jeremiah, Stipp seeks to show a gradual deterioration in Zedekiah's image, as new strata accrue to the tradition. We shall examine the passages concerned in the order in which he deals with them, but find that while his main thesis is justified, details require considerable modification.

⁷² H.Kremers, *Der leidende Prophet*, Diss.Göttingen 1952, 29; cited by Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 262.

⁷³ Cf.Rudolph, *Jeremiah*, 319: "Zedekia [war] ein Schwächling der nicht das Böse wollte, aber sich nicht durchzusetzen verstand".

⁷⁴ Stipp, 'Zedekiah'. See above, 156n35.

4.2.2 *Jeremiah 37f*

As we have seen, chapters 37f present a nuanced picture of Zedekiah, thus constituting a kind of baseline from which to measure less favourable assessments. So in the article⁷⁵ referred to, Stipp treats his posited strata in chapters 37-38 (HBJ-Erz and UPJ-Erw) as a unitary document. The later of the two presents a marginally more favourable image, so that a graph representing Zedekiah's image would show a slight blip in its decline as the history of composition proceeded! One can understand Stipp's reluctance to highlight this, especially with the later of the two strata arguably composed with half an eye to the earlier. Because the second sticks closely to the first, and was written, as other scholars agree⁷⁶, within a generation of events recorded, no objection is necessary to Stipp's making these two chapters the foundation of his argument.

4.2.3 *Jeremiah 37:1f*

We saw that within chapters 37-38 itself, there is already evidence of a different estimate of Zedekiah. Stipp's statement that v1 was "modelled on 2 Ki 24:17" raises the question why **בְּנֵי יְהוָה** (not **יְהוָה יְבִיין**, as in 2 Ki 24:15MT, or **יְבִינֵי יְהוָה**, a form we have suggested may earlier have existed in Kings and appears in Jer 37:1) is used. But this could have been assimilated to the form found in Jer 22:28⁷⁷. More important, Jerusalem's disaster is introduced (37:2) with the assertion that neither Zedekiah nor his courtiers, nor the people of the land listened to the words which the Lord spoke through the prophet Jeremiah. Stipp cites a number of other texts (8:1f; 21:7; 32:32; 34:19; 44:17,21) to illustrate what he calls the "Deuteronomistic cliché of pre-exilic Judah that ... the entire society, from the king and his officials to the humblest people were obstinate sinners... and so deserved their castigation".⁷⁸ However, the language is not identical throughout these cited texts; the only place where almost exactly the same words are used is 21:7. This resonance with 37:2 may well indicate

⁷⁵ Stipp, 'Zedekiah', 628n4.

⁷⁶ Seitz, *Theology*, 257-73; Hardmeier, *Prophetie*, 174-247; A.Graupner, *Auftrag und Geschick des Propheten Jeremia*, Neukirchen-Vluyn:Neukirchener Verlag, 112-128.

⁷⁷ See above, 125.

⁷⁸ Stipp, 'Zedekiah', 632.

how the whole section (in whatever form that existed at the time) from 21:1-10 (prophecy) to the passage stretching from chapter 37 to chapter 43 (fulfilment) was linked together. The theme of punishment (threatened in 36:31; fulfilled in chapters 37-38), and the catchword עֲבָדָיו (36: 31; cf. 37:2) serve to strengthen the coupling, while the word יָרַעוּ (36:31) precludes any *original* such continuation, since Zedekiah was not Jehoiakim's offspring (threatened in 36:31) but his brother. No doubt certainty of the provenance of these texts ascribing universal blame is impossible⁷⁹, but clearly there is a family resemblance between passages censuring the whole nation. Stipp could have added that, while it is said in 2 Ki 24:19f that Zedekiah did what was wrong in the eyes of the Lord, this is immediately followed by "Jerusalem and Judah so angered the Lord that in the end he banished them". Similarly in 2 Ki 17, Samaria's fate is not ascribed to the wickedness of kings but the whole nation (2 Ki 17:18). On the other hand, in 2 Ki 23:26, YHWH's ongoing determination to punish Judah is explained by Manasseh's provocation. So there was evidently theological co-existence between blame for the king and blame for the nation as a whole to explain the eventual disaster. None of this detracts from the main point: *the tendency to ascribe blame for Jerusalem's disaster to the king distinguishes particularly Jer 37:1-2 from the relatively mild handling of Zedekiah in the UPJ-Erw.*

4.2.4 Jeremiah 34: 8-22

This is illustrated in 34:8-22, as Stipp goes on to say, by the story of the aborted manumission of slaves. Controversy surrounds the historicity of this passage, defended by Rudolph⁸⁰ and more recently Holladay⁸¹, but ridiculed by Carroll⁸² with rhetorical questions about the practicability of releasing slaves in the siege situation. Stipp is non-committal, especially on the strength of a note

⁷⁹ The homogeneity of much of the prose implied throughout W. Thiel's analysis (in *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1-25*, WMANT 41, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1973; *Jeremia*, 26-45, 1981) has been resisted by McKane, *Jeremiah*, I, liv and Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 29-34.

⁸⁰ Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 222f.

⁸¹ Holladay, *Jeremiah*, I, 238f.

⁸² Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 647f.

claiming to follow both Rudolph and Carroll!⁸³ However, his theory that it was written by a Deuteronomistic author is challenged not only by H. Weippert, who regards the language as distinguishable from a Deuteronomistic type⁸⁴, but by the fact that the references to slave law are couched both in the language of Dt 15:1,12 (cf. Jer 34:14) and Lv 25:10 (cf. Jer 34:8,15,17). The fact that the term **בְּבֵרֵי יְהוָה** (Jer 34:10) only occurs elsewhere in 2 Chron 15:12 indicates a much later period⁸⁵ than Stipp envisages with his exilic date. Carroll is probably right, at least with his assessment that the authority of Jeremiah was being exploited for homiletic insistence on promise-keeping⁸⁶. An appeal to the quasi-scriptural status of the Jeremianic tradition has on this showing ended by achieving the same status itself: the condemnation of Zedekiah and all other Judahites for Jerusalem's fate turned out to be a long-lived theme.

4.2.5 *Jeremiah 21:1-7*

Stipp would like to see in 21:1-7 a further stage in the development of Zedekiah's negative image, for although he regards it as "shaped in a similar mold" to 34:8-22,⁸⁷ which is certainly true as far as the universal ascription of guilt is concerned, he says that the author does not trouble to give reasons for the coming ordeal, so pawnlike has the king become in the attempt to explain the current situation⁸⁸. However, the impression that this represents a *further definite stage* in the deterioration of Zedekiah's image is inconsistent with the attractive view that 21:1-7⁸⁹ and 37:1-2 were inserted together to provide a link

⁸³ Stipp, 'Zedekiah', 633n16.

⁸⁴ H. Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches*, BZAW 132, 1973, 86-106.

⁸⁵ K. Schmid, *Erzväter und Exodus*, WMANT 81, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1999, 184n89 has argued plausibly for the dependence of Gen 15 on this narrative in Jer 34, so that it would be unwise to rely on dependence in the other direction for further evidence of lateness in the latter. However, C. Maier, *Jeremia als Lehrer der Tora*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002, 279f, sees an earlier core (34:8b-11), perhaps deriving from the same source as chapter 37, developed (a) by the addition of 34:12-17, seen as similar to material in chapters 7 and 11, then (b) with a final change to v18, betrayed, she thinks, by absence of any reference in Ⓞ to Gen 15:9f, 17. In view of the intertextual complexity of Gen 15, Schmid's view of the direction of dependence is to be preferred.

⁸⁶ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 650.

⁸⁷ Stipp, 'Zedekiah', 633.

⁸⁸ Seitz, *Theology*, 226n40, suggests that 21:7 "forecloses on" the alternative of survival offered to Zedekiah at 38:17f.

⁸⁹ Many, from various perspectives, regard 21:8-10 as secondary to vv1-7; for details see Holladay, *Jeremiah*, I. 573.

with (a) the stories in chapters 37-38 from which details are probably borrowed (e.g. the request for an oracle [21:2, cf. 37:17], and the reference to the raising of the siege [21:2, cf. 37:5]) and (b) the disparaging section on kings already introduced by 21:11. Clearly, if the same writer was responsible for 21:1-10* and 37:1-2, any notion of stages between the two is erroneous. Material denigrating Zedekiah has thus been wrapped around both the section on kings (see further below) and also round however much chapters *25-36, ending with the condemnation of Jehoiakim, contained at the time: Zedekiah is even worse!

4.2.6 *Jeremiah 34:1-7 and 32:1-7*

It is important to compare these two passages, of which 32:1-7 is probably the more recent (see below) and in part dependent on 34:1-7. While 34:1-7 might have a claim to be the most favourable to Zedekiah in the book, there is a problem: Zedekiah's doom and Jerusalem's destruction are prophesied in 34:2f, while vv4-6 promise the king death "in peace" and a "royal funeral". Various escape-routes have been tried from this apparent contradiction⁹⁰: the main ones are either (a) to understand a condition before vv4-6, such as "if you capitulate" or (b) to suppose that vv4-6 aim to mitigate the punishment, as if, even after going to Babylon as Nebuchadnezzar's prisoner, Zedekiah might return for honourable burial. McKane resists such suggestions⁹¹: he concludes that two diverse traditions have been for whatever reason juxtaposed. One possibility, not suggested before to my knowledge, is that vv4-6 are *bitterly sarcastic*. It would have a parallel in Micaiah's prophecy in 1 Ki 22:15, and a clue to this might lie in the fulsome language of Jer 34:5. Sarcasm could work in one of two ways: either the point might be that the event prophesied would not happen at all; or it could amount to saying, "Look on the bright side: you are not actually going to die in battle" (cf. Amos 3:12, where survival is compared sarcastically with the "survival" of body-parts of a sheep devoured by a lion). However, the problem with the latter is that the kind of funeral envisaged in 34:5 is hardly compatible with lifelong exile in Babylon. Is then the imperative equivalent to a condition: "If only you would listen to the word of YHWH...?"

⁹⁰ McKane, *Jeremiah*, II.875

⁹¹ McKane, *Jeremiah*, II.875-7

This, however, construes a stereotyped idiom in a unique way. If then none of the above explanations carries conviction, 34:4-6 probably represents, in view of the abrupt change of tack, a later addition. Stipp, without giving any reason, thinks this unlikely. Presumably his view would be that later additions would not have been so encouraging in tone. This can hardly be certain, but it is reasonable.

A solution is elusive. But the point is important for Stipp, who rightly sees that 32:1-7 is modelled on this passage. The direction of borrowing is clear: (a) Jeremiah's prophecy is put in the mouth of Zedekiah (32:3); (b) to set the scene for the ensuing story, detail has also been incorporated in 32:1-7 from chapters 37f; (c) the inconcinnity of 32:1 and 32:6 has not been resolved, so that whereas in 34:2 a prophecy follows to complement the introduction in verse 1, there is no such complement for 32:1, modelled on 34:1. Stipp sets out the two passages in parallel columns, intending to show that 34:5 is left out, explaining this as a development in the treatment of Zedekiah: in 32:1-7 there is now no hint of the "peace" mentioned in the "omitted" verse. This, of course, depends on Stipp's interpretation of 34:4-6, which associates him with those gratuitously assuming the implied condition, *viz* "if you capitulate". His conjecture that 34:5 is a fragment delivered at the time of the siege "preserved in the framework of a redactionally rephrased oracle which unconditionally prophesied the burning of the city"⁹² looks singularly implausible. It neither reflects Jeremiah's style (particularly with the quotation, "Alas, my master") nor Jeremiah's likely message during the siege. Indeed there is no reason why the writer of 32:1-7 should have had 34:4-6 in front of him at the time of his borrowing from its eventual context: insertion of 34:4-6 could have taken place later, and probably did, however difficult this may be to explain. To this extent Stipp's diagram, in which he sets out verses 1-7 of both chapters in parallel columns, is misleading: the inclusion of verses 6f for each chapter, which constitute no mutual parallel, unjustifiably turns 34:4f into an omission on the part of 32:1-7. Of course,

⁹² Stipp, 'Zedekiah', 637.

Stipp needs 32:6f to show the inconcinnity with verse 1, which has no proper complement, but this only makes *some* borrowing likely, leaving 34:4-6 as late mitigation by a scribe anxious for whatever reason to gainsay the hostility to Zedekiah which pervades the present state of the text. Rudolph⁹³ may be right that the position of 34:1-7 is determined by perception of it as deserving of a place in the *Heil* section of the book. On the other hand, Seitz suggests that 34:4-7 have been taken from their place in the narrative of chapters 37-38 and editorially blunted both by 34:1-3 and by the derogatory story about the manumission of slaves which follows⁹⁴. This last solution should be provisionally accepted as least problematic.

Stipp's other observations on 32:1-7 are more cogent. Thus questioning of Jeremiah's prophecy by Zedekiah (32:3) makes him a critic of his acceptability as a prophet, which is never the case in the UPJ-Erz; and whereas it was the מַלְאָכֵי הַמִּצְרַיִם who were responsible for Jeremiah's imprisonment there, here their role is taken over by Zedekiah himself. Stipp meets the obvious objection that the king was indeed responsible himself as follows: "To be sure, in chapters 37-38, it is Zedekiah who twice orders Jeremiah to be transferred to the court of the guard, but there his measures are presented as support for the prophet relieving him of harsher forms of confinement".⁹⁵ Stipp's verdict should be accepted that the nuanced account of Zedekiah's responsibility seen in the UPJ-Erz has given way to total antagonism between king and prophet⁹⁶.

4.2.7 *The Alexandrian tradition*

That a harsher view of Zedekiah developed in the pre-Masoretic tradition is indicated by a probable addition in 32:5, unrepresented in Ⓢ, especially the ominous phrase עֵד-פְּקִדֵי אֱתוֹ⁹⁷. But Stipp proceeds to argue⁹⁸ that pluses in

⁹³ Rudolph, *Jeremiah*, 220f.

⁹⁴ Seitz, *Theology*, 243.

⁹⁵ Stipp, 'Zedekiah', 637.

⁹⁶ Stipp, 'Zedekiah', 638.

⁹⁷ Against the outside possibility that עֵד-פְּקִדֵי אֱתוֹ envisages a beneficent "visit", Rudolph, *Jeremiah*, 208, cites Rashi (*Commentarius*, tr F. Breithaupt, Gotha: Schall, 1713, 429, "visitatione scil. omnis hominis quae est mors") and, in support, Nu 16:29.

⁹⁸ Stipp, 'Zedekiah', 638-41.

Ⓞ show that in the Alexandrian tradition too, Zedekiah’s stock continued to sink: two of three variants in 37:18-21 (Ⓞ44:18-21) arguably darken the shadows: thus (a) in v18, ׀׀׀׀׀׀ is translated with present singular σὺ δίδως, focusing responsibility on Zedekiah *alone*; (b) in v 20, vetitive ׀׀׀׀׀׀ -׀׀׀ becomes τί ἀποστρέφεις με, representing Zedekiah’s mind as *already made up*. Stipp’s third example (c) is, however, unconvincing: certainly 36:20 shows that ׀׀׀׀׀׀ *hiphil* does not imply lack of consideration, and in 37:21 (“they placed Jeremiah in the court of the guard”) – except in Syro-Hexaplar, Ⓞ^L and the associated 10th century minuscule 233, where ἔβαλον may also represent tendentious alteration – the same verb is represented by ἐνεβάλοσαν (44:21Ⓞ). Against Stipp’s interpretation of this to the effect that it expressed greater violence, ἐμβάλλω stands for ׀׀׀׀׀׀ in Ezek 4:9Ⓞ, referring to grains placed (without violence!) in a storage jar, and in Ex 2:3Ⓞ for ׀׀׀׀׀׀ (Moses’s mother hardly *threw* him into the ark), proving that ἐμβάλλω is not semantically equivalent to ῥίπτω, as found in 38:6 (Ⓞ45:6).

On the other hand, Ⓞ uses αὐλή τῆς φυλακῆς (44:21Ⓞ) for ׀׀׀׀׀׀ ׀׀׀׀׀׀ at the end of 37:21, as also at 38:6, and since οἶκον τῆς φυλακῆς stands for ׀׀׀׀׀׀ ׀׀׀׀׀׀ at 37:4 (Ⓞ 44:4) it cannot be shown that the article in οἰκίαν τῆς φυλακῆς indicates a *Vorlage* of ׀׀׀׀׀׀ ׀׀׀׀׀׀ at 37:21 (44:21Ⓞ) over against the anarthrous οἰκίαν φυλακῆς in v18 (Ⓞ^B),⁹⁹ where the text refers presumably to prison in a general way as ׀׀׀׀׀׀ ׀׀׀׀׀׀: Ziegler therefore makes Stipp’s point for him in 37:21 [44:21Ⓞ] by erroneous emendation of οἰκίαν to αὐλήν¹⁰⁰: the change to οἰκίαν from αὐλήν, or, more likely, the change to

⁹⁹ In any case, G^A has τῆς φυλακῆς at 37:18 (44:18Ⓞ).

¹⁰⁰ Stipp, ‘Zedekiah’, 640n26. J.Ziegler, *Jeremias, Threni, Epistula Jeremiae*, vol. XV, 2nd edition, Göttingen, Vandenhoecht und Ruprecht, 1976, 404, cites “Spohn (i.e. M.G.L. Spohn, *Jeremias Vates e versione Judaeorum Alexandrinorum ac reliquorum interpretum graecorum emendatus notisque criticis illustratus*, Lipsiae:Sumptibus Jo. Ambros. Barthii, 1824, 219 [J.B.J]) et Orlinsky, *JAOS* 59, 1934 (*sic*), 30”. The date should be 1939, and the title of the article is, ‘*Hāsēr* in the Old Testament’. Even if H.M.Orlinsky’s argument, based on the supposed existence of two words ׀׀׀׀׀׀, one masculine and the other feminine, is sound in itself, complete lack of textual evidence should have given him pause. ׀׀׀׀׀׀ would be

בֵּית הַכֶּלֶא from הַמְטָרָה הַצָּר in \mathfrak{G} 's *Vorlage* could well be deliberate exacerbation of Jeremiah's imprisonment. In view of Stipp's other two valid points in the immediate vicinity, this third one should probably be allowed too. He cites a further example in 38:9 (45:9 \mathfrak{G}), where הַנְּשִׂים הַלֵּלָה (corresponding in MT with what has gone before) is changed to the second person singular suffixes in ἐπονηρεύσω ἃ ἐποίησας, while consequential הַיָּמָה¹⁰¹ has been changed to the final construction τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι, thus making Jeremiah's imprisonment a purposeful act of murder by Zedekiah.

Stipp concludes his analysis of the contrasts between the pre-Masoretic tradition and the Alexandrian by drawing attention¹⁰² to the story of the aborted manumission of slaves and the way in which the covenant ceremony of walking between the severed pieces of the victim has been omitted, and an implication of calf-worship modelled on the story in Ex 32 introduced (34:18-19, 41:18-20 \mathfrak{G}). This does not apply particularly to Zedekiah, but it supports the thesis that tendentious changes were made in \mathfrak{G} to highlight the shortcomings of Jeremiah's opponents and, of course, it strikingly confirms that, while many of the variants in \mathfrak{G} represent a less developed form of the text than MT, this is not always the case. We shall see evidence in the chapter on Nebuchadnezzar below that some instances of his name likely to have existed in its Hebrew *Vorlage* have been systematically removed by the \mathfrak{G} translators.

4.2.7 Jeremiah 24

As we have seen¹⁰³, research on this difficult chapter has produced four types of explanation: (a) that the passage reflects a genuine experience of Jeremiah between 597 and 586; (b) that there is a Jeremianic nucleus, but the passage largely consists of Deuteronomistic elaboration; (c) that it is a thoroughly

translated uniquely here in \mathfrak{G} by οἰκία, against 125 times by αὐλή. Spohn too helps Stipp's case by explaining his emendation of οἰκίαν to αὐλήν: "quia rex clementer erga eum se praestare vult".

¹⁰¹ הַיָּמָה is often emended to הַיָּמָה (BHS, Holladay, Carroll), but MT pointing must be deliberate, possibly representing, "so that he is as good as dead"; cf. Gen 35:18, Zc 11:9.

¹⁰² Now in conflict with Maier: see above, 168n85.

¹⁰³ Chapter II above.

Deuteronomistic composition of exilic date and provenance; (d) that it is post-exilic. The last of these has recently been gaining ground, and the following reasons put forward for this preference: (i) visions, reminiscent of Zechariah and Daniel, found otherwise only in the strong correspondences of Jer 1¹⁰⁴, are not typical of the Jeremiah tradition; (ii) mention of the Egyptian diaspora precludes the “historical” interpretation (a) above, and the effective denial in chapter 24 that Zedekiah ever went to Babylon is hard to conceive as a portrayal from the point of view of the exiles;¹⁰⁵ (iii) there is reference to “this land” and “this place” referring to Judah and Jerusalem;¹⁰⁶ (iv) most important is Schmid’s analysis, which shows chapter 24 to have “tentacles”, recognition of which resolves many of the apparent conflicts within the chapter, reaching through much of the book in such a way as to govern its overall structure¹⁰⁷ at the point when it was inserted. K.-F.Pohlmann¹⁰⁸ had argued that a long interval was required before those remaining in Judah could accept a view that nobody was left in the country after 587 (24:10): he first dated chapter 24 as late as the fourth century (but moved *à propos* of arguably similar issues in Ezekiel, to a century earlier); Schmid says¹⁰⁹ that the argument is sound but should not be exaggerated and chooses a date in between (early fifth century).

Since chapter 24 is reproduced more or less faithfully in Ⓞ, Stipp’s intention in dealing last with chapter 24 is to register the extremity of Zedekiah’s denigration. Here Zedekiah and the Judahites left in Judah are represented as completely destroyed, or with a destiny, if exiled, quite different from that of the *golah*, which worked “for good” (v5): now פָּרַד *hiphil* in the sense of “dispersion” is used (v 9), together with the expression, עַד הַמָּוֹת (cf. וְהָיָה [27:8]) signifying extinction.

¹⁰⁴ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 484.

¹⁰⁵ Stipp, ‘Zedekiah’, 642.

¹⁰⁶ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 487.

¹⁰⁷ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 255-262

¹⁰⁸ K.-F.Pohlmann, *Studien zum Jeremiahbuch* 1978, 190f: later, in ‘Ezekiel’, a contribution to O.Kaiser, *Grundriß der Einleitung in die kanonischen und deuterokanonischen Schriften des Alten Testaments*, Gütersloh:Gütersloher, 1994, Band 2, 82–102, and dealing with issues arguably similar, he revised his estimate to a century earlier.

¹⁰⁹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 267.

Two questions arise. The first relates to the thrust of this *golah*-oriented edition: does it represent a pretence on the part of all in the Judah of the mid-fifth century to be descended from the *golah* community, or is there a polemical aspect to it, seeking to restrict genuine Judahites to those with such a pedigree? In view of the interest taken by the Chronicler in genealogical matters (1 Chron 1-9), the latter seems more plausible, especially since the Chronicler himself believed in the notion of the empty land (2 Chron 36:21), something he may have associated, no less than the likewise mentioned “seventy years”, with the prophecy of Jeremiah: “das Land ist nach der These von Chr menschenleer”¹¹⁰.

The second question concerns the relationship between 21:1-10 and chapter 24. Because he envisages a linear process of deterioration, Stipp’s article gives the impression that there is a significant contrast between the image of Zedekiah in 21:1-7 and that presented by chapter 24. But if they have separate origins, chapter 24 may have been inserted first.¹¹¹ The mention of Pashhur in 21:1 (probably substituted for the Jehucal found in 37:3)¹¹² – looks like a link with chapter 20 giving 21:1-7 (based loosely on chapters 37-8) a structural role like that of chapter 24.

As the book now stands, these two passages 21:1-10 and chapter 24 bracket the material about leaders¹¹³ in such a way as to make Zedekiah the prime villain, drawing attention away from any denigration of Jehoachin in chapter 22. Hostility to Zedekiah may have had early origins in the Ezekiel tradition, but could later have surfaced in a move to support Jehoiachin’s grandson Zerubbabel, and thereafter to boost the descendants of the 597 *golah*.

¹¹⁰ K. Baltzer, ‘Das Ende des Staates Juda und die Messias-Frage’ in R. Rendtorff/ K. Koch (edd), *Studien zur Theologie der alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen. FS G. von Rad*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1961, 39.

¹¹¹ See above, 46n74, 48f.

¹¹² Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 407.

¹¹³ Stipp, ‘Zedekiah’, 61; Thiel, *Redaktion*, I. 230.

5. Jeremiah 23:6

As we note in the chapter on David¹¹⁴, there have been suggestions that the expression, “The Lord is our righteousness” is a reference to Zedekiah. It cannot be ruled out that that this was originally a Jeremianic saying reflecting a period of enthusiasm about him. But it is more likely to relate to Zerubbabel, being left in place later on the understanding that it now referred to a future figure associated with the return of all Israel. Of course, even if so, there may lie here a retrospective play on the name Zedekiah, who, as one who had signally failed to live up to his name, would eventually be replaced by someone worthy of it.

6. Jeremiah 39:1-40:6

In his analysis of the narrative 37:1-43:7, Wanke has shown that the section 39:1-40:6 is particularly complicated¹¹⁵. Among passages introduced to supplement an originally simple account, he argues that 39:1-2, 4-10 (derived in his view from the account in 2 Ki 25 or Jer 52) attests later origin. We have seen (above, section 2) that in the case of Kings emphasis on the blinding of Zedekiah and the death of his sons was to demonstrate that the future for the Davidic line could not lie in either the restoration of the former or the accession of the latter, and this is probably the reason why the point is made not only in the appendix (52:10f) but again here at the point where it could be fitted into the story of Jerusalem’s last days. This passage is not amongst those discussed by Stipp, since he is concerned with those where Zedekiah is represented as himself responsible for the deterioration of his image. Since he fled (Jer 39:4, 52:7) rather than surrendering to the Babylonians (as Jehoiachin had done – something regarded by the *golah* on Jeremiah’s authority as *correct*), Stipp might have deemed it worthy of mention. In any case, this amendment, as Wanke sees it, might have been associated with the same *golah*-oriented

¹¹⁴ See below, 192-3, and also above, 57.

¹¹⁵ Wanke, *Baruchschrift*, 107, who argues for the direction of dependence from the absence in Jer 39 of the dating (52:12, 2 Ki 25:8), an omission essential to make the account in Jer 39 cohere. *Contra* Seitz, *Theology*, 263. He regards 39:11f as secondary.

intervention which attached chapters 37-43 to chapter 36, and inserted 21:1-7 into the tradition.

7. Conclusions

7.1 Already in 2 Kings and particularly Ezekiel, there is convincing evidence of redaction which pursued the interests of the Babylonian *golah* community by favouring the image of Jehoiachin at the expense of that of Zedekiah. Our general conclusion is that the position in the Jeremiah tradition is more complicated, but interventions with similar interests are evident.

7.2 The tendency to denigrate Zedekiah's image developed in stages, and the presence of Jer 52:2f in MT (missing in \mathfrak{G}) is evidence that this continued, aiming to strengthen the *golah*-orientation, after the textual bifurcation, in the pre-Masoretic tradition as well as in the Alexandrian. In the light of 23:5f, Zedekiah may also be a foil for hopes of the coming king, possibly hinted at in the rehabilitation of Jehoiachin (52:33f). But the layer represented by the present position of 23:7f MT (contrast \mathfrak{G} 's position for these verses after v30) shows the coming David to be associated with the return of the world-wide diaspora, and not simply with the Babylonian *golah* and their descendants.

7.3 The mention of Zedekiah in Jer 49:34 comes in a passage unlikely to have had an original place in the OAN. The style of heading indicates imitation of other oracles, and, if so, mention of Zedekiah is simply in aid of the impression of Jeremianic genuineness.

7.4 Whether or not 27:1 ever contained a heading referring to Zedekiah, the insertion of Jehoiakim's name is probably deliberate. Any portrait of Zedekiah in chapters 27f is subordinated to overall concern with false prophecy. If the sending of the letter in chapter 29 and the willingness of the Shaphanid Elasa to take Jeremiah's message for the exiles to Babylon is historical, this would suit a scenario in which Zedekiah was supportive of Jeremiah's attitude to Hananiah, whereas the king's relationship with the prophet and his willingness to co-

operate with the Babylonians obviously changed when various pressures led the him to rebel. But in this narrative Zedekiah is not the centre of attention.

7.5 Stipp's analysis of 34:7, 37:1-40:6 is broadly to be accepted: both the main contributions to the text which he posits are near in time to the events described, and both have a nuanced portrait of Zedekiah, as a king who was weak rather than wicked.

7.6 Stipp is right too that several texts make, like 37:1f, blunt accusations of disobedience against king and people. But it is not to be assumed that all are of identical Deuteronomistic provenance. Nor can a sharp distinction be drawn between a layer which assigns blame universally and one which concentrates it on the king. Nevertheless, there is a clear contrast between these texts and the two documents isolated by Stipp which are much less categorical in their condemnation of Zedekiah.

7.7 While for Stipp the aborted manumission of slaves (34:8-22) is a good illustration of what he sees as a homogeneous Deuteronomistic layer of condemnation for Zedekiah instanced by 37:1f, there are reasons for thinking this passage (or part of it) to be much later than the exilic date which he supposes for it. It plays no part in the kind of *Strukturierung* of the book analysed by Schmid, and favours Carroll's view that it is an addition, homiletically dependent on the existent tradition, making the guilt of Zedekiah and his fellow-Judahites a long-lived theme. C.Maier does see the passage as originally part of the narrative in chapters 34, 37-43, but subjected to redactional interventions, one of which (34:12-17) fixes on a single element of law both to justify the divine judgement on Jerusalem, and point up a lesson for post-exilic slave-owners¹¹⁶.

7.8 Stipp analyses 21:7 as a further definite stage in the deterioration of Zedekiah's image. But this conflicts with the greater likelihood that 37:1-2 and

¹¹⁶ Maier, *Lehrer*. 275-281.

21:1-7 (possibly also 39:1f, 4-10 [11f¹¹⁷]) arrived together from the same hand with the aim of linking the first part of the book *1-20 to chapters 37-43, in order to enlist the entire work up to that point for the cause of the Babylonian *golah*.

7.9 There is a fallacy in Stipp's contention that 32:1-7 is less favourable to Zedekiah than 34:1-7 from which it is arguably derived, since it is more likely that 34:4-5 are either a later addition, or intended sarcastically, or both, than that they represent an originally integral element in 34:1-7 with a suppressed condition of capitulation. But this does not alter the fact that 32:1-7 contains new points of contrast with the portrait of the king in chapters 37f.

7.10 Although not all Stipp's illustrations proved to be justified, Zedekiah continued to be treated more harshly in both the pre-Masoretic and the Alexandrian tradition, evidenced in the latter case by tendentious alterations in 34:18-19 (41:18-20).

7.11 The interpretation of chapter 24 is highly contentious, but the likelihood is that though not chronologically the latest (see further below, section 7.12), it marks the most vehement depreciation of Zedekiah's image. There is now no question of his ever going to Babylon, and the Judahites remaining in Jerusalem after 587 are represented as suffering extinction, leaving the land empty. The concern of the Chronicler to prove the pedigree of the Jews of his own day suggests that there lay behind this a polemical motive.

7.12 Stipp unjustifiably represents chapter 24 as a significant step further in denigration of Zedekiah by comparison with 21:1-7: in any case most of chapter 24 probably arrived earlier than the insertion of 21:1-7 and 37:1-2, though likewise in the interests of securing Jeremiah's authority for the notion that the true remnant was not, as might have been assumed, those who actually

¹¹⁷ Wanke, *Baruchsschrift*, 108, sees vv11f as also secondary.

remained in Jerusalem after the disaster, but those who went into Babylonian exile.

7.13 If 23:6 has any bearing on Zedekiah, it is not (at any rate in its present form) that it represents Jeremiah's original enthusiasm for one of whom he had high hopes, but rather that expectations of a Davidic king, whether at the time of Zerubbabel or in the more distant future, were built around one who would honour the name that Zedekiah had disgraced.

7.14 Although some criticism of the details of Stipp's linear presentation of the decline in Zedekiah's image is warranted, with arguably fewer discrete stages in the process than he has proposed, two points stand out as crucial: (a) the underlying nuanced portrait of Zedekiah in documents convincingly isolated by Stipp represents a historical anchor against the scepticism of, for example, Carroll who has argued against using Jeremiah to reach any kind of detailed account of what happened in his day; (b) there lies here in the changing face of Zedekiah some of the clearest evidence not only for the presence of many redactional layers in the book, but also for deliberate shaping of the tradition to represent aspirations of different groups. On the other hand, there is a danger of assuming too easily that minor contrasts in emphasis always imply the presence of a different stratum in the tradition.

7.15 While there is evidence even as early as the UPJ-Erw for the beginnings of *Golaorientierung*, this is something which affected the tradition for a very long time. It began with rivalry between the two groups - those exiled to Babylon and those left in Judah; it presumably played an important part in the obscure circumstances of Zerubbabel's career; it was still in evidence at the time of the Chronicler, and even after the divergence of pre-Masoretic and Alexandrian traditions. But eventually the grim portrait of Zedekiah served as a foil for the new David, expected, not as the leader of those who traced their ancestry to the *golah*, but of all Israel.

VIII

David

1. Introduction

David was long dead when editing Jeremiah began. But the shadow of the David of tradition and the prospect of a future David created something resembling a magnetic field. His influence spanned the millennium preceding our era. Ten passages in Jeremiah mention David (13:13, 17:25, 21:11-12, 22:2-4, 22:30, 23:5-6, 29:16, 30:9, 33:17 and 36:30) – an important group for determining both the book’s literary history and its theological thrust. The key question was whether the Davidic dynasty had a future. The following survey attempts to establish the order of composition of these texts and to identify variations symptomatic of different redactional strata.

2. References to “sitting on David’s throne”

2.1 Preliminary considerations

Instances of **יָשָׁב עַל־כִּסֵּא דָוִד** (Jer 22:2, 29:16, 33:17, 36:30 or the plural **יָשְׁבִים** (13:13, 17:25, 22:4, 22:30) dominate references to David in Jeremiah. Expressions like “sit on David’s throne” (1 Ki 2:12) and “sit on *my* throne” referring to David (1 Ki 1:13, 17, 30) come frequently in Kings, while the only other mentions of David’s throne are in 2 Sam 3:10, 7:16 and Isa 9:6 MT (617). Examples in Jeremiah are probably related to the usage in Samuel and Kings, if only in some instances to express a different point of view. 1 Ki 2:24, where the phrase is combined with use of the word **דִּינָה** in the sense of “dynasty”, is interesting, since almost all the relevant Jeremiah passages relate to the succession. But not all instances in Jeremiah of **יָשָׁב עַל־כִּסֵּא דָוִד** are from the same layer: whereas in Jer 22:30 the lack of successor for the throne of David refers to Jehoiachin, such language

2.4 Jeremiah 22:2,4

Rudolph⁵ omits **הוּא יַעֲבֹד וְיַעֲבֹד וְיַעֲבֹד** in v4 on the grounds of the inconsistent third person singular suffix, but the similar phrase in 22:2 is also doubtful. In a collection concerning kings vv2 and 4 may equally be suspected of *Demotisierung* (that is, transferring to the people what was earlier confined to royalty). If Hermisson is right⁶ in connecting 22:1-5 with 21:8-10, it would link 22:1-5 with an insertion which aims to emphasize the role of the *people* along with that of the king. If there was a period when the king's role was transferred to the people, reflecting consolidation of Persian rule, as arguably evidenced by Isa 55:3 and other passages⁷, the revival of any mention of future kings may correspondingly point to a period when Persian rule was weakening or disappearing with Alexander's conquests⁸. *Demotisierung* is detectable in several Old Testament passages. No firm dating of the latest form of 22:1-5 is consequently possible. But this passage may have modified a view that the Davidic dynasty was defunct and belonged to a layer which reversed earlier thorough-going antipathy to Zerubbabel, as Chronicles did. It may also explain the debacle resulting from Jehoiakim's disobedience, if 22:30 and also 36:30 were already in place when 22:1-5 was incorporated (as will be argued further on 22:30 below), and also open up possibilities for the future, constituting an *inclusio* with 23:5-6. The relative lateness of 22:1-5 is reflected in features borrowed from both 13:13 (cf. **לְדָוִד עַל־בְּסֵאוֹ**) and 22:30 or 36:30 (cf. **יָשָׁב עַל־בְּסֵאוֹ** (דָּוִד)). Furthermore, C.Maier argues for ascribing 22:1-5 to a (possibly late fifth century) layer, which portrays Jeremiah as a "*Lehrer der Tora*".⁹

⁵ W.Rudolph, *Jeremia*, Tübingen: J.C.B.Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 3rd edition, 1968, 140.

⁶ H.-J.Hermisson, 'Die "Königsspruch"-Sammlung im Jeremiabuch – von der Anfangs- zur Endgestalt' in: E.Blum *et al* (edd), *Die Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte*, FS R.Rendtorff, Neukirchen-Vluyn:Neukirchener Verlag, 1990, 292.

⁷ Schmid cites various passages in the Old Testament for the transfer of "*Königsideologie*" to Israel: besides Isa 55 (*Buchgestalten*, 163), Jer 32:36-41 (p 102), the application of the son-metaphor to Israel in Jer 3:1-4:2 (p 282), possible reflections in Psa 63:12, 72:17 (p 290), and in Gen 12:1-3 (p 371).

⁸ H.G.M.Williamson, *Variations on a Theme – King, Messiah and Servant in the Book of Isaiah*, Carlisle:Paternoster, 1998, 28, claims a tendency to democratisation in Chronicles, "in that we frequently find the king consulting with his people and involving them closely in the major events of history". But as with Jer 22:1-5, Chronicles may rather reflect the *modification* of *Demotisierung*, which would fit a late fourth century date for the work (see above, 84n96), coinciding with Alexander's conquests.

⁹ See above, 182n3.

2.5 Jeremiah 29:16

Again judgmental, if, as is probable, it belongs to the most distinctive *golah*-oriented layer,¹⁰ here related to Zedekiah's fate, 29:16 may either reflect a dispute in post-exilic times somewhat later than Zerubbabel, or it may reflect events surrounding Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel themselves.

2.6 Jeremiah 22:30

2.6.1 Thiel's view

Thiel¹¹ cites the view of older commentators on this verse that, of the lines “a man who shall not succeed in his days” and “for none of his offspring shall succeed in sitting on the throne of David”, widely seen as doublets, the latter is probably original, since the former hardly adds to the sense. His analysis, by contrast, of the previous Jehoiachin saying, where details of now accomplished history are for him the work of his Deuteronomistic redactor, who “konkretisierte mit ihrem Zusatz (22:25-27) die vorgegebene allgemeine Verwerfungsankündigung über Konja (=Jojachin)”, is a warning not to take the ׀ֶֿ clause in v30 as original. Thiel admittedly does not consider that ἐκκήρυκτον (22:30⁶) may represent an original בְּשֵׁלֶךְ¹², or, as we have argued above, page 133, a stage when עֲרִירִי׀ could mean “proscribed” rather than “childless” and there was not yet in vv28-30 concern about the succession. If that is correct, the emergence of interest in that question marks an important development, attesting fluctuation over the question of a Davidic heir to the throne. But this view is perfectly consistent with Thiel's view that the ׀ֶֿ clause arrived later than the previous line.

¹⁰ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 238n177, notes the mention of the “bad figs”, as in chapter 24; see also p 240. See also above, 173-175.

¹¹ W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1-25*. WMANT 41, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1973, I. 245.

¹² W.L. Holladay, *Jeremiah*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, vol 1, 1986, 609.

2.6.2 Hermisson's view

Observing that it creates an *inclusio* round material specifically about Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin, Hermisson thinks¹³ that 22:30b was added in isolation by the author of 22:1-5. However, 22:1-5 is less vitriolic and categorical than 22:30, and probably not, therefore, by the same hand. Furthermore, in its present state, it embraces, as we have seen, others besides the king in its concern (22:2). This would point to a period sometime after any Zerubbabel crisis, at a later date when there might have been an interest in the relevance of the law, not only to the king, but to all the people. On this view, the writer of 22:1-5 could have picked up the phrase “sitting on David's throne” from 22:30 and may perhaps be the stimulus behind chapter 7, where the prophet is likewise instructed to go to a particular place in the city of Jerusalem to declare his message, and similarly holds out hope “to all the people” (7:2f) on condition of obedience.

2.7 Summary

While the attempt to order texts referring to David's throne is somewhat speculative, they incontrovertibly represent several layers of redaction. The issue led to vigorous debate, focused on the shortcomings of successive Judahite kings. Earlier references in Jeremiah were associated with abrogation of any hopes entertained for David's line, but were followed (or interrupted) by a time when a conditional approach emerges¹⁴. Interestingly, in the very late reference to the restoration of a new David (33:17), no use is made of the word מְלִיכָה, any more than in 2 Sam 7 or Psa 89, although other parts of 23:5-6, where מְלִיכָה does occur, are freely quoted.

¹³ Hermisson, “Königsspruch”-Sammlung, 294.

¹⁴ For evidence of judgmental material similarly modified with conditional hope in Hosea, see the discussion of the relationship of Hos 12 to Hos 4-11 in K. Schmid, *Erzväter und Exodus*, Neukirchen-Vluyn:Neukirchener Verlag, 1999, 84.

3. Jeremiah 21:11-12

3.1 The status of 21:1-10

Before 21:11-12 can be discussed, it is necessary to deal briefly with 21:1-10. For more detail, see above, pages 46-50. That 21:1-10 deal with Zedekiah is itself odd, when the following kings in chapters 21-23 are in their chronological order. Pohlmann explained this plausibly¹⁵ as evidence of a “*golah-oriented*” redaction¹⁶; vv8-10, extending the threat (though with a possible escape-route), from royalty to “the people”,¹⁷ were probably inserted later. This development would account for the ׀, not represented in Ⓞ, as an addition, which makes וְלִבְיָהוּ (21:11) match, though quite inappropriately,¹⁸ וְאֶל-הָעָם הַזֶּה (21:8). Further evidence of redactional complexity is that in v3, “you shall say” is plural, but singular in v8, implying that now Yahweh is the speaker. The beginning of v 8 looks like a parallel expression to v 11, but its subject matter relates to vv1-7. Furthermore 21:7 is probably dependent on 38:2, as 21:1 is on 38:1.

3.2 Schmid’s theory of *lamedh inscriptionis*

According to Schmid, 21:11 is the first of a number of instances of what he calls the use of *lamedh inscriptionis*¹⁹. In Jer 1-45, this occurs otherwise only to introduce the “prophets material” at 23:9. On the evidence of these passages and similar instances in the OAN (46:2, 48:1, 49:1,7), Schmid founds the theory of an original document in which the collection on kings

¹⁵ K.-F.Pohlmann, *Studien zum Jeremiabuch*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978, 183.

¹⁶ Hermisson, “Königsspruch”-Sammlung’, 291 regards 21:1-7 as originally coming at the end of the original collection on kings and, like Thiel, *Redaktion*, 1.233, as hiding a Jeremianic saying. Against Pohlmann, we argue (above, 46, 49) for the probability that 21:7 (8-10) were an addition subsequent to 24:1-7, which accounts for the specific mention of Zedekiah in 24:8.

¹⁷ For similar changes to 24:8-10, see above, 49n90. Thiel, *Redaktion*, 1.239 notes what he sees as a similar Deuteronomistic extension to the people in 22:2. The development may be related to *Demotisierung* (see below, 202n68).

¹⁸ So Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 138.

¹⁹ For the incorrect use of this term by Schmid, see above, 32. But this does not affect his argument that the same use of *lamedh* as in these two instances to mean “with reference to” (also dealt with in GK119u) occurs in 46:2, 48:1, 49:1, 49:23.

and prophets was conjoined with the collection on foreign nations²⁰. This is convincing, but, if so, at the outset the contents of the kings material must have been free of prosaic redaction (rightly or wrongly designated as Deuteronomistic), consisting simply of a number of judgmental sayings (probably on Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin, or, if Thiel²¹ and Hermisson²² are right, which is uncertain, also Zedekiah). Limiting the original collection on kings to 22:10, 13-17a, 18aβb, 19, *24, *26, *28-30²³, Hermisson regards 21:11a as redactional²⁴. Schmid himself points this out without countering it, but presumably his response would be that Hermisson had not seen the significance of the sequence of *lamedh*-introductions so important for Schmid's own position. But there is a hitherto unnoticed factor to be taken into consideration. This is the similarity between 21:11 and Isa 7:13. Not only is the king in both cases addressed as "house of David", but in both cases the plural **לְמַעַן** is found. This can hardly be a chance similarity, but it is far from clear that it is the Jeremiah passage which is dependent²⁵.

H.G.M. Williamson has noticed another point of comparison between these passages: just as the ultimate promise of a new David (23:5-6), appears in the present form of Jer 21:1-23:8, so in Isa 7:14 there is the promise of

²⁰ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 203.

²¹ Thiel, *Redaktion*, I.233.

²² See above, 186n16.

²³ Hermisson seems inconsistent here, since he does not rule out the possibility of an original saying in 21:1-7.

²⁴ Hermisson, "Königsspruch"- Sammlung', 293, 298.

²⁵ At Isa 7:13 **לְמַעַן** is followed by vocative **בֵּית דָּוִד**, which is grammatically odd, - all the more so, in that Isaiah is addressing Ahaz in particular (cf. the second person singular in Isa 7:17). But there is much less of a problem with Jer 21:11f, where the vocative **בֵּית דָּוִד** (v12) begins, at least in MT, a new sentence, leaving the foregoing **לְמַעַן** to address whoever might hear. In view of other connections between the two passages, it looks as though Isa 7:13aαb-16 could have been composed not only to create a counterpart for the Hezekiah story in Isaiah 36f but also to indicate with the echo of Jer 21:11 a match for the contrast by then present in the Jeremiah tradition as a result of Jer 36 between Jehoiakim and Josiah. This seems a more convincing explanation of the plural **לְמַעַן** than that "what is to follow reaches beyond the individual Ahaz alone" (Williamson, *Variations*, 106). If so, it would have implications for the vexed question of the meaning of Isa 7:14. The redactor, whose key objective was to contrast Ahaz's unbelief with Hezekiah's faith would have been hinting at the name Hezekiah (= "Yah has strengthened, or strengthens" [BDB, 306]) with the name Immanuel (= "God is with us"). Even if it is argued from the strong contextual anchorage of "house of David" in Isa 7 (note v2) that it is the Jeremiah passage which is dependent, the parallels noted above are still striking, and point to a literary link.

“Immanuel”²⁶. Williamson implies that Isa 7, originally of Deuteronomistic provenance,²⁷ contemplated the end of the Davidic dynasty, but that its position in Isaiah imparted a hopeful “Davidic” twist. On this analysis, both in Isaiah and Jeremiah we see signs of development from a judgmental attitude towards the house of David in the direction of one which looked to its restoration. Thus the collection in Jeremiah could well correspond in some of its parts with an earlier “deuteronomistically” dominated phase envisaging the end of the dynasty, which was then at some point altered to accommodate a *David redivivus*²⁸.

3.3 The character and function of 21:12

Hermisson notes²⁹ that 21:12 has vocabulary drawn not only from the saying to Jehoiakim (22:13-17a), seen by him as authentically Jeremianic, but also from an addition dependent on the first layer of comment (22:17b, which Thiel reckons as Deuteronomistic³⁰) marked by the root עִשָּׂה. This would indicate that what follows “O house of David” is tailor-made to go with that, and forms an *inclusio* with the end of the kings-collection (23:5-6) so that both in Isa 7:13-14 and here in Jeremiah, there is a prophetic

²⁶ Williamson, *Variations*, 110-11, argues for such similarities between these two passages and the likelihood in either case of both a complete break in the Davidic dynasty and a revival of it in a righteous form. R.E. Clements, ‘The Immanuel Prophecy in Isa 7:10-17 and its Messianic Interpretation’ in E. Blum *et al* (edd), *Die Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte: FS Rendtorff*, Neukirchen Vluyn:Neukirchener Verlag, 1990, 225-40, argues that the Immanuel prophecy came to refer to Hezekiah; Williamson (more convincingly) that it referred to Hezekiah in the first place; both see as important evidence the emphasis on the Davidic dynasty in Isa 9 and the prominence of Hezekiah in the prose chapters 36-38.

²⁷ I.e. similar to material found in parts of Kings.

²⁸ See further in the section on 23:5-6.

²⁹ Hermisson, “‘Königsspruch’-Sammlung”, distinguishes his position from that of Thiel: for Hermisson there are five layers of additional material surrounding what he sees as the original Jeremianic sayings: (a) explanatory comments (21:1-7 [though sited at the end of the passage, after 22:19]; 22:11f, 17b-18); (b) a layer responsible for the development of ideas such as fire, Lebanon and cedar, and forecasting a Davidic king (21:1-7 resited at the beginning of 21; 21:11b, 12; 22:6f, 20-23; 23:5-6); (c) a layer offering alternative destinies according to choices made (21:8-11a; 22:1-5; 22:30: “a man sitting on the throne of David”; 23:1-4, 7f); (d) a layer comparable with other passages representing the question and answer schema [analysed by B.O. Long, ‘Two Question and Answer Schemata in the Prophets’, *JBL* 90, 1971, 129-39] (22:8f); (e) passages missing in 6, regarded as late additions in MT.

³⁰ Thiel, *Redaktion*, I.241.

admonition rejected by a Davidic king but followed by a promise of a Davidic scion characterized by righteousness. Although we have argued that the changes in Isaiah are likely to have been made to match Jeremiah, it is not to be thought that 21:11b-12 is Jeremianic. Much more likely is that this introduction was added, using material from the collection on kings itself, and then 23:5-6 was added, perhaps even *in conjunction with* the changes in Isaiah, creating a link between the idea of the branch (23:5) and the similar imagery in Isa 11:1³¹. The question then arises what the function of 21:12b was, if it was placed as the opening passage in a collection headed לְבֵית מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה. The answer must be: (a) it expresses a demand which *even by the time of composition* was known not to have been met by Judah's last kings; and (b) if it was composed for a stage later than the original message of unrelieved doom, it paves the way for the promise of one who would meet such a demand. Carroll³² sees these two collections on kings and prophets as pinpointing "the guilty men... those responsible for what befell city and people". This verdict may be true with regard to the original collection, prefaced with לְבֵית מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה, but it will hardly suit a collection which contains 23:5-6. Further consideration will be given below to 23:5-6, but already it seems clear that the collection on kings underwent considerable modification before the present state of the text was reached, and that mention of the house of David is not Jeremianic, but something imported in the course of later redaction.

³¹ Williamson, *Variations*, 111-12, argues that Isa 7 had its meaning determined by being prefixed to these promises of a righteous king. What was originally in keeping with the threat to the Davidic dynasty, seen also in Jer 22:30, then acquired significance as a foil for future hopes. While these could be seen as fulfilled in Isaiah by Hezekiah, the sequence comprising faithless Ahaz, followed by faithful Hezekiah, could, on the one hand, reflect the reverse contrast implied in Jer 36 between Jehoiakim and Josiah and, on the other, become a type of the arc stretching from kings who resembled Ahaz in disregard for a prophet (especially Jehoiakim) to future righteous "branch" (Zerubbabel, as probably implied by Hg 2:23, and according to J. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 1st edn, Berlin:G. Reimer, 1894; 9th edn, Berlin:W. de Gruyter, 1958, 149, explicitly stated in the original form of Zech 6:11). For his view that Zech 6:11 originally read "Zerubbabel" rather than "Joshua", cf. NEB mg. 3:5, 4:9, and J. Baldwin, *Haggai. Zechariah and Malachi*, TOTC, London:IVP, 1972, 133-4, who, however, presents the argument without agreeing with it. See also above, 117-119.

³² R.P. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, OTL, London:SCM, 1986, 404.

3.4 The expression “House of David” (21:12a)

The term “house of David” is highlighted by its treatment in 2 Sam 7, where there is the same play on words as is found here in Jer 22: בַּיִת can mean “palace/temple” or “dynasty”. R.Rendtorff describes 2 Sam 7³³ as a bridge between poetic material at the beginning of 1 Samuel and poetic material at the end of 2 Samuel, thereby emphasizing David’s centrality in these books as so edited. He comments that the Deuteronomistic character of this passage has long been recognized. However, even though language and style may be distinctive, “Deuteronomistic” may cover more than one viewpoint. 2 Sam 7, especially v15, and insistence on an unbroken succession for David’s dynasty, albeit conditional, in 1 Ki 9:5, have strong echoes in the passage in Jer 33:14-17, a unit that Schmid cogently ascribes to a very late stage of development, hence missing in Ⓞ. But 2 Sam 7 and 1 Ki 9 are, of course, present in Ⓞ. If this means that there are represented in Jeremiah *two separate stages* when there was enthusiasm for a Davidic king, it is hard to see any alternative to the first’s coinciding with the time of Zerubbabel (cf. J.E.Tollington’s argument that this was when Judges became separate from the Deuteronomistic History, a move which she associates with enthusiasm for a king at the end of Judges and support for Zerubbabel as a Davidic descendant³⁴) and the other much later (Schmid³⁵ suggests the third century, since earlier there would have hardly been much thought of a king in Judah with Persian rule seemingly so entrenched).

3.5 Relation of 21:11 and 22:1

The writer’s preference for “the palace” as the site for Jeremiah’s declaration (22:1) could reflect the use of בַּיִת מַלְכֵךְ יְהוּדָה, which occurs

³³ R.Rendtorff, *The Old Testament – An Introduction*, ET J.Bowden, London: SCM 1985, 172.

³⁴ J.E.Tollington, ‘The Book of Judges: The Result of Post-Exilic Exegesis’, in J.C.de Moor (ed), *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel*, Leiden: Brill, 1998, 195.

³⁵ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 371.

in the sense of “court” or “dynasty” immediately before (21:11). Hermisson sees this phrase as belonging to the same layer of redaction in both passages³⁶, but this is implausible, partly because of Schmid’s explanation of 22:11a, with the *lamedh* of reference seen as a clue to an early form of the book, as noted above; and partly because the same writer would hardly, without some intelligible wordplay, use בֵּית מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה in different senses within so short a space. However, Hermisson has a defence: he argues³⁷ that בֵּית מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה is not a normal expression for “David’s dynasty” (as is clear, he claims, from the phrase בֵּית דָּוִד which immediately follows); he therefore believes that, with the ascription of 21:8-11a and 22:1-5 to the same redactor, בֵּית מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה was used in 21:11a precisely to create a link with the same phrase in 22:1. If the premiss of Hermisson’s argument were allowed, the absence of the ׀ in 21:11a[Ⓞ] would still militate in favour of Schmid’s theory; in which case one might need to suppose an original reading, לְבֵית דָּוִד, and that the supposed redactor *altered* it for the reason alleged by Hermisson for its *inclusion*. But whether the writer wanted to avoid ugly repetition, or in the earliest stages of the tradition sought not to endorse the notion of בֵּית דָּוִד (supposing for the writer its doom was writ), it seems simpler and more plausible to conclude: (a) לְבֵית מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה stood in 21:11a at the start, albeit in the sense “with reference to the royal house (*dynasty* not *palace*)”; (b) it was not part of the contribution of the redactor responsible for 21:8-10; (c) the presence of בֵּית מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה in 21:11a determined the site for Jeremiah’s utterance (22:1); (d) a later redactor altogether added the ׀, since, had it been the writer of 21:8-10, it would have been expected in Ⓞ’s *Vorlage*.

³⁶ Hermisson, “Königsspruch”-Sammlung’, 279.

³⁷ Hermisson, “Königsspruch”-Sammlung’, 293.

4. Jeremiah 23:5f

4.1 Is the reference to Zedekiah?

Various questions surround these verses³⁸: (a) Were these words uttered by Jeremiah himself? (b) Do they refer to (i) Zedekiah, or (ii) Zerubbabel or (iii) a coming king within the near or distant future? To start with Zedekiah, the attraction of the thesis (associated with J.Klausner³⁹ and A.Malamat⁴⁰) that he is indeed the person referred to here is that the resonance of his name with “The Lord is our righteousness” creates otherwise a strange coincidence with Nebuchadnezzar’s name for Mattaniah (2 Ki 24:17). On the other hand, Duhm⁴¹ has won majority approval for his insistence that $\text{יְהוָה יִמְצָא לָנוּ מֶלֶךְ}$ indicates a more distant hope.⁴²

Furthermore, McKane rightly notes a problem for Malamat and Klausner: attributing responsibility for Zedekiah’s name to Jeremiah conflicts with the statement in 2 Ki 24:17 – “unless the Babylonian king was a student of Jeremiah’s prophecies”!⁴³ If 22:24-30 contains Jeremiah’s *ipsissima verba*, this debate prompts the question whether there might have been a *stage* when there stood at the end of a “kings-collection” an item corresponding with the vehemence of the prophet’s rejection of Jehoiachin, which expressed his favour towards Zedekiah. On this hypothesis, a later writer

³⁸ That 23:5f belong together and break the continuity between 23:4 and 23:7 has been argued by Thiel, *Redaktion*, I.248n60; he regards 23:5f as post-Deuteronomistic; further evidence is the catchword $\text{יְהוָה יִמְצָא לָנוּ מֶלֶךְ}$ (23:4, 23:5), by which 23:5f has probably been attached. His argument is cogent that 23:5f was later than 23:4, but does not settle the question of an original connection between 23:4 and vv 7f, against which Schmid has adduced the evidence of $\text{יְהוָה יִמְצָא לָנוּ מֶלֶךְ}$: see below, 200.

³⁹ J.Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel, from its beginning to the completion of the Mishnah*, ET of Hebrew original, W.F.Stinespring, London and New York:Allen and Unwin, 1955, 103-5.

⁴⁰ A.Malamat, ‘Jeremiah and the last two kings of Judah’, *PEQ* 82, 1951, 86.

⁴¹ B.Duhm, *Jeremia*, Tübingen and Leipzig:J.C.B.Mohr, 1901, 181.

⁴² McKane, *Jeremiah*, I.560. It is important that the change from $\text{יְהוָה יִמְצָא לָנוּ מֶלֶךְ}$ to $\text{יְהוָה יִמְצָא לָנוּ מֶלֶךְ}$ in the reference to 23:5 in 33:15 indicates the end of concern with *legitimacy*, an issue highly relevant in the time of Zerubbabel, but replaced by a different concern at the much later time when 33:14-26 was added.

⁴³ The change of Eliakim’s name by Pharaoh Necho to Jehoiakim may cast some doubt on this argument.

has *substituted* a saying which plays on the name of Zedekiah, but postpones true fulfilment into the more distant future⁴⁴. Conflict between the prophet and Zedekiah, at first sight irreconcilable with enthusiasm for him, may rest on a document of historical worth (H.-J. Stipp's UPJ-Erzählung⁴⁵, represented in the narrative of chapters 37-40), but this narrative itself, and *a fortiori* its use in the growing book of Jeremiah, undoubtedly reflect a later period of disappointment in a king who ended up with the same policy towards Babylon as had issued in the disaster of 597. If ever 23:5f were Jeremiah's own words of approval for Zedekiah, it is hard to see them included *in that sense* in a collection of sayings indicative of the role of Judahite kings responsible for national disaster.

4.2 Is the reference to Zerubbabel?

At any rate, even if it is a recasting of a Jeremianic saying, 23:5f in its present form reflects a period when Judah's downfall is long past. The vital clue to the placement of these verses is the use of the term פְּרוֹצֵי , which brings to mind (a) 33:15-16, which we shall examine below; (b) Isa 4:2, where the fact that it is the *Lord's* branch rather than David's suggests, along with other apocalyptic features of the passage, a very late period for its origin; but, most important, (c) the likelihood that Zerubbabel was, as Jehoiachin's grandson, regarded as the "Branch" mentioned in Zech 3:8; he is also probably alluded to in Jer 22:24⁴⁶ in a negative reference to Hg 2:23 with its identification of Zerubbabel as God's signet-ring. Haggai clearly regarded him as one with kingly expectations, and, if Jer 23:5 was in place by the time of Haggai and Zechariah, who speaks of the "Branch" as if it

⁴⁴ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 446, leans towards an interpretation of 23:5f which envisages a reference to Zedekiah and an indication of party strife concerning who was the legitimate king.

⁴⁵ Stipp, H.-J., *Jeremia im Parteienstreit*, BBB 82, Frankfurt am Main: Anton Hain, 1992, 330.

⁴⁶ The direct reference in Jer 22:24 is, of course, to Jehoiachin; but ascribing to Jeremiah condemnation of Jehoiachin could be a potent weapon for the writer to pour scorn on Zerubbabel. See above, 130, 148.

were a well-understood theological term (3:8, 6:12), it may even have been composed *à propos* of the hopes in Zerubbabel that Zechariah and Haggai reflect. The two strongest indications of this scenario are (a) the likelihood that Jer 22:24 seeks to demolish Zerubbabel's claims expressed in Haggai, rather than that Haggai should be alluding to Jer 22:24; (b) that Jer 23:5f is probably the *source* for the Davidic "branch" in Zech 3:8 rather than a later allusion to this idea. We saw with regard to Jehoiachin that 22:24-30 makes different assessments of him and, with the inclusion of *succession* to replace *ejection* as the main issue, these may reflect a conflict over Zerubbabel. Hermisson argues⁴⁷ that 23:5f probably belongs to the same layer as 21:11b-12 because of the common theme of justice. The collector would have been motivated, he says, to conclude at this stage with a prophecy contrasting with the last Judahite king. This may indeed be true of the stance of a late editor. But it does not gainsay the argument based on the occurrence of the "signet-ring" in 22:24 (cf Hg 2:23) and of the "Branch" in 23:5, that there lurks here a debate about Zerubbabel, even if the phrase, "The days will come..." marks a subsequent "eschatological" reinterpretation. We have seen that the question expecting the answer 'no' in 22:28 could also be aiming to rehabilitate Jehoiachin, in the interests of Zerubbabel's claims to the throne, and this gives a measure of support to the interpretation offered here for 23:5f. However, even if it is allowed that the contrasts in the passage 22:24-23:6 do reflect a power struggle in his day, Zerubbabel's unrecorded fate must leave doubts as to how different viewpoints expressed in these verses match the order of events. Nevertheless, reference here to the *historical* David (23:5; contrast 30:9) and contentment with the word מְלִיךָ, even if tempered by combination with "David" (see below, 195n49 and note the absence of מְלִיךָ in 33:14-26), count against a very late date for 23:5f, at least in its original form.

⁴⁷ Hermisson, "'Königsspruch'-Sammlung', 290.

5. Jeremiah 30:9

5.1 Other references to David in Jeremiah are less problematic. The phrase “whom I will raise up for them” (30:9) probably refers to **יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בֶּן-נִחֵמְיָאֵל** in 23:5; and the use of “David”, *tout simple*, for the coming king, as also in Ezek 34:24, 27, albeit unassociated with **מֶלֶךְ**, is surely a later feature than in Jer 23:5f, where “David” refers not to the future but to the historical king. Schmid has argued that 30:9 marks a later layer than 30:21⁴⁸, and, if this is correct, 30:21 represents a stage, *before* the advent of 30:9, when the word **מֶלֶךְ** was deliberately avoided, but *after* which (even if viewed by the redactor as something he was quoting)⁴⁹ it again became acceptable.

5.2 Schmid’s case depends partly on the coherence of his conception that chapters 30-33 grew *pari passu* with the book’s overall development – the main theme of his work. But a key point is that the *futurum instans* in 30:18 (**הַיְיָ שָׁב שְׁבוּתָם**) excludes at this stage any intention in **מֶשֶׁל** or **אֲדָרִיר** of end-time leader or leaders (30:21), whereas reference to “David” (30:9), once added, imparts to the whole passage, Schmid says, “eine endzeitliche Note”. 30:21 may represent a time when the writer was “conscious of the loss of the Davidic monarchy and as yet knew nothing of Zerubbabel”. Schmid⁵⁰ goes on to argue that “bringing near” (30:21b) has a priestly ring: **קָרַב** *hiphil* occurs elsewhere with Yahweh as subject only in Num 16:5, 9f. Moreover, Ex 33:21 raises the question whether the shepherdly Moses, also drawn into close contact with God, was a model for the leadership envisaged, as in the Ezekiel tradition, where the idea of shepherding is prominent in the image of leadership, and the word **מֶלֶךְ** apparently eschewed in favour of **רֹעֵה** in the interests of a theocratic polity with analogies to the leadership exercised by Moses in the Pentateuch⁵¹. But did

⁴⁸ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 113, 124

⁴⁹ The phrase comes in just this form at Hos 3.5.

⁵⁰ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 124

⁵¹ On the other hand, prophetic ideals could be back-projected on to the portrait of Moses in the Pentateuch.

such ideas crystallize before Zerubbabel, with later references to David in 30:9 having a relevance to his claims, or did 30:9 reflect a time when some fiasco concerning Zerubbabel had taken place? On the whole, one might expect Zerubbabel's career to have left some mark in the tradition, and the final demise of Babylon with the death of two pretenders representing themselves as Nebuchadnezzar's son and *calling themselves by that name*⁵² provides a plausible backcloth for the "raising up" for the returned exiles of "David their king". On the other hand, the "endzeitliche Note" of 30:8f mentioned above leaves such a conclusion about those verses uncertain.

5.3 There is in 30:9 a phrase found also in Hosea 3:5⁵³. In Jer 23:5 too "king" and "David" are combined. Possibly מֶלֶךְ was tolerated as part of a quotation, even though not an expression appealing naturally to the redactor responsible for including it. In both these cases (23:5, 30:9) moreover the marriage of the word מֶלֶךְ with "David" might also have mitigated its overtones. There is an instance in Ezek 37:22 which suggests that the word מֶלֶךְ was allowed to remain in the text because it was dubbed in the immediate context with the word נְשִׂי⁵⁴. The situation with which we are

⁵² Nidintu-Bel was "Nebuchadnezzar III" and Araka was "Nebuchadnezzar IV" (Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 252, 342: in August 521, Araka seems to have begun his revolt, "die erst im November 521 wirkungsvoll beendet werden konnte").

⁵³ H.W. Wolff, *Hosea*, ET G. Stansell, Hermeneia, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974, 57, 63, reckons this to the Judean redactor; if so, it can hardly be certain that it was not an entry based on Jer 30:9 itself. However, G.I. Emmerson envisages its belonging to the primary stratum (*Hosea: An Israelite Prophet in Judean Perspective*, JSOT. S 28, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984, 101-13), but this too is far from proven.

⁵⁴ W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, ET J.D. Martin, Hermeneia, Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1983, 277, dissents from the view that use of נְשִׂי implies a distaste for מֶלֶךְ. He argues on the basis of the use of מֶלֶךְ and the cognate מֶלֶךְ in Ezek 37:22 that there was no problem for Ezekiel and his school with the use of מֶלֶךְ. However, avoidance of מֶלֶךְ at some stage seems clear: in Ezek 37:22 Ⓢ represents MT מֶלֶךְ with ἀρχων (= נְשִׂי). Zimmerli explains this as assimilation to 34:24, arguing that Ⓢ spoils the connection with מֶלֶךְ. But why the need to assimilate to 34:24? The obvious reason is that מֶלֶךְ was a word with perceived drawbacks. The right solution would seem to be that after a period when there was no problem with referring to a future (uniting) king as מֶלֶךְ, particularly if David was named (cf. Hos 3:5), later, at a period recognized by Zimmerli for the latest parts of Ezekiel, the use of מֶלֶךְ was avoided. At first the use of מֶלֶךְ was allowed to coexist with נְשִׂי, but later (witness Ezek 37:22Ⓢ) it was not. The fact that 37:24b-28, an expansion (so Zimmerli) of 37:22, does not use מֶלֶךְ, but reverts to the נְשִׂי of 34:24, is best explained

dealing in chapter 30 is rather different, if we are accepting Schmid's position that 30:9 is a later arrival in the text than 30:21; nevertheless, when 33:14-26 (to be considered below) was inserted (only in MT), a passage which significantly avoids the word מֶלֶךְ, its writer saw no need to emend this word in his *Vorlage*. Whereas the redactor responsible for 30:9 probably imparted consciously a royal connotation to מֶלֶךְ and אֲדֹנָי in 30:21, as Schmid argues, this later contributor of 33:14-26 may have seen the final order of the text (*with 30:21 in his eyes modifying 30:9*, rather than the opposite, as intended by the author of 30:9!) certainly still pointing to a successor for David's throne (33:17), but a leader for whom מֶלֶךְ was not quite the *mot juste*. Hence while disagreements lie behind the contrast between 30:9 and 30:21, by the time the book crystallized into an unalterable form, different portraits of the coming leader polemically counterpoised at the outset were ultimately assimilated.

6. Jeremiah 33:14-26

6.1 Introduction

Although these verses are absent in \mathfrak{G} , they shed light on the promise of a new David and are also important evidence of the way in which the book of Jeremiah has developed. Schmid does not see the \mathfrak{G} tradition as representing *overall* a necessarily earlier edition of Jeremiah, and in particular regards the positioning of the OAN in the middle of the book as a move to create a distinctive form for the book as a whole over against the MT's placement of them at the end⁵⁵, but he has argued for 33:14-26 that the MT plus, which is the most extensive in the book⁵⁶ is clearly, for this reason alone, likely to be a late addition to MT rather than an omission in \mathfrak{G} . However, beyond this,

as the work of someone who disliked the word מֶלֶךְ but accepted it in a context where it preceded the more congenial word.

⁵⁵ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 5; contra Holladay, *Jeremiah*, II.3; J.G. Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah*, HSM 6, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1973, 127f.

⁵⁶ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 323n587, cites a calculation that 93.8% of all pluses in MT are between one and five words, the majority only one word; the longest of the remaining 6.2% is 33:14-26.

Schmid argues for seeing these verses as altering the thrust of the book, linking the hope of a new David with the return of the world-wide diaspora.

6.2 The thrust of this final major contribution to the book

6.2.1 The relationship of 33:14-26 to 29:10,14.

Schmid sees the addition of 33:14-26 as shifting 31:38-40 from an earlier role as the end of the first step (30:1-31:40) in a bipartite unit of prophecy followed by symbolic fulfilment (32:1-33:13), so as to constitute the beginning of the second:

Diagram based on Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 50

Step 1	Step 2
30:1-3 See the days are coming (Homecoming of the people)	31:38-40 See the days are coming (Restoration of Jerusalem)
30:5-31:26 Development	32:1-33:13 Development
31:27-34 See the days are coming: new planting and covenant	33:14-18 See the days are coming. Restoration of David's dynasty
31:35-37 Guarantee relating to creation ordinances	33:19-26 Guarantee relating to creation ordinances

But beyond this, he argues that 33:14-26 links chapter 29 together with this so called “Book of Consolation”. His main reason is the twofold *inclusio* created by (i) הִקְבַּר הַטּוֹב, found both in 29:10 and 33:14 with קוּם *hiphil*, and (ii) שׁוּב שְׁבוּתָה, which occurs in both 29:14 and 33:26b. (i) הִקְבַּר הַטּוֹב appears only in these two passages throughout the prophetic literature, and reference in 33:14 to 29:10 is emphasized by the additional clause, “which I have spoken”. (ii) In the case of שׁוּב שְׁבוּתָה, Schmid sees an analogy between the treatment of creation ordinances as a kind of guarantee in 31:35-37 and something very similar in 33:19-26. However, he points out that the expression שׁוּב שְׁבוּתָה in 33:26b plays no part in this parallel, hence pointing to its role as an echo of the same expression in 29:14⁵⁷. What is meant by the “good word” or “favourable promise” is clear from the words of 29:10: “to bring you back to this place”, but the meaning of “you” is defined in 29:14 as the world-wide diaspora. This, however, was not the original purpose of chapter 29, which is addressed to the *Babylonian* exiles.

⁵⁷ Duhm, *Jeremia*, 277, wanted to strike out 33:26b, precisely for its supposed irrelevance.

Schmid might therefore have advanced the same argument in the case of 29:14 as with $\text{הַטּוֹב הַדָּבָר הַטּוֹב}$ in 29:10⁵⁸. There, to clinch the *inclusio*, the redactor responsible for 33:14-26 has added the word טוֹב , not represented in 29:14⁶. But neither does ט ⁵⁹ refer to the world-wide diaspora in 29:14, as 29:14MT does. The same redactor must have altered this verse even more drastically to extend its thrust beyond Babylonian exiles to the whole scattered Jewish people. This further apparent alteration would seem to confirm Schmid's hypothesis beyond doubt. But the alterations made to chapter 29 are not the only anchors created by this redactor in his *Vorlage*.

6.2.2 *The relationship of 33:14-26 to 23:5-6*

Although a close relationship between 33:14-26 and 23:5-6 is clinched by the fact that out of forty-two words in 23:5, twenty-two appear in the same order, the mention in 33:14 of the *house of Judah* and the *house of Israel*, but not in 33:16 (contrast 23:6), is a curiosity⁶⁰. But of the three points which Schmid makes here⁶¹, the first is that 33:14 is crucial to an understanding of this passage. Whereas Judah and Israel were for 23:5 equivalents reflecting the notion that Judah constituted the true Israel without remainder, the expression "House of Judah and house of Israel" in 33:14 widens the promise to the world-wide diaspora. The second is that צִמַח צְדִיק (23:5) becomes צִמַח צְדִיקָה in 33:15. Schmid resists emendation⁶² because what now matters is not the *legitimacy* of the coming king but his *righteousness*. Finally he argues in a way which responds to Carroll's concern about the way in which Jerusalem has apparently been

⁵⁸ Y. Goldman, *Prophétie et royauté au retour de l'exil: les origines littéraires de la forme massorétique du livre de Jérémie*, OBO 118, Fribourg and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992, 40 is cited by Schmid as the first to notice the close connection between Jer 29 and 33, but fails, Schmid says (*Buchgestalten*, 57n23) to notice the connection between 33:26 and 29:14. This makes all the stranger Schmid's omission to mention 29:14⁶ which so strongly supports his argument.

⁵⁹ Apart from the margin of ט^Q , which contains many late harmonizations with פּ .

⁶⁰ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 637.

⁶¹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 62.

⁶² Citing Goldman, *Prophétie*, 13.

substituted for Israel in v16 that the לְהָיִי in 33:16 effectively makes יְהוָה לְהָיִי refer to Jerusalem. Schmid rather obscurely explains that in order to preserve the validity of 23:5f as a yet unfulfilled promise it was necessary to make Jerusalem a “place-holder” (*Platzhalterin*)⁶³ for the Messiah.

However, the main consideration is that the arc back to 23:5f establishes that the return of all Israel and the advent of David *redivivus* are dependent on one another, neither being conceivable without the other⁶⁴. Of course, there are references to David already in 30:9 and by implication, once 30:9 is in place, 30:21. But neither makes mention of a dynasty (as does 33:17). Near to 23:5 are words precisely denying continuation of David’s dynasty to Jehoiachin (22:30). The aim then was probably to gainsay these harsh words, echoed in the reversal of them expressed in 33:17, along with uptake of the nearby promise of a legitimate/righteous branch for David.

Furthermore, this redactor had already trammelled up 30:9 by bracketing 29:1-33:13. The reference which caught up 23:5f netted the other clear reference to a future David.

6.2.3 The position of 23:7f

Jer 23:7f, in origin (cf. Ⓞ) set to conclude chapter 23 (see above, 59f), immediately precedes in this position a kind of charter for the Babylonian exiles over against the Jerusalem remnant (chapter 24). Its new siting matches other passages where deliberate redirection of the book’s thrust has been effected by placing texts offering hope to the world-wide diaspora in front of *golah*-oriented texts (e.g. 29:14 before 29:16-20 and 32:37 before

⁶³ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 163. The idea seems to be something like “reserved seat”.

⁶⁴ Already noticed by T. Veijola, *Verheissung in der Krise. Studien zur Literatur und Theologie der Exilszeit anhand des 89. Psalms*, AASF.B.220, Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1982, 164, who comments on the similarity of the application to David (“Levites” [33:18] probably marks a later addition) of the “stars and sand” simile (33:22) and the promise to Abraham (Gen 15:5, 22:7, 32:13): pointless, Veijola says, if the aim of the writer was simply to emphasize the permanence of the Davidic dynasty. He strengthens this suggestion by claiming that Jer 33:22, with its reference to multiplying the “seed” of David may well allude to the planting of the house of Israel and the house of Judah with the “seed” of man in 31:27.

32:42)⁶⁵. Noting five diaspora-oriented passages (16:15, 23:3, 23:8, 29:14, 32:37), Schmid points out⁶⁶ that the only reason why Jer 16:15 and 23:8 do not share all five phraseological similarities common to the others, is that they both refer to the Exodus, rendering any mention of “gathering”, present in the other three passages, superfluous. These considerations indicate that 8’s placement of 23:7f is original, and that MT witnesses to deliberate repositioning.

There are various differences between 23:7f and 16:14f: (i) the word זָרַע (absent in 16:14) occurs in 23:8; (ii) 23:8 has וַיֵּשְׁבוּ עַל-אֲדָמָתָם instead of וַהֲשִׁיבוּתֵיכֶם עַל-אֲדָמָתְכֶם אֲשֶׁר נָתַתִּי לְאֲבוֹתֵיכֶם ; (iii) the use of the first person for third person הִדְרִי. Schmid interprets these changes as binding 23:7f together with chapter 31 and other passages now belonging to the book by this stage: thus זָרַע (23:8) prepares for the “sowing” in 31:27; use of the third person singular *qal* (23:8) instead of *hiphil* matches the וַיֵּשְׁבוּ of 31:8 (Schmid’s point here would look stronger if it had been the same verbal root in both cases); and finally he points out that הִדְרִי is much commoner throughout Jeremiah than the third person singular הִדְרָה.

Since σπέρμα is already present in 23:88, such differences between 23:7f and 16:14f demand two stages. However, Schmid’s most convincing point is that moving 23:7f to its present position aims for a link with the David-promise of 23:5. This probably betrays the hand of the redactor who added 33:14-26, emphasizing that the return of all Israel and the coming of the new David were to be seen as mutually dependent.

⁶⁵ C. Levin, *Die Verheißung des neuen Bundes in ihrem theologisch-geschichtlichen Zusammenhang ausgelegt*, FRLANT 137, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985, 68f; R.G. Kratz, *Kyros im Deuterobuch*, FAT 1, Tübingen: Mohr[Siebeck], 1991, 104f.

⁶⁶ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 270. According to Schmid, there were, relating to Dt 30:3, earlier references to the world-wide diaspora, as well as those which came later than the *golah*-oriented redaction. An example is Jer 23:3, which arcs back to the bad shepherds of 10:17. This was elaborated in Ezek 34:1-10. A similar older reference to hope for the diaspora is found in Jer 31:10-14, where, contrasting with instances mentioned above, no cancellation

6.2.4 Implications for Jeremiah 52

Whereas 33:14-26 represent a late endorsement of the hope of a David *redivivus*, not found in \mathfrak{C} , both MT and \mathfrak{C} have as their appendix in 52 an almost exact replica of 2 Ki 24:18-25:30. G.von Rad⁶⁷ sees in the reference to Jehoiachin, with which this passage ends, a note of hope for the future. There is a significant similarity between this conclusion to Jeremiah and the material from 2 Kings which has been appended to Isaiah, but also an important contrast: Isa 39 attaches to Isa *1-38 an ominous note of warning; Jer 52 ends on a note of hope. These alterations may have been made to 2 Kings and to Isaiah and Jeremiah at much the same time and perhaps as part of a single redactional development, so as to anticipate in Isaiah the final disaster and in Jeremiah to interlock with the expected remedy for it⁶⁸. But,

of *golah*-oriented material is involved. Over against the later diaspora-oriented sayings which make Yahweh the “shepherd”, 23:4 clearly envisages human shepherds (p273).

⁶⁷ G.von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments. Band I, Die Theologie der geschichtlichen Überlieferungen Israels*, München:Kaiser, 2nd edn, 1958, 341, cf. R.E Clements, *Jeremiah, Interpretation*, Atlanta, John Knox Press, 1988, 272; Schmid, *Erzväter*, 48f. See above, 150n4 and below n68.

⁶⁸ This view has been recently given a measure of support by the theory propounded by Schmid, *Erzväter*, 245. He argues, as we have seen (above, 94n30;144n67), for a tripartite pattern: (a) *Heilsgeschichte* (Genesis-Joshua); (b) *Unheilsgeschichte* (Judges-2 Kings); (c) *Heilsgeschichte* in anticipation (*Corpus propheticum*). Just as Joshua gives warning of the dangers of disobedience (Jos 23:11-13), so at the nadir of the *Unheilsgeschichte* there is the hint of restoration with the rehabilitation of Jehoiachin. But, mediating between von Rad’s conviction “daß 2 Ki:25:27-30 eine besondere theologische Bedeutung zukomme” (‘Die deuteronomistische Geschichtstheologie in den Königsbüchern’, 1947, in *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* ThB 8, München:Kaiser, 1958, 203) and that of M.Noth, that 2 Ki 25:27-30 had been “hinzugefügt, weil dieses – für die Geschichte an sich belanglose – Ereignis nun einmal noch mit zur Darstellung des Geshicks der jüdischen Könige gehörte”, (*Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 87 [for publication details, see above, 6n35]), Schmid says that the three verses are a very unpretentious foundation for the thesis that 2 Kings has a happy ending: they are best understood as paving the way for the *Corpus propheticum*. In view of the role of 2 Ki 25, particularly vv 27-30 in this pattern, it seems at least possible that the three major prophets were arranged on the same principle, with (i) Isaiah 1-39 ending with the hero Hezekiah in contrast to Ahaz, but with the note of warning of things to come; (ii) Jeremiah ending, like 2 Kings, with the demise of Jerusalem, but with the same hope as in 2 Kings itself (Jer 52:31-34); and finally (iii) Ezekiel, which ends on the note of glorious restoration, not only in the probably later chapters, but in the references to a David *redivivus* (37:24) as *king*. In view of the way in which the overall pattern envisaged by Schmid reckons with a *Demotisierung* of kingship, which he finds also in Gen 15, and which he dates to around 480 BCE, it is possible that a scriptural manifesto along comparable lines could have been composed for Zerubbabel, but (after his mysterious demise) required modification for the long Persian period when any mention of דָּוִד was out of the question, and even eschewed in Jer 33:14-26. Clearly Isa 40-55 in its present form could not be accommodated in any such earlier arrangement (but see below, 225): with its suggestion that it is Cyrus who (like Nebuchadnezzar – Jer 25:9, 27:6, 43:10) is at this stage God’s servant, implicit in the juxtaposition of Isa 42:1 and 41:25a β , (cf. “shepherd” [44:28], “anointed” [45:1]), this strongly pro-Persian note, carefully *wegretuschiert* from \mathfrak{C} or its *Vorlage* (Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 314), most likely represents an alternative (as Schmid argues, 234f) to the notion that the Davidic dynasty had only been suspended for the duration of Babylonian supremacy, and compensates for its abandonment

if so, this is something which cannot have taken place after the production of \mathfrak{G} 's *Vorlage*, hence probably has to be seen as expressing the kind of hopes placed in Zerubbabel. This is consistent with the emphasis on Jehoiachin, who was Zerubbabel's grandfather. Jehoiachin is less likely to have been the centre of such attention if the appending of chapter 52 had been a much later event in the book's development, but he remained a key ancestor in any renewed Davidic line, so the redactor responsible for 33:14-26 did not need to alter the end of the book.

6.2.5 *The dating of Jeremiah 33:14-26*

Clearly the bifurcation of the Alexandrian and pre-Masoretic traditions cannot be dated by determining the time when the Greek translation was made⁶⁹. That ben Sirach's grandson's prologue to Ecclesiasticus (c.130 BCE), implies the existence of a considerable Septuagintal collection, however, would provide a mid-second century *terminus ante quem*. Schmid favours a time around the end of the Persian empire for the bifurcation of the two traditions. His view is founded partly on a theory which links changes to the shape of Isaiah which he believes to be related, evidence for which is somewhat tenuous. But more cogently he argues that the different position given in \mathfrak{G} to Elam, which can by this period be identified with Persia⁷⁰ and the fact that whereas Elam (=Persia⁷¹), having been defeated, is offered hope for the future, Babylon (now = Seleucids) and Egypt (= Ptolemies) are not, suggests a time soon after Alexander's exploits (333-323BCE). Schmid thus suggests a date for the addition of 33:14-26 at some more rather than less peaceful period in the first half of the third century, and suggests a date after one or other of the three Syrian wars (274-271,

of the Davidic theme by transferring kingly features to the people (Isa 55:3). See also above, 117-119.

⁶⁹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 60.

⁷⁰ C. Rietzschel, *Das problem der Urrolle, Ein Beitrag zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Jeremiabuches*, Gütersloh, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gerd Mohn, 1966, 46, points out that over against the four-membered introduction to the threat in MT, \mathfrak{G} simply has τὰ Ἀιλάμ at the beginning, and postpones the time-reference to the end of the oracle: this can only indicate, Rietzschel says, the originality at this point of the MT version, the motive for the change being to separate the date from Jer 25:1, a solution only necessitated by the move of the Elam oracle to the beginning of the series.

⁷¹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 322n583, cites a text in which Cyrus has the title *šar Elamti*^{hw} (= king of Elam).

260-253, 246-241BCE) when a measure of Palestinian prosperity might have given rise to the optimism which these verses portray⁷².

7. Conclusions

7.1 Despite uncertainties, Jer 21:11 probably at one time headed a section on Judahite kings parallel to the section on prophets beginning at 23:9, with 21:1-7 being a later addition, followed later still by the intrusion of vv8-10 and the prefixing of the *waw* before **לְבֵית מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה** (21:11).

7.2 The similarity between Isa 7:13 and Jer 21:11 marks Ahaz as a pattern for later bad kings, and the Immanuel prophecy (Isa 7:14) could be a match for the hopes expressed in Jer 23:5 of a Davidic scion. The likelihood that the “collection” on Judahite kings was originally as judgmental as that on the prophets suggests that following a stage condemnatory of the house of David, a revised version expressed hopes for its revival.

7.3 The use of **לְבֵית מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה** may indicate a stage when this phrase was used disparagingly in avoidance of the phrase **בֵּית דָּוִד**. The former phrase could also reflect pejorative overtones with the word **מֶלֶךְ**; but, if so, this was not the sense intended at a stage when 23:5f was in place.

7.4 Enthusiasm for a renewed Davidic dynasty in passages which are represented by **⊕** and in the late 33:14-26, which is not, indicates at least two stages, the first probably related to hopes placed in Zerubbabel.

7.5 The term **יָשָׁב עַל־בְּסֹא דָוִד**, while no doubt derived ultimately from the circles which produced the so-called Deuteronomistic History⁷³, is used in different layers of the tradition to deny successively to Jehoiachin (22:30), Jehoiakim (36:30) and Zedekiah (29:16) any dynastic successor, but ultimately to express a conditional hope for a Davidic king (22:1-5).

⁷² Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 326.

⁷³ Schmid, *Erzähler*, esp. 129-164, argues that the Deuteronomistic History began with a form of Exodus originally unconnected with Genesis.

7.6 Of alternative explanations for “one sitting on David’s throne” in 22:30, (i) that it was inserted by the writer of 22:1-5 (Hermisson) or (ii) that because the tone of the two passages (22:1-5 and 22:30) is so different, 22:30 was probably already in place and provided the source of the phrase for the later writer of 22:1-5, the latter is preferable.

7.7 Against Hermisson, who regards לְבֵית מֶלֶךְ יְהוֹיָכִן (21:11a) as part of the preceding text-unit, Schmid’s view is preferable, that it was an earlier heading. For this reason the writer of 22:1-5, finding 21:11a in place, had Jeremiah going to the royal *palace* (בֵּית) to deliver his message.

7.8 23:5f is not entirely to be dismissed as a variation on a Jeremianic saying, originally in favour of Zedekiah. In its present form it was probably composed to legitimize Zerubbabel’s claims and led to Zechariah’s reference to Zerubbabel as “the Branch”. Hostility to Haggai’s enthusiasm for Zerubbabel is seen in 22:24, but with the question expecting the answer no in 22:28, which comes again to the fore, 23:5-6 represents the triumph of a pro-monarchical stance in the present form of the book.

7.9 Rehabilitation of monarchical ideas is reflected in 30:9 (later than 30:21) some time after they had been given up. There can be no certainty whether this contrast represents an indeterminate period after the demise of Zerubbabel, or, as is more likely in view of the tendency, as the Persian empire became more settled, for the word “king” to be avoided, and the notion of *Demotisierung* of kingship became established, 30:9 originally marked monarchical claims for Zerubbabel. Although the writer of 30:9 may have had a somewhat polemical or corrective aim with regard to 30:21, the order in which the texts come in the book led to a final harmonization. Thus, although (i) 30:21 had originally been non-Davidic, and (ii) had later been corrected to accommodate a Davidic heir (30:9), and (iii) Jeremiah bears witness to a subsequent period when kingly features were transferred to the people, (iv) ultimately hopes for a Davidic restoration emerged again.

7.10 The lack of 33:14-26 in \mathfrak{C} marks a late addition to MT, but far from being a postscript, it alters the thrust of the book, not only to renew Davidic hopes, but restoring an emphasis on the return of the world-wide diaspora. The removal of 23:7f from the end of the chapter in \mathfrak{C} to its present position in MT strengthens the argument that a major aim both of the new material and this deliberate textual alteration in chapter 23 was to weld together the hope of a David *redivivus* and the return of the whole people of Israel.

7.11 With the development of the book over perhaps four centuries or more, the resulting deposit witnesses to several stages with varying views of David's line. Arguably the *Königsspruch-Sammlung* began – with material from Jeremiah's own lips, highly critical of the Davidic kings, and the prophet himself may have despaired of any future for the dynasty – unless there lies behind 23:5f a favourable estimate of Zedekiah, in which case, nevertheless, he was to be further disappointed. Some references to a coming king could reflect hopes placed in Zerubbabel, the likely key to 22:28 as well as 23:5f. Whatever happened to Zerubbabel, it is clear that events put paid to kingly hopes for a long time. Though the Davidic line is clearly expected to be restored in the light of the very late addition of 33:14-26, even here the word “king” is not used, a possible reflection either of the earlier situation under Persian rule, when the notion of a Jewish king was either dangerous or unrealistic, or of similar inhibitions under the Seleucids.

IX

Nebuchadnezzar

1. Introduction

We claimed above (27) that there was reason for including the Babylonian ruler in exploring the role played in Jeremiah by Judah's kings. The main justification is that surprisingly at least one layer of the tradition saw Nebuchadnezzar as curtailing the Davidic dynasty, and replacing it himself. This probably explains the title 'עבד־י, discussed below (section 3.3.2.1.2).

Mention of the king is made 87 times in the book and these instances indicate various lines of research relevant to the book's construction. Thus:

(a) Nebuchadnezzar is unmentioned in Jer 1-19. (b) Otherwise, the name can appear *tout court*; or מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל may follow the name or occur alone. (c) Of the eighty-seven cases in MT, 6 lacks the verses concerned in eleven, has no reference to the king in a further twelve and only agrees in form in fifty instances (or, if the reading of 6^A is correct at 44:16, fifty-one)(d) The name is found only five times in the MT narrative from 37:4 to 43:7, whereas מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל appears there a further eighteen times. (e) It stands out too that in Chapters 27-29, where 6 has the name not once in thirteen references, MT not only has it eight times, but in seven (uniquely here in Jeremiah) has the spelling נְבוּכַדְנֶצְצַר. (f) In three texts, Nebuchadnezzar is referred to as 'עבד־י, and this raises questions about ... נִתֵּן בְּיַד, an expression often used with Yahweh as the subject in the first person singular, and also in the passive, with Nebuchadnezzar or his army as the indirect object. (g) In 25:26, reference is made to מֶלֶךְ שֹׁטֵט. (h) References involving the Babylonian army deserve attention.

2. The disposition of occurrences of the king's name or title

Mention comes first in 20:4, but is then evenly distributed apart from chapters 23, 30f, 47f. The early parts of Jeremiah are largely in verse, into which נְבוּכַדְנֶצְצַר could hardly fit: indeed, where the name does occur in verse

(51:34), Rudolph rightly regards it as a later addition, “rhythmisch störend”¹. But the presence of Ναβουχοδονόσορ in Ⓞ (28:34 ≅ 51:34MT) shows that if some appearances of the name in MT arose after the bifurcation with the Alexandrian tradition, this was not true of all. The king of Babylon can be mentioned in poetry relating to the *judgement* on Babylon, though not in chapters 4-10, generally agreed to contain the earliest elements of the book – particularly passages relating to the foe from the north – some possibly qualifying as the prophet’s *ipsissima verba*.

This creates a *prima facie* case that specific mention of מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל was not a mark of the earliest layer, while frequent use of the king’s name as a gloss hints that this might be a late feature. One might suspect *a priori* that coping with the complex foreign name suggests scribal sophistication, and this will be corroborated.

3. Formal variation in references to Nebuchadnezzar

3.1 Use of the name *tout court* in the Hebrew text

Of references to Nebuchadnezzar in Jeremiah, only at 29:1, 32:1, 52:28, 29, 30 does the name appear in MT *tout court*. Omitting Daniel, as hardly early enough for comparison, we examine first the norm in other books which use the name. In 2 Kings נְבוּכַדְנֶאֱצַר מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל occurs at 24:1, 10; 25:1, 8, 22.

Shortening to נְבוּכַדְנֶאֱצַר, as in 24:1, 11, 13, 15, probably reflects avoidance of tiresome repetition within a short compass. All instances in Ezekiel (26:7; 29:18, 19; 30:10) have נְבוּכַדְנֶאֱצַר מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל in spite of the proximity of 29:18 and 19, as do the single instances in Esther (2:6) and Nehemiah (7:6). The first mention in Ezra is strikingly *tout court* (1:7), though in view of 2:1 and Aramaic 5:12, where (again followed by the name alone in 5:14 for stylistic

¹ W. Rudolph, *Jeremia*, HAT I/12, Tübingen: J.C.B.Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 3rd edition 1968, 312.

reasons) the full expression is found, the introductory mention *tout court* may possibly be explained by the use of מֶלֶךְ for Cyrus just before.

Hence the “*tout court*” usage is rare and generally explicable, suggesting that the rare instances in Jeremiah can also be explained.

(a) **Jer 29:1.** Rudolph recognized in 29:2 an insertion drawn from 2 Ki 24:14-16². The fact that 29:2 is represented in 36:2³ (=36:2³), whereas there is no equivalent for מֶלֶךְ הַגִּלְגָּלִי הַנְּבֻכַדְנֶצַּר in 36:1³ (≅29:1 MT), suggests that this phrase is a still later addition. It is one of several instances of the later spelling in chapters 27-29 to be discussed below.

(b) **Jer 32:1.** In 25:1 MT, Nebuchadnezzar has his title, and there may be special reasons why 39:1³ omits this reference, as we shall see (below, section 3.3.2.1.1). But 25:1 and 32:1 are dating formulae both a year out³, so could belong to the same stratum. The title therefore in 39:1³ (≅32:1 MT) suggests that מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל may have fallen out of 32:1³.

(c) **Jer 52:28-30.** The three instances here come in a passage absent from both the likely source of the bulk of this chapter, 2 Kings 24:18 – 25:21⁴, and also from Jer 52:28-30³. The style of a source has evidently been followed, but as in 32:1, toleration of the title’s omission indicates relative lateness. The spelling מֶלֶךְ הַנְּבֻכַדְנֶצַּר is found in Jer 52:4, 12 as well as in these verses. Either this was original in the source of 52:28-30 and in Kings (the latter being subject to later Aramaicization), or (less likely, if slavish adherence to a source accounts for variation in Jer 27-29) Jer 52 was conformed to the book’s commoner spelling.

² Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 182.

³ W.L.Holladay, *Jeremiah*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, vol 1, 1986, 667f, discusses this problem with reference to possibly different calendars; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 178, envisages a glossator no longer familiar with the expression for “accession year”.

⁴ C.R.Seitz, *Theology in conflict, Reactions to the exile in the Book of Jeremiah*, BZAW 176, Berlin/New York 1989, 165.

3.2 Use of the name *tout court* in the Septuagint (Jer 44:1 $\mathfrak{G}^B \cong 37:1$ MT, 42:11 $\mathfrak{G} \cong 35:11$ MT).

With ten cases where \mathfrak{G} lacks the king's name represented in MT, its tendency makes the sole instances of Ναβουχοδονοσόρ⁵ *tout court* in \mathfrak{G}^B surprising. In 44:1 \mathfrak{G} (37:1MT), \mathfrak{G}^{AS} include βασιλεύς Βαβυλώνος, and, with the possibility of haplography before βασιλεύειν, this could be original. In 42:11 \mathfrak{G} , on the other hand, while there seems no reason for omitting the title, it is hardly likely that \mathfrak{G} would have imported the name if it had not been in its *Vorlage*. The fact that this is one of only seven occurrences in the book where Aquila has the name is a further indication that this instance in \mathfrak{H} preceded bifurcation of pre-Masoretic and Alexandrian traditions. If the reading in 35:11 is original, it may mean that the whole passage is late. This verse alone in Jeremiah mentions an Aramean army (אֲרָמִי לְיָדוֹ), while the root עֲלָה (common elsewhere) only appears here in Jeremiah for Nebuchadnezzar's attack. Other features in any case make likely a peculiar source for chapter 35.

The conclusion thus far is that the use of the name *tout court* is exceptional, whether in MT or \mathfrak{G} ; its occurrence typifies a later tendency.

3.3 Passages where elements of MT are missing in \mathfrak{G}

Of the various instances where \mathfrak{G} is not in agreement with MT about the wording of passages relating to Nebuchadnezzar, in nineteen cases \mathfrak{G} lacks more than simply a component of the phrase, "Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon", raising the questions (a) whether the absence of such material is explicable, and (b) whether any pattern characterizes other variations.

3.3.1. Cases where \mathfrak{G} lacks a verse or more

(a) 39:4-13. McKane has justly criticised complex attempts to explain \mathfrak{G} 's lengthy omission by haplography⁶. Later interpolation is indicated by the way a

⁵ \mathfrak{G}^B has the form Ναβουχοδονοσόρ in 44 1 \mathfrak{G} ($\cong 37:1$ MT).

⁶ W. McKane, *Jeremiah*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996, II.976-7.

new connection is made by v13 between v3 and v14. Nebuzaradan has replaced Nergalsharezer as the leading Babylonian officer in this verse. Pohlmann detects the same concern for the Babylonian *golah* as in chapter 24⁷. If so, one has to choose between (a) insistence that loss in 𐤂 is coincidental and (b) postulating *golah*-oriented interventions in MT later than the bifurcation between pre-Masoretic and Alexandrian traditions. The latter should be tentatively accepted.

(b) 46:26. McKane⁸ convincingly advocates J.G.Janzen's explanation⁹ of the minus after 26:25 𐤂 here: it lacks the verse because it is a late attempt to cope with the non-fulfilment of Egypt's prophesied destruction.

(c) 52:3. Zedekiah's wickedness is baldly equated with Jehoiakim's. This has been seen as evidence of the secondary character of 52:2f in MT¹⁰. But the inference is illogical if 2 Ki 24:18-25:30 is regarded (rightly) as the source of Jer 52, since, while 2 Ki 24:18-20a is likely to be an accretion in Kings¹¹, it is represented in 2Kings 𐤂. The lack of Jer 52:2f 𐤂 could be accounted for as follows: (i) The reason for including Jer 52 was to demonstrate the fulfilment of Jeremiah's prophecies of doom and to highlight the "*Morgenrot*"¹² of future hope in Jehoiachin's rehabilitation (52:31-34). (ii) For this purpose 2 Kings 25 alone was requisite. But (iii) this would have left the suffix on מְלָכָו without antecedent. 2 Ki 24:18 was therefore included, producing 𐤂's *Vorlage*. (iv) The omission of 2 Ki 24:19-20 was then made good in the pre-Masoretic text.

(d) 52:15. One of the planks in the *golah*-oriented platform was the "emptying" of the land (Jer 24:5-7, 29:5-15, 32:16-44¹³): the content of 52:15 probably relates to this, but seeks to address stubborn historical facts (v16). In the light of

⁷ K.-F. Pohlmann, *Studien zum Jeremiabuch*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978, 106 n275.

⁸ McKane, *Jeremiah*, II.1136.

⁹ J.G.Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah*, HSM 6, Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press, 1973, 41.

¹⁰ McKane, *Jeremiah*, II.1361.

¹¹ E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige*, ATD 11,2, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984, 474, divides the verses between his DtrG (vv18f) and DtrN (v20a).

¹² Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 319. For the interpretation, see above, 150n4.

¹³ K.Schmid, *Buchgestalten des Jeremiabuches*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1996, 254.

Ⓞ's minus it is a further indication of intervention postdating bifurcation of pre-Masoretic and Alexandrian traditions¹⁴.

(e) 52:28-30. These verses obviously derive from a separate source, written at a time when Nebuchadnezzar's title seemed unnecessary, as we have seen. There is no reason why Ⓞ should have omitted the passage: it must therefore have been added to Ⓜ later than its bifurcation with the Alexandrian tradition.

In these cases, therefore, as with the most substantial example of all in Ⓞ, 33:14-26, missing material is to be explained by its absence in Ⓞ's *Vorlage*. One cannot easily conclude then that any minus in Ⓞ reflects deliberate omission; but it does not follow, as we shall see, that *no* manipulation of the text is detectable in its tradition¹⁵.

3.3.2 Differences involving less than a verse

3.3.2.1 The instances in 25:1-13

3.3.2.1.1 The question of *Entbabylonisierung* (removal of references to Babylon)

A few remaining instances, where Ⓞ lacks a clause or a phrase, but not counting here simply the absence of the king's name, are found in Jer 25:1-13. Some have recently leaned towards seeing Ⓞ as more original here¹⁶, but Thiel and Schmid have taken the opposite view with arguments greatly strengthened by the case for regarding four references to the king as deleted in the Alexandrian tradition rather than inserted at a late date in the pre-Masoretic.

(1) Thiel

Thiel resists making Ⓞ's greater lucidity argue for an older and more original text¹⁷: it is inappropriate for Yahweh to have spoken from the "thirteenth year of Josiah"; Thiel thinks that Ⓞ is attempting to improve a text unclear as to

¹⁴ So McKane, *Jeremiah*, II. 1369.

¹⁵ Contra A. Aejmelaeus, 'Jeremiah, the turning point of history: the function of Jer 25:1-14 in the Book of Jeremiah', *VT* 52, 2002, 461.

¹⁶ J.G. Janzen, *Studies*, 100; McKane, *Jeremiah*, 618-23; Aejmelaeus (see above, n15). But a strong argument for *Entbabylonisierung* in chapter 25 – for the term, see below, 213n20 – is the fact that a very similar chronological note is present in 32:1, where Ⓞ does represent Nebuchadnezzar – see above 3.1(b).

¹⁷ W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1-25*, WMANT 41, Neukirchenvluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973, I.264.

whether the speaker is Yahweh or Jeremiah. However, the fact that \mathfrak{G} has done this still allows some differences between \mathfrak{G} and MT to reflect alterations subsequent to the bifurcation, which took place an uncertain length of time before what Stipp calls the Alexandrian tradition¹⁸ was translated into Greek.

(2) Schmid

However, Schmid dates this development to the downfall of the Persian empire and the chaotic situation emerging under the *diadochoi*. His view depends to an extent on O.H. Steck's conviction that this was the period when Isa *40-55 was moved into the book of Isaiah, helped by Isa 35, a composition aimed to anchor the transplant¹⁹. This then provides a *terminus a quo*. Schmid plausibly contends that besides a *golah*-oriented redaction, already postulated by Pohlmann, the tradition was earlier reshaped by texts making Nebuchadnezzar Yahweh's *servant* (Jer 25:9, 27:6, 43:10) with seventy years envisaged as the limit of Babylonian supremacy (25:11, 12; 29:10). Schmid regards the \mathfrak{G} tradition in chapter 25 as having arisen through "*Entbabylonisierung*"²⁰. In particular, he regards the application of "my servant" to Nebuchadnezzar as a feature of MT omitted by \mathfrak{G} (see further below 3.3.2.1.2). Further, Schmid thinks that in v12, ἐν τῷ πληρωθῆναι τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη should not be translated "after seventy years have expired", but "by means of the completion of seventy years". Hence he claims²¹ that \mathfrak{G} envisages the whole of 25:1-13 as referring to Judah's judgement alone, which then fits the book's overall structure as it now stands in \mathfrak{G} : viz (i) Judgement on Israel (1-25:13); (ii) Judgement on the nations (chapters 46-51; 25:15-38); (iii) Salvation for Israel (chapters 26-45); and (iv) chapter 52 (Appendix):

"Man hat es also in Jer 25:1-13 LXX mit einem reduzierten Text zu tun, der die Gerichtssukzession von Jer 25:1-14 MT nivelliert und Jer 25 zu einem reinen

¹⁸ H.-J. Stipp, *Jeremia im Parteienstreit*, Frankfurt am Main: Anton Hain, 23.

¹⁹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 322, cites O.H. Steck, *Der Abschluß der Prophetie im Alten Testament*, BThSt 17, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991, 80-83, who thinks of a time when "die große Schlacht bei Gaza 312 vor Chr" gave Ptolemy I temporary power over Palestine. See also Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 159-61, 315-319.

²⁰ I.e. removal of now outdated references in \mathfrak{G} to Babylon: Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 222n93; 303, 313f.

²¹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 222n93.

Gegenstück zu Jer 1 macht, das weder den Namen des Vollstreckers des Judagerichts nennt, und noch, was wichtiger ist, ein Gericht am Vollstrecker selbst kennt”.

Later in his work²² Schmid adds these further supporting arguments.

There is no comparable situation in the Old Testament where a comparison of \mathfrak{C} and MT produces such diverse results – something inexplicable by chance. The two versions have distinctive overall structures: in the case of MT, the prominence of Babylon primarily as the instrument of Yahweh’s judgement on Judah, but then the victim of ultimate judgement, is a key theme – something emphasized by a series of literary correspondences; \mathfrak{C} by contrast does not admit of this interpretation, but instead has a tripartite eschatological scheme (i.e. disaster for Israel; disaster for the nations; salvation for Israel)²³. The role of Babylon is doubly played down in \mathfrak{C} , (i) by the mid-position of the OAN; (ii) by the mid-position of Babylon within the OAN. Further, Yahweh’s use of the foreign Babylonians as his instrument only occurs in MT (25:14; 27:7).

Of course, these arguments could be turned on their heads, making the changes due, not to omissions apparent in \mathfrak{C} , but to additions to the pre-Masoretic tradition. But Schmid’s trump card is his contention²⁴ that there are cases in Isaiah (particularly in textual proximity to Isa 40, with the important links of this and cognate passages with Jeremiah), where \mathfrak{C} lacks the references in MT to the use by Yahweh of foreigners as his instruments, e.g. (a) in Isa 36:10, “The Lord said to me, ‘Go up against this land and destroy it’” is missing, (though here, while the balance of textual evidence supports this minus, Schmid should have noted that \mathfrak{C}^B – according to Swete – does have it); (b) Isa 41:2a β ²⁵ and 41:25a β are likewise claimed as deliberate alterations of its *Vorlage* by \mathfrak{C} ; thus possible reference to Cyrus is twice erased (“*wegretuschiert*”); (c) in Isa

²² Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 312-314

²³ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 5.

²⁴ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 314.

²⁵ Schmid by mistake prints “41. 1a β ”.

42:1, ⑥ makes its interpretation clearer still by adding “Jacob” (v1α) and “Israel” (v1αβ) to show what God’s “servant” means; (d) Isa 48:14f MT refers to Cyrus, but ⑥ has ἀγαπῶν σε, referring to Israel, in v14; (e) “My shepherd” (Isa 44:28 MT, רֹעֵי) becomes “Be wise” φρονεῖν; here Schmid prints רֹעֵי (unpointed)²⁶, surmising an “(absichtliche?) Verlesung” and presumably crediting the translator with interpretation of this form, elsewhere imperative singular feminine, as masculine with objective first person singular suffix; another possibility in the light of Isa 44:18⑥ (where οὐκ ἔγνωσαν φρονῆσαι represents וְלֹא יָדְעוּ וְלֹא יִבְיִנוּ) is בִּין,²⁷ which avoids the problem of the suffix, though at the expense of greater orthographical dissimilarity; (f) in 45:1-3 Yahweh, according to Schmid, no longer addresses Cyrus, but rather speaks about him. This is uncertain, since, according to Swete, ⑥^B does have σου in 45:2 (though ⑥^A has αὐτοῦ). In 45:3, ⑥^B again has σοι twice, Swete here noting no variation; (g) in 46:11 the saying about the bird of prey is distanced from Cyrus, since περὶ ὧν βεβούλευμαι, for וְשֵׁשׁ עֶצְמוֹתָיו, cancels any personal reference, and ἠγάπησεν αὐτὸν κτλ echoes 48:15, which in ⑥ refers to Israel. This point would look stronger if 46:11 did not precede 48:15. Although Schmid has somewhat overstated his case with these examples in Isaiah, ⑥ clearly does play down Yahweh’s relationship with Cyrus, supporting evidence of similar treatment of Nebuchadnezzar in Jeremiah ⑥.

Schmid’s case for *Entbabylonisierung* is convincing²⁸, but it remains uncertain what was in ⑥’s *Vorlage* to be removed, or whether, even if מְלִךְ בָּבֶל was

²⁶ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 313-4.

²⁷ That the MT reading is original is supported by J.A.Motyer’s analysis of the parallel between Isa 44:24-48:22 and 49:1-53:12, which makes “my servant” (49:6) the counterpart of “my shepherd” (44:28) (*The Prophecy of Isaiah*, Leicester: IVP, 1993, 352).

²⁸ Schmid’s theory is not without problems and the following questions are raised by differences from MT in ⑥.

(i) ⑥ has πατρίαν (*singular*) at Jer 25:9. Here MT has מְלָכִים וְעַמִּים, an understandable change to the plural to agree with 1:15, where Jeremiah is portrayed as prophesying the arrival of many nations. It is consistent too, closer to hand, with 25:14, which (omitted as it is by ⑥) looks like a gloss, relating to the end of v13 מְלָכִים וְעַמִּים, words which might well account (note the further appearance of מְלָכִים) for the subsequent or simultaneous alteration to verse 9. It is hard on the other hand to see any reason why ⑥ might have altered

present, the name נְבוּכַדְרֶצְצַר is original in 25:1, 9. There are examples suspected of belonging to this layer, where the king's name is present in both MT and 𐤀 (see below 5.2). However, in 25:1, the reference to the king's regnal year could have been added much later.

3.3.2.1.2 The use of the term עֲבָדִי for Nebuchadnezzar

For Schmid's theory that there was a definite redactional phase when the notion that Babylon was given a limited period of supremacy by Yahweh, much hangs on the question whether עֲבָדִי was in 𐤀 before the bifurcation with the Alexandrian tradition, or whether 𐤀 represents an earlier form of the text in any or all of the three passages where this word occurs in MT. It appears in the context with which we have been concerned so far, in 25:9, but there are two

plural to singular in 25:9, unless perhaps to create an antecedent for τὸ ἔθνος ἐκεῖνο in v12, which would militate against Schmid's view.

(ii) The phrase אֲשֶׁר נָבֵא יְרַמְיָהוּ עַל-כָּל-הַגּוֹיִם (v13) does appear in 𐤀, but could be seen as the heading for prophecies about the nations which in 𐤀 immediately follow. Against the notion that this clause has its original function in the 𐤀 tradition, is its introduction of a further (clumsy) relative clause in addition to the one which precedes. On the other hand, Schmid argues that 𐤀 is not straightforward, presumably since τὰ Αἰγάμ does not tally with the introduction to any of the other OAN and looks therefore as if it might have been tacked on to אֲשֶׁר נָבֵא יְרַמְיָהוּ עַל-כָּל-הַגּוֹיִם, which, on this view, provided the 𐤀 tradition with a peg to hang these oracles against the nations on.

(iii) In 25:12, 𐤀 has the word ἐκεῖνο. Schmid seeks to gainsay the argument that this should refer to a nation other than Judah, which has been indicated by ταύτην in verse 9. Schmid argues that this fails to counteract the fact that Babylon is not explicitly mentioned in 𐤀, or to establish an equivalence between 𐤀's reference to τὸ ἔθνος ἐκεῖνο and MT's explicit reference to Babylon. But he underestimates the force of ἐκεῖνο, and does no justice to the fact that 𐤀 has a singular πατρίαν (where 𐤀^A and 𐤀^N have the article τήν, – perhaps internal 𐤀 variation, but probably identifying πατρίαν with Babylon) for it to refer back to.

(iv) Schmid seeks further to avoid reference to coming judgement for Babylon in 25:1-12 by interpreting ἐν τῷ πληρωθῆναι τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη as meaning that the seventy years are *the means by which* God is to punish Judah, rather than *the period after which* God will punish Babylon. This means counting without the passage with which Schmid himself seeks to tie this verse closely – 29:10 (p 221) – where אֲלֵךְ is clearly used in a temporal expression, as it is in 25:12MT. In 𐤀 too, the temporal clause in 29:10 might be seen as the first port of call for interpreting ἐν τῷ πληρωθῆναι τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη in 25:12.

Schmid is concerned here to relate all reference to judgement in 25:1-12 to Judah, but the admission of some indication that Babylon will also be judged does not seem fatal to his overall theory, if, on his understanding of the structure of 𐤀, the second section (Unheil für Fremdvölker) is anticipated to this extent at the end of the first.

other instances in MT, namely 27:6 [34:5 ⑥] and 43:10 [50:10 ⑥]. W.E.Lemke has addressed the issues arising from all three passages²⁹. The term עֶבְדִּי is used, he argues, of such heroes as Moses, David, Joshua, and others in a way very different from any application to Nebuchadnezzar. The position of one unconsciously stepping into the king of Assyria's shoes as "the rod of [Yahweh's] anger" contrasts strongly with a role requiring humble, conscious submission. This starting-point has problems of its own, since the present text shows beyond dispute that *ultimately* MT came to apply the term עֶבְדִּי to Nebuchadnezzar three times, in ways which must have satisfied later editors.

However, Lemke's thesis is that the absence of עֶבְדִּי in the three contexts in ⑥ where it is found in MT can be explained as follows:

(a) In 25:9, ⑥ lacks entirely the reference to Nebuchadnezzar; hence the presence of the term there is a later addition to MT.

(b) In 27:6, both versions have Yahweh giving Nebuchadnezzar sovereignty over the nations, but the witness of ⑥ is divided. The MT is reflected only by late hexaplaric Greek manuscripts, characteristically conformed to the MT.

A.Schenker notes³⁰ that three hexaplaric manuscripts have the phrase ἐν χειρὶ Ναβοχοδοноσοῦ βασιλέως τῶ δούλω μου. As he argues, this strongly indicates the pre-hexaplaric reading τῶ δούλω μου, since the ungrammatical dative, instead of genitive, is hard otherwise to explain. ⑥^{BA} read δουλεύειν αὐτῶ favoured by Ziegler³¹. ⑥^N (cf. Bo, Eth) omits any equivalent for עֶבְדִּי. Lemke claims that the ⑥^N reading is preferable, but that the question of variant readings in ⑥ is unimportant. This seems odd, since he then goes on to suggest that δουλεύειν αὐτῶ arises from a *Vorlage* לְעַבְדִּי, explained as leading to the MT עֶבְדִּי by (i) haplography of *lamedh* due to the final consonant in עֶבְדִּי; (ii)

²⁹ W.E. Lemke, 'Nebuchadnezzar, my servant', *CBQ* 28, 1966, 45-50.

³⁰ A.Schenker, 'Nebukadnezars Metamorphose vom Unterjocher zum Gottesknecht', *RB* 89, 1982, 502 n10.

³¹ J.Ziegler (ed), *Jeremias, Threni, Epistula Jeremiae*, 2nd edition, Göttingen: & Ruprecht, 1976, 337.

the similarity in Aramaic script between *waw* and *yodh*. If the 𐤄^s reading were correct, it is hard to see how this explanation could have any basis, or how the readings of 𐤄^{BA} could have arisen. At any rate, with a reference to the then recent discovery that 4QJer^b represents a text of the Alexandrian type as opposed to the pre-Masoretic, Lemke goes on to resist the explanations of (a) Rudolph: “teils Weglassung, teils Korrektur”³² and (b) Bright:³³ that the application of the term עֲבָדֵי יְהוָה to Nebuchadnezzar was too much for the writers of 𐤄’s Vorlage, and led to a deliberate alteration to לְעַבְדֵי יְהוָה. Lemke sees לְעַבְדֵי יְהוָה as original and correct, and the ultimate source of the other two passages (25:9 and 43:10 [50:10 𐤄]).

Y. Goldman,³⁴ following Schenker,³⁵ has said of עֲבָדֵי יְהוָה in 27:6, “Le grec δουλεύειν αὐτῷ est nettement inférieur à l’hébreu עֲבָדֵי יְהוָה, cette dernière leçon est à la fois *difficilior* et d’une tenue excellente en ce contexte”. The ugly repetition of לְעַבְדֵי יְהוָה, if alternatively this had been in 𐤄’s Vorlage, and avoided by ἐργαζέσθαι (27:5 𐤄 ≅ 34:6 MT), supports this view, as we argue below.

Schmid has drawn a comparison³⁶ with a Nebuchadnezzar inscription where the relationship of king to god is instanced in connection with world-supremacy. Possibly the creation story is relevant here, since the beasts are rather surprisingly mentioned in 27:6. Adam is placed in the garden עֲבָדֵי יְהוָה (Gen 2:15), which may mean that he is God’s עֲבָדֵי יְהוָה, as the privilege of naming the animals implies that they are Adam’s servants. It is possible then that 27:6 aims

³² Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 161. In the 3rd edn, 1968, 161, Rudolph responds critically to Lemke’s article.

³³ J. Bright, *Jeremiah*, AB 21, NY: Doubleday, 1965, 200.

³⁴ Y. Goldman, *Prophétie et royauté au retour de l’exil*, OBO 118, Fribourg/Göttingen, 1992, 133.

³⁵ A. Schenker, ‘Metamorphose’, 498-527.

³⁶ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 232n146, cites B. Lang, ‘Ein babylonisches Motiv in Israels Schöpfungsmythologie (Jer 27:5-6)’, *BZ* 27, 1983, 236f. Lang mentions in this connection an inscription of Shalmaneser III, which he translates: “Ninurta und Palil, die mein Priestertum lieben, haben das Getier des Feldes mir überantwortet”.

to make a parallel point in the case of Nebuchadnezzar, who, like Adam, is God's viceroy, though with the additional nuance that control of wild beasts implies the complete dominion of Nebuchadnezzar over all unruly elements. It is notable that the first לְעַבְדּוֹ in 𐤀's *Vorlage* is translated δουλεύειν and the second ἐργάζεσθαι, but in view of the fact that both Greek verbs are used to translate עֲבַד in Jeremiah, Schmid rightly sees³⁷ that nothing can be deduced from this. The repetition presumed in 𐤀's *Vorlage* is, however, suspicious; hence the tentative conclusion can be drawn that in 27:6 it is more likely that עֲבַד is original, confirming Bright's suggestion that the reason for the change to לְעַבְדּוֹ (if not fortuitous) lies in the supposed offensiveness of the title designation עֲבַד to the writers of 𐤀's *Vorlage*. On this basis Schmid salvages the originality of עֲבַד in 25:9 and 43:10 as well. With regard to 25:9 we have seen that the case is not beyond doubt, but in 43:10, Rudolph's "offensiveness" argument could explain why עֲבַד is unrepresented. Schmid also dismisses, because of the word's semantic range, Lemke's limitation of עֲבַד to one who is *consciously* God's servant³⁸. But this argument, while not entirely satisfying (as if the translation "vassal"³⁹ solved all the problems involved in Yahweh's replacement of the Davidic king in this way), is also beside the point: if Nebuchadnezzar is indeed referred to as God's servant, it may be intended to shock; if so, Nebuchadnezzar's dissimilarity to heroes of the Hebrew Bible may be precisely the intended thrust. That Isa 45:1 calls Cyrus Yahweh's "anointed" has to count as evidence for a *Vorlage* in which Nebuchadnezzar was called Yahweh's servant.

(c) In 43:10 [50:10𐤀] 𐤀's minus is explained by Lemke as implying that עֲבַד is a gloss inspired by 27:6. The narrative of chapters 37-44 in which this passage is embedded has been analysed by Stipp.⁴⁰ As we have observed, his theory is that two basic narratives, which he calls "*Haft und Befreiung*

³⁷ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 232.

³⁸ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 233n152.

³⁹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 233.

⁴⁰ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 130-206. See above, 156-65.

Jeremias” (HBJ-Erz) and the “*Jischmael-dossier*”, have been combined in a third, which he calls “*Untergang des palästinischen Judäertums*” (UPJ-Erz) and subjected to (a) a Deuteronomistic redaction and (b) a “Shaphanid” redaction (that is, one in the interests of Shaphan’s family) and (c) further minor and late alterations and additions. In this last category, Stipp sets 43:7c-13, noting its reference not to those emigrating but to Egypt itself; and its unrelatedness to key themes of the UPJ-Erz – (a) the remnant, and (b) obedience to the voice of God. He sees the fact that 43:10 alone mentions Nebuchadnezzar (apart from passages explicable by later redaction [37:1, 39:1, and the late addition in 39:4-13]) as further indicating that 43:8-13 are different from, and later than the surrounding context.

Schmid does not dispute the distinctiveness of 43:8-13, but argues that the passage makes a good transition to the Egypt-oracle (46:2-28)⁴¹, linking the “servant” concept to the mention of Carchemish in 46:2, with its further mention of “the fourth year of Jehoiakim”, and is confident that this third occurrence of עֲבָדָי is evidence of a redactional layer involving chapters 25, 27-29, and even 26 and 36. Support provided by Pohlmann,⁴² which Schmid cites, is the use in both 25:9 and 43:10 of הַנְּנִי שְׁלַח וְלִקְחָתִי. Even if Schmid is wrong about 25:9, where Ⓞ lacks the whole reference to Nebuchadnezzar, Pohlmann’s point makes it likely that what is missing in Ⓞ at 25:9 was imported under the influence of 43:10. The fact that אֱלֹהֵי is used inappropriately with Nebuchadnezzar in 25:9 does raise suspicions that it may be secondary. If the reference to עֲבָדָי was, as we have argued, original at 27:6, and if there was an original link between chapters 25 and 43, as Schmid claims⁴³, it does not greatly affect the strength of his case whether or not עֲבָדָי was originally in place in all three passages, and one can easily see how, once established in 27:6, it could have accounted for the other instances. It is important that with the link between chapter 25 and 43:8-13, comes the

⁴¹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 248.

⁴² Pohlmann, *Studien*, 161n555.

⁴³ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 249.

likelihood that chapters *37-44 *in toto* are being built into the book at this redactional stage. For it implies, Schmid says,⁴⁴ that Judah's demise is being viewed positively as reflecting an element of Yahweh's sovereign purpose.

Lemke speculates finally on why (on his analysis) 'עֲבָדָה crept into the text. He resists Zimmerli's claim⁴⁵ that the use of this term "is not likely to be a new formation of later times; since intrinsically it fits best with the oracles of Jeremiah, its invention by [the prophet] is the most satisfactory explanation". Such a designation arose, Lemke says, more likely during subsequent redactional stages. Neither position seems justified *a priori*. But the suggestion, with which Lemke finishes, that these readings of 'עֲבָדָה reflect theology from the time of Daniel seen there in the portrait of Nebuchadnezzar, is probably putting the cart before the horse. There are many echoes of Jeremiah in Daniel, and one of them may well be the account of how Nebuchadnezzar is both put in charge of "the beasts of the field" (Dan 2:38, cf. Jer 27:6) and becomes like them (Dan 4:29 [Eng 32]). The writer of Daniel therefore could have seen fit to have the "servant of Yahweh" (Jer 25:9, 27:6, 43:10) come to the conscious acknowledgement of his master that Lemke desiderated.

At whatever stage 'עֲבָדָה arose, it could create, as Schmid⁴⁶ points out, a perspective of temporary eclipse for the Davidic dynasty with Josiah's death. David was promised an eternal dynasty; so Babylonian supremacy "bridges over" the gap. Important elements of Schmid's theory are connected here.

(a) The end of the Davidic dynasty really took place at Josiah's death in 609, and this accounts for the seventy years running down to the overthrow of Babylon in 539.

(b) Hence the date at 27:1, where modern versions have, without textual support (apart from the minus in Ⓞ), generally emended "Jehoiakim" to

⁴⁴ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 248.

⁴⁵ W. Zimmerli and J. Jeremias, *Servant of God*, SBT 20, London, SCM 1957, 21n48; ET H. Knight of Πάρις Θεοῦ in G. Kittel (ed), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, vol 5, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1949, 653-72.

⁴⁶ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 234.

(e) A more tentative element in Schmid's theory is that the view of Nebuchadnezzar involved in the use of 'רַב־צַדִּיק' played its part in the way in which Cyrus is portrayed in Isa 44:28, 45:1. Schmid⁵¹ (following O.H.Steck⁵² and R.G.Kratz⁵³) even goes so far as to suggest that at this stage in the tradition, some form of Isa 40-55 was regarded as its effective conclusion. Schmid's basic argument for this is that if 25:12, 29:10 embody a reading of the book which sees Babylonian supremacy as a temporary hiatus, it is logical to expect that the "Russian doll" structure created by the correspondence between (a) 25:12 and Jer 50f, (b) chapters 26 and 36⁵⁴, (c) 29:10 and chapters 30f should have as its outer component a "Heil" section to correspond with the judgement section (chapters 1-25).

Schmid summarizes his position as follows:⁵⁵

Sachlich lässt sich diese das Jeremia- und das Deuterocesajabuch übergreifende und insgesamt zu einem umfangreichen "Jeremiabuch" zusammenfassende Struktur in ihrem gedanklichen Zusammenhang paraphrasieren: Jeremia kündigt zunächst im Namen Jahwes Unheil an (Jer *1-25) was, wie 26:3 und 36:3 statuieren, bei seinen Hörern Umkehr bewirken soll. Diese Umkehr erfolgt aber nicht, und deshalb wird die von Jhwh im "Anfang der Regierung Jojakims" beschlossene Vergabe der Weltherrschaft an Nebukadnezar, die gleichzeitig den Abbruch der Davidsdynastie bedeutet (36:30) im vierten Jahr Jehojakims auch tatsächlich mit der für Nebukadnezar siegreichen Schlacht bei Karkemisch angetreten (25:1). Die Weltherrschaft ist allerdings auf siebenzig Jahre begrenzt (25:11f, 29:10), nachfolgend wird Babel demselben Gericht verfallen, das es über Juda gebracht hat (*Jer 50f), und Jhwh wird sich, wie er vorher Unheil über sein Volk gebracht hat, ihm wieder heilvoll zuwenden (Jer *30f; Jes*40ff).

Schmid believes that the application of the word "shepherd" in Isa 44:28 to Cyrus, which he interprets, though there is no use there of 'רַב־צַדִּיק'⁵⁶, as

⁵¹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 249, 316n549.

⁵² O.H.Steck, 'Israel und Zion: Zum Problem konzeptioneller Einheit und literarischer Schichtung in Deuterocesaja' in *id*, *Gottesknecht und Zion. Gesammelte Aufsätze zu Deuterocesaja*, FAT 4, Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1992, 197n112.

⁵³ R.G.Kratz, 'Der Anfang des Zweiten Jesaja in Jes 40:1f und seine literarischen Horizonte', *ZAW* 95, 1993, 400-419.

⁵⁴ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 242f.

⁵⁵ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 250.

⁵⁶ But Cyrus could have been at some stage the servant envisaged in Isa 42:1

Knechtsdeutung, is hardly conceivable apart from what *ex hypothesi* had already been said in Jeremiah of Nebuchadnezzar⁵⁷. The expression לַמְּסִידוֹ (Isa 45:1) indicates a concept in competition with the enthusiasm evidenced in Haggai for the restoration of the Davidic dynasty through Zerubbabel.

Schmid's dating of this particular slant on the book conveyed by 25:12 and 29:10 is based largely on its coming before the *golah*-oriented programme represented most clearly by chapter 24. That this is the right order is clear from the fact that chapter 24 "makes no move to legitimize the exile",⁵⁸ since on the understanding that the point had already been made in what was already existent in Jeremiah, it no longer needed to be established: the positioning of chapter 24 reflects the intrusion of the "more recent redactional element before the older". As for absolute dating, Schmid argues from (a) the stone-laying in the temple that Zechariah intended the seventy years to run roughly from 587, based on the notional overthrow of Babylon with Darius I's defeat of last rival, Araka, at Ur in 521; (b) the likely date for Isa *40-55, where Schmid depends on Kratz's conviction⁵⁹ that language applied there to Cyrus reflects application of מְסִידוֹ to Nebuchadnezzar in Jeremiah.

Uncertainty surrounds some details of Schmid's theory, but the argument for regarding Babylon's seventy-year supremacy as a factor in the book's understanding of Judah's relation to kingship is convincing. Isaiah has important parallels both with "Assyria as the rod of God's anger" (Isa 10:5) though later itself subject to divine judgement (10:12; chapters 36-37), and with Cyrus as Yahweh's shepherd (44:28) and anointed (45:1), who, unlike Nebuchadnezzar, is presented as one who truly knows Yahweh. As instruments whether of disaster or salvation, these foreign kings are implicitly contrasted both with David, Yahweh's initial instrument of blessing, and the unsatisfactory

⁵⁷ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 235.

⁵⁸ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 251.

⁵⁹ R. G. Kratz, *Kyros in Deuterocesajabuch*, FAT 1, Tübingen Mohr [Siebeck], 1991, 104 (for which Schmid's "184" seems to be an error).

series of kings held responsible for Judah's downfall. A particular area of doubt raised by Schmid's presentation is whether the editors who saw Nebuchadnezzar as Yahweh's servant, and Cyrus as his anointed, had room in their thinking even in the long run for a Davidic restoration. This can be pinpointed in Schmid's diagram⁶⁰ in which he represents with a question-mark the inclusion of 30:8f at the stage of the layer governed by 25:12 and 29:10, while at the same time making Isa *40-55 the finale to this redaction.

Such lack of definition could be resolved, if two distinct stages were postulated, the first having the "seventy years" chiming with hopes for a "David" (Jer 30:8f)⁶¹ and the calculation of the period from 587 to 518 in Zech 1:12 (cf. Zech 7:1, 5) reflecting the same enthusiasm for Zerubbabel as seen in Haggai, and (albeit ultimately somewhat obscured⁶²) in Zechariah. This would be consistent with the notion that these seventy years were originally a bridge to the restoration of Davidic rule, and could accommodate the attractive proposal of M. Goulder⁶³ that the suffering servant in Isa *40-55 is none other than Jehoiachin. Besides Goulder's many points substantiating this equation, one might add the possibility that "he will see his offspring" (Isa 53:10) could well be a reference to hopes placed in Zerubbabel⁶⁴. But Zerubbabel's strange

⁶⁰ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 434.

⁶¹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 162f, argues that 30:8f have the effect of identifying the ruler spoken of in 30:21 (which *ex hypothesi* was already in place) as a new David, who fits the bill of being the other end of the seventy-year "bridge" provided by Nebuchadnezzar and his Babylonian successors.

⁶² By the treatment of Joshua, the High Priest, cf. H.G. Mitchell, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Jonah*, ICC, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1912, 104.

⁶³ 'Behold my servant Jehoiachin' *VT* 52, 2002, 175-190. Goulder, acknowledging some indebtedness to L.A. Bühler (1896), cited at second hand by C.R. North, *The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2nd edn, 1956, 51, and to E. Sellin, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde nach dem babylonischen Exil, Teil I, Der Knecht Gottes bei Deuterjesaja*, Leipzig: Deichert, 1901, 286, sees confirming contacts between Isa 52:13-53:12 and what is known of Jehoiachin from 2 Kings and a Babylonian ration order for the king and his five sons in *ANET*, 308b (see above, 124n4).

⁶⁴ There could be a connection here with the concern which we have sought to demonstrate in the development of Jer 22 – note particularly the use of לְיָדָי in 22:30: see above, 134f. J.E. Tollington, 'The Book of Judges: the result of post-exilic exegesis' in J.C. de Moor (ed), *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel*, 1998, Leiden: Brill, 186-196, has suggested that the moment when Judges was detached from the Deuteronomistic History to become a separate book might be related to the hopes placed in the restoration at the time of Haggai, and possibly the ambiguity (see above, 150n4) of the Deuteronomistic History itself as to whether there is hope for a restored monarchy may reflect the same circumstances. (See above, 143n66, 190n34).

demise might then have led to a second stage, involving amendments to Isa 44:28 and 45:1 to make *Cyrus* Nebuchadnezzar's successor: hence the shift of the start of the seventy years to 608, as it now stands in Jeremiah, to give an ending in 538. This would pave the way finally for the *Demotisierung* of kingship⁶⁵, seeds of which can be seen in Isa 55:3, and the possibility that the servant in Isaiah 52:13-53:12 becomes Israel (cf. Isa 41:8; 44:1,21; 45:4).

Since Jer 30:8-9 is still in place, the text in Schmid's view⁶⁶ contains competitive solutions to the question of what human instrument Yahweh's own supremacy is to be vested in after the end of the seventy years. But as, for example, in the treatment of Jehoiachin in Jer 22:20-30, one may conclude that the later was intended to *displace* the earlier, but with the earlier text left standing.

3.3.2.2 Other cases where \mathfrak{E} lacks a clause or a phrase.

(a) 21:7. *Entbabylonisierung* – for the term, see above, 213n20 – is probably not the explanation for the lack of any reference at all to the king in \mathfrak{E} here, since (a) Nebuchadnezzar is mentioned nearby (21:2, 4, 10); (b) it seems more likely that it would be the “enemies” who would slay Zedekiah and his associates rather than Nebuchadnezzar in person; (c) the readings $\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ and $\omicron\iota\kappa\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$ are some indication that when $\text{נְבוּכַדְרֶצְרֶצַר}$ was introduced, the first person singular verbs, consistent with אֲנִי were changed to correspond with this in \mathfrak{E} : the resulting third person singular (21:7b) is uncomfortable after the plural אֲנִי בְיָהֶם .

(b) 22:25. The problems surrounding Jer 22:24-30 are great (see above, 130-137), but there is no reason to suspect *Entbabylonisierung* here, since the Χαλδαῖοι are explicitly mentioned in \mathfrak{E} . Probably a late gloss accounts for $\text{וַיְבִיד נְבוּכַדְרֶצְרֶצַר מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל}$ in the pre-Masoretic tradition.

⁶⁵ For the term *Demotisierung*, see above, 41, 83n91;101n10; 145, 182, 183, 202n68; 205, 234n98.

⁶⁶ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 235 and n164.

(c) 25:26. The use of *athbash* – see above, 152n18 – with the word נְשֻׁבִים (= בְּבָל), unique in Jeremiah apart from the possibility that זְמַרִי in v 25 is a mistake for זְמַבִי (*athbash* for עֵילִם) is hardly early enough to reflect fears of Babylon itself, as H.McKeating suggests,⁶⁷ though absence of both in Ⓞ means that it could be an addition in ⓗ late enough to reflect an application to Rome, stigmatized as “Babylon” not only in Rev 17:1-19, but also in such Jewish apocalyptic works as 2 Bar 67:7, Orac.Sib. 5.158⁶⁸.

(d) 29:1. We have seen reasons for believing reference to Nebuchadnezzar here to be late; hence unlikely to have been in Ⓞ's *Vorlage*: see section 3.1a above.

(e) 52:12. Since Jer 52 almost certainly depends on 2 Kings 25, and since the reference in Jer 52:12 to Nebuchadnezzar appears in 2 Ki 25:8 (both MT and Ⓞ), either an omission in Jer 52:12~~ⓗ~~ was later made good by reference to 2 Kings 25:8 or, more likely, Ⓞ accidentally or deliberately omitted it.

While certainty is impossible, the evidence points in a general way to a tendency in the pre-Masoretic tradition, by no means exhaustive, to add the name Nebuchadnezzar after bifurcation with the Alexandrian. The *Entbabylonisierung* which accounts for significant differences between Ⓞ and MT in chapter 25 contrasts sharply with this.

3.3.3 Cases where “king of Babylon” is mentioned in both Ⓞ and MT but Ⓞ lacks Nebuchadnezzar’s name

3.3.3.1 Instances in Chapters 27- 29.

Ten instances of Nebuchadnezzar’s name in Chapters 27-29MT are missing in Ⓞ. Of these, 29:1 differs from the others in that (i) Ⓞ has no mention of the king; and (ii) the use of the name *tout court* in MT suggests late arrival. But, apart from 29:21, which resumes the normal spelling נְבוּכַדְרֶצְצַר, these are

⁶⁷ H.McKeating, *Jeremiah*, Peterborough:Epworth, 1999, 130.

⁶⁸ SB III. 816. If so, the suggestion that זְמַרִי in Jer 25:25 might represent the Romans by *gematria*, mentioned by McKane, *Jeremiah*, 639, is not incompatible with the notion that at an earlier stage זְמַבִי stood as *athbash* for Elam.

all distinctive with the later spelling נְבוּכַדְנֶאֱצַר. McKane⁶⁹ and Janzen⁷⁰ favour the shorter Ⓞ text as evidence for originality. Thiel⁷¹ concurs, though he regards MT as original in chapter 21. Stipp argues for treating passages on their merits⁷². D.R. Jones⁷³ has claimed with reference to findings in chapters 27-28, where all instances of נְבוּכַדְנֶאֱצַר are minuses in Ⓞ, that particularly names are later additions in MT. He argues that the original form was נְבוּכַדְרֶאֱצַר, that the earliest glosses (as instanced, Jones thinks, in chapter 25) are in that form, and that נְבוּכַדְנֶאֱצַר is a later development, reflected universally in Ⓞ. Such instances of נְבוּכַדְנֶאֱצַר in chapters 27-28 must, in Jones's view, be glosses. But these names have probably not been added to the text in the way he envisages. Certainly it is strange that these chapters should spell the names of Nebuchadnezzar and Jeremiah distinctively. Certainly both may be *in some sense* additions to an earlier text. But the peculiar evidence suggests that these chapters have reached us in a form reflecting redactors' preference here for a more recent manuscript with "modernized" spelling, as argued above. If so, Jones's argument is not quite apposite. However, the redactor might have preferred a manuscript more extensive in its scope; indeed, addition of the king's name probably figured in this expansion.

3.3.3.2 Other instances

Such a solution is favoured by the fact that in comparison with this cluster of examples in Chapters 27-29 there are only a handful of others where MT and Ⓞ agree in the mention of the king of Babylon when only MT has his name.

(a) 21:2 We have argued that 21:7MT⁷⁴ points to the late addition of any mention of the king (missing in 21:7Ⓞ), and this suggests that in the case of 21:2 too the name has been added in the pre-Masoretic tradition.

⁶⁹ McKane, *Jeremiah*, I. 620-623.

⁷⁰ Janzen, *Studies*, 44.

⁷¹ Thiel, *Redaktion*, I. 265.

⁷² Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 1-7.

⁷³ D.R. Jones, *Jeremiah*, NCB, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992, 323. See also above, 127n14.

⁷⁴ See above, 226.

(b) 32:28 The simplicity of **Ⓢ** by comparison with MT here commends it as being an earlier form of the text. Addition of **בְּיַד הַמֶּלֶךְ**, and the king's name, which creates the suspicion that the singular verb **וְלִכְתֹּב** has survived from a former stage, points to late elaboration.

(c) 46:13 This is a second introduction to material about Egypt in the OAN section of the book: commentators disagree about the oracle's date, but the genuineness of its contents has been claimed on the strength of its non-fulfilment⁷⁵. That **Ⓢ** lacks the name and that the form is different from oracles introduced by *lamedh* of reference suggests material added to the collection later than these and indicates insertion of the king's name only after bifurcation of pre-Masoretic and Alexandrian traditions.

(d) 49:30 and 50:17 betray by the imposition of the king's name on a line of poetry, like 51:34, late addition. That this has happened soon enough to be represented in **Ⓢ**, as in 51:34, makes omission of the name, if found in its *Vorlage*, generally unlikely, except when motivated by *Entbabylonisierung*.

4. Significant areas of agreement between MT and **Ⓢ**

4.1 The narrative from 37:1 – 43:7⁷⁶

Though analysed somewhat differently by Hardmeier⁷⁷, Pohlmann⁷⁸ and Stipp⁷⁹, this narrative has certainly undergone redactional intervention and there is wide agreement that a substantial body of this material was introduced into the tradition at the same time. Schmid has made an impressive case⁸⁰ that this development coincided with the redaction involving 25:12 and 29:10. It is interesting therefore to notice that this area of the book shows distinctively a large measure of agreement between MT and **Ⓢ** in the non-appearance of the

⁷⁵ McKane, *Jeremiah*, II.1126, cites Cornill for this view.

⁷⁶ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 62-4, suggests that 34:1-7* represented an integral part of this narrative, and if so, three further instances here of agreement between **Ⓢ** and MT in the use of expressions for "king of Babylon" 34:2,3,7 should be added. The fact that there is also agreement in the use of "Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon" in 34:1 may indicate, as does the form of the *Wortereignisformel* (see P.K.D. Neumann, 'Das Wort das geschehen ist...', *VT* 23, 1973, 203 n4) a later redactional introduction.

⁷⁷ *Prophetie, passim*.

⁷⁸ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 48-183; cf. also Hardmeier, 'Eröffnung', 187-214.

⁷⁹ Stipp, *Parteienstreit*, 130-151.

⁸⁰ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 248-9.

king's name. The sequence of fifteen examples is only disturbed twice, (a) with the passage omitted by Θ between 46:3 and 46:14 (MT 39:4-13), which breaks the connection of 38:28b and 39:14,⁸¹ and (b) 39:1, which introduces much too late the time and circumstances of the Jerusalem siege, and corresponds in an abbreviated form with Jer 52:4-16 and 2 Ki 25:1-12⁸². Furthermore, Hardmeier⁸³ and Pohlmann⁸⁴ are agreed that in the case of 37:1f a new transitional element, not belonging to the original narrative, has been included.

This evidence suggests that in early exilic times, and particularly in documents of likely Palestinian provenance, the king's name was not known or not used.

4.2 Agreements between MT and Θ in use of the phrase

נְבוּכַדְרֶאֱצַר מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל

Many passages thus indicate that Nebuchadnezzar's name has been added in the pre-Masoretic tradition to a *Vorlage* shared with the Alexandrian, where it was not present. This highlights instances⁸⁵ where נְבוּכַדְרֶאֱצַר מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל is common to *both* traditions. In each case, apart from the (unmetrical⁸⁶) insertion of the name alone (51:34), it is likely that all examples are in passages later than their contexts.

Thus (a) 46:2 and 43:10 are in verses connected with Egypt's fate, and since 25:9 mentions Nebuchadnezzar's threat to nations round about, both may be assigned to the layer which it characterizes. The interest in the year of Carchemish (46:2) suggests conscious interaction with the dating scheme associated with this layer. Pohlmann points out⁸⁷ that 43:8-13 disturbs the sequence of thought about *the Jews* in Egypt which chapter 44 continues from

⁸¹ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 95.

⁸² Pohlmann, *Studien*, 93-4.

⁸³ C. Hardmeier, *Prophetie im Streit vor dem Untergang Judas.*, BZAW 187, Berlin/New York: W. de Gruyter, 1989, 182.

⁸⁴ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 51.

⁸⁵ Of cases where Θ and MT both have a form for Nebuchadnezzar, if the reading of Θ^{AQ} is correct at 44:1 Θ (\cong 37:1MT), only 42:11 Θ (\cong 35:11MT) lacks an equivalent for מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל.

⁸⁶ See above, 208n1.

43:7 and may originally have been positioned elsewhere in the tradition. In any case chapter 44 is closely linked with chapters 21 and 24, representing the fulfilment of what is there prophesied. These passages (chapters 21, 24, 44) are convincingly isolated by Pohlmann⁸⁸ and Schmid⁸⁹ as part of a *golah*-oriented layer, a development later than that governed by 25:9 and 29:10, which shows a particular interest, *later than the interest in the fate of Egypt itself*, in the total destruction of all Jews not belonging to the Babylonian *golah*. It can be inferred that the king's name, being present in 46:1[Ⓞ] (=39:1MT) was not simply a feature of the kind of late redaction most obvious in chapters 27-29, where the name is missing in [Ⓞ], but is likely to have been original here in 43:10, 46:2, and, where *Entbabylonisierung* has *ex hypothesi* destroyed the evidence that [Ⓞ] might have provided, in chapter 25.

(b) The king of Babylon is named too in 49:28 (both [Ⓞ] and MT) in the introduction to the Kedar oracle,⁹⁰ so that, in contrast with the situation *within* the oracles (as in 49:30 [30:8[Ⓞ]], 50:17 [27:17[Ⓞ]], with the name probably added to the pre-Masoretic tradition after the bifurcation) in the only two cases where he is mentioned in the *introduction* to those oracles with *lamedh* of reference present (see, above, 32n6), this agreement between [Ⓞ] and MT is found.

(c) Besides 24:1 and 44:30, where the king's name originally figured in *golah*-oriented text (just as it figured originally in the earlier layer associated with 25:9 and 29:10), 34:1-6 too,⁹¹ if Pohlmann is right that its motivation is to prepare for denying at an earlier stage the kind of hope envisaged for Zedekiah

⁸⁷ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 163.

⁸⁸ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 19-47, 166-182.

⁸⁹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 345. We have argued (above, 48f) for the later arrival of chapter 21 than chapter 24, but their stance is nevertheless close.

⁹⁰ Here the *Q^re* uniquely has [Ⓞ] [Ⓞ]. The consonantal text may preserve an ancient version of the name, yielding some support to Schmid's theory of the foundational contribution to the book of oracles introduced by *lamedh* of reference. For early instances of *matres lectionis*, see A. Saenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 66f; cf. E. Waaler, 'A Revised Date for Pentateuchal Texts. Evidence from Ketef Hinnom', *TB* 53, 2002, 46n94. Equally, however, *matres lectionis* can be a sign of lateness (Saenz-Badillos, *History*, 116).

⁹¹ See further below, 6.2.

as a possibility,⁹² has symptoms of belonging to the same *golah*-oriented layer.

(d) Jer 39 is a disputed passage, but while there is disagreement about the extent of interpolations in an original narrative, it is generally accepted that at any rate 39:1f are intrusive⁹³, and the use of the name here is probably due to derivation from 2 Kings, as is, more certainly, the only other instance in Jer 52:4.

These results indicate that after the earliest stages (a), when MT and \mathfrak{G} both witness to the *absence* of the name, with Nebuchadnezzar called simply מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל, and before a phase (c), subsequent to the bifurcation of pre-Masoretic and Alexandrian traditions, when the name was freely added to the pre-Masoretic text, or accepted either from 2 Kings 25 (Jer 39:1, 52:4) or a distinctive source (52:28-30), there was also a phase (b) when the name, rather than being added in isolation, was *used from the start in conjunction with* מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל. This pattern (without excluding occasional continued use of the term מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל by itself) characterizes both material assigned by Schmid to the layer for which 25:9 and 29:10 are crucial, and the material where Schmid agrees in general with Pohlmann in finding a *golah*-oriented redaction.

4.3 Instances of the use of the first person singular or passive verb referring to Yahweh, with “Nebuchadnezzar” or “king of Babylon” as direct or indirect object.

4.3.1 *Conspectus of cases*

We deal here with: (a) instances expressing the notion of Yahweh handing over to Nebuchadnezzar either (i) land – viz. “all your lands”, \mathfrak{G} τῆν γῆν (34:5 \mathfrak{G} ≡27:6 MT); “this city”(32:3≡32:28; 34:2); or (ii) people – viz. (α) “Judah” (20:4); (β) Zedekiah, his entourage and those left in the city [21:7,

⁹² Pohlmann, *Studien*, 62.

⁹³ Seitz, *Theology*, 264n162, contra Pohlmann, *Studien*, 93f, who argues for the extraction of Jer 39:4-10 as well as vv1-2 from 2Ki 25.

37:17] or (γ) his אֲשֶׁר (34:21); (δ) Jehoiachin (22:25); (ε) the false prophets Ahab and Zedekiah (29:21);

(b) two instances which mention Pharaoh Hophra [44:30, 46:26]

(c) two instances expressing the notion “send and take” with a view to an attack on (i) this land (25:9); (ii) Egypt (43:10);

(d) one instance expressing punishment for Nebuchadnezzar (25:12).

4.3.2 Relationship with particular redactional layers

4.3.2.1 The most interesting of these examples is 27:6, and it is worth considering whether this use of the first person singular referring to Yahweh’s conferment of power on Nebuchadnezzar is not integrally related in the first place with the redactional layer which makes him Yahweh’s servant (or one such layer, if there is substance in the suggestion made above [225]).

One factor (a) which favours this is the contrast between 27:6 and 38:3. In the latter, which comes in a passage hostile to the king and officials, and at odds with its context, but not necessarily late,⁹⁴ (i) the passive is used, “this city *shall be given* (יִתְּנָהּ לַמֶּלֶךְ) and (ii) it is into the hand of the *army of the King of Babylon*. In contrast with what is likely (since the historical threat was from the army rather than Nebuchadnezzar himself, who was not in fact present) to be the earlier expression, 27:6 represents two changes: (i) the more interventionist use of the first person singular discussed above; (ii) the heightened emphasis (with the omission of “army”) on the person of Nebuchadnezzar, consistent with his being now the replacement for the Davidic king.

Another factor (b) is the possibility that 27:6 is modelled on the use of the perfect in אֲשֶׁר (Psa 2:6f) and יִתְּנָהּ לַמֶּלֶךְ in Psa 2:6f⁹⁵, where again a royal appointment is

⁹⁴ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 70-76, sees it as a doublet of the version which makes Jeremiah’s arrest due not to his attempt to leave Jerusalem, but the supposedly demoralizing character of his preaching.

⁹⁵ Note the emphatic אֲשֶׁר (Psa 2:6f), אֲשֶׁר (Jer 27:6), the possibility that all these perfects are performative (see above, 222n50), and the common concern with control of other nations.

declared. If so, the content of the coronation psalm is transferred to Nebuchadnezzar.

4.3.2.2 Several other instances are likely to be associated with *golah*-oriented redaction which was content to view Yahweh's action or relationship to Nebuchadnezzar in this way (21:7 [probably secondary], 21:10; 32:3≡32:28; 34:2, 44:30). Two instances can be put down to late imitation (20:4, 29:21). But 22:25 and 34:21, the only other instances, pose the question whether they can be confidently attributed to a particular redaction.

4.3.2.3 It will be convenient to discuss 34:21 in relation to the Babylonian army (below, section 6). With regard to 22:25, our starting-point is the link created by the figure of a signet-ring, applied to Zerubbabel in Hg 2:23 and Jehoiachin in Jer 22:24. If, as we have argued,⁹⁶ the latter is a counterblast to enthusiasm for Zerubbabel (enthusiasm found also in Zech 4), assailing his royal claims as Jehoiachin's grandson, it becomes important that the redaction layer in Jeremiah for which a period of seventy years is crucial is likely to be related to the seventy years mentioned in Zech 1:12. But, as Schmid points out,⁹⁷ whereas in Zechariah 1:12 this reflects a straightforward calculation of the time between 587 and the rebuilding of the temple (clearly crucial for both Haggai and Zechariah), redactors of Jeremiah had to adopt drastic measures to identify the period's beginning with Josiah's death (608), especially if it explains the mysterious (and often emended) reference to Jehoiakim's fourth year in 27:1. Clearly, if Jer 22:24f is intended to dispose of Jehoiachin as a figure of ancestral relevance for royalty, not only would it fit with the no doubt shocking attribution of the word "servant" to Nebuchadnezzar, but it would also fit Schmid's theory that Isa *40-55 was once attached to the tradition at this stage of redaction,⁹⁸ and if so, the replacement for Nebuchadnezzar envisaged

⁹⁶ See above, 135.

⁹⁷ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 225.

⁹⁸ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 159-161. This part of Isaiah also reflects the *Demotisierung* of kingship (Isa 55:3: cf. Williamson, *Variations* 118-20; Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 102, 163, 282, 290, 371), which is likewise, at least in its original intention, incompatible with any resuscitation of the Davidic line. Schmid, 252n 233, cites R.G. Kratz, *Kyros im Deuterocesaja-Buch*, FAT 1, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1991, 184ff (apparently an error for 104ff).

was not at this point a restored scion of the Davidic line, but Cyrus, Yahweh's "shepherd" (Isa 44:28), "his anointed" (Isa 45:1).

This complex of literary relationships probably makes Jer 22:24f comparable with the arrival of Cyrus in the Isaiah tradition, clearing the decks for this particular thrust. The reference to Nebuchadnezzar by name in 22:25, indicating later redaction, is absent from \mathfrak{C} , and likely to be secondary to $\text{בְּיַד הַכְּשָׁדִים}$.

4.3.2.4 The fact that this kind of first-person expression is used in 25:12 of punishment for Nebuchadnezzar is consistent with its belonging to a phase when preoccupation with Judah's calamity gave way to one in which it was seen to fit into a *plan* involving reversal of *Unheilsgeschichte*.

4.3.2.5 Pohlmann suggests⁹⁹ that 43:8-13 originally stood after *41:16-18, but in any case aims to exclude any conceivable Jewish survival in Egypt. This is symptomatic of the *golah*-oriented redaction typified by chapter 24. If so, as a later arrival, the distinctive $\text{הִנְנִי שְׁלַח וְלִקְחָתִי}$ (43:10) could be inspired by 25:9.

4.3.3 Thus conjunction of this first person singular usage with Nebuchadnezzar as direct or indirect object is probably a feature entering prose parts of the tradition with the layer controlled by 25:12 and 29:10, but not confined to this: if there was more than one phase of this redaction, there is no reason for not associating it with the earliest.

5. Nebuchadnezzar's army

In some references to Nebuchadnezzar, his army is mentioned: 32:2; 34:1, 7, 21; 38:3 and 39:1.

for the belief that the importation of Cyrus into Isa *40-55 is dependent on, or linked with this layer in Jeremiah. More recently Schmid has argued that Genesis 12 is a programmatic text, likewise with implications of *Demotisierung*, which embraces the whole sequence from Genesis 12 to the end of the prophets (*Erzväter und Exodus*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1999, 271).

⁹⁹ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 165.

5.1 Jeremiah 32:2; 38:3; 39:1

The word **צָוָר** does not occur in the book's earlier chapters or in the OAN, where *other words for army are used*¹⁰⁰. This makes it likely that the use of the word in Jeremiah originates in the narrative material in chapters *37-44, including 38:3, since later allusions to Babylon's campaign tend to omit the army out of heightened interest in the person of Nebuchadnezzar (above, 4.3.2.1). Schmid has argued¹⁰¹ that 32:2 is not only separate from vv3-5, with their different view of things from chapter 37 (so Hardmeier¹⁰²) and from 32:1, but also has the expression **עַל-יְרֵד וְשָׁלַם**, otherwise uniquely found at 37:5,¹⁰³ and so likely to account for 32:2. This verse is linked with chapter 37 by common concern with Jeremiah's inheritance (37:11)¹⁰⁴. In the case of 39:1 (see above, sections 5.1, 5.2), the text probably depends on 2 Ki 25:1.

5.2 Jeremiah 34:1,7, 21.

Chapter 34 needs more complex discussion. We begin with Rendtorff's position, accepted by Hardmeier and Schmid¹⁰⁵, that a version of chapters 34f was presupposed by the inclusion in the tradition of chapters *30f. As such, they represent a restriction of *Heil* promises for king and aristocracy, but confirmation for the Rechabites. chapter 34 now stands at the start of the narrative section, and if, when chapters 37-44* were incorporated, chapter 35 and probably 36¹⁰⁶ were also included, it is understandable if the original introduction might have been pushed forward to embrace this material. This is

¹⁰⁰ 6:22, 50:41 **עָמָּ**; 51:3 **צָוָר**.

¹⁰¹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 89n175.

¹⁰² Hardmeier, 'Eröffnung', 199-201. In 32:3-5, Jeremiah is imprisoned for his message; in chapter 37 for suspected desertion.

¹⁰³ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 87n159.

¹⁰⁴ This would fit Schmid's suggestion that 32:3-5 were added at the time of the *golah*-oriented redaction, while *37:11-43:7 were incorporated together with 43:8-13 (note **עָמָּ**, v10) at the stage of the earlier redaction programmed by 25:9, 29:10: "Sie geben die geschichtlichen Ereignisse der nationalen Katastrophe wieder, gleichzeitig ist aber durch 29:10 klar, daß die Periode des Gerichts für Israel mit dem Zeitpunkt des Abtretens Babels von der Weltenbühne beendet ist" (*Buchgestalten*, 249).

¹⁰⁵ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 208, cites Rendtorff, *Das Alte Testament*, Neukirchen Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 217, Hardmeier, *Prophetie*, 177f.

¹⁰⁶ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 209, says that while chapter 36 became the introduction to chapters 37-44 with an eye to the conclusion in Jer 45, it had originally been itself a conclusion, for which 37:1-10 then created a bridge to what followed.

indeed what happened according to Pohlmann and Hardmeier. In section 4.2 above, we indicated a factor militating against early inclusion of chapter 35, but our immediate focus is 34:7, which in its present position is juxtaposed to function as a circumstantial clause, but might well have been adopted earlier to introduce the account which follows (as *ex hypothesi* it was originally introductory to 37:3), giving point to the covenant which Zedekiah made with slaves. There is disagreement about the details, but Hardmeier's contention that 34:7 originally stood as the introduction to 37:3 has the particular merit of explaining the present ill-fitting 37:1-2¹⁰⁷, used to replace it, when 34:7 was moved. If so, it is of interest that there is no mention in 34:7 of the name Nebuchadnezzar, and it is his army rather than the king himself who is fighting against Jerusalem. The mention of Lachish and Azekah may also betoken proximity to the historical situation. These factors create a sharp contrast with 34:1, where (a) the king is named, though he was not there in person; (b) "his army" has had not only the addition of "all", but received grandiose supplements from "all the kingdoms of the earth and all the peoples"; (c) the more vague expression "Jerusalem and all its cities" appears. On the other hand, 34:1 and 34:7 uniquely have the expression "fighting (לְמַלְחָמָא) against Jerusalem". This evidence suggests that 34:1 was dependent on 34:7, representing a later redactional stage.

Pohlmann has a tentative theory to elucidate this: that there must have been some explanation for the Babylonians' withdrawal to prepare the way for 34:21, where this is referred to as something already familiar to the reader. Furthermore, one might have expected such preparation too (other than 37:1-10 which Pohlmann thinks is secondary, belonging to the *golah*-oriented redaction¹⁰⁸) before 37:11. Pohlmann believes too¹⁰⁹ that whereas now 37:1-10 offers no hope for Zedekiah (contrast 38:17, 20, where such hope is mooted) there must have been an indication of a second chance for Zedekiah at an earlier point in the narrative. He argues therefore that there was an original equivalent

¹⁰⁷ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 51, sees 37:1-2 as modelled on the framing passages in Kings.

¹⁰⁸ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 63.

¹⁰⁹ Pohlmann, *Studien*, 62.

of 34:1-7 which both described the circumstances and offered this kind of conditional hope. The present 34:1-7 hence aimed to preclude such a hope, by anticipating the encouraging words which stood there originally (and are still there in 34:3-5) with a precise rebuttal (v2). If Pohlmann is right, 34:2 probably depends on 38:18, 23 where similar language (without any mention of Nebuchadnezzar's name) is used in a *conditional* threat.

Whether or not the details of Pohlmann's theory are correct, the presentation of Nebuchadnezzar and his army in 34:1 fits in with other features of the *golah*-oriented redaction, such as insistence on inevitable annihilation for the "bad figs" (24:8): whereas material in the earlier redaction associated with 25:9, 29:10, omitting the king's *name*, always sees the enemy as the threatening *army*. But material assigned to this later redaction never mentions the army without implying (unhistorically) that *Nebuchadnezzar* was there in person.

As far as 34:21 is concerned, this contrast tends to strengthen the view that the account of the covenant with slaves (chapter *34) was an earlier part of the tradition rather than later. The fact that Nebuchadnezzar is not mentioned by name, something which distinguishes 34:7,21 from 35:11, is consistent with an origin for 34 earlier than the *golah*-oriented redaction. If it was a self-contained document, the use of the first person singular in 34:21 may have played a part in the development of interventionist language.

6. Summary

6.1 The occurrence of references to Nebuchadnezzar only in chapters 20-29, 34-52, while possibly due to the poetic intractability of the name, is likely rather to reflect later developments in the tradition.

6.2 The rarity and explicability in particular cases of the use of Nebuchadnezzar's name *tout court* in other passages in the Old Testament confirms that special reasons (such as late provenance, dependence on a source, or textual error) explain it in the few cases in Jeremiah, whether in MT or 6.

6.3 Where **6** lacks “Nebuchadnezzar”, it usually reflects its *Vorlage*. But by contrast the differences in chapter 25 between MT and **6** are best explained by *Entbabylonisierung*, that is, the removal of references to Nebuchadnezzar as (a) no longer relevant, and (b) unacceptable as making him Yahweh’s servant.

6.4 This supports the view that **6** eschewed references to Nebuchadnezzar as Yahweh’s servant, whereas these attest a redactional layer associated particularly with the concept of Babylon’s supremacy lasting seventy years. An initial calculation, as in Zech 1:12, worked with Jerusalem’s demise (587) to the temple’s rebuilding (518), and a bid to make Zerubbabel king. It would be consistent with the view that at this stage Isa *40-55 formed the finale for the book of Jeremiah, and that its servant figure in Isa 52:13-53:12 was Jehoiachin.

6.5 But, whatever befell Zerubbabel, the seventy years were reinterpreted to cover the period from 609 –539, making *Cyrus* the successor to Babylon’s supremacy. This was engineered with a dating system envisaging for the start of Nebuchadnezzar’s “servanthood” not the battle of Carchemish (605) but the death of Josiah, now seen as the last true Davidic king. Amendments to Isa 44:28, 45:1, making Cyrus Yahweh’s anointed, probably reflect the view that the Davidic line was defunct, and that the monarchy would only be restored on the basis of the *Demotisierung* seen in Isa 55:3-5. The hostility to Jehoiachin in Jer 22:24-25 with its rebuttal of Hg 2:23, and hence rejection of Zerubbabel, is likely also to belong to this second redaction associated with 25:9 and 29:10.

6.6 In five cases where **6** lacks clauses or phrases represented in MT, and *Entbabylonisierung* is not suspected, these are probably additions in **7** after the bifurcation of the Alexandrian and pre-Masoretic traditions. Though there are complications with the spelling of נְבוּכַדְרֶצְאֶר, best explained by the use of a more recent and fuller manuscript in chapters 27-29, this in itself points to a tendency in the pre-Masoretic tradition to add this and other names. Cases where מְלִךְ כְּבֹל has been supplemented with נְבוּכַדְרֶצְאֶר outside these

chapters are few, but the explanation is confirmed by instances where **Ⓞ** has retained the name, some illustrating the tendency of the Hebrew tradition to add it, even in poetry, before the bifurcation.

6.7 There is a large measure of agreement in the narrative of chapters 37-44 between MT and **Ⓞ** in referring to Nebuchadnezzar simply as “king of Babylon”. The absence of his name in this source is confirmed by evidence that where the sequence of matching instances is disturbed, there is convincing evidence of late intervention in the pre-bifurcation tradition. Use of the king’s name therefore is a later, probably post-exilic feature.

6.8 Where **Ⓞ** agrees with MT’s use of נְבוּכַדְרֶאֱצַר מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל, apart from the sole case of 51:34, in which at least the name has been added to the original poem, it is always likely that a substantial passage containing this term from the outset has been embedded in earlier material.

6.9 Instances of Yahweh conferring power on Nebuchadnezzar in the first person singular are not confined to one layer of redaction, since 21:7 belongs to a *golah*-oriented stratum, while 27:6 belongs to the second of redactions envisaging seventy years of Babylonian rule. The possible echo of Psa 2:6f may make 27:6 the first example of this kind of expression relating to the Babylonian king, but more likely chapter *34 represents an independent document incorporated when 27:6 was written, so that 34:21 could have influenced subsequent instances, and a part may have been played by the widespread use of the first person singular with Yahweh as subject in poetic material, some of which at least was an earlier component of the tradition.

6.10 A heightened interest in Nebuchadnezzar himself emerges, particularly in texts crediting him with doing himself what is earlier attributed to his army. This is particularly clear in the contrast between 34:1, probably to be assigned to the *golah*-oriented redaction and 34:7, which represents older material.

7. Conclusions

7.1 These results (see figure IX.1) emphasize the stratified character of the present text:

- (a) Large (especially poetic) tracts make no mention of “Nebuchadnezzar”.
- (b) There is relatively old material incorporated in the book, where he is consistently called מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל.
- (c) Recent sources are betrayed *inter alia* by the use of the king’s name alone.
- (d) Small-scale deficits in \mathfrak{E} indicate accumulation in \mathfrak{H} , after the bifurcation of the two traditions, of gloss-like material, especially names.
- (e) Some such additions occurred before this bifurcation.
- (f) In view of the general faithfulness of \mathfrak{E} to its *Vorlage*, differences between MT and \mathfrak{E} in chapter 25 indicate an intermittent policy in \mathfrak{E} of removing references to Babylon.
- (g) The catastrophe described in the main narrative source is metamorphosed by making Nebuchadnezzar Yahweh’s servant, and seventy years of Babylonian supremacy become part of a beneficial plan for the Jews.
- (h) Later, this period of seventy years was reinterpreted for a situation after hopes of resuscitation for the Davidic line through Zerubbabel had been dashed.
- (i) Passages denying hope to Zedekiah in the interests of the Babylonian *golah*, are associated with a heightening of Nebuchadnezzar’s image at the expense of historical reality.

7.2 The picture is one of massive complexity, quite incompatible with any notion that the tradition dates *in toto* (or with minor alterations) from the sixth century BCE. The evidence presented here shows a fluidity in the text, which was still ongoing at the time of the bifurcation of Alexandrian and pre-Masoretic traditions. Some of the redactional changes are insignificant; others were highly tendentious and controversial. Some changes are glosses showing no particular redactional purpose or policy, while others bear witness to a definite editorial programme with far-reaching political implications.

Figure IX.1

Texts relating to Nebuchadnezzar

MT	3.1 pp 208f	3.2 p 210	3.3.1 pp 210-12	3.3.2.1.2 pp 216-26	3.3.2.2 pp 226f	3.3.3.1 pp 227f	3.3.3.2 pp 228f	4.1 pp 229f	4.2 pp 230-32	4.3 pp 232-35	5 pp 236-38	LXX
20:4										4.3		20:4
21:2							3.3.3.2					21:2
21:4												21:4
21:7					3.3.2.2					4.3.2.2		21:7
21:10										4.3.2.2		21:10
22:25					3.3.2.2					4.3.2.3		22:25
24:1									4.2			24:1
25:1				See p211								25:1
25:9				3.3.2.1.2						4.3.1		25:9
25:11												25:11
25:12										4.3.2.4		25:12
25:26					3.3.2.2							32:12
27:6				3.3.2.1.2		3.3.3.1				4.3.2.1		34:5
27:8						3.3.3.1						34:6
27:8												34:6
27:9												34:7
27:20						3.3.3.1						34:17
28:2												35:2
28:3						3.3.3.1						35:3
28:4												35:4
28:11												35:11
28:14						3.3.3.1						35:14
29:1	3.1					3.3.3.1						36:1
29:3						3.3.3.1						36:3
29:21						3.3.3.1				4.3.2.2		36:21
29:22						See p227						36:22
32:1	3.1											39:1
32:2											5.1	39:2
32:3										4.3.2.2	5.1	39:3
32:4												39:4
32:28							3.3.3.2			4.3.2.2		39:28
32:36									4.2			39:36
34:1											5.2	41:1
34:2										4.3.2.2		41:2
34:3												41:3
34:7											5.2	41:7
34:21										4.3.2.3	5.2	41:21
35:11		3.2										42:11
36:29												43:29
37:1		3.2										44:1
37:17										4.3.1		44:17
37:19												44:19
38:3										4.3.2.1	5.1	45:3
38:17												45:17
38:18												45:18
38:22												45:22
38:23												45:23
39:1									4.2		5.1	46:1
39:3												46:3
39:3												46:3
39:5			3.3.1									-46:4-13
39:6			3.3.1									-46:4-13
39:6			3.3.1									-46:4-13
39:11			3.3.1									-46:4-13
39:13			3.3.1									-46:4-13
40:5												47:5
40:7												47:7
40:9												47:9
40:11												47:11
41:2												48:2
41:18												48:18
42:11												49:11
43:10				3.3.2.1.2					4.2	4.3.2.5		50:10
44:30										4.3.2.2		51:30
46:2									4.2			26:2
46:13							3.3.3.2					26:13
46:26			3.3.1							4.3.1		-26:26
49:28									4.2			30:6
49:30							3.3.3.2					30:8
50:17							3.3.3.2					27:17
50:18												27:18
50:43												27:43
51:31												28:31
51:34									4.2			28:34
52:3			3.3.1									52:3
52:4									4.2			52:4
52:9												52:9
52:10												52:10
52:11												52:11
52:12												52:12
52:12												52:12
52:15			3.3.1									52:15
52:26												52:26
52:27												52:27
52:28	3.1											-52:28-30
52:29	3.1											-52:28-30
52:30	3.1											-52:28-30

Summary of results*

1. Introduction

The foregoing chapters end each with a series of conclusions summarizing the evidence of redaction in references throughout Jeremiah to various kings. The aim here is to examine cross-sections of these findings in order to elicit general results for particular stages of the book's development, and also to highlight the salient points at which the present work introduces fresh considerations.

2. Benchmarks

The long period concerned can be divided up partly by firm dates, and partly by evidence of new perspectives in the textual tradition. Thus, on the one hand, we know the date of Josiah's death (609BCE)¹ and the battle of Carchemish (605)²; of the capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians (597BCE) and its destruction (587/6)³. Nor is there reason to doubt that, after Cyrus's initial victory in 539 BCE, the final defeat of Araka (Nebuchadnezzar IV)⁴, consolidating Persian supremacy, coincided with the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple and the acclamation of Zerubbabel⁵, in round terms seventy years later. Nehemiah is usually placed c.445BCE⁶ and the writing of Chronicles shortly before or shortly after the victories of Alexander (333-323BCE)⁷. Translation of the Pentateuch into Greek can with moderate certainty be dated to c.250 BCE⁸ and the book of Ecclesiasticus to c.180 BCE⁹.

* References which follow are to page numbers and footnotes of the present work, except where otherwise indicated.

¹ For Josiah's death, see 64-66, 74, 76f, 83, 88f, 90, 93-95, 107, 120, 154, 221, 239.

² For this important battle, see 111, 115, 120, 154, 221f, 230, 239.

³ For Jerusalem's final collapse, see 9, 13, 29, 37, 87, 96, 98f, 113, 120, 144, 156f, 160, 166-9, 202n68, 239; and on its uncertain date, B.Oded, 'The last days of Jerusalem and the destruction of Jerusalem' in J.H. Hayes and J.M. Miller, *Israelite and Judean History*, London: SCM, 1977, 474.

⁴ See 196n52; 224.

⁵ For mention of Zerubbabel see 54, 59, 63, 131, 135, 141n59; 143-45, 146n75; 147, 150n4; 175f, 180, 183-5, 189n31, 190, 192n42; 193n46; 194-6; 202n68; 203-6, 224f, 234, 239, 241.

⁶ For Nehemiah, see 45n69; 90n12; 100, 182.

⁷ 84n96, 183n8.

⁸ 102n13.

⁹ This date can be calculated partly on the basis of the foreword to Ecclesiasticus by ben Sirach's grandson, stating that he reached Egypt in the 38th year of Ptolemy Euergetes (138

3. Approach

On the other hand, internal evidence of relative priority has led to assigning successive forms of the book to different points on such a time-scale. While W.L.Holladay produced unconvincing results, ascribing the bulk of the book to the prophet's own time¹⁰, K.Schmid in an equally bold but more persuasive analysis has isolated no less than ten stages of development, spanning a period from the late exile to the third century BCE¹¹. Starting from chapters 30-33, he seeks to show how discernible strata there are represented in the rest of the text. Some recent researchers have based their work on a single chapter or passage (e.g. C. Levin¹², S.Soderlund¹³, A.G.Shead¹⁴); C.Maier has adopted a two-pronged approach in a study of Jeremiah's metamorphosis into a *Lehrer der Tora*¹⁵, dealing first with key passages and then with occurrences in the book of the word *תורה* itself. The present work shares features with both those of Schmid and Maier: it likewise extends from a circumscribed area of text to other passages with similar redaction-critical tools to show how the thrust of the book changed over time, by analysing attitudes to the various kings mentioned. In spite of acknowledged uncertainties, there has in every case been evidence of layered development, usually deliberate, and this has justified the approach adopted to shed light on the construction of the book.

4. Results

4.1 The time of Jeremiah

It is not surprising that, in such a heavily edited book, clear evidence of the

BCE), and partly by the implication of Sir 50:1-21 that Simeon II, high priest 219-196, had been dead a number of years.

¹⁰ W.L.Holladay, *Jeremiah*, vol 2, Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989, 15-24.

¹¹ K.Schmid, *Buchgestalten des Jeremiabuches*, WMANT 72, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1996, 434-436. See above, 24.

¹² C.Levin, *Die Verheißung des neuen Bundes*, FRLANT 137, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985.

¹³ S.Soderlund, *The Greek Text of Jeremiah, A Revised Hypothesis*, JSOT.S 47, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985.

¹⁴ A.G.Shead, *The Open Book and the Sealed Book*, JSOT.S 347, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002.

¹⁵ C.Maier, *Jeremia als Lehrer der Tora*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, FRLANT 196, 2002.

prophet's *ipsissima verba*¹⁶ is scanty. The most likely place to find them is in the poetic chapters 1-20, particularly 4-6 and 8-10, where mention of kings is almost non-existent, though the phrase "foe from the north" plays a role comparable with that of the Babylonian king and army in later sections. We have suggested that at least where kings are actually addressed by Jeremiah (e.g. 13:18, 22:10), his actual words may have survived.

In appraising the prophet's stance, we concluded that historically he was moderately well-disposed towards Josiah¹⁷, sympathetic towards Jehoahaz¹⁸, but opposed to Jehoiakim¹⁹ and Jehoiachin,²⁰ because of both their background and their anti-Babylonian policy. He might well have been at the outset favourably disposed to Zedekiah²¹, a Babylonian appointee with a different background. But when Zedekiah rebelled, the scale of the disaster which Jeremiah foresaw suggests that he had scant hopes for the Davidic line as such. If all surviving words of Jeremiah are in verse, it is not surprising that the only mention in a metrical context of Nebuchadnezzar (51:24) has to be judged secondary²². But the impression given by the early core of chapters 37-44 is that Jeremiah consistently advised against resistance to Babylon²³. If the prophet was initially an enthusiastic supporter of Zedekiah, he must have ended by being bitterly disappointed, though, compared with the downright condemnation of later strata, he probably shared the originally much less severe verdict of these chapters, that the king was weak rather than wicked²⁴.

4.2 The exilic period

Omission of any mention of the prophet in text arguably borrowed from the Jeremiah tradition suggests that the writers of Kings²⁵ were initially

¹⁶ For possible examples, see 73, 75, 88, 92, 94, 102f, 110, 129, 134, 146, 151, 176, 192, 208.

¹⁷ 74, 104.

¹⁸ 94f.

¹⁹ 104.

²⁰ 104, 129.

²¹ 176, 192.

²² 208n1.

²³ 52n106.

²⁴ 165n72.

²⁵ 116.

antagonistic to Jeremiah, but we accepted H.-J. Stipp's conclusion that, as a result of the influence of Shaphan's family, Jeremiah was turned into a more ardent admirer of Josiah²⁶. As is seen also in the shared endings (Jer 52, 2Ki 24:18-25:30), chapter 36 probably indicates reconciliation with the Kings tradition with the implied comparison between Jehoiakim and Josiah²⁷. Fresh light was shed on this by the parallel contrast between Hezekiah and Ahaz in Isaiah²⁸, as also by the comparison with Jezebel²⁹. Probably the original collection of the *Königssprüche* (chapters *21-24) had the same outlook as Kings, equally blaming the monarchy – though also “false prophets” – for the disaster of 587/6³⁰.

4.3 Zerubbabel

Zerubbabel is, of course, not mentioned in Jeremiah. But there is the possibility that he left his mark – notably in the debate represented by 22:24-30³¹, where the interpretation offered, particularly of the questions in v28 and the reading of ⚭ in v 30, is distinctive. It is also possible that the mention of David in 30:9³² may reflect new hopes for the Davidic line in Zerubbabel, and that the changed meaning of עָרֵירָר from “banished” (ἐκκήρυκτον 22:29⚭) to “childless” evidences a change in the tradition from insistence on the permanent departure of Jehoiachin to negative concern for his offspring's prospects of succession³³.

Schmid, it is true, does mention this bid for the throne as a possible *terminus a quo*³⁴ for the *golah*-oriented redaction first identified by K.-F. Pohlmann³⁵. But the suggestion is never given serious attention and conflicts with Schmid's positioning of this layer after one characterized by the notion of seventy years

²⁶ 82, 85f., 91. But see also evidence of later reaction to this view, 79.

²⁷ 161n61.

²⁸ 116-118.

²⁹ 106-9.

³⁰ 52n102.

³¹ 131, 147, 189n31. See also other references in 242n5.

³² 195.

³³ 133f.

³⁴ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 268.

³⁵ K.-F. Pohlmann, *Studien zum Jeremiahbuch*, FRLANT 118, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, esp. 183-91.

of supremacy for Babylon³⁶. It would be surprising if Zerubbabel's career left no trace in the Jeremiah tradition: on the other hand, his uncertain fate, possibly at the hands of internal opponents or the Persians, could well account for the slenderness of the evidence, though it is possible that the "branch" in Jer 23:5-6 may have been connected with Zerubbabel³⁷.

Perhaps the most striking of Schmid's claims is his interpretation of "the fourth year of Jehoiakim" (Jer 27:1)³⁸. While we accepted its validity, making the seventy years refer to 609-539BCE, the reference to seventy years in Zech 1:12, 7:5, clearly implies a starting-point in 587/6BCE. This, we have argued, might indicate an earlier stage in the Jeremiah tradition, now obscured, when the seventy years meant a breach in the Davidic dynasty to be filled by Zerubbabel. After his demise (if Schmid's proposal of a stage when Isa *40-55 concluded the Jeremiah tradition is accepted³⁹) revised dating was necessary⁴⁰ to make Josiah the last Davidic king and Cyrus the royal successor (Isa 44:28, 45:1) in place of Jehoiachin, whom Goulder sees as the original "servant" of Isa 52:13-53:12⁴¹. If Schmid is right about dating the second of these stages to the end of the sixth century⁴², the first would fit the time a few years earlier when the debate about Zerubbabel was at its height.

4.4 The *golah*-oriented redaction

Schmid's proposal for this is that *21:1-10 and chapter 24 were introduced into the tradition at the same time⁴³, the latter both harking back to the visions in chapter 1 and with a structural role anticipating 29:30-33 and chapters 37-44. But it was argued above that only with the *later* addition of *21:1-10⁴⁴ was a reference to Zedekiah included in chapter 24 at v8b. Thus, although there is no doubt about interventions supporting those who were descended from the 597

³⁶ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 434.

³⁷ 189n31.

³⁸ 111n47;153.

³⁹ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 249, 315-23.

⁴⁰ See above, n38.

⁴¹ 225n63.

⁴² Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 250-252.

⁴³ 49.

⁴⁴ 46,49,168,179.

exiles, they cannot be reduced to one particular layer, and this accounts for the great difficulty in dating texts with this particular thrust. However, we agreed with Stipp, albeit with some reservations about his arguments, that its development could be monitored by the degree of antipathy to Zedekiah⁴⁵. Indeed we found that *golah*-oriented texts can be dated even after the bifurcation of the pre-Masoretic and Alexandrian traditions⁴⁶, with 1 Chronicles providing around the same time additional evidence of the issue's tenacity.

4.5 Nebuchadnezzar

The prolific references to the Babylonian king in Jeremiah far exceed the number of mentions of any other kings considered⁴⁷. This made it a distinctive and rich mine for evidence of differentiation within the tradition. Here we instance simply the five stages profiled by varying usage throughout the tradition. Besides the important phrase *נְבוּכַדְרֶאֱצַר מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל עֶבְדִּי*⁴⁸, which marks the introduction of the name, two phases in the tradition before this are indicated (a) by the phrase “foe from the north”⁴⁹ (which could, of course, date from a time before Nebuchadnezzar's accession) and (b) the expression *מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל* with name unmentioned⁵⁰, and two more after this, (a) the use of the name *tout simple*⁵¹ and (b) the Aramaicisation of the name with *nun* instead of *resh*⁵². Our distinctive conclusion in this last respect was that the only way to account for the later orthography in chapters 27-29 is to suppose that a different (probably fuller) manuscript was used for compiling the pre-Masoretic text in preference to that lying behind the much shorter *Ⓢ* version⁵³.

⁴⁵ 165-171.

⁴⁶ 171-173.

⁴⁷ 207.

⁴⁸ 217.

⁴⁹ 208.

⁵⁰ 207.

⁵¹ 208-10.

⁵² 228.

⁵³ 227f.

4.6 Jeremiah as teacher of the Torah

Maier, to whose work we have often referred⁵⁴, has engaged with Schmid surprisingly little. A significant element, therefore, in the present work has been to combine the positive results of their important contributions. While Maier has little to say about Schmid's overall scheme (apart from acceptance of *golah*-oriented redaction), she elucidates the way in which, probably in the late fifth century, when Judaism was developing into a religion based on the *Torah*, the image of Jeremiah was changed to make him a champion of this outlook. This arguably introduces a phase additional to those isolated by Schmid. It also serves to show how complex in Jeremiah is the influence of Deuteronomy. Deuteronomistic influence is widespread within the book's development, but in later times other parts of the Pentateuch also become involved⁵⁵. Admiration for Josiah, as evident later still in the work of the great enthusiast for the law, ben Sirach⁵⁶, could have become an important factor long after the mid-sixth century "Deuteronomistic redaction" often postulated in the wake of Thiel and Nicholson⁵⁷, making it difficult to be sure of the dating of material bearing the marks of Deuteronomistic influence. Emphasis on the law came to the fore, we concluded, at a time when the strength of Persian power⁵⁸ made any thought of the resuscitation of the Davidic line inconceivable.

4.7 Bifurcation of pre-Masoretic and Alexandrian traditions

The view has been expressed very recently that \mathfrak{C} represents a faithful translation of a text fundamentally more original than MT, suggesting that all variations in the latter can safely be regarded as later interventions⁵⁹. While this verdict is convincing in the case of the long passage 33:14-26⁶⁰, important for showing a renaissance of hopes for the Davidic line probably about the time of

⁵⁴ 7n43; 17n106; 25n155-58; 26n159; 27n163; 28n167; 29n171; 36n19; 38n27; 54n118; 55n122; 85n98; 98n40; 100n4; 114n56; 168n85; 173n102; 178n116; 182n3; 183; 243n15.

⁵⁵ Maier, *Lehrer*, 265.

⁵⁶ 84n97.

⁵⁷ 82f.

⁵⁸ 54, 182f, 190, 202n68, 203, 205f, 213.

⁵⁹ A. Aejmelaeus, 'Jeremiah at the turning point of history: the function of Jer 25:1-14 in the book of Jeremiah,' *JT* 52, 2002, 459-482.

⁶⁰ 197f.

the turmoil caused by Alexander⁶¹, there is no reason to doubt Schmid's analysis of the absence of references to Nebuchadnezzar in chapter 25⁶² as *Entbabylonisierung*⁶² effected by scribes either unwilling to countenance Nebuchadnezzar as Yahweh's servant⁶³ or seeing reference to Babylon as outdated. When a choice has to be made between ⁶ and MT the policy must certainly be to allow that the Alexandrian tradition was in general more conservative, but not to see it as always unswervingly faithful to the thrust of its *Vorlage*. Some of its alterations are arguably radical⁶⁴.

4.8 Later developments

A text does not have to be altered to undergo change of meaning, as we shall see in the concluding chapter. But we have noted that Jerome, Rashi and Qimhi shared the conviction that "Shallum" referred to Jehoiachin⁶⁵, and suggested that this was due to the same ongoing admiration for Josiah which we also saw in ben Sirach: that the prophet should forbid further mourning for him was intolerable⁶⁶.

4.9 General

The present work was first undertaken with an eye to resolving the sharp differences between Holladay's conviction that the book of Jeremiah dated almost entirely from the prophet's own era, and the view shared by McKane and Carroll that the book had developed, as Duhm put it, over many years like an unattended wood⁶⁷. Against Carroll, we have concluded that there are important links with the historical Jeremiah, and largely agreeing with Schmid, we have accepted, unlike Thiel and Nicholson, who envisaged only one important (Deuteronomistic) redaction, and against McKane's concept of an undirected rolling corpus, that a succession of important phases of redaction have deliberately imparted to the book a series of distinctive thrusts. As is clear

⁶¹ 203f.

⁶² 212n16, 213n20; 231, 239.

⁶³ 213, 217.

⁶⁴ 212, 214.

⁶⁵ 90.

⁶⁶ 90.

⁶⁷ Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia*, Leipzig and Tübingen: J.C.B.Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1901, XX.

from the foregoing paragraphs, we have diverged from Schmid's position both in the argument for a stage represented in the text of support for Zerubbabel, and in acceptance of Maier's view that Jeremiah was portrayed at a relatively late stage as a teacher of the law. We have also noted that respect for Deuteronomic teaching and concern for the whole diaspora, as opposed to simply the 597 *golah*, are both features⁶⁸ which probably surfaced at more than one juncture, in the same way that enthusiasm for the Davidic line oscillated throughout the development of the book.

Because diametrically opposed opinions are left extant in the text, and we are confronted with the record of a debate, the question of the monarchy in particular is left unresolved, as also crucially the issue raised by the probably late and certainly anti-deuteronomic passage 31:31-34. This may not be any surprise from some points of view. But it presents the Christian reader with an obvious problem as to how the book should be read as Christian scripture, and this is a key issue to be addressed in the final chapter.

5. Issues for further research

The theory, associated with R.G.Kratz, O.H.Steck and K.Schmid, that there was a point when Isaiah *40-55 was regarded as the end of a particular redaction of the Jeremiah tradition, is one that has been mentioned above⁶⁹, but clearly opens up questions beyond the scope of the present work, since it is not yet clear how such a view could relate to the links between those chapters and Isa *1-39⁷⁰. On the other hand, the interaction between material in Kings and both Isaiah and Jeremiah suggests that there could have been a stage when much of the scriptural tradition, however diverse its origin, might have found its way into a common redactional melting-pot. That the servant of Yahweh in Isa 40-55 might have been originally Jehoiachin, then Cyrus, then the people of Israel,

⁶⁸ Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, 265, 273f, envisages the possibility of two phases of diaspora-orientation.

⁶⁹ 223. See also above, 247n39.

⁷⁰ For a succinct recent discussion of the tendency now to give greater weight than formerly to the factors which unite the whole book of Isaiah, see R.Coggins, 'Isaiah' in J.Barton and J.Muddiman (edd), *OBC*, 434.

indicating a similar process of redactional development in the Isaiah tradition to what we have argued to be the case for Jeremiah – that is, one which reflects major ideological objectives rather than haphazard sedimentation – is something for which we have been bold enough to outline a *prima facie* case, while remaining well aware that it requires much more exploration.

The same is true of the suggestion incorporated in the diagram to illustrate section 4.8 in chapter V, – that, corresponding with the pattern claimed by Schmid of a period of *Heilsgeschichte* (Gen 1-Jos 24), followed first by its opposite (Jg 1- 2 Ki 25) and then by proclamation of future *Heilsgeschichte* in the *Corpus propheticum*, the three major prophets (*Isa 1-39, *Jeremiah and *Ezekiel) are intended redactionally to constitute a similar trilogy⁷¹. Again, if there is a *prima facie* case, it is one which requires more investigation than was appropriate within the limits imposed by the aims of the present work.

⁷¹ 118.