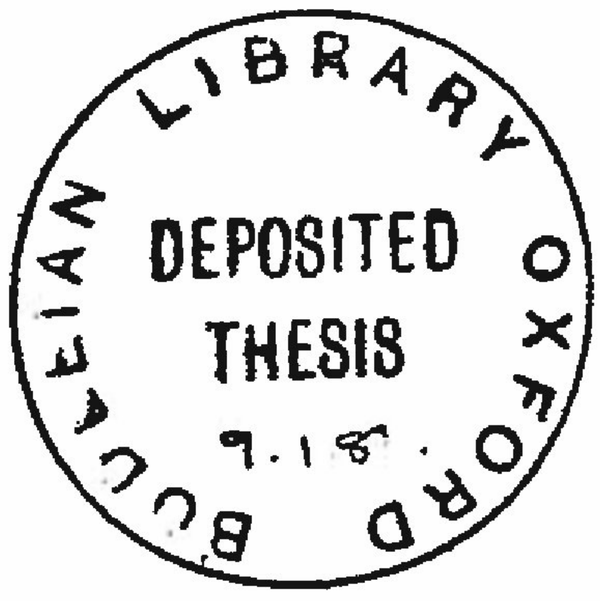
THE LANGUAGE OF COVENANT

A Structural Analysis of the Semantic Field of ברית in Biblical Hebrew, with Particular Reference to the Book of Genesis

by

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PREFACE.

The centrality of covenant in the Hebrew scriptures has made it a theme of enduring significance. Accordingly, the language of covenant has acquired a corresponding importance. Whereas study of the language of covenant has not been neglected by scholars, the combination of impetus from "Biblical Theology," together with the tenets of traditional philology, has resulted in word-studies, which regard words as convenient labels for concepts. Some of the dangers of this approach have been exposed by Dr. James Barr, and, in the realm of New Testament Greek research, Dr. Nigel Turner has sought to explore the value of syntax and style.* The present dissertation constitutes a determined attempt to discover the values of a similar approach to Biblical Hebrew semantics, in the restricted field of covenant language. If this approach has an appearance of being somewhat pedestrian, then that is due, in large part, to the absence of the kind of literature that facilitates the task of lexicography; the spadework of structural semantics is yet to be done, and the ground is fallow. The aim, therefore, is an articulation of the semantic structures of language associated with בְּרִית. If any justification for this be required, then this writer's apology will be the same as Dr. Turner's: "my apology must be that the mechanics of speech provide a delicate and flexible means of communication which is worth scientific study." ‡

In the execution of this project, after a selective review of the current position of scholarship, as it affects the study, (Part I), a systematic methodology is constructed according to the fundamental axioms established by Ferdinand de Saussure,** which organise the semantic field according to paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations of contrast, and extend to an hypothesis of compositional grammar (Part II). When the experimental application of these principles is undertaken, commencing with the principal term, ברית, with particular reference to the compositional paradigm supplied by the Genesis narratives, a far different course from that set by traditional linguistics is followed, and the result is an authentic synthesis of this portion of Biblical Hebrew language (Part III). The emphasis, all the time, is on the necessity of a valid methodology; this is vindicated at every turn, in the reconstruction of the core-structures of the ברית-field in various places in the literature. On this basis, not only are the linguistic associations of ברית elucidated, but also, certain misconceptions are dispelled and answers are provided for several problematic questions of meaning (Part IV). Thus, although this type of linguistic research is in its infancy, the value of its contribution to Biblical Studies in general, is demonstrated. It is hoped that the concern with detail and the repetition of principle will not try the patience of the reader to its limits, rather, that the end will be perceived and appreciated.

Certain technical points require comment. First of all, throughout the discourse, there is rather more cross-reference to the text, in the footnotes, than would perhaps be usual, but this has been a matter of policy, to secure the consistent implementation of the principles established in the course of the argument. Secondly, the bibliography is selective; fuller account of literature on covenant can be found in books such as McCarthy's "Treaty and Covenant."

Finally, the writer would record his sincere gratitude to all who have assisted him in bringing this research to a conclusion. In particular, a debt of gratitude is owed to Dr. P.C.H.Wernberg-Møller for his valuable comments and criticism, over a period of four years. Thanks are due, also, to Mr. A.Bentley-Taylor and Mr. R.Haines, headmasters of Westbourne Schools, who provided the equipment and materials necessary to the production of the final document, and with them, to Mr. R.Barnett, whose constant friendship and example in scholarship have been an inspiration for many years. The finished dissertation stands as much a tribute to the kindness of these as it does to the writer's endeavours to emulate them.

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* Cf. Bibliography.

‡ N.Turner, Grammatical Insights into the New Testament, p.1.

** F. de Saussure, Cours de linguistique generale.

ABBREVIATIONS.

The Books of the Old Testament.

Gen	Genesis	Eccl	Ecclesiastes
Ex	Exodus	Sol	Song of Solomon
Lev	Leviticus		(or Song of Songs)
Nu	Numbers	Is	Isaiah
Deu	Deuteronomy	Jer	Jeremiah
Jos	Joshua	Lam	Lamentations
Ju	Judges	Ezek	Ezekiel
Ruth	Ruth	Dan	Daniel
I Sam	I Samuel	Hos	Hosea
II Sam	II Samuel	Joel	Joel
I Ki	I Kings	Am	Amos
II Ki	II Kings	Ob	Obadiah
I Chron	I Chronicles	Jonah	Jonah
II Chron	II Chronicles	Mic	Micah
Ezra	Ezra	Nah	Nahum
Neh	Nehemiah	Hab	Habakkuk
Esth	Esther	Zeph	Zephaniah
Job	Job	Hag	Haggai
Ps	Psalms	Zech	Zechariah
Prov	Proverbs	Mal	Malachi

The Books of the New Testament.

Matt	Matthew	I Tim	I Timothy
Mk	Mark	II Tim	II Timothy
Lk	Luke	Titus	Titus
Jo	John	Phm	Philemon
Acts	Acts	Heb	Hebrews
Ro	Romans	Ja	James
I Cor	I Corinthians	I Pet	I Peter
II Cor	II Corinthians	II Pet	II Peter
Gal	Galatians	I Jo	I John
Eph	Ephesians	II Jo	II John
Phil	Philippians	III Jo	III John
Col	Colossians	Jude	Jude
I Thes	I Thessalonians	Rev	Revelation
II Thes	II Thessalonians		

Literature.

AfO — Archiv für Orientforschung.

AHw — Akkadisches Handwörterbuch, ed. W.von Soden, (Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1965).

ANET — Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, ed. J.B.Pritchard, (3rd ed. with supplement; Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press, 1969).

BA — The Biblical Archaeologist.

BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools for Oriental Research.
BDB	F.Brown, S.R.Driver, and C.A.Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, (Oxford, OUP, 1907).
BHK	Biblia Hebraica, ed. R.Kittel, (3rd ed; Stuttgart, 1937).
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar. Altes Testaments.
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
BZAW	Beiträge zur Zeitschrift für die Alt-testamentliche Wissenschaft.
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, ed. I.J.Gelb, B.Landsberger, et.al., (Chicago, the Oriental Institute, 1964).
CAH	The Cambridge Ancient History, ed. I.E.S. Edwards, C.J.Gadd, N.G.L.Hammond, (3rd ed.; Cambridge, CUP, 1970).
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly.
CHB	The Cambridge History of the Bible, ed. P.R.Ackroyd and C.F.Evans, (Cambridge, CUP, 1970).
DS	A.B.Davidson, Introductory Hebrew Grammar. Hebrew Syntax, (3rd ed.; Edinburgh, T.&T. Clark, 1901).
GK	Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar as Edited and Enlarged by the Late E.Kautzsch, (2nd English ed. by A.E.Cowley; Oxford, Clar-endon Press, 1910).
ICC	The International Critical Commentary.
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal.
Int	Interpretation.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature.

JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies.
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review.
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament.
JSOT Suppl.	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Supplement Series.
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies.
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies.
KB	Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros, ed. L.Köhler and W.Baumgartner, (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1958).
MLN	Modern Language Notes.
OTL	Old Testament Library.
PB	The Book of Common Prayer (1549 and 1662).
SBOT	The Sacred Books of the Old Testament. A Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text, printed in colours, ed. J.Haupt.
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, ed. G.Kittel and G.Friedrich, tr. G.W.Bromiley, (Michigan, Eerdmans, 1974).
TDOT	Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament, ed. G.J.Botterweck and H.Ringgren, tr. J.T. Willis, (Michigan, Eerdmans, 1974).
VT	Vetus Testamentum.
VT Suppl.	Vetus Testamentum Supplements.
WTJ	Westminster Theological Journal.
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZTK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.

Miscellaneous.

ἁ.λ.	ἅπαξ λεγομενον (hapax legomenon).
Akk	Akkadian
Ar	Arabic
Aram	Aramaic
AV	Authorised Version of the Bible (1611).*
BH	Biblical Hebrew
D	Deuteronomic Source, according to the Documentary Hypothesis.
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
E	Elohistic Source, according to the Documentary Hypothesis.
ET	English Translation (of a modern scholarly piece of literature).
Eth	Ethiopic
Φ	The Null Set
(H)	Helper (actantial unit).
J	Jahvistic Source (Yahwist), according to the Documentary Hypothesis.
LXX	Septuagint
MS	Manuscript
MSS	Manuscripts
MT	Masoretic Text
NT	New Testament
(O)	Object (actantial unit).
(Opp)	Opponent (actantial unit).
OT	Old Testament

P	Priestly Source, according to the Documentary Hypothesis.
P^g	The primary material of the Priestly Source.
P^s	The secondary material of the Priestly Source.
Phoen	Phoenician
(R)	Receiver (actantial unit).
RSV	Revised Standard Version of the Bible (1952).
(S)	Sender (actantial unit).
Sef	The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire.++
(Sub)	Subject (actantial unit, or grammatical category).
Syr	Syriac
Ug	Ugaritic
*	Hypothetical reconstruction (of form, or structure).

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*	AV	Authorised Version numbering, where different from the Masoretic Text, is followed by all the English Versions. In references, this difference is registered as follows: Mal 3:24 (AV 4:6).
++	Sef	Specific reference to the Sefire Inscriptions is given in the following manner: Sef i/A/12. (These three figures represent: text no./face or side/line no.)

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INTRODUCTION.

A Statement of the

Problem.

The present discourse seeks an answer to the question, "What is the nature of covenant language in the Hebrew Old Testament?" Speaking negatively, this question cannot be satisfied by a statement of the meaning of ברית in the form of an entry in a lexicon.[1] It is not satisfied by a theological exposition of the covenant concept,[2] certainly not by an examination of the etymology of ברית,[3] nor even by a study of the literary impact of the covenant formulary, as it is exhibited in the Hittite suzerainty treaties, for example, upon the writings of the Old Testament.[4] In part, the question is answered by a thorough analysis of the semantic field of ברית in its structural manifestation in the Old Testament. However, again negatively, this analysis is not complete when a discussion of possible synonyms and certain common phrases, in which ברית is found, has been undertaken.[5] Etymology, lexicography, theological and form-critical study, and recently, research into some of the narrower semantic relations contracted in covenant language, have all provided valuable information about ברית, but

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1. For example, BDB, pp.136f.

2. D.J.McCarthy, Old Testament Covenant. A Survey of Current Opinions, (Oxford, B.H.Blackwell, 1973), pp.53ff. W.Zimmerli, Old Testament Theology in Outline, tr. David E.Green, (Edinburgh, T.&T. Clark, 1978), pp.48ff.

3. TDOT, II, 253-255.

4. V.Korošec, Hethitische Staatsverträge, (Leipzig, 1931). K.Baltzer, Das Bundesformular, (Neukirchen, 1960). ET, The Covenant Formulary in the Old Testament, Jewish, and Early Christian Writings, tr. David E.Green, (Oxford, B.H.Blackwell, 1971).

5. Pierre Buis, La notion d'alliance dans l'Ancien Testament, (Paris, Cerf, 1976).

more is required in answer to the question posed above, in terms of establishing the role of the ברית-field within the framework of Biblical Hebrew.

Many examples could be given to illustrate the problem of the definition of covenant language, but one should suffice. I Kings 5:15-26 (AV:1-12) relates a trading agreement between Hiram, King of Tyre, and Solomon, King of Israel.[1] It is plainly stated that they made a covenant. The biblical account is profitless from the point of view of the form critic, in as much as it does not preserve a record of the contract, but is in the form of a brief historical narrative. In fact, it is only the presence of a concluding remark that initiates the reader into the idea that a covenant was at all present in their economic negotiations: ויכרתו ברית שניהם (v.26, AV v.12) "and they two made a covenant." Retrospectively, certain other covenantal marks begin to appear in the text. The preceding statement speaks of making peace: ויהי שלם בין חירם ובין שלמה (v.26, AV v.12) "and there was peace between Hiram and Solomon." Fensham explains that the word שלום had a long history of usage in connection with treaties, by reference to the comparative Semitic languages, illustrated by the use of salimum in Akkadian material from the middle Bronze Age onwards, in connection with interstate relations, signifying treaty-like friendship.[2] This is reinforced

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1. F.C.Fensham, "The Treaty between the Israelites and Tyrians," VT Suppl., XVII (1969), 71-87.

2. Ibid.

by expressions such as salimam šakānum and salimam epēšum which denote the action of contracting a treaty. However, a fine examination of the Hebrew text of I Kings 5 reveals that the precise semantic content of the two phrases היה שלם and כרת ברית is by no means clearly defined. It remains to be seen whether the phrase היה שלם refers to an already existing amicability, or whether it is virtually synonymous with the phrase כרת ברית. The question cannot be settled by reference to comparative evidence alone. Suggestions for a solution from that source require substantiation in terms of the Hebrew language itself. The nature of the problem becomes clearer when other aspects of the narrative are considered.

At the beginning of the narrative, it is stated:

כי אהב היה חירם לדוד כל הימים (v.15, AV v.1) "for Hiram loved David always." This is an indication of a prior relationship between David and Hiram, which Moran interprets as a covenantal association.[1] Two points are at issue here: first, whether or not there was a covenant between Hiram and David; secondly, the significance of אהב in verse 15 (AV v.1). Not long after he had been proclaimed king of all Israel at Hebron, David captured the Jebusite city of Jerusalem. Hiram sent messengers to him to build a palace for him. These events are described with remarkable brevity in one verse, II Samuel 5:11, an illustration of the severe selectiveness of the biblical historiographer. There is no explicit reference to a

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1. W.L.Moran, "The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy," CBQ XXV (1963), 77-87.

covenant, but two points of general relevance can be introduced: (i) a treaty, or covenant, was the normal basis for international political or economic exchange (at a peaceful level) in the ancient Near East,[1] (ii) the short description of events in II Samuel 5:11-12 is analogous to the longer account of I Kings 5;15-26 (AV:1-12), now under consideration, allowing for the differences which are entailed in the scenic presentation of the latter. If the analogy is purposefully structured by a similar pattern of events, or by accepted standards of scribal practice in recording these matters, it may be possible to use the comparison to supplement the first account. Following these indications, the existence of a covenant between Hiram and David moves one step nearer to being demonstrated, as does the covenantal significance of אהב. This being the case, כרת ברית (I Ki 5:26 (AV:12)) perhaps refers to an action of the renewal of covenant, rather than the inauguration of a new covenant. The factor of continuity is a well attested feature of extrabiblical treaties. It would seem to be an assumption in Amos 1:9, with regard to this very covenant, where Tyre is condemned for a failure to maintain the covenant of brothers.[2] Once a covenant had been entered, the parties were under obligation to keep it throughout succeeding generations.

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1. McCarthy, op. cit., pp.11ff. K.A.Kitchen, The Bible in its World. Archaeology and the Bible Today, (Exeter, Paternoster Press, 1977), pp.79-85. D.J.McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant. A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament, (Rome, PBI, 1978), pp.1-153. Delbert R.Hillers, Covenant. The History of a Biblical Idea, (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1969).

2. Fensham, op. cit., p.80.

After Solomon had completed his building programme in Jerusalem, he gave to Hiram twenty cities in Galilee, which proved to be a disappointment to the recipient. In reply, Hiram, in the biblical account, addresses Solomon as אח (I Ki 9:13), from which it has been deduced that the covenant between them was a parity treaty.[1] The distinction between parity treaties and treaties between a great king and his vassal is widely accepted as having operated in the ancient world, but in a recent study of legal language, Kestemont has denied the existence of the distinction.[2] The semanticist must approach the issue at two levels. Undeniably, there were covenants between equals and covenants between parties of unequal status. The question is, in the first place, whether this was a consistent and consciously made distinction in the ancient world, or the later imposition of scholarship. But even if the genuineness of the conceptual distinction be granted, it is a second question whether or not it received a corresponding semantic articulation. The use of ברית in both cases in the biblical text indicates the absence of a lexical distinction. However, Köhler, for example, sought to establish a distinction between phrases like כרת ברית ל (of disparity) and כרת ברית (with a plural subject) (of parity).[3] Perhaps this could be extended to a consideration of

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1. Ibid.

2. G.Kestemont, Diplomatique et droit internationale en Asie occidental (1600 -1200 av. J.C.), (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1974).

3. L.Köhler, "Problems in the Study of the Language of the Old Testament," JSS I (1956), 3-24.

the difference between עבד and אמה, functioning in opposition. However, there are other ways in which the difference between the phrases above and the nouns עבד and אמה could be interpreted without recourse to the conceptual distinctions developed by the mainstream of scholarship between parity and disparity.

The foregoing discussion of the language of I Kings 5:15-26 (AV:1-12), and related passages, in terms of the lines of association which connect ברית with other items of the Hebrew lexicon, has served to introduce the kind of semantic question which constitutes the concern of the present dissertation, that is, the problem of the definition of covenant language. Some of the issues involved in this task have not, previously, been clearly identified, and in many cases, the answers provided have been consequently imprecise. Such relations as that between שלום היה, כרת ברית, and אהב, or between עבד and אמה, require sharper definition. Conceptual distinctions (making/renewing, parity/disparity, and so on) require closer semantic investigation. However, more serious than such deficiencies is the absence of a systematic means of approach to the problem. Although, to a certain extent, the semanticist is dependant upon intuitive insight, perhaps prompted by comparative evidence, the definition of the semantic relations of covenant language can only be achieved by the construction and implementation of a systematic methodology. This alone will lend objectivity to the conclusions. The contention is that such an aim is both desirable and feasible. It will provide the means for

productive research, leading to the intrinsically ordered presentation of conclusions. The result will be a greater synthesis regarding the Hebrew lexicon. This is the intention of the present discourse.

PART I.

Premises.

A Statement of

the Basis of Discussion.

A. A Review of Previous Scholarly Treatments of the Covenant Theme in the Old Testament.

Frequent recourse to the theme of the covenant, on the part of many biblical scholars, has left a substantial deposit of learning, which must contribute to the premises of all subsequent discussion. From this heritage, which reveals a wide variety of opinion, can be drawn a number of principles and a significant body of information. These data fall into three main areas: first, theological assessment of the covenant concept within the framework of ancient Israelite beliefs; secondly, form-critical analysis of the literary formulation of covenants in the ancient Near East and its application to the Hebrew text; thirdly, semantic analysis of the word ברית.

(1)

The contemporary significance of 'covenant theology' arises from a complex background. The period of time from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, witnessed a reaction against the orthodoxy of the reformation in Europe, in which, the influence of grammatico-historical biblical scholarship, federal theology, developed by Cocceius,[1] and rationalism,[2] was directed towards the demolition

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1. Cocceius (1603-1669) is referred to in the following: W.Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament, tr. J.A.Baker, I(London, SCM, 1961), 28, fn.2. D.L.Baker, Two Testaments, One Bible; a Study of Some Modern Solutions to the Theological Problem of the Relationship between the Old and New Testaments, (Leicester, IVP, 1976), p.55.

2. Hobbes (1588-1679) and Spinoza (1632-1677) were major proponents of Philosophical Rationalism.

of the orthodox position regarding the inner coherence of the Old and New Testaments.[1] The dominance of higher criticism led to an historical, rather than a theological, understanding of the relationship between the Old Testament and the New Testament, and their constituent parts. Wellhausen's "Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels,"[2] which abandoned the idea of a theology of the Old Testament in favour of a reconstruction of the history of Israelite religion, based upon the conclusions of biblical criticism, signalled a separation of the systematic theological and the historical-critical approaches. The immediate implications of this for his treatment of the concept of covenant, which, from an evolutionary and rationalistic standpoint, requiring a study of the emergence of ideas in their proper setting, that is, the historical development of Israelite religion, saw the origins of the covenant concept in a form of totemism that was typical of

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1. The orthodox position of the reformation in Europe can be represented from the writings of John Calvin, who taught the essential continuity of one covenant through both Testaments, uniting the two, and for the present purposes, entailing the unity of the Old Testament. J.Calvin, The Institutes of the Christian Religion, tr. H.Beveridge, I (new edition (1962); Edinburgh, T.&T.Clark, 1895), 388.
"I readily admit the differences which are pointed out in Scripture, but still hold that they derogate in no respect from their established unity.... I hold, and think I will be able to show, that they all belong to the mode of administration rather than to the substance."

2. J.Wellhausen, Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels, (Berlin, 1883). ET, Prolegomena to the History of Israel, (Edinburgh, 1885).

primitive religion generally, developing a higher, ethical sense with the prophetic movement, and finally, giving place to a strongly legalistic emphasis in Judaism, are of less significance for the present discussion than the impact of the general methodological propositions contained in his thesis. One can observe, here, how theological treatises tend to create their own context of thought. Subsequently, between the years 1869 and 1889, Schultz published his "Alttestamentliche Theologie," set out in two major divisions, the first presenting a chronologically ordered account of the main phases of religious development reflected in the Hebrew literature, the second offering a more abstract and systematic treatment of the ideas represented in that development.[1] The resultant tension, which grew up between the two, is summarised by Jocz: "The result is that the theologian and the biblical scholar move in opposite directions and are increasingly losing touch with one another."[2] Further to this, doubt was expressed regarding the validity of the theological approach to the Old Testament. The nature of the Hebrew writings seemed to contradict the appropriateness of the method.

> "Nowhere does the Old Testament literature offer a presentation of Israel's theological ideas in abstraction, nor does it claim that they are the most vital and abiding features of its life."[3]

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1. H.Schultz, Alttestamentliche Theologie: die Offenbarungs-religion auf ihrer vorchristlichen Entwickelungstufe, (Göttingen, 1889).

2. J.Jocz, The Covenant. A Theology of Human Destiny, (Michigan, Eerdmans, 1968), p.14.

3. R.E.Clements, A Century of Old Testament Scholarship, (London, Lutterworth Press, 1976), p.122.

It would seem that the Hebrew scriptures do not present abstract doctrinal theses, but demonstrate a profound particularity with an existential, historical anchorage. Prevailing historicism was accompanied by the rise of a phenomenological approach, which further detracted from the idea of Old Testament theology, by emphasising the priority of the Israelite cultus. This was advocated by Mowinckel:

> "What is meant by cult? It has been said that religion appears in three main aspects, as cult, as myth, as ethos.... One and the same phenomenon may be seen from any of these three points of view. But the picture will be different according to which viewpoint we adopt. In the cult both doctrine and morals are expressed, and both draw power and new life from the cult."[1]

No doubt, spurred on by the increase of comparative material relating to the cultures and religions of the ancient Near East, revealing many parallels with Israelite culture and religion, more significance was imputed to the practices and institutions which constituted the forms of religion, than had been allowed hitherto. Biblical criticism, historicism, and phenomenology, had combined forces to undermine the foundations, and challenge the significance, of a theological synthesis of the Old Testament, by denying to it any essential thematic unity.[2] In an extended debate, a number of scholars have dismissed the concept of the unity of the Old Testament,[3] but even among those who grant its validity, there is disagreement about its definition: on one hand,

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1. S.Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, tr. D.R.ap Thomas, (Oxford, B.H.Blackwell, 1962),p.15.

2. R.Smend, Die Mitte des Alten Testaments, (Zürich, 1970). D.L.Baker, op.cit., pp.377-386.

3. J.Barr, Old and New in Interpretation: a Study of the Two Testaments, (London, 1966), esp. ch.1.

different doctrinal themes are canvassed, (the person of God, the person of Christ, etc.); on the other hand, different ideas about the nature of the 'centre' are held, reflected in a variety of terminology, (centre, focal-point, unifying theme, fundamental principle, quintessence, vantage-point, primary structuring concept, etc.). It becomes evident that the goal and the terms of the discussion have not received a clear and agreed definition,[1] which failure has vitiated much of what would have been, otherwise, profitable, and perhaps even conclusive, debate.

In the context of this diversion of Old Testament theology into historical channels, the concept of the Covenant of YHWH with Israel was advanced as a solution to the problem, the means of healing the breach between systematic theology and biblical historicism, when, in the 1930's, Eichrodt published his "Theology of the Old Testament," in which he stated the view:

> "It is high time that the tyranny of historicism in OT studies was broken and the proper approach to our task re-discovered. This is no new problem....-the problem of how to understand the realm of OT belief in its structural unity and how, by examining on the one hand its religious environment and on the other hand its essential coherence with the NT, to illuminate its profoundest meaning."[2]

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1. D.L.Baker, op.cit., p.384. G.von Rad, "Kritische Vorarbeiten zu einer Theologie des Alten Testaments (Ein Bericht)," Hennig, (1952), 9-34, esp.33. G.von Rad, Old Testament Theology, tr. D.M.G.Stalker, I, (Edinburgh, 1962),115, and II (Edinburgh,1965), 362. T.C.Vriezen, "Theocracy and Soteriology: Comments on A.A. van Ruler's book: Die christliche Kirche und das Alte Testament," Essays on Old Testament Interpretation, ed. C.Westermann, (ET; London, 1963), pp.211-223, eps. p.222.

2. W.Eichrodt, op.cit., I, 31.

This was to be achieved by the complementary operation of the historical, and the systematic, principles: avoiding all schemes of Christian dogmatics, one must allow the Old Testament to leave the stamp of its own dialectic upon the systematic extrapolation of what is essential and permanent from the totality of the record of Israelite religion, which "obstinately resists all efforts to subject it completely to systematic treatment."[1] Eichrodt concluded that the covenant relationship established at Sinai, at the beginning of Israelite history, constituted the fundamental, pervasive, unifying theme, which cuts across the divisions of literary sources,[2] even where the word ברית was absent from the text. Consequently, the task confronting the Old Testament theologian was the definition of the "theological meaning of the covenant concept," and the explanation of the way in which it unifies other aspects of Israelite belief.[3] This task was undertaken by several scholars. Jocz adopted the standpoint that "from beginning to end biblical theology is founded upon the premise of the covenant ... the unifying principle that binds and keeps together this fascinating and widely heterogeneous literature."[4] Rowley, too, presents a position of modified support, that "Mosaic religion was therefore a religion of the Covenant grounded in the

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1. Ibid., p.32.
2. Ibid., p.36.
3. Ibid., p.37.
4. Jocz, op.cit., p.13.

prior election and deliverance of God."[1] The effect of Eichrodt's thesis, which, naturally, did not go unchallenged, was to bring the concept of the covenant to the forefront of discussion and to set a number of scholars about the task of expounding the detailed implications for theology and scriptural interpretation. For example, attempts to explain the development of eschatology in Israel in terms of the frustration of political aspiration, or the extension of the lofty ideals of the cult, had now to compete with the theory that eschatology sprang out of the concept of divine election, found in the covenant and its promises.[2] Bright examined the conflict between Jeremiah and his contemporaries in terms of a "collision in theology."[3] Equivocation regarding the conditionality of the Sinaitic Covenant and the apparently absolute nature of the promises of the Abrahamic and Davidic Covenants created a tension between the prophetic demand for obedience and the foolhardy confidence exercised by the people in a false hope.[4] Thus, it has been argued that the covenant concept is an indispensible factor for the correct interpretation of the prophetic message. The tension noted, is exhibited in an apparent fluctuation in Isaiah, for example, between the conditional aspect and the declaration of judgment upon sin, in the Song of the Vineyard

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1. H.H.Rowley, The Unity of the Bible, (London, 1953).

2. J.Bright, Covenant and Promise. The Future in the Preaching of the Pre-exilic Prophets, (London, SCM, 1977)

3. Ibid., p.171.

4. Ibid., p.138.

(Is 5:1-7), and the certitude of promises regarding the royal lineage of David (Is 9:1-7). Similarly, Hosea's message, portrayed by analogy of his marriage to Gomer and YHWH's relationship to Israel, has been thought to be based upon the presupposition of the covenant bond, although he uses the word ברית infrequently.[1] Indeed, many of the implications of the covenant concept have been exposed, so that Zimmerli, for example, was forced to conclude the theologoumenon of covenant under the heading of "Fundamentals".[2]

The challenge to the position was soon prepared. In the first place, opposition came from those who adhere to the historical developmental perspective, which emphasises the analytic elements of diversity, in contrast with a thematic synthesis. It is objected that:

> "What can be inferred about the beliefs of ancient Israelites becomes more significant than the plain statements which the Old Testament contains. Eichrodt's theology is, at bottom, an attempt to reconstruct the basic ideas current in ancient Israelite religion rather than an assessment of the theological meaning of the Old Testament in the literary form in which we now possess it."[3]

Insistence upon taking due account of the literary character of the Old Testament, and of recognising features of development, was made also by Schofield, who resisted Eichrodt's appeal to a "static

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1. Ibid., pp.83ff., esp. pp.89-90.

2. Zimmerli, op.cit., p.48.

3. D.J.McCarthy, Old Testament Covenant. A Survey of Current Opinions, p.5.

unity" which was artificial.[1] In his writings, Eichrodt registered his acknowledgment of these principles, recognising that the literary character and historical development of the Old Testament have implications. It would seem that it was his mild application of such, resulting in their subordination to other principles, which caused consternation and complaint.[2] Secondly, the pervasiveness of the covenant concept was contested by Kraetzschmar, whose reconstruction of Israel's religious evolution resembled that of Wellhausen.[3] The absence of the word ברית from substantial portions of the Hebrew scriptures was taken as evidence for the hiatus in the use of the covenant concept. However, silence, in this respect, cannot be regarded as conclusive in the light of contrary assertions to the effect that the theme operates in the absence of the word as a premise of speech. At this point, it must be observed that the discussion has been impoverished by a failure to distinguish clearly between statements of theology and statements of semantics. Indeed, this major category mistake constitutes a frequent source of confusion throughout the debate. Here it is manifest in the simple assumption that the literary distribution of ברית is identical with the existence of the concept. That this is not the case is easily demonstrated, at the superficial level, by a consideration

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1. J.N.Schofield, Introducing Old Testament Theology, (London, 1964), pp.118-120.

2. Eichrodt, op.cit., p.32.

3. R.Kraetzschmar, Die Bundesvorstellung im Alten Testament in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwickelung, (Marburg, 1896).

of the use of אמנה in Nehemiah 10:1, or the effect of the ellipsis of ברית by encapsulation in Haggai 2:5, for example, the book of Haggai being one place where ברית is never encountered. It is clear that many circumlocutive allusions to the concept of the covenantal relationship contain no explicit reference to ברית, for instance, the declaration, "I am YHWH, your God."[1] Thirdly, the assumption of a univocal concept of covenant throughout the Hebrew literature has been challenged. Whereas Eichrodt seems to operate with a univocal concept of the total relationship between YHWH and Israel, rather than the more limited concept of covenant, the equivocation of that concept is granted by those who have explored the differences between the Sinaitic and Davidic covenants, as noted above. However, the confusion of theological and semantic categories again appears in this area. The theological question cannot be settled directly by reference to the meaning of ברית. Segrich defined the basic meaning of ברית as "Rechtsgemeinschaft," an unconditional legal union by disposition of the superior party, but Jepsen has argued that the earliest covenants were conditional.[2] It is an unproven assumption that the lexeme ברית connotes any distinction between conditionality or unconditionality, parity or disparity, although interpretation of the text may

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1. Zeinckel, op.cit., I, 158 and II, 70.

2. J.Segrich, "Berit. Ein Beitrag zur Erfassung einer alttestamentlichen Denkform," ZAW LX (1944), 1-11. A.Jepsen, "berith. Ein Beitrag zur Theologie der Exilzeit," Rudolph Festschrift, (Tübingen, 1961), pp.161-180.

establish the theological reality of such distinctions.

The settlement of issues of the centrality of the covenant in Biblical, or Old Testament, Theology, and the validity of the systematic approach to these disciplines, lies outside the scope of the present dissertation. Accordingly, this analysis of the rise of covenant theology, mainly under the impetus of Eichrodt's work, is not intended to be comprehensive, but has covered a narrow selection of points relevant to the matter in hand. Apart from the numerous theological implications of the position,, in the realms of exegesis, doctrinal synthesis, and phenomenological research into the ancient Israelite cult, not considered here, the line of development of covenant theology was one factor leading to the investigation of the extrabiblical, secular roots of covenant, raising issues of literary form and semantic content. The present dissertation is bound to pass quickly on to the latter of these areas. What is relevant, however, from the study of covenant theology, is, first, that this drew attention to covenant as a significant theme in ancient Israelite life and belief. It is not without significance that Buis, introducing a semantic analysis of ברית, comments,

> "Il y a déjà longtemps que les théologiens ont reconnu dans l'alliance un des thèmes centraux de l'Ancien Testament. Beaucoup y voient même le thème central autour duquel tous les autres s'organisent."[1]

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1. Buis, op.cit., p.7. (The author uses italics throughout, but the underline is that of the present writer, not Buis.)

Secondly, as will be seen, the questions, which were previously identified as significant on the theological plane, have determined, to a marked degree, the kind of question which has occupied the floor of form-critical and semantic debate. Orientation to the theological vantage-point appears to have been an inescapable precondition of, and imposition upon, the discussion of the meaning of ברית and language associated with it. This becomes evident in the study conducted by Buis, where his concern for an accurate translation of ברית into French is motivated by theological considerations: "Le mot français 'alliance' dit trop (il implique l'égalité des partenaires, l'absence de pression de l'un sur l'autre) et ne dit pas assez."[1] Covenant theology has undoubtedly served semantics well by provoking a fresh consideration of ברית, and the connection between word and concept is sure to be a profitable area of study, but it has also hindered progress in semantics by covert dictation of the questions to be studied and settled within that discipline. An attempt, therefore, is to be made to rectify this disadvantage, not by dismissing all theological proposition, but by preserving the distinction between the categories of semantics and theology.

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1. Buis, op.cit., p.8.

(2)

The discovery and decipherment of many ancient documents in Akkadian and Ugaritic forms the background to the comparative study of the Old Testament literature. Of more than forty treaties known among the documents which remain to the present day, by archaeological provenance, from the history of the ancient Near East,[1] at least twenty-one have come from the Hittite archives of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C., in a reasonable state of preservation.[2] On the basis of Korošec's observation, that these documents manifest a notable stability of literary form,[3] an analogy with certain biblical texts was explored and developed by Mendenhall, among other things, as an external criterion of verification for the historical thesis that the covenant was the basis of Israelite religion and law.[4] The fundamental literary form was as follows:

(1) Preamble: introduction of the speaker, or initiator;

(2) Historical Prologue: recapitulation upon previous relations between the parties;

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1. Kitchen, op.cit., p.78.

2. Ibid., p.80.

3. Korošec, op.cit.

4. G.E.Mendenhall, "Ancient Oriental and Biblical Law," BA XVII (1954), 26-46, and "Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition," BA XVII (1954), 50-76. These were published together under the title, Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East, (Pittsburgh, 1955).

(3) Stipulations: a definition of the contractual obligations entailed in the relationship to be established;

(4) The Document Clause: provision for preservation and regular reading of the document of the covenant;

(5) A List of Witnesses: the gods were invoked a witnesses to the covenant;

(6) Curses and Blessings: the expression of curses upon disobedience or disloyalty, and blessings for obedience and integrity.

Accompanying oaths and ceremonial details were rarely committed to writing.[1] Independently of Mendenhall, Baltzer drew the same analogy, but his analysis of "das Bundesformular" differed from the foregoing with regard to the third and fourth elements, which he defined as "Statements of Substance Concerning the Future Relationship of the Partners to the Treaty" and "Specific Stipulations of the Treaty," respectively.[2] Other scholars have since suggested a re-ordering of some of these elements.[3] The general contention of those who maintain that there is a formal analogy between the extrabiblical documents and portions of the biblical text has been, first,

> "dass ברית, ehe es auf religiösem Gebiet, also in Bezug auf Verhältnisse zwischen Gott und Mensch gebraucht wurde, auf profanem Boden heimisch, auf Verhältnisse

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1. Kitchen, op.cit., p.82.

2. Baltzer, op.cit., ET, pp.12-14.

3. TDOT, II, 266.

zwischen Mensch und Mensch beschränkt gewesen ist."[1]

Then, by way of extension and application of this general presupposition regarding the treaty-covenant analogy, the literary form was traced in a number of Old Testament passages, notably the Sinai pericope (Ex 19-24), Joshua's farewell address (Jos 24), and the book of Deuteronomy. In the case of Joshua 24, for example, the following analysis has been suggested:

(1) Preamble: כה אמר יהוה אלהי ישראל (v.1);

(2) Antecedent History: (vv.2-13);

(3) Statement of Substance: ... ועתה (v.14);

The fourth element, of individual stipulations, is missing.

The first three elements were thought to correspond with the riksu (or rikiltu) section of the Hittite treaties.[2] At verse 15, an element foreign to the Hittite convention appears, the act of confirmation of the covenant by an oath. Furthermore, the literary form remains incomplete, by the omission of the invocation of divine witnesses, and of blessing and curse.

Despite the often incomplete manifestation of the literary form, many scholars became convinced of its certainty within the biblical text.[3]

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1. Baltzer, op.cit., DU, p.6.

2. Ibid., pp.19-27, cf. also, pp.27ff., 31ff. AHw, II, 984f.

3. W.Zimmerli, The Law and the Prophets: a Study of the Meaning of the OT, (Oxford, B.H.Blackwell, 1965), pp.52-60. W.Zimmerli, "Das Gesetz im Alten Testament," Gottes Offenbarung. Theologische Bucherei, XIX (München, 1963), 286. G.von Rad, Das fünfte Buch Mose. Deuteronomium, (Göttingen, 1964), ET, Deuteronomy, (London, 1966), pp.21f. McCarthy, Old Testament Covenant. A Survey of Current Opinions, p.14. Scholars are divided between Baltzer's analysis and Mendenhall's.

Once the form-critical analogy had been accepted, for many, it became an instrument for specific textual and linguistic research. In the case of Joshua 24, Baltzer set a precedent by close comparison of Joshua 24:13 with Deuteronomy 6:10-11, Nehemiah 9:24-25, and four Ugaritic texts. Their juxtaposition revealed remarkable similarities of language, indicated in the following table:[1]

Josh.24:13	Deut.6:10-11	Neh.9:24-25
land	land	land
cities	cities	cities
		farmland
	houses	houses
	cisterns	cisterns
vineyard	vineyards	vineyards
oliveyards	olive trees	olive orchards
		trees

Ugarit:

No.16138	No.16204	No.17340	No.1762
	maison		
terre	terre	frontières	frontières
'castel'	'castel'	villes	
oliveraie	oliveraie		terres
vigne	vigne		champs
verger	verger	montagnes	montagnes
avec tout	avec tout		
(autre) chose	(autre) chose		

1. Baltzer, op.cit., ET, p.20.

Following Baltzer's precedent, many indications, that a proportion of the vocabulary of the Hebrew scriptures was taken from a background of international treaty documents, were found. The interpretation of the prophetic role as that of covenant mediator and guardian of the law formed the basis of an attempt to discover in their speeches the forms and motifs that belonged to ceremonial renewal of covenant.[1] In particular, the use of ריב was viewed as a covenant lawsuit, composed of a distinctive literary form, observable, for example, in Isaiah 1:2-3, and Deuteronomy 32.[2] Pursuing the case, Fensham compared prophetic judgments with the language of treaty-curses.[3] The accumulation of the lexical details of the analogy, especially between Akkadian and Hebrew, appeared to be, increasingly, impressive. Hosea 6:1-2, which reads,

> "Come, let us return to the LORD;
> for he has torn, that he may heal us;
> he has stricken, and he will bind us up.
> After two days he will revive us;
> on the third day he will raise us up,
> that we may live before him." (RSV)

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1. H.J.Kraus, Die prophetische Verkündigung des Rechts in Israel, (Zürich-Zollikon, 1957), pp.14ff.

2. K.Nielsen, Yahweh as Prosecutor and Judge. An Investigation of the Prophetic Lawsuit (Rib-Pattern), JSOT Suppl. Series, IX, (Sheffield, 1978). G.Ernest Wright, "The Lawsuit of God. A Form-critical Study of Deuteronomy 32," Israel's Prophetic Heritage. (J. Muilenburg Festschrift), ed. B.W.Anderson and W.Harrelson, (London, 1962), pp.26-67. H.B.Huffmon, "The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets," JBL LXXVIII (1959), 285-295. J.Harvey, "Le RIB-pattern, requisitoire prophetique sur la rupture de l'alliance," Biblica XXXXIII (1962), 172-196. J.Harvey, Le plaidoyer prophétique contre Israel après la rupture de l'alliance. Etude d'une formule littérataire de l'Ancien Testament, (Paris-Montreal, 1967).

3. F.C.Fensham, "Common Trends in Curses of the Near Eastern Treaties and Kudurru-Inscriptions compared with Maledictions of Amos and Isaiah," ZAW LXXV (1963), 155-175. D.R.Hillers, Treaty-Curse and the Old Testament Prophets, (Rome, 1964), esp. pp.85ff.

was analysed by reference to the legal usage of balatu and mūtu, metaphorical descriptions for the validity and invalidity of documents, employed in a treaty connection.[1] The significance of אב in several places was explained in the same way. Correspondence of Adad-nirari I to Hattusilis III requested "brotherhood", that is, a treaty for commercial exchange.[2] Moran's account of tubtu u sulummu was applied to טובה in Deuteronomy 23:7 (where it is linked with שלום) and II Samuel 2:6, by Hillers.[3] In similar fashion, חסד ("covenant fidelity, devotion"),[4] אהב (of the response of a vassal to his overlord),[5] ידע (= Akk īdu, "to recognise politically, to serve faithfully"),[6] and סגלה (= Ug sglth, "possession, property"),[7]

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1. J.Wijngaards, "Death and Resurrection in Covenantal Context," VT XVII (1967), 226-239. AHw, I, 99 (balatu); II, 691 (mūtu[m]).

2. Cf. supra, p.6, fn.1. CAH, II(2), 276-279. McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, pp.106ff.

3. W.L.Moran, "A Note on the Treaty Terminology of the Sefire Stelas," JNES XXII (1963),173-176. D.Hillers, "A Note on some Treaty Terminology in the Old Testament," BASOR CLXXVI (1964), 46-47. M.Fox, "tob as Covenant Terminology," BASOR CCIX (1973), 41-42. D.J.McCarthy, "bᵉrit in OT history and Theology," Biblica LIII (1972),110-121.

4. F.C.Fensham, "Ps 21 - A Covenant Song," ZAW LXXVII (1965), 193-202. McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, p.19, fn.34.

5. W.L.Moran, "The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy." Cf. supra, p.4, fn.1. N.Lohfink, "Hate and Love in Osee 9;15," CBQ, XXV (1963), 417. Jean L'Hour, La morale de l'alliance, (Paris, Gabalda, 1966),p.33.

6. H.B.Huffmon, "The Treaty Background of Hebrew Yadaᶜ," BASOR CLXXXI (1966),31-37. L'Hour, op.cit., p.34, suggests partial synonymy with עבד "to serve".

7. H.B.Huffmon and S.B.Parker, "A Further Note on the Treaty Background of Hebrew Yadaᶜ," BASOR CLXXXIV (1966),36-38.

are among the words explained by a covenantal association, grounded upon the form-critical analogy.

Revision of the lexicon at many points seemed to be an urgent priority, in the light of the implications of the treaty background, but the tempo of the argument suffered retardation because of certain weaknesses. In the first place, doubt was expressed about the certitude of the analogy. The majority of texts, where the event signified by כרת ברית is recorded, are historical narrative, and do not display the "covenant formulary". Thus, Weinfeld writes:

> "We must admit that the analogy is not a complete one, since what we have in Ex. 19-24 is not a treaty such as is found in the Hittite documents, but rather a narrative about concluding a covenant."[1]

Partial, superficial resemblance of texts like Exodus 19-24 and Joshua 24 does not establish the analogy conclusively. Perhaps the most clearly argued instance is that of the book of Deuteronomy.[2] However, McCarthy warned that the bulk of material produced from this standpoint should not delude one into assuming scholarly unanimity.[3] On the contrary, a number of objections have been lodged against the case and against its several applications, such as the historical conclusions about an early

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1. TDOT, II, 266.

2. M.Weinfeld, "Traces of Assyrian Treaty Formulae in Deuteronomy," Biblica XXXXVI (1965), 417-427. M.G.Kline, Treaty of the Great King, (1963). P.C.Craigie, The Book of Deuteronomy. The New International Commentary on the Old Testament, (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1976), pp.20-24.

3. McCarthy, Old Testament Covenant. A Survey of Current Opinions, pp.15-16.

date of the covenant in Israel's religious evolution,[1] but these are not of such direct concern here as the security of the linguistic extension of the analogy. Secondly, therefore, difficulties have been registered for each of the lexical revisions referred to above. ריב is not as characteristic of the prophetic lawsuit as might be imagined. In fact, of 127 occurrences in the Hebrew Bible, only 8 are in that context.[2] In the case of "resurrection" (Hos 6:1-2), the Akkadian counterparts, balāṭu and mūtu, are more generally used than the restricted treaty context.[3] חסד does not prove an allusion to covenant, because it signifies fidelity in other contexts, such as marriage.[4] To avoid multiplying instances, the general objection to the method is summarised as follows:

> "The problem with all this sort of thing is that the parallels with the treaties are possible, but other parallels are equally so."[5]

What is needed is an exclusive parallel, which constitutes thereby, the only possible explanation of the meaning of a particular word. At the root of this difficulty is the fact that the comparative method is never independently valid as an argument, but requires confirmation by the interior structures of the Hebrew language.

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1. Kitchen, op.cit., p.82. M.Noth, Developing Lines of Theological Thought in Germany. Annual Bibliographical Lecture IV, (Richmond, 1963). F.Nötscher, "Bundesformular und "Amts-schimmel"," Biblische Zeitschrift IX (1965), 181-224.

2. Nielsen, op.cit., p.22.

3. McCarthy, Old Testament Covenant. A Survey of Current Opinions, p.77.

4. Ibid., p.76.

5. Ibid., p.77.

Furthermore, in face of the impressive accumulation of comparative evidence, the danger of what might be described as a "pan-covenant" perspective on the lexicon must be avoided, as it will rob significant vocabulary of vital colour. Indeed, it will be demonstrated that, contrary to popular opinion, it is often the differences, the uses of terms like חסד in non-covenantal contexts, that give the ברית-field its strength and vitality.[1] Nevertheless, form criticism has induced in the semanticist the awareness of the need to take a searching look at the traditional understanding of certain words. It has had a forceful impact upon the question of meaning in Hebrew.

(3)

Semantic study of ברית and associated terminology has followed three directions, etymology, lexical statement, and philological analysis of usage, but in each of these parts, it has functioned as a pauper discipline, standing under the shadow of theology and form criticism. Instead of forming its own character, it has taken up the issues created by other disciplines. It is certain, that until the questions appropriate to its own concern are determined, and the principles for dealing with those questions independently formulated, it will remain in the shadow of these

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1. Traditionally, priority of consideration has been given to synonymy, positive collocation, and such like, and the negative factors of contrast have been relegated to an inferior post. Cf. infra, pp. 94ff., esp. p.98.

giants, and will continue to be a mere expedient. However, if the independence of semantics can be established, it may happen that it has something to say to theology.

Traditionally, semantics, or philology, has been principally concerned with the etymology of words, and the transparency of most Semitic roots has enhanced the process. The usual recourse to Arabic, Akkadian, and other Semitic languages, was followed in the case of ברית. Buis writes, "On pourrait espérer que l'origine du mot berit permette de préciser son sens."[1] Unfortunately, this has not happened, and scholars have remained divided: four hypotheses have been advanced.

(a) ברית could be traced to ברה "to eat" (II Sam 3:35; 12:17; 13:5,6,10; Ps 69:22(AV:21); Lam 4:10).[2] The morphological link is straightforward, י of ברית in place of ה of ברה, and ת being the feminine noun termination. As for meaning, it is suggested that ברה denoted the eating of a festive meal, accompanied by the ceremony of covenant making, and thus, ברית, which would be associated with בריה and ברות, both meaning "food",[3] would have

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1. Buis, op.cit., p.42.

2. Köhler, op.cit., p.6. KB, p.150. E.Jacob, Theologie de l'Ancien Testament, (Neuchatel, Delachaux & Niestle S.A., 1955), p.152, ET, Theology of the Old Testament, tr.A.W.Heathcote and P.J. Allcock, (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1958), pp.209ff.

3. בריה "food" (II Sam 13:5,7,10; Ezek 34:20, suggested emendation to read בריאה "fat" opposed to רזה "lean". ברוה "food" α.λ.(Ps 69:22(AV:21)). It has been observed that in four cases, the cognate verb is also used.

referred originally to the covenant meal, or animal. Of course, this works on the assumption that a festive meal was characteristic of early covenants in the Palestinian culture. Gradually, there was a transfer of meaning from "food" to "covenant". The morphological and semantic connection between ברה and ברית (food), is paralleled by that between שבה "to take captive" and שבית (with its alternative forms, שבות and שביה) "captivity, captives (coll.)".[1] The transfer of sense from "food" to "covenant" finds an interesting parallel in Greek, where σπονδή "libation" came to signify "covenant".[2]

This hypothesis has been subjected to several criticisms. In the first place, it can be asserted that the evidence of the Greek word σπονδή is irrelevant to Hebrew semantic structures. Secondly, it has been objected that ברה is rare in the Old Testament, אכל being the regular verb of "eating". How could such a poorly attested root produce such a significant term? This objection is invalid because it fails to keep distinct the present significance of a root and its historical background,[3] and also, it is clear that its rarity in common usage improves its potential for distinguishing the specific covenant meal from the common food. Thus, on this score, a derivative of ברה would

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1. BDB, pp.985f.

2. TDOT, II, 253-254.

3. This distinction is referred to as synchronic/diachronic under the section on Methodology, Part II, infra.

be eminently suitable for the task. Further, however, it is noted that אכל, not ברה, is the verb employed in contexts of eating covenant meals, as in Genesis 26:30. This line of argumentation exhibits a failure to distinguish between root and semantic field: the development of ברית is in no way dependent upon a similar development in the cognate verb, ברה. Finally, in this connection, this etymology supplies a rationalisation for the idiom כרת ברית, which, clearly, once signified the action of cutting the covenant meal (animal?) and then gained more general significance, "to make a covenant", the verb changing its sense under pressure from the noun, in this particular context of usage. The presupposition of the extralinguistic contextual factor of the presence of a festive, communal meal on such occasions, is not contradicted by the absence of reference to such an event in several biblical texts. Those records are not comprehensive in their details, but regardless of this, one might anticipate the separation of the idiom from its first moorings, as is seen in other phrases, הקים ברית, עוה ברית, and so on. Perhaps there is a retained awareness of that cultural background, however, indicated in the language of Jeremiah 34:18, העגל אשר כרתו לשנים "the calf which they cut in two". It must be concluded that this hypothetical reconstruction of the history of ברית is, at least feasible, as no sound objection can be successfully lodged against it.

(b) ברית could be traced to ברה (II) "to look for, choose",

ἁ.λ.(I Sam 17:8). The morphological connection is the same as that for ברה (I) "to eat," and the semantic development would give to ברית the sense of "decision, determination."[1] Again, a parallel semantic development is cited in support of the case

> "The main evidence for this etymology comes from the word hzh/hzwt, which is parallel to berith in Isa. 28:15,18. The verbs hzh and r'h have indeed the meaning of 'selecting' or 'determining' (cf. Gen.22:8; Ex.18:21), but the connection between 'selecting,' 'determining,' and 'pledging,' which berith actually implies, is not self evident."[2]

There are several weaknesses in the case. The existence of the root ברה (II) has been challenged. A cognate verb is attested in Akkadian, barû "to look, to see,"[3] but it is the text of I Samuel 17:8, where alone the Hebrew verb appears, that is in dispute. The Septuagint translation, ἐκλέξασθε (from ἐκλέγω "to pick out, choose,") would seem to suggest the reading בחרו. Alternatively, a repointing of בְּרוּ to בֹּרוּ, attributing it to ברר, "to purify, to select," is proposed, as this root is securely established in the lexicon.[4] Even if the existence of ברה (II) in I Samuel 17:8 be allowed, far more dispute has been

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1. E.Kutsch, "Der Begriff bryt in vordeuteronomischer Zeit," L.Rost Festschrift, BZAW, CV (Berlin, 1967), 133-143.

2. TDOT, II, 255.

3. AHw, I, 109.

4. BDB, pp.140f.

occasioned by the parallel indicated by Isaiah 28:15 and 18. It is argued that, just as חזה "to see" also means "to choose" and therefore its nominal derivatives חזה and חזות mean "decision", and therefore "covenant", so also, ברה (II) gives ברית the same sense. It is true that the major English versions are unanimous in the translation of חזה and חזות as "agreement", recognising the synonymous parallelism of these verses. In the case of חזה, this has been opposed: "doch passt dann das persönliche חִזָּה schlecht zu dem sächlichen בְּרִית."[1] This leaves חזות to be explained. Johnson states:

> "a connection with חזה ר (=حزى) remains possible, if one may think of these two terms implying something like 'foresight', the parallel with ברית being explained in terms of making 'provision' for the future: cf. the way in which we speak of the 'provisions' of a treaty."[2]

Alternatively, attempts have been made to connect these words in Isaiah with another root, חזה* (II) "to be opposite", cognate with Arabic حزى III "to be opposite" VI "to confront".[3] Unfortunately, this finds no support elsewhere in Biblical Hebrew. Other means of evading the difficulty, such as emendation, in both cases, to חדה, are without substance.[4] It is interesting to note that the

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1. Kraetzschmar, op.cit., p.52, fn.6.

2. A.R.Johnson, The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel, (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1962), pp.13-14, fn.3.

3. F.Zorell, Lexicon Hebraicum et Aramaicum Veteris Testamenti, Rome, PBI, 1968), p.230, following G.R.Driver's suggestion, JTS XXXVIII (1937), 44.

4. KB, p.285. N.H.Snaith, The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament, (London, Epworth Press, 1944), pp.94ff. Johnson, op. cit., p.5, fn.6.

Septuagint translators chose ἐλπις for תוחת, which would seem to favour the common etymology, חוה "to see," as explained by Johnson. However, such a variety of uneasy speculation about a single parallel, based upon a dubious connection of root, leaves the burden of proof undischarged. Further, acceptance of this hypothesis leaves the idiom כרת ברית opaque. Although a solution to this has been advanced in a comparison with גזר, which, according to Falk, has the dual sense of "cutting, deciding," and with the Akkadian verb parāsum, this connection is not strong enough to be persuasive.[1]

(c) ברית could be connected with the Akkadian preposition birīt "between, among."[2] Noth discovered a text in the Mari archives which contained the phrase "hayārum qatālum birīt X ū birīt Y," "to kill a donkey between X and Y." This expression, qatālum birīt, became כרת ברית in Hebrew, as in the phrase כרת עגל ברית*. When עגל was elided, the preposition took to itself a permanent nominal function. Thus, in some cases, the preposition had to be supplied by בין.

Although the phonological connection is made possible by the fact that Akkadian represented the shewa value by the vowel

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1. Z.W.Falk, "Hebrew Legal Terms: III," JSS, XIV (1969), 39-44; arguing for a synonymy of גזר and כרת. For parasum, "abtrennen, entscheiden," cf. AHw, II, 830ff.

2. M.Noth, "Das alttestamentliche Bundesschliessen im Lichte eines Mari-Textes," Gesammelte Studien, (München, 1960), pp.142-145. J.A.Soggin, "Akkadische TAR beriti und hebräische krt bryt," VT, XVIII (1968), 210-215.

'i' in the writing system, the hypothesis is doubtful. The phrase qatālum birīt is found once only in Akkadian, and it is hardly to be considered a well established idiom in that context, let alone in Biblical Hebrew, where the suggested equivalent has a different function. Generally speaking, Akkadian does not constitute direct evidence for Biblical Hebrew. More awkward again, is the strange transition from preposition to substantive. This is most unusual: "cette evolution n'est pas attestee."[1] Finally, the phrase כרת ברית very often carries its own prepositional modification. Consequently, the hypothesis is faced with the problem of a total lack of supportive evidence in Biblical Hebrew.

(d) ברית could be borrowed from, or cognate with, the Akkadian noun birītu, which means "clasp, fetter, bond."[2] Phonologically, the connection is reasonable, and semantically, the existence of a third Hebrew root, ברה* (III), is postulated, which would mean, "to bind." Thus, the parties are considered to be bound together by the covenant, the basic significance of

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1. Buis, op.cit., p.43.

2. Ibid., traces the origin of this etymology to Kraetzschmar, op.cit., p.44. Cf. also, O.Loretz, "Berit- 'Band-Bund'," VT, XVI (1966), 239-241.
biritu appears in AHw. I, 129f. under bi/ertu(m) II, "Band, Fessel," and in CAD, II, 252-255, where its wide range of meanings is analysed into four groups:
"1. in-between terrain, alley (between houses), balk (between fields and gardens), terrain surrounded by water, peninsula, spur of land, 2. territory, property held in common by neighbours, 3. central, median area, 4. link, clasp, fetter."

which is "obligation". The support of many languages is enlisted in this cause:

> "On peut remarquer que, dans beaucoup de langues anciennes ou modernes, alliance s'exprime par un mot dérivé d'une racine signifiant "lier". Ainsi en hittite: ishhiul (=traité) de ishhija (=lier); en arabe: ᶜaqd venant de la racine ᶜQD (=nouer); en allemand: Bund de binden (=attacher); en français: alliance qui derive du latin alligare (=attacher), etc. Enfin, l'akkadien désigne les clauses d'un traité par riksu (=lien), mais pas par birtu; il y a peut-être une analogie entre les évolutions sémantiques en akkadien et en hébreu, mais berit ne semble pas avoir pu être emprunté directement à l'akkadien."[1]

The conceptual connection derives further support from Latin which has vinculum fidei "bond of faith" and contractus "contract", and from Greek, where common terms for covenant are συνθήκη, but also occasionally, ἁρμονία, συνθησία, and συνημοσύνη,[2] which express the idea of "putting together", and the annulling of covenants is denoted by λύειν "to loosen". Akkadian dunnunu riksātē "to fasten bonds" (= to validate the treaty), and riksu dannu "a strong bond" (= a valid and reliable treaty), and Aramaic ולהקפה אסר "to strengthen the bond" (Dan 6:8) are added to the list. Finally, the phrase in Ezekiel 20:37 מסרת הברית "the bond of the covenant" is thought to derive an explanation from, and to support this etymology. The amassment of such evidence has led Weinfeld to deem it "the most plausible solution."[3]

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1. Buis, op.cit., pp.43f.
2. Iliad xxii.225; ii.339; xxii.261.
3. TDOT, II, 255.

However, the multiplication of detail gives only an illusion of strength, for the evidence of languages other than Hebrew is, in principle, totally irrelevant.[1] The development which occurred in Latin has nothing to do with semantic structures of Hebrew. It is proposed that ברה*(III) is cognate with Akkadian birītu and the verb barû, but these words were not connected with covenant language, but rather, Akkadian used riksu (from rakāsu "to bind"). ברה*is nowhere attested in Hebrew, the common verb being אסר "to bind, tie",[2] suggesting that if the idea of "tying together" was desired, then a derivative of אסר would have been employed, as happened in Aramaic.[3] Finally, the phrase מסרת הברית implies nothing about ברית. Indeed, the sense of מסרת is questionable, possibly belonging to the root יסר "to chasten", which would be favoured by the Septuagint καὶ διάξω ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ τὴν ῥάβδον μου followed by the RSV, "I will make you pass under the rod." But in the case that it be accepted that מסרת means "bond", there is no cause to conclude that this meaning also belongs to ברית. Evidently, the hypothesis remains doubtful on these grounds.

Study of these four etymologies for ברית reveals, not only that scholars are divided over the weight of the evidence, but also that their handling of the material is quite arbitrary. As s result, it is to be expected that different pieces of information

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1. Cf. infra, Part II, the concept of structural interiority of langue.

2. BDB, pp.63f.

3. BDB, p.1082.

will appeal to different scholars, sometimes depending upon the theological conclusions that they intend to prove. So, for example, Weinfeld reasons that "berith implies first and foremost the notion of "imposition," "liability," or "obligation," as might be learned from the "bond" etymology."[1] Consequently, principles of procedure are necessary, some of which can be given embryonic formulation by reference to these four proposed etymologies. In the first place, they exhibit the free and undifferentiated use of comparative material, some of which, Greek, Latin, German, French, and so on, is not relevant to Biblical Hebrew.[2] Because of a broad-based linguistic community, seen in roots such as זכר,[3] אמר,[4] the Semitic languages merit consideration, but here again, the undiscerning search for information from that source is capable of producing the most unreliable results.[5] In many instances, the contribution of the Semitic languages is weak. It may be asserted, as a fundamental canon of the comparative approach, that it cannot yield positive conclusions except those conclusions receive clear confirmation from Biblical Hebrew structure and use. Secondly, it represents a linguistic misunderstanding to base statements

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1. TDOT, II, p.255.

2. Such (Indoeuropean) languages are unrelated to Hebrew and the Semitic languages, both in morphology and semantics, except incidentally, as with loan-words.

3. W.Schottroff, "Gedenken" im alten Orient und im Alten Testament. Die Wurzel Zākar im Semitischen Sprachkreis, (Neukirchen, 1967).

4. אמר "to say", but N.B. amāru "to see", cf. AHw, I, 40-42.

5. J.Barr, "Hebrew Lexicography," Studies on Semitic Lexicography, (Firenze, Universita di Firenze, 1973), 103-126, esp. 116ff.

about current meanings on the history of a word, especially where that history is partly conjectured. Thus, whether or not ברית once meant "bond" in no way implies that it has now the fundamental sense of "bond" or "obligation". Similarly, if ברית once meant "food", it would be wrong to assume that every biblical occurrence of the word implied an accompanying feast. Again, usage is determinative of meaning. Thirdly, the usurpation of considerations of root over semantic field is evident when the meaning of ברית is tied up with the meaning of its cognate verb, ברה, as it is, for example, when the fact that ברה is not used of eating a covenant meal is used against the view that the noun ברית signifies, or signified at one time, that meal. Fourthly, discussion of the function of ברית (and of conjectured cognates) must be carried on with reference to other Hebrew words, such as בְּרִי and אכל, which have related functions. These points serve to indicate the kind of methodological confusion which has operated in the discussion of etymology and meaning. It becomes clear that issues of meaning can be settled only by studying usage and internal Hebrew relations. This embryonic statement of methodological principle must be substantiated by full analysis at a later point.

As with etymology, so with philology, those who endeavoured to define the precise meaning of ברית, by analysis of its biblical usage, often came to different conclusions. Thus, while Begrich interpreted ברית, originally, as an unconditional legal union (Rechtsgemeinschaft), developing the conditional aspect under

Canaanite influence, Kutsch took an opposing line.[1] He insisted that "Verpflichtung" (duty) better fitted the sense of ברית than the traditional rendering "Bund" (covenant).[2] Many similar points of disagreement occurred, but the details of each case are less important, for the present discourse, than the general methodological causes of the difficulty. A number of procedural fallacies can be detected in almost every philological exposition of the meaning of ברית. First, there is a "tendency to over-systematization."[3] Rigid semantic schemes, such as that of Kutsch, where כרת ברית את/עם meant "to impose a bond upon another," כרת ברית ל "to bind oneself to another," and כרת ברית בין... ובין... "to bind one another,"[4] are contradicted by biblical usage. The reason for the failure of such strict semantic categorisations is twofold: the nature of language is not such as to accept neat compartmentalisation;[5] the schemes proposed suffer from the effects of certain fallacious presuppositions, now to be exposed. Secondly, therefore,

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1. Begrich, op.cit. E.Kutsch, Verheissung und Gesetz. Untersuchungen zum sogenannten "Bund" im Alten Testament, BZAW CXXXI (Berlin, W.de Gruyter, 1973).

2. This position, was consistent with an adherence to the second etymology noted above, cf. pp.33-36, esp. p.34, fn.1.

3. McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, p.18.

4. Ibid. Köhler's scheme, noted above, cf. p.6, fn.3, falls at the same hurdle.

5. Linguists are not disposed to take a precise view of meaning, as is indicated by features of redundancy, J.Lyons, Semantics, I (Cambridge, CUP, 1977), 42ff.

the character of the philological investigation has been defined externally. It is theology that has decided the questions to be answered about ברית, such as whether it signifies conditionality or unconditionality, bilateral or unilateral obligation, parity or disparity, and so on. McCarthy suspected that this was the case:

> "Further, much concern about the exact meaning of the single word b^{e}rit, especially when linked with insistence that the b^{e}rit is imposed from on high (so the original study by Begrich in ZAW in 1944, which has been followed by a long series by other authors) or is concerned to show that the word means Verpflichtung cannot help but lead one to feel that there is more than merely scientific interest at work. There are theological positions, probably subconscious but still very real, in the background."[1]

These, he identifies as "a fear of 'democratizing' God," and a fear of limiting God, possibly connected with "certain philosophical views of God, the nominalist idea of the absolute who was bound by nothing."[2] This position is reflected by Schmidt:

> "Im Verhältnis zwischen Gott und Mensch scheidet das dritte Verständnis aus: der Bund ist kein Vertrag, d.h. keine Vereinbarung von Gleichgestellten. Gottes Bund mit Israel ist vielmehr ein Versprechen, das Gott gibt (vgl. Gen 15,9 ff u. a.), oder/und eine Verpflichtung, die Gott den Menschen auferlegt bzw. die sie - in seiner Gemeinschaft und damit in seinem Schutz stehend - übernehmen (vgl. Ex 19,5; 24,7; Jos 24,25; 2 Kg 23,3 u. a.)"[3]

The semantic confusion created by the imposition of theology, finds several ramifications, which, in turn, perpetuate this state of affairs. To begin with, many treatments of the word ברית demonstrate an obvious preoccupation with its implications for the covenant of YHWH with Israel. This has fostered neglect of

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1. McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, p.17.

2. Ibid., pp.17-18.

3. Werner H.Schmidt, Alttestamentliche Glaube in seiner Geschichte, (Neukirchen, 1968), p.105.

'secular' use of ברית for covenants between men, which is a vital area of consideration for the understanding of this term. However, perhaps the clearest manifestation of the failure to preserve an appropriate distinction between semantics and theology is encountered in what Baltzer noted as "the understanding of '<u>berit</u>' as an idea."[1] In another context, Barr has exposed the same fallacy.[2] He points to the terminological (and methodological) ambiguity of Kittel's "Theological Dictionary of the New Testament," in which, "you are never sure when you are dealing with New Testament words and when you are dealing with the realities signified by them."[3] Indeed, it would seem, in the case of the "Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament" that it was a matter of policy,

> "to present the fundamental concepts intended by the respective words and terms, the traditions in which they occur, and the different nuances of meaning they have in each tradition. It is in this area that lexical contributions can render a worthwhile service as individual building blocks in the process of reconstructing an Old Testament theology."[4]

The intention of deriving theological conceptual substance from Hebrew lexical items encouraged the search for translational values for ברית, which would give adequate expression to its "basic meaning" or "fundamental concept."[5] Although it is difficult to see what is

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1. Baltzer, <u>op.cit.</u>, ET, p.2.

2. J.Barr, <u>The Semantics of Biblical Language</u>, (Oxford, 1961), pp.206ff. Barr distinguishes two stages, from word to concept, and from concept to the reality behind it.

3. <u>Ibid.</u>, p.211.

4. <u>TDOT</u>, I, vi.

5. McCarthy, <u>Treaty and Covenant</u>, p.16.

meant precisely by the "basic meaning" of a word, terminology that is certainly not derived from the scientifically based discipline of linguistics,[1] it is not intrinsically faulty to undertake to establish a translational equivalent, but in the present climate of thought, this has initiated a process, which has resulted in the elaboration of the translation, at one step removed from the Hebrew word. This elaboration has gone in the guise of an attempt to define the word ברית by reference to the denotational aspects thrown up by the various contexts of biblical usage. Examples of this are to be found in Jacob's "Theologie de l'Ancien Testament," where the meaning of covenant is analysed into several components, such as "election," "bond," and "obedience,"[2] and in Kraetzschmar's view of ברית:

> "The Berith, then, is that cultic act whereby obligations or agreements of whatever sort were solemnly made absolutely binding and inviolable. Its context and therefore its meaning derive solely from the nature of the obligations; depending on what these are, it can mean covenant, agreement, treaty, solemn assurance, obligation, oath."[3]

So, too, Fohrer, talking about an "hiatus" in the history of the "b^{e}rit concept" during the monarchy period, reveals the same kind of confusion:

> "Contrary to the usual assumption, the relationship between Yahweh and Israel was not understood in terms of a

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1. Linguistic discussion of meaning will be pursued below, cf. Part II.

2. Jacob, op.cit., ET, p.212.

3. Kraetzschmar, op.cit., pp.40-41, cited by Baltzer, the English translation used here coming from Baltzer, op.cit., ET, p.3.

"covenant" during the monarchy. Quite apart from the fact that the word b^{e}rit probably does not even have this meaning, the notion of a b^{e}rit played no role in the centuries between the early nomadic period and the advent of Deuteronomic theology. Instead the ancient notions of Israel as Yahweh's ^{c}am and the use of kinship categories were preserved and extended."[1]

Support for the conceptual hiatus is derived from the ascription of all references to ברית to a late date.[2] Apart from the invalidity of the historical deduction on philological grounds, noted previously, with regard to Kraetzschmar's treatment of the same question,[3] Fohrer adds to the word-concept confusion by suggesting that the concept might not belong to the word anyway. From such a background of study, it would seem almost impossible to unravel what is the sense of the Hebrew word ברית from the theological and conceptual entanglement sometimes foisted upon it. The end product has been an obscurity of semantic statement about ברית, and, in some respects, the furnishing of a pseudo-semantic peg upon which to hang certain theological conclusions. The general remedy for this condition has been proposed above,[4] but this would surely be assisted by a study of ברית as it was used in Baal worship, or anti-Yahwistic religion, where it should become evident that the same word (and sense) was put to very different theological application.[5]

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1. G.Fohrer, History of Israelite Religion, tr.David E.Green, (London, S.P.C.K., 1973), p.186.

2. Ibid., p.100.

3. Cf. supra, pp.18f.

4. Cf. supra, pp.21, 30-31.

5. J.Barr, "Semantics and Biblical Theology - a Contribution to the Discussion," VT Suppl. XXII (1972), 11-19, esp. 13.

An attempt to break away from the traditional philological study of ברית was made by Buis, when, in 1976, he published his book, "La notion d'alliance dans l'Ancien Testament," in which, he advocated the following policy:

> "Il s'agit d'un travail purement sémantique qui sera mené comme suit : il faut d'abord faire l'inventaire des emplois du mot suivant trois directions :
> - groupes de mots formés avec berit (associations).
> - mots équivalents à berit ou aux expressions formées avec berit (équivalences).
> - explications données dans les textes sur berit et les groupes de mots."[1]

The inventory, which results, he described as a "champ sémantique."[2]

Undoubtedly, this work reflects a development in linguistic science. Nevertheless, it suffers from the same theological inveiglement, in its directing of attention to the divine covenants primarily, and in its reversion to denotational "explications" provided by the biblical contexts of utterance. Further, as it attempts to employ modern semantic methods, it is open to the charge of incompleteness, or imbalance, because, while concentrating upon "équivalences" and "associations," it neglects those contrastive linguistic features, which serve to enforce structural definition. Other shortcomings are to be indicated in the context of a fuller discussion of the principles of modern semantics.[3]

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1. Loc.cit., p.15.
2. Ibid., p.16.
3. Cf. infra, Part II.

B. A Synopsis of Principles derived from the Preceding Review.

A number of principles have emerged in the preceding discussion, which can now be profitably stated in a brief series of propositions.

In the first place, throughout the discussion, the need to preserve an appropriate distinction between semantics and theology has been evident. Theology must not be allowed to determine the character of semantic enquiry. However, that there is a distinction does not imply that there must also be a dichotomy, but rather, the transition from semantic expression to theological proposition must a structured procedure. Words are not "individual building blocks" of theology.[1] On the contrary, the semantic structure of Biblical Hebrew leads to the understanding of the utterances of the text, from which point, under the guidance of non-linguistic principles, theological reconstruction can be executed. Further, it is not being argued that there is no mutual interaction between Israelite theology and the way in which words were conventionally used. What is being insisted upon, is that semantics must attain to an appropriate independence, by which it is enabled to follow an unbiased scientific path.

Secondly, it is necessary to be quite clear when one is making a statement about the sense of the word ברית, and when one is speaking about the concept of "covenant" in Israelite thought. These two are not identical. Indeed, in the case of the latter,

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1. TDOT, I, vi. Cf. supra, p.44.

the "collision in theology" between Jeremiah and the populace in Judah, for instance, suggests strongly that there is a need to discern a number of different conceptions of the covenant of YHWH with Israel.[1] Further, due consideration must be given to the language employed to relate non-theological covenants.

Thirdly, the undifferentiated enlistment of data from other languages as evidence for Hebrew is not permissible. Indo-european languages are totally unrelated, but even in the case of the Semitic tongues, cognate status does not issue carte blanche to arbitrary linguistic supposition. Whatever be proposed, it requires substantiation, at least in terms of consistency, from the interior structures of Biblical Hebrew.

Fourthly, the tendency to strict categorisation within Hebrew semantics is unlikely to result in a successful handing of the received data. Natural languages do not readily accept simple systematic schemes of analysis.

Fifthly, the history of a word, particularly its etymology, does not control its present significance.

Sixthly, semantic change is unpredictable, and it is possible for a given word to undergo change, so that it becomes separate from other words connected to it by root. In such cases, usage must

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1. Cf. supra, p.16, fn.2.

preside over considerations of root.

Finally, in a context where the covenant of YHWH seems to have played a significant theological role, and many semantic connections have been argued for ברית, excessive eisegetic procedures, what might be described as "pan-covenantalism", must be guarded against by sober, scientific judgment. In this connection, the value of words which are normally used without any association with ברית is to be stressed, because these enrich the semantic field by introducing new elements of signification.

C. A Summary of Data to be regarded as Premises of the Discussion.

It is appropriate to preface the construction of a systematic methodology and the execution of intensive analysis of the language associated with ברית with a concise statement of what may be described as "primitive data," that is, facts, which are decided externally to the investigation, which lay an introductory basis, and serve to indicate certain lines of enquiry. These may be called premises of the discussion.

In the first place, with regard to the Septuagint version of the Hebrew Bible, it must be noted that Greek of the κοινή period (330 B.C. - A.D.330) provided several options for a translation of ברית.[1] These were: (1) συνθήκη "agreement, covenant," from the verbal root συντίθημι, which, in the middle voice, means "to agree, decide, consent"; (2) διαθήκη "legal disposition, testamentary will, covenant," from the verbal root διατίθημι "to decree, ordain, dispose of (property by a will), assign, confer"; (3) σπονδή "libation, covenant"; (4) three words, mentioned previously, from the Iliad, ἁρμονία, συνθησία, συνημοσύνη, used of an agreement or covenant.[2] The strongest contender, συνθήκη , "which would be the natural word for a covenant,"[3] was not chosen. It is used for

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1. S.W.Paine, Beginning Greek. A Functional Approach, (New York, OUP, 1961), p.xx.

2. Cf. supra, p.38, fn.2.

3. R.B.Girdlestone, Synonyms of the Old Testament. Their Bearing on Christian Doctrine, (2nd edition; Michigan, Eerdmans, 1974), p.214.

ברית once, and that, only in Codex Alexandrinus, not in the other major codices, at II Kings 17:15. σπονδή was a more restricted term, signifying a libation, and was, therefore, equivalent to the Hebrew נסך "libation," which is taken by the RSV to have covenantal reference in Isaiah 30:1.[1] The three words, ἁρμονία, συνθησία, συνημοσύνη, found in the Iliad, are not regular terms for covenant. Rejecting these options, the translators chose διαθήκη as the regular equivalent of ברית. Scholars have suggested that this preference for διαθήκη, over συνθήκη, was because the former was better suited to the purpose of "setting forth the nature of God's gracious dealings with man."[2] Whatever the motive, on 270 occasions this equivalence is applied. However, διαθήκη was not used on every occasion, for in I Kings 11:11, ברית is rendered ἐντολή, and μαρτύριον in Deuteronomy 9:15. Nevertheless, διαθήκη became so significant that, not only was it to become the common currency of New Testament writers, but the Syriac church transliterated the word: ܕܝܬܩܐ.

As διαθήκη became so prominent in this role, it is interesting to observe the fact that it did not only translate ברית, but on a few occasions, it was used of other Hebrew words. These instances may be listed, as they suggest certain possible connections for ברית.

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1. BDB, p.651. AV traces נסך to נסך (II) "to weave a covering."

2. Girdlestone, op.cit., p.214.

(1) In Exodus 27:21, 31:7, 39:35 (LXX:14), and Joshua 4:16, διαθήκη translates עדות, which is traditionally understood to mean "testimony,"[1] and is frequently used in references to the Ark of the Covenant, where it stands in place of ברית. In this connection, it can be noted that, in descriptions of the Sacred Ark, the Septuagint sometimes inserts διαθήκη where ברית (or its alternative, is omitted.[2]

(2) διαθήκη translates אחוה, "brotherhood," in Zechariah 11:14, where the accompanying verb is הפר, from the root פרר, often used in the Hiph'il of covenant breaking.[3]

(3) In Deuteronomy 9:5, דבר, "word, thing, etc.,"[4] appearing with the two verbs הקים and נשבע, is translated by διαθήκη. דבר is a word of very general, and wide-ranging, significance, usually given contextual definition.

(4) Finally, in the phrase כאשר כתוב בתורת משה, in Daniel 9:13, תורה is rendered by the same Greek term. This is paralleled by a similar phrase in II Chronicles 25:4, ככתוב בתורה בספר משה, to which an emendation has been proposed, re-ordering certain words, to read ככתוב בספר תורת משה,[5] at which place, the Septuagint reads κατα την διαθήκην τοῦ νόμου κυρίου. Taking the Masoretic

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1. BDB, p.730.

2. Cf. Jos 3:13, 15; 4:10, 11; 6:9, 11, 12, 14, (LXX:8, 12, 13. 15; etc.

3. BDB, p.830.

4. BDB, p.182.

5. BHK critical apparatus.

Text, without any emendation, διαθήκη appears to represent the passive participle of כתב "to write," with substantival force, "that which is/was written." However, a strict translation, on a word for word basis, was not intended by the translators. The verb, in participial form, is not of such restricted application to shed any light on the sense of either ברית or διαθήκη.

In addition to the above recorded facts, it may be mentioned that the Septuagint uses the phrase διατιθέναι διαθήκην, in Codex Purpureus Vindobonensis, which finds some indications of support in Codex Vaticanus, to translate השלים, (Hiph'il of שלם), in II Samuel 10:19. השלים is traditionally interpreted as a denominative verb, meaning "to be in a covenant of peace," connected with the noun שלום "peace."[1]

The Septuagint, by use of διαθήκη, on an overwhelming number of occasions, suggests strongly the notion of "testament, disposition," for the Hebrew word ברית, a meaning which was applied to both human covenants and the covenant of YHWH. This idea was taken up by the writer of the New Testament epistle to the Hebrews, who wrote about the necessity of the death of the testator,[2] (using a form of διατίθημι, which is cognate with διαθήκη). It is possible, however, that this represents the freedom of interpretation

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1. BDB, pp. 1022-1024.

2. Heb 9:16-17.

often manifested by Jews and Christians alike at that time.[1]

Secondly, traditional English translations may be listed as a matter of primitive data. The Authorised Version, which colours a fair portion of modern English,[2] regularly selects the word "covenant" to translate ברית,[3] a practice followed in the present dissertation. On 15 occasions, "league" is used, and twice, "to be in league." Twice, "confederacy" is used, and once, בעל ברית is rendered "confederate." The lexicons suggest a wider range of terms: covenant, pact, compact, treaty, alliance, league, constitution, ordinance, agreement, pledge;[4] also, arrangement, liability, promise.[5] In every case, the word "covenant" is predominantly employed. This English word has a wide range of significance, signifying a mutual agreement, an undertaking, a vow, a promise or contract under seal, a security, an engagement, and so on. Consequently, "covenant" functions as an acceptable approximation to the Hebrew word ברית.

Finally, an analogy between human covenants and divine covenants operated in Israel and in the ancient Near East. Jacob

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1. CHS, I, 412ff.

2. T.R.Henn, "The Bible as Literature," Peake's Commentary on the Bible, ed. M.Black, (London, Thomas Nelson, 1967), pp.8-23.

3. AV covenant = ברית 260 times.

4. BDB, pp.136-137.

5. KB, pp.150-151.

observes,

> "We are acquainted with some examples of covenants concluded by deities outside Israel: the king of Lagash, Urukagina (c.2400 B.C.) imposes on his subjects "the word that his king Ningirsu had pronounced" and ends the list of his laws with these words: "with Ningirsu Urukagina concluded this treaty" and the Old Testament itself mentions the local god of Shechem El Berit or Baal Berit (Jg. 9.4,46), whose characteristic was probably to be bound by a covenant with the people of the sons of Hamor."[1]

Israel knew of such an analogy in the covenant of YHWH. Clearly, the conceptual extension had linguistic impact. However, such a judgment must be tempered by the recognition that the ancients did not distinguish sharply between the cultic and the secular, as is done in the twentieth century. The gods were brought into all areas of life. Nevertheless, the linguistic analogy must be pursued, and must be stated as a premise of investigation.

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1. Jacob, op.cit., ET, p.211.

PART II.

Method.

Semantics. A Statement of the Principles of a Systematic Methodology.

A. General Principles of Modern Linguistic Theory.

Modern semantics has its foundations in the work of Ferdinand de Saussure. His teachings, compiled and published by his students after his death, under the title "Cours de linguistique générale," set the tone of subsequent linguistic theory and practice by the enunciation of three major principles.[1] Before Saussure, discussion had proceeded with reference to historical, philological, and comparative evidence, primarily with a view to defining the 'essential' meaning of a word.[2] The failure to provide a definition of language had resulted in a correspondingly inadequate methodology. Accordingly, Saussure's first thesis consisted of a definition of language: every language is (i) a system of signs, (ii) a unique relational structure.[3] The word is a sign, whose meaning is not to be considered in terms of an immutable, essential core of intrinsically significant reference, but rather, which derives its significance from its relationships with other signs in the same linguistic system. The linguistic sign is to be analysed as the union of signifiant, (the form, which signifies), and signifié, (the idea signified), between which two components, the link is not natural, nor inevitable, but

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1. Ferdinand de Saussure, Cours de linguistique générale, (édition critique préparée par Tullio de Mauro; Paris, Payot, 1976) ET, Course in General Linguistics, ed. C.Bally et.al., (revised edition, London, 1974).

2. Ibid., pp.13-19. Cf. supra, p.44.

3. Saussure, op.cit., p.33. Lyons, op.cit., I, 230ff.

arbitrary: first of all, the form of the word is not intrinsically bound up with its meaning, except, perhaps, in the case of onomatopoeia; secondly, and more fundamentally, the structural distinctions made by language are arbitrary.[1]

It would not be an overstatement to suggest that this ostensibly simple thesis has had a dynamic effect. Introducing a definition of meaning in terms of the functional contrast of units within a system,[2] it, at once, removed emphasis away from comparative philological research, and onto the general principle of context as a specific linguistic axiom, which was further defined by the second and third theses of Saussure's doctrine. The implications for the semantics of Biblical Hebrew are very important. On the one hand, negatively, the popular practice among scholars of searching for cognate roots in the other Semitic languages to establish the basic meaning of words in Biblical Hebrew has been undermined, not because the existence of a considerable number of common roots is challenged, but because that procedure could no longer be viewed as definitive for semantic content, that is to say, the invalidity of the method had been exposed, whereas before, it had been a question of degrees of certainty, judged by unsystematic standards. The inconclusive nature of comparative evidence has already been indicated in the discussion of the etymology

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1. Saussure, op.cit., pp.97ff. R.H.Robins, General Linguistics: An Introductory Survey, (London, Longman, 1971), pp.24,67. Lyons, op.cit., I, 234. For further discussion of semantic relativity, cf. J.Lyons, Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, (Cambridge, CUP,1968), pp.432f. J.Lyons, Chomsky, (London, Fontana, 1970), p.21.

2. Saussure, op.cit., p.33. Lyons, Semantics, I, 230ff.

of ברית above, where various comparative suugestions have been advanced, with little to choose between them.[1] On the other hand, positively, Biblical Hebrew has its own peculiar relational semantic structure, which serves as the criterion of evaluation for the semantic content, or function, of any word in its vocabulary. Stress has been put on the distinctiveness of the language of Biblical Hebrew. As for the cognate Semitic languages, a wider perspective has been gained, where the procedure of comparing a Biblical Hebrew word with its lexical counterparts in other Semitic languages is required to be replaced by the comparison of the entire lexical structures of the cognate languages, or, at least, the comparative study of sognate semantic fields. Even this, however, remains secondary. The principal duty of the semanticist is to attempt an orderly articulation of the context of utterance, which "makes the utterance meaningful" in Biblical Hebrew.[2]

In the light of this emphasis upon linguistic system and structure, it is necessary to be clear about the nature of Biblical Hebrew. The question has been posed, To what extent is Biblical Hebrew accurately, and proportionately, representative of the ancient Hebrew tongue?[3]

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1. Cf. supra, Part I, pp.31-41.

2. J.Lyons, Structural Semantics. An Analysis of Part of the Vocabulary of Plato, (Oxford, 1963), pp.23f. Cf. C.K.Ogden and I.A. Richards, The Meaning of Meaning, (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1923), pp.306-336. Stephen R.Schiffer, Meaning, (Oxford, 1972), pp.1-5.
"Utterance" is a technical term, as used from this point in the dissertation; a definition is given by Bloomfield, in, L.Bloomfield, "A Set of Postulates for the Science of Language," Language II (1926), 153-164. Cf. Z.S.Harris, Methods in Structural Linguistics, (Chicago, 1951), p.14. J.Lyons, Semantics, I, 26.

3. E.Ullendorf, "Is Biblical Hebrew a Language?" BSOAS XXXIV

There are several indications that Biblical Hebrew is incomplete. The Old Testament contains a little less than 8,000 distinct words, whereas the dictionary of Gur (for Biblical, Mishnaic, and Modern Hebrew), contains approximately 22,000 entries.[1] Further, numerous hapax legomena, estimated to be about 1,500, approximately 25% of the preserved lexicon, which were "all but lost and whose bare survival hung by the most tenuous threads,"[2] suggest that many more words have not been so preserved. Scholars have often remarked about significant lacunae in the vocabulary, no word for "hour", no word for "comb", etc.[3] The epigraphic remains of ancient Hebrew are known to contain words not found in the Bible.[4] Mishnaic Hebrew, although not contemporary, shows many differences.[5] However, such observations are counterbalanced by a general consistency between epigraphic and Biblical Hebrew.[6] It is plain that Biblical Hebrew is a substantial, but incomplete, representation of the ancient spoken language. It should not be surprising that it is incomplete

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1. יהודה גור, מלון שמושי לשפה העברית, (= Judah Gur, Millon Shimmushi, (Tel Aviv, 1945). Cf. L.Köhler, Vom Hebräischen Lexikon, (Leiden, 1950), p.7.

2. Ullendorf, op.cit., p.252.

3. With regard to "comb", סרק appears in Is 19:9, but מסרק is first attested in Rabbinical Hebrew, Ullendorf, op.cit., p.251. Further discussion of lacunae in the vocabulary, of time, is found in, J.Barr, Biblical Words for Time, (2nd ed.; London, SCM, 1969), pp.107ff.

4. J.C.L.Gibson, Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions, I, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971), 3,.note 3 on יעץ: in the Bible, only מעצד "axe", is known, Jer 10:3, and Is 44:12. Other examples could be cited.

5. M.H.Segal, A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew, (Oxford, OUP,1958), pp.46ff.

6. GK, para.2(e).

in the light of its restricted subject matter, and its context of usage. It is extremely significant that the prophecy of Isaiah and the book of Job have the largest number of hapax legomena, (201 and 145, respectively), while the book of Joshua has only four.[1] Clearly, the character of the literature influences the language used. This yields an important point of principle, of which, account must be taken by the semanticist. In view of the problem of incomplete structural representation of the ancient tongue, the best course of action is recommended by Ullendorf:

> "Our best hope of dealing with BH vocabulary successfully is to study small and well-integrated sectors of the lexicon, so-called semantic fields, where the significance of each unit is determined by its neighbours."[2]

To be sure, some semantic fields will contain vocabulary relevant to the central concerns of the biblical writers, while others will be on the fringe. The latter group would be expected to be only partially preserved, but even the former category may well contain certain lacunae. The result is to introduce a limitation on the goal of the "orderly articulation of the context of utterance," according to the scope of the biblical text.

When the principal aim of semantics is described as the orderly articulation of the context of utterance, it must be added that context

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1. Ullendorf, op.cit., p.250.

2. Ibid., p.253.

has several aspects. A distinction must be drawn between the linguistic and the extra-linguistic context, both of which contribute to meaning.[1] Some linguists have paid much attention to the extra-linguistic contextual aspect. Waterhouse, for instance, expounding the tagmemic theory of Pike, first set out in his book, "Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behaviour,"[2] notes four major facets of that theory

> "(1) Language is viewed as a type of human behaviour;
>
> (2) as such, it must be looked at in the context of and in relation to human behaviour as a whole;
>
> (3) an adequate theory of language is applicable to other types of behaviour as well, and to combinations of verbal and non-verbal behaviour; thus, it is a unified theory;
>
> (4) human behaviour is structured, not random."[3]

Pike would not find much agreement with regard to some of these points, but they illustrate the importance that can be attached to the extra-linguistic setting of language usage. The concept of "Sitz im Leben" constitutes an attempt to relate biblical forms of utterance to the extra-linguistic context, especially, as far as the Old Testament is concerned, in terms of cultic patterns of behaviour. Although this is an important part of biblical studies, there is no intention, in the present discourse, to examine the extra-linguistic context, except for, in the first place, general, or incidental, considerations, where

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1. A.C.Thiselton, "Semantics and New Testament Interpretation," New Testament Interpretation, ed. I.Howard Marshall, (Exeter, Paternoster, 1977), p.75. Peter Howard Fries, "On Surface and Underlying Structure with Special Reference to Phrase, Clause and Sentence," Tagmemics, ed. R.Brend and K.L.Pike, II (Hague, Mouton, 1976), 1.

2. K.L.Pike, Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behaviour, I-III (revised ed.; Glendale, SIL,1967).

3. Viola G.Waterhouse, The History and Development of Tagmemics, (Hague, Mouton, 1974), p.5.

they occur, and secondly, the general ancient Near Eastern background to Israelite life, in which, covenants, or treaties, were a common feature of political and legal practice.[1] Here is encountered the need to cross cultural boundaries, in an attempt to gain insight into a culture, which was considerably different from that of the western world, (the process of transculturisation).[2] Nevertheless, the prime concern is with the linguistic context in Biblical Hebrew, which is further analysed by the principles of Saussure's second and third thesis.

A distinction between synchrony and diachrony.

Saussure's second thesis made the distinction between the synchronic and the diachronic approach axiomatic for linguistics: "L'opposition entre les deux points de vue - synchronique et diachronique - est absolue et ne souffre pas de compromis."[3] Diachronic linguistics, the study of a language, or units of that language, from the point of view of an historical evolution over a period of time, is prominent among those linguists who operate with the concept of "Proto-Semitic."[4] Synchronic linguistics studies

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1. Cf. supra, Part I, pp.5,22ff.,55f.

2. Cf. supra, Part I, p.5, fn.1. Transculturisation is legitimate, but there is need to be aware of the influence of existentialism. This process entails propositional articulation, for linguistics.

3. Saussure, op.cit., pp.119,127.

4. S.Moscati, An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages, (Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1969),pp.15f. L.H. Gray, Introduction to Semitic Comparative Linguistics, (Amsterdam,Philo, 1971), pp.3-20. W.Wright, Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages, (Amsterdam, Philo, 1966),pp.1-34. C.Brockelmann, Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen, I (Hildesheim, 1966), 4ff.

units of a language that operated more or less at the same time: anything that does not belong to the same historical stage is excluded from the synchronic analysis.[1] This was supported by analogy with a game of chess, where, to understand the present state of the game, it is not necessary to know the moves that led up to that position, only the present position and the rules, which give to the pieces their values.[2] The implication drawn from this analogy is that semantic content must be analysed in synchronic terms alone.[3]

An immediate implication of the synchronic principle is the denial of semantic relevance to etymology. Lyons has dubbed the argument from historical meaning to present value "the etymological fallacy":

> "A particular manifestation of the failure to respect the distinction of the diachronic and the synchronic in semantics (coupled with a failure to keep distinct the descriptive and prescriptive point of view in the discussion of language) is what might be called the etymological fallacy: the common belief that the meaning of words can be determined by investigating their origins. The etymology of a lexeme is, in principle, synchronically irrelevant."[4]

If the historical etymology must be disallowed, the nature of

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1. Saussure, op.cit., p.128.

2. Wittgenstein also used this analogy: A.Kenny, Wittgenstein, (London, Penguin, 1973), pp.159ff. Cf. Saussure, op.cit.,pp.125-127.

3. L.Berkhof, Principles of Biblical Interpretation (Sacred Hermeneutics), (Michigan, Baker, 1950), p.68.

4. Lyons, Semantics, I, 244.

Hebrew morphology, respecting the transparency of many consonantal roots, demands some consideration.[1] It would seem that the 'root field' constitutes valid semantic evidence, but even in this case, the suggestions of meaning drawn from that source must be held as secondary material, as a logical corollary of the principle of the priority of synchronic functional opposition for semantic definition. At this point, the balance must be redressed somewhat with regard to the apparent deletion of etymology. The fact of historical continuity within linguistic development guarantees to etymology the minimal role of indicating the existence of polysemy or homonymy, where it might otherwise be missed altogether, and as such, knowledge of the history of a word, or words, can deliver the semanticist from some cause for confusion.[2] The principle of synchronic priority does not entail the rejection of diachronic linguistics, but a due recognition of its methodological status.

Saussure made it clear that, in making a judgment about the meaning of a word, the semanticist must be assured that all the primary data belong to the same period of a language's history. A potential obstruction to the implementation of this principle,

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1. Cf. supra, Part I, p.31. GK para.30. G.R.Driver, Problems of the Hebrew Verbal System. Old Testament Studies, No.2, (Edinburgh, T.&T.Clark, 1936).

2. Lyons, Semantics, II, 550ff. J.Barr, Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament, (Oxford, Clarendon, 1968), pp.125ff.

however, arises in connection with the character of the Old Testament as the product of a process of writing extending over a millennium of Palestinian history, during which, various external influences and the internal dynamics of change were operative, in consequence of which, the literature might be expected to contain features of linguistic development.[1] This thorny problem, which hinders the purely synchronic approach to Biblical Hebrew, is composed of many strands. In the first place, the date of writing of many parts of the text is uncertain. Secondly, the editorial history of the text is also obscure. Despite the fact that general assertions about scribal practice in the ancient Near East can be made on the basis of, among other things, the evidence of variant recensions of the same text, where, for example, developments initiated by scribes of the Standard Babylonian period can be deduced from a comparison with texts of the Old Babylonian period, and on the basis of later traditions about Jewish scribes, it does not seem possible to determine the precise effects of scribal activity in concealing diachronic evidences.[2] Some semantic developments are made explicit, such as the replacement of ראה by נביא in common speech at some time

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1. CHB, I, 67ff.

2. Jerrold S.Cooper, "Symmetry and Repetition in Akkadian Narrative," JAOS LXXXXVII (1977), 508-512: the Myth of Anzu, the Etana Story, and Pseudo-Naram-Sin, exhibit calculated change from OB to SB. Cf. MT and LXX at II Sam 11:19ff. For internal witness to Hebrew scribal activity, cf. II Sam 8:17; 20:25; I Ki 4:3; II Ki 12:10; 18:18, 37; 19:2; 22:3-12; 25:19; Ezra 7:6,11; Neh 8:1ff; Jer 36. The identification of scribal interference by metrical irregularity has been challenged, cf. Terrence Collins, "Line Forms in Hebrew Poetry," JSS XXIII (1978), 228-244.

during the rule of the Judges and in the early monarchy period.[1] Other changes find causal explanation, for instance, the way in which the introduction of the Sacred Ark of the Covenant as a cultic symbol influenced the use of ארון. However, these cases are few. Perhaps the peculiarities of epigraphic documents suggest that more diversity ought to be evident in the biblical text, but this epigraphic evidence is sparse, bearing testimony only to individual differences, such as the omission of the definite article in the Gezer calendar.[2] Some of these texts are not of the same character as the sacred literature, and in certain respects, do not admit of direct comparison.[3] In any case, the witness of epigraphy is not substantial enough to provide an externally determined diachronic scheme for ancient Hebrew, such as that constructed for Akkadian.[4] It would seem that the growing number of inscriptions of the first millennium B.C. has not, as yet, contradicted the judgment of Gesenius, that epigraphy presents, on the whole, a picture of general consistency with Biblical Hebrew.[5]

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1. I Sam 9:9. I Chron 29:29 places נביא, חזה, and ראה together, indicating their preservation, and a possible distinction of meaning.

2. Gibson, op.cit., pp.1-4.

3. There is no intention here of special pleading for the biblical text on theological grounds, but a recognition of the distinction between e.g. the Gezer calendar, and preserved literary sources. Thus, omission of the article may not even be significant in the Gezer text.

4. W.von Soden, Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik, (Rome, PBI, 1969), pp.2-4. A.Ungnad und L.Matouš, Grammatik des Akkadischen, (München, Beck, 1969), pp.4-8. Moscati, op.cit.,pp.6-7. L.A.Lipin, The Akkadian Language, (Moscow, Nauka Publishing House, 1973), pp.16-19. Note, Lipin's conclusion: "As far as can be judged, both the structure of Akkadian and its basic vocabulary changed little in the course of many centuries and millennia." (p.19). This may be indirectly significant for Biblical Hebrew.

5. GK para.2(d) and (e). Cf. supra, p.61.

The sum of this evidence leaves the question open. Thirdly, the nature of language as an historical continuum, within which, semantic change is gradual, and seemingly unpredictable, militates against an application of the Saussurean dichotomy with any precision. The implication of the principle of synchronic functional contrast would appear to be that, if one word alters its function, then all the others make adjustments accordingly in an immediate chain reaction. However, the semantic concussion of such catenary development is absorbed by the factor of redundancy.[1] Therefore, it is difficult to offer a clear and unequivocal definition of a synchronic state. It may be more appropriate to talk in terms of a range of intelligibility and significant similarity, within which individual developments are to be recorded. Thus, the statistical data might place Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew in two distinct synchronic ranges, although there are many similarities.[2] In the case of Biblical Hebrew, differences, which may be supposed to have the years of the Babylonian exile as their fulcrum, may not be sufficiently numerous and significant to warrant an internal diachronic subdivision.[3]

Within biblical studies, various approaches have been taken, either explicitly or implicitly, towards this problem. Buis, in his

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1. Lyons, Semantics, I, 43ff.

2. Segal, op.cit., pp.5-20, 23, 46-54, etc. Cf. E.Y.Kutscher, "Mittelhebräisch und Jüdisch-Aramäisch im neuen Köhler-Baumgartner," Hebräische Wortforschung (Baumgartner Festschrift), VT Suppl. XVI (1967), 158-175, cited by Barr,"Hebrew Lexicography,"p.111, fn.1, in a similar connection.

3. GK para.2.

study of "la notion d'alliance dans l'Ancien Testament," passes over the problem, in order to undertake a semantic discussion of the totality of biblical references to covenant:

> "Il me semble donc nécessaire de reprendre la recherche au début, en déterminant la signification de berit à partir de la totalité de ses emplois, soit 287 occurrences, dans la Bible hébraïque."[1]

For Buis, every occurrence of ברית is equally relevant for a definition of meaning, covering the entire Old Testament era. The problem has often been handled in this way. Girdlestone writes about "the uniform precision with which doctrinal terms are used throughout its (the Bible's) pages."[2] Sawyer proposed a different solution, developed in terms of a principle of "contextualization."

> "As we have already seen, the original Sitz im Leben of biblical language, however fascinating and academically rewarding a subject for research, is not the only situational context in which it has meaning. Most of the form-critical research of biblical scholars, particularly in the first half of this century, was exclusively concerned with the original situations in which the material was produced, and it is really only in recent years that later historical contexts, such as the historical context of the final form of the text and of textual 'corruptions', have been examined with the same enthusiasm as the original Sitz im Leben of each separate unit."[3]

He anticipates the danger that this appears to give carte blanche to all kinds of abuse, but the direct result of this shift of emphasis, as far as semantic method is concerned, is the legitimisation of investigation of the final form of the text in Codex Leningradensis,

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1. Buis, op.cit., p.15.

2. Girdlestone, op.cit., p.5.

3. John F.A.Sawyer, Semantics in Biblical Research. New Methods of Defining Hebrew Words for Salvation, (London, SCM, 1972), p.7

and the way in which the masoretes understood the Hebrew scriptures.[1] This approach does not accord with the principles of structural linguistics formulated by Saussure, which make the original semantic structures, with which the ancient writers operated, the desired end of research. The structuralist emphasis in no way denies a place to the study of the history of interpretation, but it does insist upon the necessity of preserving a distinction between interpretation and meaning. Clearly, as Licht recognised, it is a matter of expediency that one is left with no better option than the masoretic Bible, perhaps supplemented by the Dead Sea Scrolls and the witness of the Versions,[2] and the attempt to discover, from the only available sources, the original meaning of the Hebrew authors, but more particularly, the semantic structures of Biblical Hebrew, cannot be regarded, in this case, as "an uncompromising position dangerously like that of the fundamentalist."[3] A semantic theory needs to be, not only comprehensive and consistent, but practicable, especially in the case of Biblical Hebrew. Once the above noted expediency is accepted, it then becomes the task of the semanticist to identify within the text, features of linguistic differentiation.

When they have been identified, features of differentiation

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1. Ibid., p.11.

2. Jacob Licht, Storytelling in the Bible, (Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1978), pp.144ff. esp.p.147.

3. Sawyer, op.cit., p.12. P.C.H.Wernberg-Møller, "Is There an Old Testament Theology?" The Hibbert Journal, LIX (1960-61), 21-29: Dr.Wernberg-Møller asserts, "the Old Testament scholar . . . should never for a moment forget that, as far as he is concerned, it is the original meaning of the text that matters, and not the use which was later made of it . . . ."

must then be explained. That explanation cannot be exclusively diachronic, but must include a consideration of other causative factors, dialect, idiolect, stylistic, and incidental variation.

A number of possible dialect areas have been mooted. The Shibboleth story of Judges 12 probably does not reflect the existence of an Ephraimite dialect, merely a pronunciation difference.[1] The grounds for postulating a North Israelite dialect are stronger and more widely accepted. Canaanite-Phoenician influence, according to some theories, is to be observed in the book of Ecclesiastes.[2] Certain portions of the book of Judges, and the prophecy of Hosea, would favour a northern origin.[3] In addition, some of these

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1. Cf. Ju 12:6, where the consonantal sound shift from ש to ס occurred in the word שבלת. Cf. GK para.2(w). This is complicated by the fact that parts of Judges reflects a northern origin. The evidence for an Ephraimite dialect is very weak.

2. J.Courtenay-James, The Languages of Palestine and Adjacent Regions, (Edinburgh, 1920), pp.90ff. C.H.Gordon, Ugaritic Literature, (Rome, PBI, 1949), p.123. M.J.Dahood,"Canaanite-Phoenician Influence in Qoheleth," Biblica, XXXIII (1952), 30-52, 191-221. In the following two papers, read at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, New York, 30th December 1954, Ginsberg defended the theory of an Aramaic original: H.L.Ginsberg, "The Romance of Koheleth the Canaanite," cf. R.Gordis, "Was Koheleth a Phoenician?" GK para.8(i)-(m) and para.25. Orthographic ambiguity, sometimes revealed by lexical comparison with Ugaritic, which results, in the Hebrew text, from a tendency towards scriptio defectiva, was interpreted by Dahood, in particular, as Phoenician influence. Another prominent feature was the second form of the relative pronoun, (·)ש, for אשר, attributed to the same source; in Phoenician, the form is אש.

3. GK para 2(w), rem.1. Opposition to the northern character of Hosea is found in W.R.Harper, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea, ICC, (Edinburgh, T.&T.Clark, 1905), p.clxxiii.

northern characteristics recur in Jonah, Lamentations, the Song of Songs, and certain late Psalms. An alternative theory, that these peculiarities are either late or Aramaisms, which is adhered to by a number of scholars, is contrary to the evidence of Judges, which, it would seem, cannot be so classified.[1] Finally, it is possible that the name יהודית, in Nehemiah 13:24 and II Kings 18:26, designates a southern dialect of Hebrew, as distinct from a northern Israelite form of speech.[2] As a result of mixed marriages in the generations following the Babylonian exile, the Hebrew tongue was in danger of being supplanted by other languages or dialects. There is insufficient evidence to determine whether Ashdodite, מדבר אשדודית, was a wholly distinct tongue, perhaps Philistine, or a divergent Hebrew dialect.[3] However, its hostile reception, at the official level, and its late rise, cast doubt upon its infiltration into the language of the Hebrew scriptures. In the light of the present paucity of data for Hebrew dialectology, Nyberg's refusal to draw general conclusions, and his insistence upon careful study of each case, represents the best course, particularly as the issue is complicated by questions of idiolect, style, and so on.[4]

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1. GK para.2(w).

2. Courtenay-James, op.cit., p.24, fn.3.

3. Neh 13:23-24, names Ashdodite, but states also that they married women of Moab and Ammon. However, epigraphy shows that the languages of Moabite and Ammonite were closely akin to Hebrew. Cf. Courtenay-James, op.cit.,pp.94f.: ",oabite did not differ from Judaic Hebrew in so many respects as the north Israelite dialects." Cf. also, p.152,fn.3. Further, cf. Gibson, op.cit.,pp.71ff.

4. H.S.Nyberg. "Das textkritische Problem des Alten Testaments am Hoseabuche demonstriert," ZAW, LII (1952), 241-254.

The peculiar style of an individual writer is as significant, in principle, as dialect or diachrony. However, individualistic manifestations at the level of the particular, arising out of the subject of utterance, or the elected manner of dealing with that subject, are not as significant as general patterns of linguistic usage on the part of an author, which constitute true idiolect. For example, it has been noticed that Isaiah "writes quite differently from the later Jeremiah, but also differently from his contemporary Micah."[1] The semanticist's concern is with structural differences of Isaianic Hebrew, rather than features such as the tendency to irony and sarcasm, or the rich vocabulary for "wood".[2] Observation of the regular interchange of עַל and אֶל in Ezekiel,[3] or the assertion that P's vocabulary for גֵּרִים is technical,[4] are affirmations regarding idiolect. Where it can be identified, idiolect is important for structural semantics.

Style is an intensely complex phenomenon, occasioning much dispute. The generally accepted distinction between poetry and prose in the biblical literature,[5] for example, has not received a corresponding

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1. GK para.2(p).

2. O.T.Allis, The Old Testament. Its Claims and its Critics, (Nutley, N.J., The Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company,1972), p.43. R.L.Alden, "Isaiah and Wood," The Law and the Prophets, ed. J.H.Skilton, (Nutley, N.J., The Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1974), pp.377-387.

3. A.Sperber, A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew,(Leiden, Brill, 1966), pp.58ff.

4. S.E.McEvenue, The Narrative Style of the Priestly Writer, (Rome, PBI, 1971), pp.74ff.

5. O.Eissfeldt, The Old Testament. An Introduction, tr. P.R. Ackroyd, (Oxford, B.H.Blackwell, 1965), p.11.

unanimity, with respect to a definition of poetry: proposals for three kinds of criterion, parallelsim,[1] metrical arrangement of accentuated syllables,[2] and, recently, the definitive syntactic arrangement of lines,[3] has still left such ambiguity that the Berkeley Version, for example, can make the words of Hezekiah, in II Kings 19:3, poetic, but the same version prints not a single verse of Isaiah in a poetic format. In sharp contrast, the RSV, while metricising the greater part of Isaiah, treats Hezekiah's words as prose.[4] Similar ambiguity is encountered at other levels of stylistic analysis. More specific categories of style have been identified by form-critical research, but those forms are sometimes very tentative. The Qinah is thought to be well established, but a distinction between individual and collective laments is not so sure.[5] Stylistic analysis is never simple, but style has a deep effect upon semantics. Job, for example, which is predominantly poetic, never once uses גרית in its literal sense, whereas in the

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1. Robert Lowth, Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, (London, 1839), a translation of the original Latin work, De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum). George Buchanan Gray, The Forms of Hebrew Poetry Considered with Special Reference to the Critical Interpretation of the Old Testament, (London, 1940). J.Barr, Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament, pp.277ff.

2. There is no tradition of metre in Classical Hebrew poetry, but Josephus uses a metrical analogy for the benefit of his Gentile readers, cf. Flavius Josephus, The Antiquities of the Jews, (London, Milner, 1829): II, 16, 4; IV, 8, 44. J.Ley, Die Metrischen Formen der Hebräischen Poesie, (1866), and J.Ley, Leitfaden der Hebräischen Metrik, (1887). J.Sievers, Metrischen Studien, I-III (1901-1907).

3. Collins, op.cit.

4. Allis, op.cit., pp.55ff., fn.20. A.Wikgren, "The English Versions of the Bible," Peake's Commentary on the Bible, ed.M.Black, (London, Thomas Nelson, 1967), pp.24-28, esp.p.27.

5. Cf. Ps 77. A.A.Anderson, The Book of the Psalms. New Century Bible, II (London, Oliphants, 1972), 556. Allis, op.cit., p.61.

narrative sections of the historical books, the literal sense is most frequent.[1] In the search for guidelines to help recognise figurative speech, it has been observed that "there are certain writings in which the use of figurative language is a priori impossible. Among those are laws and all kinds of legal instruments, historical writings .... These aim primarily at clearness and precision ...."[2] Laws must display directness of speech, and consequently, appeal to the plain sense of terms,[3] whereas, the converse is true of poetry, which favours picturesque and figurative language, in order to be expressive. Narrative and chronicle stand nearer to law, but prophecy occupies a medial position, frequently taking to itself poetic characteristics. The semanticist seeks to discover the perspective of the biblical authors, and in so doing, he is compelled to take account of the relation of semantics to style,[4] for the meaning of a word may change according to its stylistic context.

A multitude of linguistic variations appear in Biblical Hebrew, whose causes must be identified, whether due to chronological separation, dialect, idiolect, style, or simply incidental factors. This is not

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1. Job 5:23; 31:1; 40:28 (AV 41:1).

2. Berkhof, op.cit., p.85.

3. By "plain sense" is meant literal meaning, as opposed to figurative; this is not a justification for discussions about the "basic meaning" of certain terms, cf. supra, Part I, p.44.

4. Licht, op.cit., p.9.

always possible. Three measures can be implemented in order to facilitate the task. First, as already indicated, each case should be tested on its own merits.[1] Secondly, categorisation of the sources of data must be undertaken, which will accentuate the causal factors of significant elements of differentiation. Thirdly, as noted above, semantic change is limited in its effect by redundancy in the vocabulary. Accordingly, greater proficiency can be achieved by partial analysis, which restricts its orbit of enquiry to particular semantic fields.[2] However, in balance to these extremely analytic measures, it should be noted that successful differentiation of these linguistic strata must rest upon, not a small number of individual changes, but a broad spectrum of differentiation, which in some instances, may comprehend phonological, morphological, and semantic development.[3]

A distinction between "langue" and "parole."

Saussure's third thesis established a dichotomy between langue and parole.[4] "La langue" is the language-system, the set of forms

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1. Cf. supra, p.73. Nyberg, op.cit.

2. Cf. supra, p.62. Ullendorf, op.cit.

3. E.g. as that development between Biblical (or Classical) Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew is articulated by Segal, by reference to grammatical changes, as well as semantic changes, and the extinction of many roots, the creation of others. Cf. Segal, op.cit., pp.5ff, and supra, p.69.

4. Saussure adopts these terms as technical apparatus of his linguistic theory. Cf. Jonathan Culler, Saussure, (London, Fontana, 1976), pp.29-34.

and structures, which constitute the grammatical and semantic system underlying all utterances made by the speakers of that language. "La parole" is the set of utterances, referring to the "executive side of language."[1] A similar distinction, in psychological terms, was drafted by Chomsky between "competence" and "performance".[2] Thus, Biblical Hebrew langue is constituted of an abstract statement of the paradigms, syntax, and semantic fields, which can be derived from Biblical Hebrew parole, the set of utterances (in written form) in the text of the Old Testament. This dichotomy (langue/parole), when applied, is effective in creating two distinct disciplines at each level of linguistic analysis, for example, at the level of the study of sound, where phonetics studies the actual noises made, while phonology is concerned with the sound-units (phonemes), which constitute significant elements of the language system. At the level of semantic analysis, the definition of meaning in terms of the functional contrast of units within a system, sometimes expressed in the dictum, "meaning depends upon having a choice,"[3] applies to langue. The interpreter, confronted with an utterance, cannot know the full significance of the words chosen by the speaker or writer until he has considered the alternatives that were made available by the language system. Thus,

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1. Lyons, Chomsky, p.30. There is some disagreement over the precise nature of langue, whether psychological, conventional, etc.

2. Noam Chomsky, Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT, 1965), pp.3-14. Lyons, Chomsky, p.38. The terminological difference reflects the different purpose of each in linguistic description.

3. Lyons, Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, pp.89, 413f., 421, 437.

for example, the choice of ἀγάπη and ἀγαπῶ (-άω) by the translators of the Septuagint and the writers of the New Testament, as the most suitable term for "love" (=אהב and אהבה), must be understood against the background of the Greek lexical structures, which offered the options of φιλία, φιλῶ (-έω) and ἔρως, ἐρῶ.[1] Knowledge of the semantic structures must undergird any attempt to interpret the text.

The methodological procedure, suggested by the dichotomy of langue and parole, introduces the logical problem of circularity. The extraction of Biblical Hebrew generalities from the utterances of the text is then re-applied to the same corpus at every attempt at exegesis.[2] This combination of induction and deduction is circular.[3] Perhaps this circularity lies behind the confusion of the descriptive and prescriptive approaches, against which Sperber has lodged an objection in the sphere of grammar.[4] However, the effect of the problem of circularity is diminished as a consequence of two modifying factors. First, discussing the problem as it affects the compilation of a dictionary, Lehrer argues that the solution lies in the postulation of a recognised "set of primitives," a starting point that is taken for granted.

> "If the practice of defining each linguistic unit in terms of other linguistic units seems circular, it is, but not

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1. TDNT, I, 35-38. Thiselton, op.cit., p.89.

2. "Corpus" is used technically. Cf. Lyons, Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, pp.138, 144.

3. Ibid., pp.410, 434.

4. Sperber, op.cit., pp.1ff.

necessarily viciously circular. Presumably, the person using the dictionary already knows the meaning of a large segment of the vocabulary and can, therefore, understand the definitions of the words he does not know .... Scientific theories need certain primitives - basic concepts that are not defined, or, at least, not defined within that theory. In some semantic theories, the primitives consist of a set of basic words to which the rest of the vocabulary can be reduced."[1]

Intuitive judgments, which are possible in the case of a living tongue, find a substitute in the case of Biblical Hebrew, in the witness of the versions, traditions and current translations, comparative data, and such like.[2] These insights, which constitute the primitives of research, are not always capable of strict categorisation: their existence is enough, although this in no way guarantees their final vindication. There is room for error and adjustment; indeed, primitive data from various sources may be of a conflicting sort. The important thing is that their value or status, they do not serve to define but to initiate discussion only, be not misunderstood. Citation of διαθήκη and "covenant" as translations of ברית should be received in this light. The second modification of the problem of circularity resides in the cumulative nature of semantic enquiry. If linguistic units are points in a system, standing in a relationship of functional contrast, so that they cannot be understood in isolation, and yet the system must be interrupted at certain points, then it is important that the most secure data available be used as the point of entry, but these data require

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1. Adrienne Lehrer, Semantic Fields and Lexical Structure, (Amsterdam-London, North Holland Publishing Company, 1974), pp.3-4.

2. Cf. supra, Part I, pp.51ff. Barr, Hebrew Lexicography, p.114: "The classic tendency in Hebrew lexicography has been to place the comparative information ... as a kind of starting point for semantic description."

subsequent confirmation from accumulating knowledge of consistent intra-Hebraic structures. As further advances are made, greater assurance regarding successful primitive assertions and secondary affirmations is gained. Barr's discerning of "two sorts of semantic question, one coarse and the other fine," is valuable at this point.[1] Obviously, the coarse questions concerning the greater part of the Biblical Hebrew vocabulary can be taken as settled; to that extent, the system has been penetrated already, and the results provide a second kind of primitive. This body of information supplies a sound framework for the application of the criterion of structural consistency to the task of defining the subtleties of meaning and usage and for the discussion of certain proposals of new meanings. However, the caution should be added that established lexical information cannot assume the role of prescription, without some modification, for further investigation. Strictly systematic linguistic analysis is not always compatible with the realities of language usage.[2]

The principle of linguistic analogy and dimensions of language usage.

Another cause for objection to a rigid approach, either in terms

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1. Ibid., p.118. Coarse semantic questions concern the process of establishing new meanings and new root associations for words; fine semantic questions relate to the subtleties of meaning, and occupy the major part of modern research.

2. Cf. supra, Part I, p.49 (the fourth principle derived from the review of scholarship on the subject of covenant), pp.16ff., 42ff.

of systematisation, or in terms of a unified view of meaning, is the fluidity of language in its creative capacity, which is manifested by the principle of analogy. Non-literal language is common in the Bible. One problem, however, facing the scholar in the English speaking world, is that of over-familiarity with the biblical idiom, which often conceals the surprisingly extensive use of metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and so on.[1] Traditionally, the principle of analogy has been studied in its referential aspect. Thus, in the case of ברית, the analogical development would be explained in terms of a change of reference: whereas once it referred to those contracts whereby tribal disputes leading to internecine warfare were avoided or trading agreements settled, it was adopted as a suitable term to refer to the basis of the relationship between God and Israel.[2] Undeniably, there is this aspect to consider, but it does not satisfy the conditions of structural semantics.[3] The structural criterion of interiority requires that semantic analogy be defined in one of three ways: the transference of a word from one semantic field to another; the combination of two semantic fields; the augmentation of a semantic field by the inclusion of new words.[4] Two effects of the analogical process can be recorded: vividness, by virtue of novelty; enrichment of descriptive capacity.

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1. Henn, op.cit., pp.8ff.

2. Cf. supra, Part I, pp.22ff.

3. For the fallacy of a preoccupation with the denotational aspect, cf. supra, Part I, pp.45ff. Lyons, Semantics, I, 170ff. One must differentiate between semantic analogy and theological analogy: cf. Berkhof, op.cit., pp.82ff., 163ff. General discussion: I.T.Ramsey, Religious Language, (London, SCM, 1957). Margaret Macdonald, "The Philosopher's Use of Analogy," Logic and Language, ed. A.G.N.Flew, (Oxford, B.H.Blackwell, 1968), 80-100.

4. These three aspects may combine in any given case.

This has been expressed in an alternative fashion by grammarians, wishing to distinguish between "live" and "dead" metaphor:

> "A live metaphor presupposes a well-established use of language (often popularly called the 'literal' meaning) and then extends this use in a way that is novel or logically odd. The aim of this extension is twofold. Firstly, it sets up a tension which is intended to provoke the hearer into some reaction; secondly, it provides a model, or picture, or frame of reference, according to which the hearer now 'sees' the point in question in a new way. It should be stressed, however, that this happens only when a metaphor is genuinely 'live'. Most metaphors very soon become dead metaphors."[1]

Familiarity of usage robs figurative parole of its vitality, but by becoming well-established, the non-literal feature passes into the semantic field as a regular element of the langue-structures. In this transition, a new dimension is added to the semantic field, and the accompanying enrichment of that field, which is often observed, can be explained by reference to the principle of proportionality, which states that there are two facets to analogy, the essential point of similarity, or comparison, and certain features of distinction. With regard to the oath of God, the writer to the Hebrews records:

> "For when God made a promise to Abraham, since he had no one greater by whom to swear, he swore by himself .... Men indeed swear by a greater than themselves, and in all their disputes an oath is final for confirmation. So when God desired to show more convincingly to the heirs of his promise the unchangeable character of his purpose, he interposed with an oath."[2]

The tertium comparationis is the oath; the proportionality, in this case, is expressed in the difference of status of the appeals to a guarantor.[3] That is on the conceptual side: on the semantic side,

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1. Thiselton, op.cit., p.94.
2. Heb 6:13-17.
3. Berkhof, op.cit., p.101.

proportionality is realised in the enrichment of relevant segments of the vocabulary, which constitutes a process of dimensional augmentation of the semantic field. However, it must be recognised at this point, that the integration of language and life, of sense and reference, cannot be excluded from the consideration altogether, nor is this the intention of structuralism; rather, the task is one of relating the referential elements to a structural framework.

Reverting momentarily, therefore, to the traditional mode of description with respect to the covenant analogy,[1] three stages of augmentation can be detected in the referential aspect of ברית, suggesting four dimensions in the corresponding semantic field. These may be described simply as literal, figurative, theological, and anti-theological. Put in another way: the first dimension represents the secular roots of ברית, of covenants between men, such as that between Abraham and Abimelech after the dispute over the wells, (Gen 21:27); a second dimension is added when ברית is lifted from the secular context and applied figuratively, as when Job relates his resolve to maintain integrity in terms of a covenant with the eyes, (Job 31:1); the third dimension relates to religious covenants, which played a major role in Israelite thought, such as the covenant of YHWH with the fathers, the covenant of YHWH with Israel, with Phinehas, with David, and so on; finally, there are indications that the inhabitants of Canaan viewed their own religious practices in terms of a covenant with certain deities,

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1. It must be emphasised that the referential, or denotational, side of language is not deleted, but complemented by interior linguistic relations, which stand prior for purposes of definition. Analogy is one place that the link between sense and reference comes to the fore.

for example, in the designation בעל ברית, (Ju 8:33), which is the fourth dimension.[1] These four dimensions share a common core of semantic structures, but each developes further proportional differences. Whereas the third dimensional use of ברית is predominant in the Hebrew Bible, the fourth dimension is poorly attested. Nevertheless, once the structures of the other dimensions have been extensively explored, it becomes possible to conduct an indirect search for structures of the fourth dimension, where ברית is not to be found. Indeed, Barr has made the general point that the prophets of Baal used the same linguistic patterns as the prophet Elijah (I Ki 18).[2] Two questions are pertinent to this matter: whether or not there is any legitimate distinction between the third and fourth dimensions? Whether or not the Israelites drew their concept of a covenantal relationship with YHWH from the cultic context of Canaan and the surrounding peoples, rather than from the political background? The first of these questions ds to be settled, not merely by studying the use of ברית, but by a full analysis of the extension of each dimension, where the differences áppear most defined. The second question must remain, in the light of present evidence, a matter of hypothetical speculation.

Finally, with regard to the covenant analogy, it has already been

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1. TDOT, II, 278-279. The term "dimension" is preferred to the conventional labels,"literal," "figurative," etc., because it applies, not simply to the word, but to the extension of the field that encircles the word concerned, in its literal or figurative usage. As far as the present theory is concerned, "dimension" is a term taken from mathematics, used of the raising of powers.

2. Barr,"Semantics and Biblical Theology - a Contribution to the Discussion," 13.

observed that compositional style influences the use of figurative parole.[1] However, it would appear that, in the Old Testament, the third dimension of ברית is stylistically unrestricted, a reflection of the firm hold which this set of structures had taken upon the Biblical Hebrew language.

Semantic Units and Levels of Analysis.

The impressive complexity of language prompts the linguist not to attempt a comprehensive description, but to confine his attention to one of a number of different aspects of language at any one time. He is accustomed to operating with a series of partial approaches, called "levels of analysis," as a matter of practical convenience; each level is intricately related to the others.[2] As far as semantics is concerned, this requires the identification of semantic units. The word has long been recognised as a meaningful unit of utterance, both dictionary and thesaurus rest on the presupposition; but the assumption that the word is "the basic unit of meaning" is false:[3]

> "Genuine advances in semantics were decisively inhibited all the while the word was viewed as the basic unit of meaning. But in some types of exegesis the assumption still lurks in the background that words are the basic carriers of meaning, whilst sentences convey the exact sum of the semantic values of their verbal

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1. Cf. supra, pp.75ff.

2. Robins, op.cit., p.11. Lyons, Semantics, II, 373ff.

3. J.Pelc, Studies in Functional Logical Semiotics of Natural Language, (The Hague, 1971), p.58: since medieval times, philosophical discussion of meaning has centred on theories of naming.

components. A virtue is made out of the method of moving over a text 'word by word'. Side by side with this is often the assumption that exhaustive interpretation must proceed by way of analysis, atomizing language into ever-smaller and smaller units.... Nevertheless, the most urgent priority is to point out the fallacy of an atomizing exegesis which pays insufficient attention to context."[1]

Words function within the linguistic contexts of phrases, idioms, clauses, sentences, paragraphs, and compositions. Even in the case of the short idiomatic phrase כרת ברית, meaning cannot be reduced to the sum of כרת and ברית: words, in usage, exhibit relational properties, such as semantic compatibility; indeed, the Saussurean axiom of the definitive role of functional contrast should serve to dispel this fallacy.[2] Recently, it is true to say that interest has shifted to include analysis of larger units of utterance. Lehrer wrote to the point:

> "A semantic theory should be able to describe the meaning of longer stretches of language - sentences, paragraphs and discourses. Many aspects of language contribute to meaning, only one of which is the lexical item, e.g. the 'word'."[3]

This principle has yet to be received into the canons of the semantics of biblical languages, in terms of a consistent, systematic application. When, in 1975, Alter published an article in which he noted the deplorable backwardness of scholars in literary investigation which pays attention to the finer aspects of the text, its style and the niceties of usage, Levenson responded in defence of the current state of affairs

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1. Thiselton, op.cit., pp.78f.
2. Cf. supra, pp.58ff.
3. Lehrer, op.cit., p.2.

by pointing to the development of form criticism, although he conceded its deficiency in "humanistic breadth of biblical study."[1] The fact is that the strictly semantic analysis of the structural patterns of longer stretches of biblical parole - sentences, paragraphs, and compositions - has suffered neglect, which has deprived biblical studies of a wealth of information that should have illuminated, systematically, a somewhat etiolated sphere.[2] The semanticist, under the compulsion of the Saussurean axiom, must recognise the phrase, the sentence, and the composition, as semantic units, and must develop appropriate levels of analysis.

Occasionally, scholars have shown a concern for sentential analysis, but in these cases, the failure to systematise their methodology has produced further inadequacies of procedure. This is seen in the traditional assumption that the basic kind of language usage is the simple declarative proposition.[3] An acceptable semantic theory must deal with all forms of utterance; this is made all the more necessary by the fact that the grammatical form of an utterance is not always the same as its logical or semantic function.[4] The philosopher, Russell,

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1. Jon D.Levenson, "I Samuel 25 as Literature and History," CBQ, XL (1978), 11. R.Alter, "A Literary Approach to the Bible," Commentary, LX (1975), 70-71.

2. Robert M.Polzin, Biblical Structuralism. Method and Subjectivity in the Study of Ancient Texts, (Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1977), pp.7f. David J.A.Clines, The Theme of the Pentateuch, JSOT Suppl. Series, X, (Sheffield, 1978), pp.7-15.

3. Thiselton, op.cit., p.76.

4. Saussure, op.cit., pp.97ff.

showed in his "Theory of Descriptions" that the "apparent logical form of a proposition need not be the real one."[1] Similarly, with regard to the interpretation of the New Testament, Bultmann claimed that what seems to be a declarative proposition may function as an imperative.[2] In the New Testament epistle to the church at Philippi, the imperative χαίρετε ἐν κυρίῳ, because of its grammatical form, has been interpreted by some as a direct command, but it appears that this imperative, χαῖρε/χαίρετε, also functioned as a standard greeting, and could be rendered "farewell."[3] The difficulty is created by the fact that linguistic form can conceal semantic function; the two are not isomorphic. Criteria for differentiation can be found in compositional level of semantic analysis, at which level, paradigms can be constructed that articulate the langue-context of sentential utterance. Accordingly, two fundamental levels of approach to the linguistic description of meaning can be postulated: lexical analysis, and compositional analysis. The former deals with words and their combinations in phrase and clause structure; the latter, with entire compositional units, and their internal structures.

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1. B.Russell, "On Denoting," Mind, XIV (1905), 479-493. A.C. Thiselton, "The Use of Philosophical Categories in New Testament Hermeneutics," The Churchman, LXXXVII (1973), 96.

2. Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, tr. Kendrick Grobel, I (London, SCM, 1952), 339. Thiselton, "Semantics and New Testament Interpretation," p.77.

3. Ibid., cf.Phil 3:1; 4:4. K.Barth, The Epistle to the Philippians, (London, 1962), p.121. W.Hendriksen, Philippians, (London, 1973), p.192. J.J.Muller, The Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and to Philemon, (Michigan, Eerdmans, 1955), p.140. R.P.Martin, The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians, (London, 1964), p.134. F.W.Beare, The Epistle to the Philippians, (London, 1959), pp.100, 145f. W.F.Arndt and F.W.Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, (Chicago, 1957), p.882. Cf. the greeting of Judas, when he betrayed Christ, recorded at Matt 26:49: Χαῖρε, Ραββει, "Hail, Master!" (RSV).

B. Specific Principles of Lexical Analysis. The Semantic Field.

Since, at the level of lexical analysis, adherence to the fundamental Saussurean doctrines precludes an atomistic view of the vocabulary of Biblical Hebrew, an instrument of investigation that takes serious account of the intricate network of associations within which words function is required. This is supplied by the theory of semantic fields. Saussure's disciple, Bally, wrote about the concept of the "associative field": "Le champ associatif est un halo qui entoure le signe et dont les franges extérieures se confondent avec leur ambiance ...."[1] His concern was with those associations of sense that build up around a word. However, he relies heavily upon his own intuitive insight into the French language, introducing a strong element of subjectivity into the semantic processes; his terminology is vague, and consequently, the concept of the "associative field" (or "semantic field") lacks definition.[2] Apart from the disadvantage of dependence upon subjective intuition,[3] this early formulation of field theory contains two inherent problems. In the first place, it confuses conceptual structures and semantic functions. The confusion of word and idea has been observed previously in

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1. C.Bally, "L'arbitraire du signe," Le Français Moderne, VII (1940), 193-206.

2. Bally uses the term "champ associatif" (associative field), whereas the term "semantic field" is used more often, as in the present discourse, although definition of this term varies considerably. Cf. Lyons, Semantics, I, 250ff. Barr, Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament, pp.170ff. John F.A.Sawyer, A Modern Introduction to Biblical Hebrew, (London, Oriel Press, 1976), pp.160ff. Lehrer, op.cit., p.15.

3. Intuitive judgments have been shown to differ among native speakers of modern languages, cf. Lehrer, op.cit., p.2.

theological discussion, but the problem is even more acute in questions of Biblical Hebrew meaning, where the intuitions of scholars usually find expression in their native speech, English, or a similar modern (European) tongue; such intuitions, on the linguistic plane, have no direct bearing upon Biblical Hebrew.[1] In constructing a semantic field, it is insufficient reason that a given word "makes one think of" another word or set of words.[2] The result of this kind of approach can be seen in the case of "covenant" or ברית, where the vague association of "covenant" with "word," "law," "commandment," "charge," "precept," or of ברית with דבר, תורה, פקודים, דרך, משפט, and so on, is charted.[3] It has been acknowledged that, with such a procedure, it is "hard to know where to stop."[4] Thus, if ברית happens to draw into the mind the word שבועה, it remains necessary to substantiate the connection as an authentic representation of Biblical Hebrew linguistic structure, as opposed to a subjective conceptual link. Secondly, Bally's concept of a semantic field is of limited methodological value because it does not constitute a means of discovery, merely a formula for the presentation of associations that are already known in some sense. What is required in the case of Biblical Hebrew is investigative apparatus, which facilitates both the faithful recording of known facts and the productive discovery of

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1. In the nature of the case, Biblical Hebrew being a dead language, intuitions (of a natural sort) are excluded. Cf. supra, Part I, pp.48f, etc.

2. Bally's phrase: "Le mot ... fait penser," Bally, op.cit., 193.

3. Girdlestone, op.cit., pp.204-214.

4. Ibid., p.v.

further semantic relations. After Bally's exposition of the "champ associatif," various interpretations of the semantic field were propounded. Trier's version of field theory operated with the paradigmatic relations of sense that hold between words.[1] Controversy was occasioned by Porzig's description of a semantic field in terms of syntagmatic relations, emphasising collocational restriction as opposed to paradigmatic restriction, as the key to understanding meaning.[2] In fact, there is no inherent incompatibility in these two approaches, as was affirmed by Lyons, who attempted to make the idea precise: "a lexical field is therefore a paradigmatically and syntagmatically structured subset of the vocabulary."[3] Within these general categories, several more specific relations can be defined.

Syntagmatic Collocation.

It has been pointed out that "lexemes vary enormously with respect to the freedom with which they can be combined in syntagms with other lexemes."[4] In English, "rancid" or "hermetically" are very restricted, being almost exclusively associated with "butter" and "sealed"

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1. J.Trier, "Das Sprachliche Feld, Eine Auseinandersetzung," Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugenbildung, X (1934), 428-449. Lyons, Semantics, I, 261.

2. W.Porzig, "Wesenhafte Bedeutungsbeziehungen," Beiträge zur deutschen Sprache und Literatur, LVIII (1934), 70-79.

3. Lyons, Semantics, I, 268.

4. Ibid., 261.

respectively, whereas "good" has an extremely wide range of actual and potential collocation. In the light of such variation, which is seen in Hebrew as in English, it may be stated as a matter of principle that the usefulness of the evidence of syntagmatic collocation will vary in direct proportion to the degree of restriction placed upon the combinatorial freedom of the word in question. Accordingly, the listing of the collocations of טוב may prove to be unprofitable, because it is capable of almost countless combinations with other words; but the same exercise, in the case of a word that stands in a limited number of combinations, becomes very significant, as, perhaps, with a word such as אמן.[1] Severely restricted collocations can give rise to encapsulation of sense, where, by frequent association, one word takes to itself the sense of another word. This happens in the case of כרת ברית, when כרת appears without ברית, the sense of the latter being encapsulated in the former.[2] Furthermore, when one word appears in a limited set of syntagms, it can lead to the identification of certain paradigmatic associations with other words with which it combines. These syntagmatic relations constitute living fibres of the lexical fabric, and must be included within any exposition of Biblical Hebrew semantics.

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1. BDB, p.379.

2. Hag 2:5 provides one instance of this encapsulation: את הדבר אשר כרתי אתכם. Encapsulation is discussed by Lyons, Semantics, I, 262ff.

Paradigmatic Association.

Paradigms of sense complement combinatorial patterns of usage in langue-structures. Broadly speaking, three categories of paradigm can be identified: synonymy, antonymy, and hyponymy. (i) Synonymy. Scholars hold differing opinions regarding the nature, and even the existence, of synonymy, defined in terms of bilateral implication or complete interchangeability.[1] Whilst words frequently have similar meanings, it has become almost axiomatic to modern semantics that there is no such thing as absolute synonymy, that is, the perfect equivalence of two or more lexemes;[2] perhaps a definition that entails only a partial identification of words is more acceptable, which admits of a common semantic element that "ministers to the beauty of a language,"[3] enriching its potential for subtle expression by creating a redundancy factor.[4] As has been indicated previously, in the case of words like διαθήκη and ἀγάπη, knowledge of the synonymous options of a word is essential to an appreciation of its structural role and semantic value.[5] (ii) Antonymy. It is

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1. Lehrer, op.cit., pp.23f.

2. S.Ullmann, Semantics. An Introduction to the Science of Meaning, (Oxford, B.H.Blackwell, 1972), pp.141ff. L.Bloomfield, Language, (New York, 1933), p.145.

3. Berkhof, op.cit., p.71.

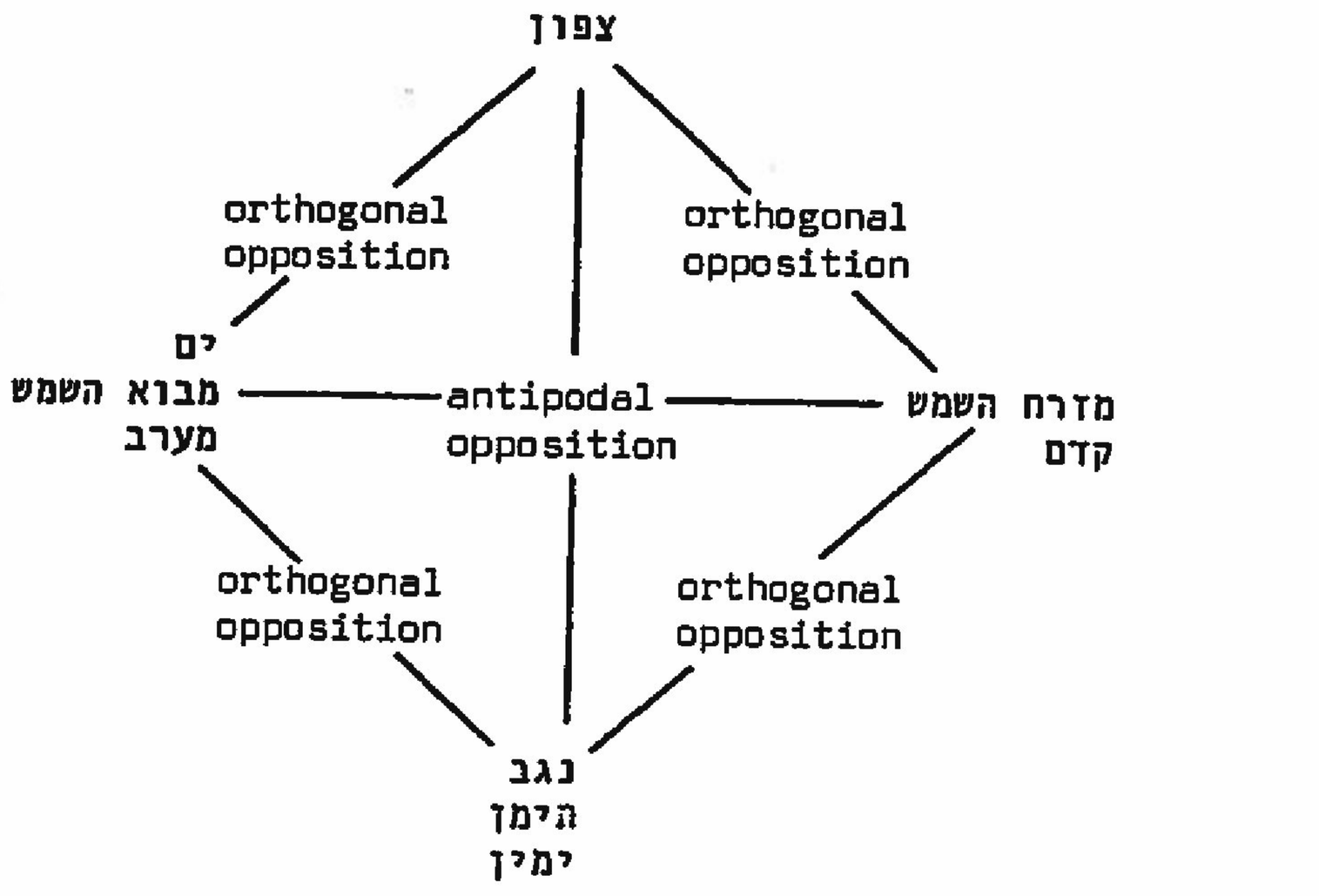
4. Lyons, Semantics, I, 43ff.

5. Cf. supra, pp.78f., and Part I, pp.51f.

possible to distinguish three kinds of lexical opposition: contrast, opposition, and antonymy.[1] Contrast, sometimes called incompatibility, denotes the most general relationship, applying to opposed lexemes with no implication as to the number of components in the set of paradigmatically contrastive lexemes. Thus, סוס, כלב, ארי, נמר, דב, פרה, etc. stand in a relationship of contrast. Opposition refers to binary, or dichotomous, contrast, as seen, for example, in the phrase זכר ונקבה.[2] Modern linguists have observed that many opposed pairs of words contain a directional element, for example, "come," "go," imply "towards" and "away from," respectively. Lyons comments:

> "It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of directional opposition, both deictic and non-deictic, as a structural relation. It is all-pervasive in both the grammatical and the lexical structure of languages ...."[3]

This has been further defined in terms of orthogonal and antipodal opposition, exhibited in the relation of the points of the compass:



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1. Lyons, Semantics, I, 270ff.
2. Gen 1:27.
3. Lyons, Semantics, I, 281.

However, these categories are not limited to terms having an obvious locational reference; by analogy, the same relations can be perceived in sets of words having no apparent directional component.[1] It is usually the case that, in each square of opposition, one relation becomes dominant in popular usage.[2] Finally, antonymy is the most restricted term, in connection with which, the concept of gradability has been introduced. Lexemes are gradable when they entail degrees of comparison, for example, "hot" and "cold," which associate with "hotter," "cool," "colder," etc. Antonymy is restricted to gradable opposition alone. A somewhat similar distinction, drawn by Trubetzkoy, between privative and equipollent opposition, must be excluded from the present consideration because of its dependence on morphological marking not attested in Biblical Hebrew.[3] (iii) Hyponymy. This denotes the relationship of a more specific (subordinate) lexeme and a more general (superordinate) lexeme.[4] The lexicon appears, in part at least, to be organised according to a hierarchical arrangement of words; thus, גרית and נדר might appear to be narrower terms in the category of דגר.[5] Traditionally, grammatical analysis of hyponymy proceeds by reference to the logic of class inclusion, and the order of terms is often related to the hierarchy of natural classes, in the

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1. Lyons, Semantics, I, 283. Note that Lyons uses the terms "complementarity" and "converseness" for certain oppositions.

2. In the set "(man, woman, boy, girl)" orthogonal pairing dominates conventional speech.

3. N.S.Trubetzkoy, Grundzüge der Phonologie, (Prague, 1939).

4. Lyons, Semantics, I, 291ff.

5. Girdlestone, op.cit., pp.204ff., suggests this relation between these terms, though not expressed in linguistic terminology.

scale of genus and species. Alternatively, it can be defined in terms of unilateral implication.

It is noticeable that the categories of synonymy, antonymy, and hyponymy, have regularly been identified by the relationships holding among the referents of lexical items, that is, by extra-linguistic criteria. However, structuralism teaches that interior linguistic relations should dominate conclusions about meaning.[1] Therefore, it becomes necessary to develop new methods of discerning semantic structures, such as the test of substitutability; the necessity of this is reinforced by the observation that the evidence of reference is not always confirmed by interior relations of words.[2] In addition, the move away from reference implies that non-referring words have a potential role in the semantic field, although, in many instances, that role is too wide to be formative of semantic conclusions, according to the principle of proportional restriction.[3]

The entire vocabulary of a language would seem to be analysable into semantic fields,[4] but this does not mean that the structures are neatly compartmentalised; often, words belong to more than one field,

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1. The term "structuralism" has a wide range of meanings, but, in this context, it denotes the fundamental principles of Saussure.

2. Barr, The Semantics of Biblical Language, pp.217f., gives one example of this difference, in terms of the "illegitimate identity transfer." More generally, cf. Lehrer, op.cit., p.11.

3. Cf. supra, p.93.

4. Suzanne Öhman, "Theories of the linguistic field," Word, IX (1953), 127.

and the fringes of most fields are extremely vague.[1] The assumption that words hold to stable patterns of usage does not eliminate equivocation. The error that assumes that the first meaning of a word is perpetuated in every case, or that a word has strictly one meaning, which, in the case of the biblical languages, is sometimes born of theological motivation, is a constant danger to the semantic procedure.[2] Fallacies of composition, division, and converse accident, have been committed on numerous occasions in linguistics.[3] Barr detected the same brand of fallacious argumentation in the construction of Kittel's "Theological Dictionary of the New Testament," which he describes in the following terms:

> "The error that arises, when the 'meaning' of a word (understood as the total series of relations in which it is used in the literature) is read into a particular case as its sense and implication there, may be called 'illegitimate totality transfer'."[4]

Indeed, the procrustean manœuvres of a false unifying policy must be countered by a due recognition of functional differentiation;

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1. Lehrer, op.cit., pp.10, 16f.

2. This error can be observed in Girdlestone, op.cit., particularly, pp.4-8. Barr, The Semantics of Biblical Language, p.5, notes the theological climate, which encourages seeing the Bible as a unity. In covenant theology, the same feature in Eichrodt's monolithic reconstruction of the Sinaitic covenant has been criticised, cf. McCarthy, Old Testament Covenant. A Survey of Current Opinions, p.5.

3. C.L.Hamblin, Fallacies, (London, Methuen, 1970), pp.18ff., 27-31, 37, 46. I.M.Copi, Introduction to Logic, (3rd ed.; London, Macmillan, 1968), pp.68, 80f.

4. Barr, The Semantics of Biblical Language, p.218, writing about TDNT. Cf. supra, Part I, p.44.

to this end, Nida asserts that "the correct meaning of any term is that which contributes least to the total context,"[1] a principle regarded by Joos as "semantic axiom number one."[2] This is one means of preventing langue structures from taking a prescriptive role, leading to eisegesis in the text.

Finally, it has to be conceded that the criteria of syntagmatic and paradigmatic association do not exhaust the rich multivariety of connections into which a word enters.[3] Doubt has been expressed that any single means of semantic description could ever show all the relationships of a lexicon.[4] Nevertheless, the present contention is that the semantic field, as a record of syntagmatic collocation and paradigmatic association, constitutes an authentic representation of langue, in this case, of Biblical Hebrew. When this is complemented with certain procedures of compositional analysis, which are related to the semantic field, significant advances can be made in orderly description of the langue context of Old Testament utterances.[5]

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1. E.A.Nida, "The Implications of Contemporary Linguistics for Biblical Scholarship," JBL, LXXXXI (1972), 86.

2. M.Joos,"Semantic Axiom Number One," Language, XXXXVIII (1972), 257.

3. Ullmann, op.cit., pp.48ff., 236ff.

4. N.C.Spence, "Linguistic Fields, Conceptual Systems, and the Weltbild," Transactions of the Philosophical Society, (1961), 105. Spence insists that semantic relations are more complex than field theorists are prepared to grant, and consequently, the field approach is inadequate. Lehrer, op.cit., p.7.

5. A distinction in terminology should be noted, where "semantic field" is used either of the actual structures in a language, or of the linguist's attempt to record them systematically, according to the criteria accepted in his theory.

C. Specific Principles of Compositional Analysis. Augmentation of the Semantic Field.

Since the inception of the field approach, the difficulty of the inadequate representation of langue structures has been considered. However, once the inhibiting effects of the traditional preoccupation with the word, as the basic unit of meaning, and with lexical analysis, have been overcome, and the task of analysing larger units of utterance is undertaken, surprising and significant advances can be made, in which structures emerge that demonstrate the more extensive and profound semantic links forged in usage; this goes a long way towards answering the difficulty. Compositional analysis, as it is to be defined, provides the objective means for a more expansive study of langue structures than is possible within the narrow parameter of field theory at the lexical level only. Two planes of compositional analysis must be distinguished: (i) analysis of the surface arrangement of the text; (ii) analysis of the deep structures that organise the semantic content of the text.[1] The two are interdependent, but it is a matter of methodological order that superficial analysis receive prior attention, as its results are a necessary precondition to the successful execution of the latter, deep-structure analysis.

The Surface Arrangement of Old Testament Hebrew Compositions.

Superficial analysis constitutes the traditional method of study

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1. "Superficial" is not used with a pejorative sense. Cf. Polzin, op.cit., p.159.

of the biblical text. The status of the judgments made from this perspective, and the manner of their contribution to the semantic analysis of compositional structure, merits examination. In I Samuel 25, the narrator describes the possessions of a rich man of Maon before naming him as Nabal, the fool, who was "churlish and ill-behaved."[1] Perhaps, the order reflects the contempt in which Nabal was held.[2] As such, this is an observation about parole. In order to give the point semantic force, a comparison with passages where other characters are introduced is necessary, for example, the commencement of the book of Job: "There was a man in the land of Uz, whose name was Job; and that man was perfect and upright ...."[3] There follows a description of his household. Even in this apparently straightforward comparison, a complication is introduced by the structure of the book of Job, which inverts the order at the conclusion of the story.[4] In such a case, however, even if a general literary trend were discovered, it would be quite unjustified to conclude that an established narrative convention is, therefore, also, a permanent Biblical Hebrew structure. The failure to appreciate this distinction, between parole-convention and langue, can be seen in the work of Güttgemanns on form criticism; Güttgemanns stressed the sociological and communal character of langue.[5]

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1. I Sam 25:2-3, (RSV).

2. Levenson, op.cit.

3. Job 1:1-3.

4. Job 42:12-17.

5. Erhardt Güttgemanns, Offene Fragen zur Formgeschichte des Evangeliums, (Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie, LIV; München, 1971), pp.50-54.

Consequently, he assigned the oral conventions of the community to the realm of langue, whereas the written forms produced by individual authors belonged to parole. That this is a misuse of the Saussurean dichotomy, can be demonstrated by establishing a distinction between superficial literary arrangements, which are part of the formal conventions of a society, and the deep semantic structures of langue, which operate within the various forms of expression, enabling them to signify what they do, in fact, signify. Without doubt, there is a mutual interaction of the two: there is not an identity. The reality of this distinction is capable of demonstration, at least by the fact that a form (Gattung), or convention of expression, may be shared across the range of ancient Near Eastern literature, but the langue structures are unique, restricted by given linguistic boundaries.[1] Conversely, the functional relations of langue are manifested in different literary types. The importance of the study of trends of expression in the Hebrew Bible cannot be over-emphasised, but the methodological status of that research must be clarified. Speaking generally, form criticism differs from structural analysis (as it is to be defined in accordance with the linguistic canons, already stated) by a dominant orientation of interest in the origin and development of the text, especially with reference to its cultic Sitz im Leben, which leads it to search for structures within, or behind, the final form of the text.[2]

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1. The covenant formulary is one example of a literary type that transcends the boundaries of one linguistic area. However, each linguistic area utilises completely distinct linguistic structures to articulate the content of the covenant formulary.

2. Polzin, op.cit., pp.150-158. Clines, op.cit., pp.7-10, gives a negative assessment of atomism and geneticism. The structuralist studies the final, complete composition, rather than historically antecedent partial structures.

There are, of course, other aspects to superficial literary study, but the distinction under discussion remains constant throughout the range of surface features, not only defining two levels of compositional analysis, but also specifying the relation between the two;[1] successful execution of superficial analysis is a prerequisite to authentic semantic analysis of deep structures.

In consistency with this priority, it is appropriate that, before turning to compositional analysis on the plane of deep structures, certain details of the surface form of texts of the Hebrew Old Testament be noted, particularly with regard to their impact on semantics. It has been claimed that "all narrative can be classified into four modes of narration: straight narrative, scenic narrative, description and comment."[2] In straight narration, the author reports events, whereas scenic narrative relates events through the speeches of characters involved in the action, a mode characterised by direct speech, which accounts, in large part, for the reputed vividness of the Hebrew style.[3] Contributory, also, to vividness, in the scenic mode, is the æsthetic phenomenon known as mimesis, where the author seeks to reproduce the reality of a situation in his story by creating an image of it, by

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1. Cf. C.Lévi-Strauss, "L'analyse structurale en linguistique et en anthropologie," Anthropologie structurale, (Paris, 1958), 37-62, esp. 39ff.: distinguished between "conscious linguistic phenomena" and their "unconscious infrastructures." François Bovon, "French Structuralism and Biblical Exegesis," Structural Analysis and Biblical Exegesis, tr.A. M.Johnson Jr., (Pittsburgh, Pickwick Press, 1974), p.9. This is similar but not identical to the distinction being made here.

2. Licht, op.cit. pp.29f. W.Kayser, Das sprachliche Kunstwerk, (1962), pp.183-185. E.Lämmert, Bauformen des Erzählens, (1955), pp.86 -92.

3. Berkhof, op.cit., pp.89ff.

imitation.[1] The third mode, description, interrupts the story's flow to give circumstantial information, and the fourth mode, comment, is the offering of an interpretative remark; these are proportionately uncommon in the Old Testament narrative style. The four modes are synthesised in narration, but their differentiation must undergird all functional analysis of compositional structure; modal fluctuation may conceal the functional linearity of a composition. It is necessary to penetrate the surface in order to discover the structuring patterns within the narrative, as these are not always in line with the narrator's arrangement.

Despite an absence of identity, the feature of mutual determination between surface arrangement and deep structure is of utmost importance. The combination of various modes can effect a time manipulation, as when a swiftly moving report (in straight narration) is retarded by a scenic interlude, which may, by expatiation, impart emphasis to the matter reported in direct speech.[2] An alternative to retardation is repetition. The repetition of a word, statement, or even an entire sequence, can expose a dominant theme, or create a superficial order in the composition.[3] In the patriarchal narratives of Genesis, the declaration of God, ואהיה עמך, is often repeated.[4] The record of the

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1. R.Scholes and R.Kellogg, The Nature of Narrative, (New York, OUP, 1966), pp.12-14,80ff. Licht, op.cit.,pp.9-11.

2. D.B.Redford, "A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph," VT Suppl., XX (Leiden, 1970),7. The effect of retardation is to be noted in the Joseph stories.

3. Licht, op.cit., pp.51-95.

4. Gen 26:3,24,28; 28:15; 31:3,5,42; etc.

Egyptian plagues reveals a clear repetitional pattern of three triads, punctuated by the final plague, the death of the firstborn at the passover.[1] As in narrative, so in non-narrative writing, repetition is observed. The book of the prophecy of Ezekiel repeats the phrase בית מרי and the verb מרד in chapters 2 and 3, and throughout the book from chapter 6, the statement, וידעו כי אני יהוה.[2] Psalms 107 and 136 likewise exhibit repetitional structures. The revelation of a controlling order, or a dominating theme, by this means, is not of direct semantic significance, but it has an indirect contribution to make to structural analysis.

Many other literary devices could be enumerated: poetic parallelism, simile, metaphor, allegory, parable, personification, apostrophe, soliloquy, antithesis, epigram, hyperbole, paradox, oxymoron, climax, bathos (anticlimax), hypallage (transferred epithet), syllepsis, zeugma, chiasmus, rhetorical question, metonymy, synecdoche, prolepsis, irony, sarcasm, innuendo, litotes, euphemism, alliteration, pun, onomatopoeia, are all features of biblical composition, which must be understood before their structural role can be examined.[3]

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1. M.Greenberg, Understanding Exodus, (1969), pp.171-172. M. Greenberg, "The Redaction of the Plague Narrative in Exodus," Near Eastern Studies in Honour of W.F.Albright, ed. H.Gödicke, (1971), 243-252. D.J.McCarthy, "Plagues and Sea of Reeds," JBL, LXXXV (1966), 137-158. D.J.McCarthy, "Moses' Dealings with Pharaoh," CBQ, XXVII (1955), 321-364.

2. Ezek 2:3,5,6,7,8; 3:9,26,27; and Ezek 6:7,10,13,14; 7:4,9, 27; etc.

3. To these might be added, anthropomorphism, theriomorphism, prolix, and others.

The Deep Structures of Old Testament Compositions.

In recent years, the "theory of narrative grammar," which has come from structuralism, has provided models of analysis of the structures to be discovered in stories.[1] Pioneered by Greimas and Barthes, in particular, who had learned from the ideas of Propp in his investigations into the Russian folktale,[2] this theory has opened new horizons for semantics. It has provided the means for bringing under scrutiny larger units than the lexeme.

Propp conducted a study of the structure of the Russian folktale according to its constituent parts and their law-like relationships. Although attributed to different characters, the same actions were to

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1. The name "structuralism" is so widely used to have lost its significance, while the name "narrative grammar" is rarely used. Cf. A.J.Greimas, "Narrative Grammar: Units and Levels," MLN, LXXXVI (1971), 793-806.

2. Vladimir Propp, Morphologie du conte, (Paris, 1970), ET, The Morphology of the Folktale, tr.L.Scott, (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1968). Greimas has developed the theory in the following works: A.J.Greimas, Sémantique structurale: recherche de méthode, (Paris, 1966). A.J.Greimas, Du sens: essais sémiotiques, (Paris, 1970). A.J.Greimas, "The Interpretation of Myth: Theory and Practice," Structural Analysis of Oral Tradition, ed. P.and E.K.Maranda, (Philadelphia, 1971), 81-121. Greimas, "Narrative Grammar: Units and Levels." A.J.Greimas, "Les actants, les acteurs et les figures," Sémiotique narrative et textuelle, ed. C.Chabrol et.al., (Paris, 1973), 161-176. A.J.Greimas, "Un problème de sémiotique narrative: les objets de valeur," Languages, XXXI (1973), 13-35. Note also the following works of Barthes: Roland Barthes, Critical Essays, tr.R.Howard, (Evanston, 1972). Roland Barthes et.al., Structural Analysis and Biblical Exegesis, tr.A.M.Johnson Jr., (Pittsburg, Pickwick Press, 1974).

be discovered in many of these tales; these he called "functions."[1] A technical term, the function is the action of a character defined from the standpoint of the unfolding of the plot. Thirty-one functions were isolated that would accommodate a description of every folktale. Propp formulated his theory in four propositions:

> "1. The constant elements of the folktale are the functions of the characters .... The functions are the fundamental constitutive parts of the folktale;
>
> 2. Their number is limited;
>
> 3. Their succession is always the same;
>
> 4. All fairy tales belong to the same type as far as their structure is concerned."[2]

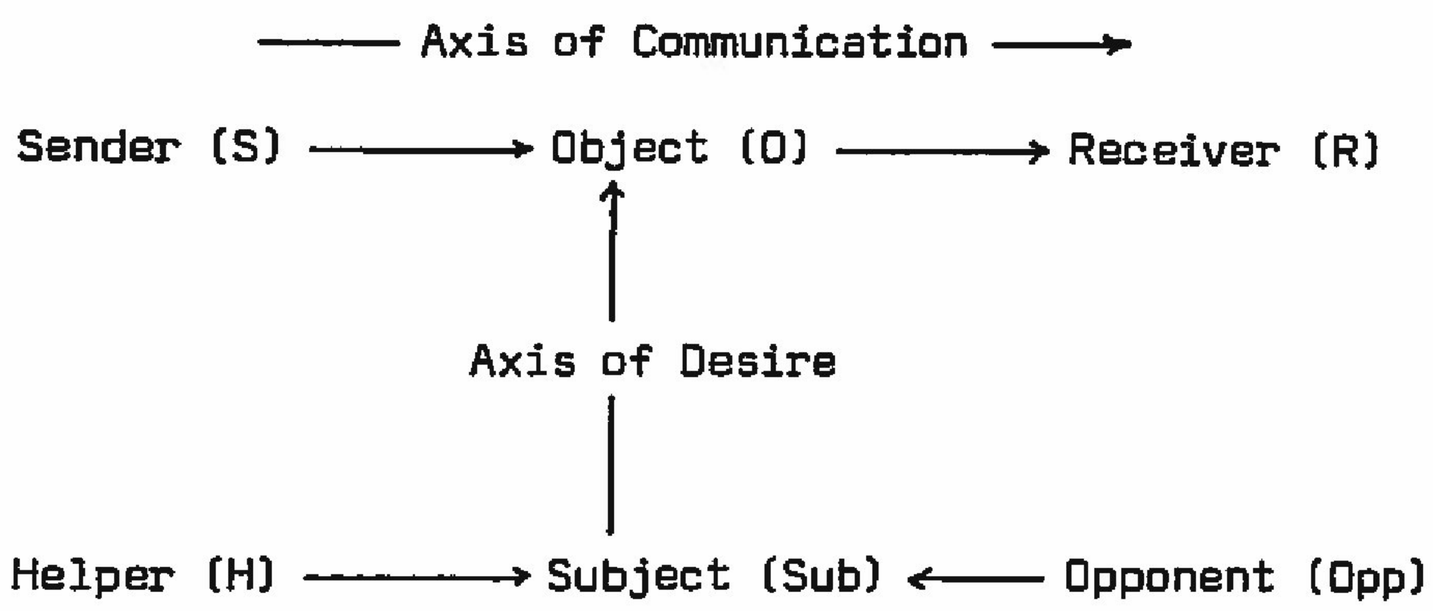
A principle of selection was added, and it was allowed that some functions could be repeated, which alleviated somewhat the danger of artificiality, introduced by the restriction of the third proposition. A second kind of analysis, defined from the standpoint of the actors, or characters, who executed the plot, was proposed. A scheme of seven character types was constructed: (i) the princess or father; (ii) the hero; (iii) the mandator; (iv) the villain; (v) the donor; (vi) the helper; (vii) the false-hero. This character-pattern existed in all folktales. These two models of narrative analysis, designed to operate as complements one to the other, were quite primitive and not sufficiently abstract, but they formed a basis for a development of method.

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1. "Functions" were defined as "the recurrent constants of the (folk)tale." Corina Galland, "An Introduction to the Method of A.J. Greimas," The New Testament and Structuralism, ed. and tr. A.M.Johnson Jr., (Pittsburg, Pickwick Press, 1976), 14-21, (cf. pp.274-276 of the same collection of writings).

2. Ibid., 6.

Greimas, dissatisfied with traditional modes of lexicography, was occupied in the attempt to discover some means of organising the facts of the semantic universe. With Barthes, he postulated a structural analogy between the sentence and the narrative;[1] just as the sentence has a subject and an object, so a narrative has a "subject" (Sub) and an "object" (O). These are related along an "axis of desire," which is given expression in terms of the subject's quest for the object. Alongside this, a second axis, the "axis of communication," is found, where a "sender" (S) transmits the object to a "receiver (R). To these four poles must be added a "helper" (H) and an "opponent" (Opp). These six units of narrative structure are "syntactically combined" in a manner represented diagrammatically by the following "actantial model":

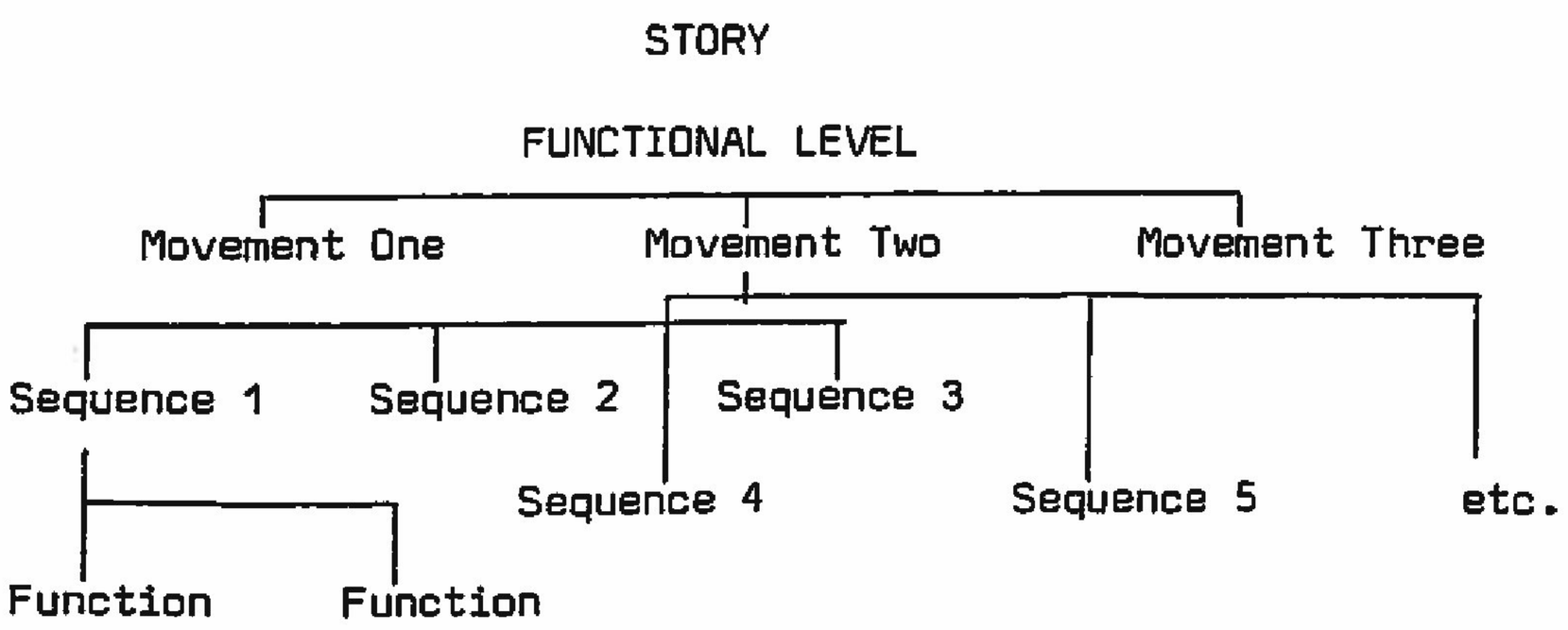


The actantial model is an abstraction of Propp's character typing. A distinction, therefore, is drawn between the "actor" (the charcter of the tale) and the "actant," the semantic unit of the narrative. Several actors may be concluded under the head of one actantial unit, and, at the same time, one actor may occupy several actantial places.

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1. Ibid., 7.

A further step of abstraction is taken when it is asserted that actants are not necessarily anthropomorphous; an actantial unit may comprise such entities as "hatred" or "love." Apart from Propp's heptamerous character-type analysis, to which the actantial model corresponds, the isolation of thirty-one functions was also reduced and modified by Greimas, in contradiction of Propp's third thesis, by viewing the functions in an achronic relationship. In particular, he exploited certain binary oppositions: lack and reparation of lack; interdiction and transgression of the interdiction; combat and victory. By commencing with the initial and final functions, and taking the couplet "interdiction and transgression," he arrived at the concept of the "contract" established on the axis of communication by the sender and receiver. The whole set of movements of the story is set up by the breaking of the contract, which needs to be re-established. Between these two poles, there is a struggle, in which tests appear and are overcome. Within this framework, a distinction is offered between the cardinal functions, which are essential to the progression of the narrative, and the catalytic, or filler, functions, non-essential to narrative progress, but, nevertheless, they contribute to the story. The functional model may also be given diagrammatic form, as follows:



This model accounts for the framework of narrative in terms of a hierarchy of functions.

A number of scholars have taken up the question of the application of the theory of narrative grammar to biblical stories;[1] the main area of study has been the Gospels of the New Testament. Vuillod, for example, with regard to the account of Jesus' healing of two blind men, in Matthew 9:27-31, proposed a fivefold segmentation: conjunction, the introduction of the characters, and an explanation of the circumstances; contract, the establishing of the issue at stake in the events of the story; realisation, (or confrontation, struggle), the fulfilment of the conditions set up by the contract; retribution, (consequence), the results of the contract's realisation; disjunction, the termination of the narrative's sequence.[2] The structuration of Matthew 9:27-31 is seen in other short narrative units of the Gospels.[3] The organisation of functions, and the narrativity, is identical with that of the Russian folktale, and consequently is regarded as secure. However, the detailed correspondence of text and structure envisaged, is sometimes open to an element of doubt, due to the tendency on the part of structuralists to resort to translations, rather than the text in its original language. In the text under discussion, the "Retribution" sequence contains two functions, each attributed to one of the two negotiating parties, both

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1. The basic models of the theory have been elaborated in this process, but the elaborations are not of immediate relevance.

2. Guy Vuillod, "Exercises on Some Short Stories," The New Testament and Structuralism, ed. and tr. A.M.Johnson Jr., (Pittsburgh, Pickwick Press, 1976), 47-72.

3. Ibid., 54ff.

using the verb "to tell," in English, giving the appearance of a simple semantic equation; however, in the Greek text, two different verbs are employed: (Ὁρᾶτε, μηδεις) γινωσκέτω (3.s.pres.imper. act. γινώσκω), and διεφήμισαν (3.pl.1st aor.ind.act. διαφημίζω), which are not adequately rendered by the same verb, being far from equivalent. The distinctions of the original tongues, often not preserved in translation, may influence the precise application of structural analysis, and therefore, must be considered. Nevertheless, the basic structure is well attested. Indeed, following the indications that some have given, these structures appear in Old Testament narrative also, but here again, the Hebrew text must be the point of reference.[1]

In addition to the functional and actantial models of analysis, a third level has been distinguished, the "level of narration" (niveau de narration), at which level, the roles of reader (or listener) and author (or narrator) are introduced as if they form part of the actual narrative, or part of the existential narrating.[2] This has no direct relevance to semantics. Furthermore, it has been admitted that "the procedures for passing from one level to another are not precisely defined."[3] Accordingly, the semantic purpose is served by the functional and actantial integration, omitting this third level.

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1. Ibid., 54ff., Jonah 1:1f; Ex 3:1-4:17; 6:2-13; Ps 1:3-4; etc. Robert C.Culley, Studies in the Structure of Hebrew Narrative, (Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1976), studies oral structures, and a number of "miracle stories."

2. R.Barthes, "Introduction à l'analyse structurale des récits," Communications, VIII (1966), 19: "the code through which the narrator and the reader are identified throughout the story."

3. Galland, op.cit., 13f.

The construction of a theoretical model must be accompanied by a definition of its methodological status, in order to ensure its proper administration. Barthes had drawn an analogy between the categories of traditional grammar pertaining to the sentence (noun, verb, adjective, adverb, subject, object, etc.) and the categories of structural analysis, particularly actants, as they pertain to the narrative composition; the actantial units, in this analogy, are viewed as "syntactically combined."[1] This analogy provides the key to an understanding of the status of functional and actantial analysis. If it is pursued, it defines the manner in which these models are to be applied to semantic analysis of Biblical Hebrew. Sentential analysis proceeds in two directions: the general, transcendent, study of the grammar and syntax of the sentence, relating it to traditional categories, which cross linguistic boundaries; the analysis of meaning, which limits itself to linguistic boundaries, identifying the semantic relations of words, in syntagmatic and paradigmatic terms. The relationships of the latter operate within the structures of the former. Similar lines can be drawn for compositional analysis: the general (syntactic) level, of functional and actantial structures, which, as in the case of grammar, transcends the boundaries of natural languages, (as its origin with the Russian folktale indicates); the specific level, of the semantic structures of the language in which the narrative is given expression, in the case of the present discourse, Biblical Hebrew. The latter operates within the structures of the former, a judgment consistent with the extension of Barthes' analogy. The actantial and functional models, in their

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1. Cf. supra, p.108.

integration, define the structural lines of semantic association.[1]

It is not claimed for the theory of narrative grammar that it has satisfied the quest for a means of organising the semantic universe; research is in its infancy, especially in the case of the biblical literature and languages.[2] Nonetheless, it marks a significant advance upon the traditional emphasis upon lexical meaning. In addition to this, the difficulties occasioned by logico-linguistic asymmetry, where, it has been observed, "the linguistic form of the expression conceals its logical function," can be negotiated by means of narrative grammar; it supplies a broad framework in which lines of functional equivalence standing behind linguistic differences, and lines of functional contrast concealed by linguistic identification, are revealed.[3]

Perhaps the most severe limitation on this method is the fact that it has been applied to the genre of story, only.[4] It is quite clear, that, in order to achieve a comprehensive analysis of Biblical Hebrew semantics, from the structural perspective, the principles of narrative grammar must be extended and developed, until they are capable of

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1. Polzin, op.cit., p.27. These constitute an arbitrary means to reach the linguistic structures; they are metalinguistic in nature.

2. Spence, op.cit., p.105. Galland, op.cit., 5.

3. Thiselton, "Semantics and New Testament Interpretation," 77. Cf. supra, pp.88ff.

4. "Genre" is used loosely, of a kind of utterance, without any connotation of specific categories, other than such as law, genealogy, poetry, prophecy, etc., because structuralists have made no attempt to classify discourse in specific terms.

application to non-narrative forms of utterance. That this matter has been left unattended was noted by Barthes, whose suggestion for a classification was adopted by Polzin:

> "Even though a typology of discourse has not yet been fully or successfully constructed, we may in general acknowledge three main types of discourse: metonymy (e.g. story, narrative, novel, etc.) metaphor (e.g. lyric poetry) and enthymeme (e.g. philosophic treatises)."[1]

This scheme accords with the main categories of biblical literature recognised by form criticism: prose types, including speeches, sermons, prayers, records, narratives; sayings of various kinds; songs and poems.[2] In fact, the limitation of narrative grammar, in its initial stages, to narratives has served the cause of semantics well, precisely because of the difference between the various types of compositional utterance. On the one hand, law and narrative exhibit a tendency towards literal language, that is to say, they tend to administer the fundamental patterns of linguistic structures, whereas prophecy, and moreso poetry, favour non-literal language usage; on the other hand, law is not extended discourse, and therefore, narrative is more useful to show the extended semantic connections. In this sense, the deep structures are nearer the surface in the case of narrative, than in any other form of utterance. The advantages that accrue from this fact of the history of the discipline have implications for methodological implementation. Nevertheless, the problem of effecting a consistent transition from narrative to composition, that is, the generalised extension of method, remains. Two ways of dealing with the problem can be proposed.

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1. Polzin, op.cit., pp.61f.

2. Eissfeldt, op.cit., pp.9ff.

The first method of effecting the transition from narrative analysis to compositional analysis is the generalisation and abstraction of narrative grammar, by accouplement of the functional and actantial models, in terms of a concaulescence of their axes.

It had been Saussure's complaint that linguistics was unable to give a scientific description of language because it had failed to define the nature of the object of its enquiry.[1] The same principle must be applied in this instance, requiring a definition of the essential nature of a compositional unit before analytical methods can be settled. This has been attempted:

> "These three characteristics, then, lie at the heart of structuralism: structuralism studies wholes, studies them as systems of transformations, and studies them as self-regulating or closed."[2]

This means that the text being studied must exhibit the characteristic of completeness, must abide by the laws of structure that make it what it is, and can suffer variation only within the terms of prescription of those laws. Accordingly, by way of primitive definition, it may be stipulated, first, that a composition must be complete. This does not require its isolation. Indeed, in the Bible, most composition is compound.[3] The essential point is that the progression from an initial sequence is punctuated by a final sequence. Secondly, and entailed in the first point, each compositional unit must reveal a structural progression. In the case of narrative, this is manifested in functional

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1. Cf. supra, p.58.

2. Polzin, op.cit., p.5.

3. Clines, op.cit., for example, studies the 'composition' of the Pentateuch from a holistic angle, but the same literature contains many smaller units; this is consistent with the synchronic approach, in that these need not be analysed from the genetic, or evolutionary, point of view.

series, directed by actantial axes. More generally, it may be said that compositional units reveal a "telos," or "telic aspect," which determines the directional of the structural progression.[1] It is the telic aspect that provides the link between narrative and other forms of composition. It was asserted by Greimas that the actantial units of a narrative need not be anthropomorphous, but may be abstract. The essential point is that they are connected by the axes of communication and desire. If these two axes are equated with the general concept of the telic aspect, a corrseponding abstraction of the actantial model can be achieved, to allow its consistent application to non-narrative compositions. Thus, while the actantial units of narrative relate to the axes of communication and desire, more generally, it may be said that the actantial units relate to the telic aspects of compositions.[2] a further implication of this step, is the identity of functional and actantial models; that is, in the case of some texts, actantial development actually constitutes functional progression. This process may be represented diagrammatically:

NARRATIVE: functions ——— narrative pro[illegible]

actantial units ——— axis of desire
axis of communication

ABSTRACT GENERALISATION BY AXIAL CONCAULESCENCE

COMPOSITION: functions
——— telic aspect
actantial units

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1. "Telic aspect" coined as a technical term for the purposes of the development of method proposed in this dissertation, adopted from the Greek, τέλος.

2. This is facilitated by the postulation of the concept of a "null" unit, where it is vacant, but represented by structural placing; this is further developed by the possibility of negative representation of a unit. E.g Helper and non-Opponent: or, +H + -Opp.

The validity of this step of generalisation and identification will be demonstrated by reference to the second method of effecting the transition from narrative grammar to compositional analysis.

The second method of effecting this transition operates at the level of the particular semantic structures of Biblical Hebrew langue, attempting to reconstruct within the framework of non-narrative texts,[1] (psalms, prophetic oracles, etc.,) the functional and actantial patterns yielded by narratives. Where this reconstruction proves viable, and the narrative patterns are verified in another context, the first method is established inductively; the deductive conclusions of the first method and the inductive conclusions of the second have, thus, been shown to be consonant, that is, one langue-structure of Biblical Hebrew has been derived from various kinds of text, by two consistent processes, offering mutual confirmation.[2] This second method retraces the original steps of Propp, but in the context of compositional types other than narrative, or folktale.

The theory of narrative grammar, now extended, in principle, constitute an hypothesis of compositional grammar,[3] prepares a means

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1. "Reconstruction" is the discovery of the same structure in a new context. (The term is used in a different sense later.)

2. Polzin, op.cit., pp.26ff., describes structural methods as "hypothetical deductive," speaking about the "inductivist trap," where induction is too rigid. Cf. Karl Popper, The Logic of Scientific Discovery, (2nd ed.; New York, Harper and Row, 1968), p.135. Nevertheless, induction is a recognised principle of logical method.

3. "Hypothesis," as an initial proposal, which is what this section of the dissertation is, rather than a "theory," which has been tested in application, (and is adhered to by a number of scholars,) even if not proven.

of augmenting the semantic field, which had been defined previously in terms of lexical association only, thereby redressing the balance of a preoccupation with the word as the basic unit of meaning. Once semantics has been divested of traditional inhibitions, the hypothesis can be implemented, producing a semantic field composed of (i) the immediate syntagms and paradigms of words, and (ii) the functional and actantial syntagms and paradigms of compositional analysis. This is designed to create a more expansive, if not comprehensive, synthesis of the semantic structures of Biblical Hebrew langue, than that which has hitherto been afforded by traditional means. The test of the acceptability of the hypothesis must be its practicable productivity in the analysis of semantic structures; <u>solvitur ambulando</u>.

PART III.

Analysis.

An Examination of the Hebrew Old Testament to Discover the Semantic Structures of the Language of ברית.

A. The Biblical Hebrew Corpus.* A Classification of the Writings of the Old Testament for the Purpose of Conducting an Analysis of the Semantic Structures Encircling ברית.

A piecemeal approach, operating with a categorisation of the sources of data, which will accentuate causal factors of significant differentiation, is probably the most effective means of dealing with Biblical Hebrew with respect to the word ברית and its semantic field, in the light of the current evidence.[1] In order to complete such a classification, the four criteria defined previously, (that is, dialect, idiolect, diachrony, and style,) must be applied to the text; but, as these trace different lines of distinction, which intersect, and even, at times, appear contrary, their calibration is essential. In this case, style becomes the dominant factor, identifying certain major categories of literature: narrative, law, prophecy, and poetry.[2] Within this scheme, distinctions of dialect, idiolect, and diachrony, are to be applied. However, a holistic approach is demanded by the principles of compositional grammar, at the level of individual units of composition; although component digressions of style and considerations of the minutiae of source critical dissection are not determinative of the placement of textual units, but rather, it is the general character of a text that dictates its semantic role. It

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* "Corpus" is technical, signifying the textual source material, classified according to well defined principles within the theory under consideration.

1. Extra-biblical evidence (of epigraphy) is limited. Cf. supra, p.77.

2. Eissfeldt, op.cit., pp.9ff., offers a detailed application of such criteria, differing from that contained here, both in character and in purpose.

is to be emphasised from the outset that this calibration and the resultant scheme of classification is not intended to be regarded as permanently and universally valid, but is a matter of methodological expediency, constructed solely as a preliminary measure to the analysis of the semantic field of ברית.

A General Scheme of Classification of the Corpus of the Hebrew Scriptures according to the Prevailing Compositional Mode in each of its Parts.

Narrative and Law.

There can be little doubt that the modern distinction between legal writing and narrative would not have been credited with much force by the ancients in the case of the Pentateuch, where, in the final form of the text, narrative and law are combined; preserved legislation is presented in a narrative framework, some laws receiving narrative (scenic) formulation, and the narratives themselves have a formal character, often resembling 'legal' records, revealing an interest in family pedigree, the appropriation of blessing, the existence of curses, covenants, vows, oaths, charges, entitlement to land, water rights, and so on. Law and narrative the two can be treated as one.

1. The Pentateuch.

   1a. The First Narrative Section (Gen 1:1-Ex 19:25).

      (i) narratives of antiquity (Gen 1:1-11:32);

      (ii) the patriarchal narratives (Gen 12:1-37:2?);

      (iii) the Joseph stories (Gen 37:3-50:26);

(iv) the Egyptian narratives (Ex 1:1-19:25).[1]

1b. The First Legislative Section (Ex 20:1-Lev 27:34).[2]

1c. The Second Narrative Section (Nu 1:1-36:13).[3]

1d. The Second Legislative Section, Deuteronomy.[4]

2. The Deuteronomistic History, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings.[5]

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1. Stylistic digressions are of noteworthy proportions. Genealogical lists (תולדת or שמות): Gen 5:1-32; 6:9f; 10:1-32; 11:10-26, 27-32; 25:1-4,12-18; 35:22b-26; 36:1-5,9-43; 46:8-27; Ex 1:1-5,(6f); 6: 14-27. Cf. S.R.Driver, The Book of Genesis with Introduction and Notes, (7th ed.; London, 1909), p.ii and R.K.Harrison, Introduction to the Old Testament, (London, Tyndale Press, 1970), pp.543ff, for the interpretational problems with תולדת. Blessings, curses, vows, oaths, covenants, charges, (ברכה, מארה, (אלה), נדר, שבועה, ברית, (מצוה)): Gen 1:22,28; 2:(3a),23f; 3: 14-19; 4:11f,23f; (8:21f;) 9:1-7,9-17,25-27; 12:2f,7; 13:14-17; 14:19f,22- 25; 15:1,5,18-21; 17:1f,4-16,19-21; 18:18f; 21:23f; 22:16-18; 24:2b-4,(7b,) 27,37f,60; 26:3-5,24,29; 27:(13b,)28f,39f; 28:1b-4,13-15,20-22; 29:14a; 31: 47-53; 32:28; 35:10-12; 47:29b-31a; 48:15f; 49:3-27,29-32; 50:5b,25b; Ex 17:14-16. Ordinances (חקה): Ex 12:1-20,43-49; 13:1-16; Songs (שירה): Ex 15:1-18,(19,)21.

2. Interwoven narrative: Ex 20:18-20; 24:1-18; 32:1-35; 33:1-23; 34:29-35; 35:3-40:38; Lev 8:1-9:24; 10:1-7,12-20.

3. Stylistic digressions are found, similar to those of the first narrative section. Lists of names: Nu 1:1-4:49; 13:4-16; 26:4-62. Inheritances: Nu 32:33-42; 33:50-36:13. Laws, commandments, etc.: Nu 5:1 -6:21; 9:9-14; 10:1-10; 18:1-31; 19:1-22; 27:8-11; 28:1-29:40; 30:1-6. Lists of offerings, journeys, etc.: Nu 7:1-89; 33:3-37,41-49. Nu 21:14b-15,17f,27b-30. Benediction, blessings, etc.: Nu 6:22-10,18b-24; 24:3b-9,15b-19,20b,21b-22,23b-24.

4. Eissfeldt, op.cit., p.16, notes the hortatory style; cf. S.R. Driver, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy, ICC, (3rd ed., Edinburgh, T.&T.Clark, (1895) 1973), pp.xix, lxxviif, lxxxvii, notes the parenetic and oratorical emphases. Cf. O.T.Allis, God Spake by Moses. An Exposition of the Pentateuch, (Philadelphia, Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1951), pp.129ff. The possibility of a principle of arrangement according to the covenant formulary has been considered, cf. Craigie, op.cit., pp.20ff, Eissfeldt, op.cit., pp.231ff. Eissfeldt denies any intelligible organising principle.

5. "Deuteronomistic" (as opposed to "Deuteronomic") of the redaction of the history in the style of Deuteronomy: M.Noth, "Zur Geschichtsauffassung des Deuteronomisten," Proceedings of the Twenty Second Congress of Orientalists held in Istanbul, II, (1958), 559-566.

3. The Chronicles.[1]

4. The Ezra-Nehemiah Record.[2]

5. Various Personal Tales and Histories.

5a. Daniel 1:1-6:29(AV:28) and Esther.[3]

5b. Ruth.[4]

Prophecy.

6. The Books of the Prophets and Daniel 7:1-12:13.[5]

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1. The parallel status of Chronicles to Samuel-Kings is important for semantics. Cf. E.L.Curtis and A.A.Madsen, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Chronicles, ICC, (Edinburgh, T.&T.Clark, (1910) 1970), pp.17ff,27ff. A Kropat, Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik, BZAW, XVI (1909). R.Polzin, Late Biblical Hebrew, (Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1976).

2. Ezra-Nehemiah exhibit those typical narrative features seen in the Pentateuch. Genealogies and lists: Ezra 2:1-70; 7:1-5; 8:1-20; 10:18-44; Neh 3:1-32; 7:5-70(repeating Ezra 2); 10:1-27; 11:1-24,(25f); 12:1-26,27-47, Blessings, oaths, pleas for remembrance: Ezra 7:27f; 10:1-5; Neh 5:6-13; 9:5; 10:28-39; 13:29,31b. Prayers, chants: Ezra 3:11b; 9:6-15; Neh 1:4-11; 9:6-38. New elements, letters, edicts: Ezra 1:2-4; 4:11-16,17-22; 5:6-17; 6:3-5,6-12; 7:12-26. The autobiographic mode is also an innovation: Ezra 7:27-9:15 and Nehemiah. The Aramaic sections (Ezra 4:8-6:18 and 7:12-26), containing all the letters, are to be excluded from semantic considerations except as contextual features.

3. Daniel 1:1-6:29(AV:28) is, for the most part (Dan 2:4-6:29(AV:28), written in Aramaic. Esther contains no mention of אלהים, or of YHWH, or God. Consequently, these books (5a) are of secondary v[illegible]

4. Ruth retains the typical narrative style. Genea[illegible] 22. Blessings: Ruth 1:8b-9; 2:4,12,20; 4:9f,11b-12,14f,(17). again, אלהים is not found.

5. The prophetic writings manifest clearly certain distinctions of idiolect, dialect, and chronological period, and are to be treated individually. Nevertheless, they form a tradition of style: cf. Collins, op.cit. I.Engnell, Critical Essays on the Old Testament, (London, SPCK, 1970), pp.158ff. Clements, op.cit., pp.63ff. Johnson, op.cit. Biographic/narrative digressions are interwoven: e.g. Jonah, Is 6:1-8:22; 36:1-39:8; Jer 11:1-12:6; 19:1-20:18; chapters 26 to 45; Am 7:10-15; etc. Dan 7:1-28 is Aramaic.

Poetry.

7. The Psalms, Lamentations, the Song of Songs.

8. The Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes.[1]

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1. C.H.Toy, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs, ICC, (Edinburgh, T.&T.Clark, (1899) 1970), pp.xxivf gives an assessment of the diction of Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, with regard to certain terms. Analysis of terms such as שמר and נצר, in their collocational extensions, reveals that these wisdom books, and Proverbs in particular, extend the semantic field of certain terms with terms such as תושיה and תבונה.

B. Lexical Analysis of the Semantic Field of ברית. An Initial Investigation into the Structures of Lexical Association Engaging ברית.

The word ברית constitutes the principal term of the semantic field, what Matoré might have described as the mot-clé, or "centre of attraction," and, as such, it is the primary reference point of analysis.[1] This settles details of procedure; commencing with ברית, radiating lines of semantic association are to be traced through each dimension of its usage, at both the lexical and compositional level, in each stylistic category of the corpus. The absence of ברית from certain portions of that corpus reduces the textual area requiring attention in the first place, but those texts must be retained as areas of potential activity of the ברית-structures.[2]

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1. For the concept of mots-clés, "centres of attraction," (and "centres of expansion,") cf. G.Matoré, Le vocabulaire et la société sous Louis-Philippe, (Paris, 1951), and G.Matoré, La méthode en lexicologie. Domaine français, (Paris, 1953). Certain terms "witness" to the thought of their age by attracting a cluster of other terms, which represent a developed semantic field.

2. Portions of the text omitting ברית: (1a) the Joseph stories (Gen 37:3-50:26); (5a and 5b) Dan 1:1-6:29(AV:28), Esther, and Ruth; (6) Joel, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and Haggai; (7) Lamentations, the Song of Songs, (and many Psalms); (8) Ecclesiastes.

1. An Undifferentiated List of Syntagms of ברית Appearing in the Biblical Hebrew Corpus, with Basic Statistical Data.*

1. כרת ברית (63×):
   - כרת ברית (8×)
   - כרת ברית ל (23×)
   - כרת ברית את (17×)
   - כרת ברית עם (8×)
   - כרת ברית לפני/נגד (4×)
   - כרת ברית בין ... (2×)
   - כרת ברית על (1×)
2. הקים ברית (12×)[α]
   - הקים את דברי הברית (2×)
3. ברית (הנה/היה) (16×)[β]
4. בוא בברית (3×)
   - הביא בברית (1×)
   - הביא במסרת הברית (1×)
5. נתן ברית (3×)[γ]
   - נתן לברית (2×)[δ]
6. צוה ברית (7×)
7. נשבע ברית[ε]
8. שים ברית (1×)
9. עבר בברית (1×)
10. עמד בברית (1×)
11. לקח בברית (1×)
12. שלח בברית (1×)
13. נלוה אל - ברית (1×)
14. הגיד ברית (1×)
15. הודיע ברית (1×)
16. כתב ברית (1×)
17. זכר ברית (14×)
18. שמר ברית (14×)
    - שמר את דברי הברית (1×)
19. נצר ברית (2×)
20. העמיד ברית (3×)[ζ]
21. עשה כברית (1×)
22. הביט לברית (1×)
23. נשא ברית על פה (1×)
24. ברית נאמנת (1×)[β]
25. נאמן בברית (1×)
26. הגביר ברית (1×)
27. החזיק בברית (2×)
28. שמע את דברי הברית (3×)
29. עשה את דברי הברית (1×)
30. הפר ברית (20×)[η]
31. עבר ברית (9×)
32. שכח ברית (4×)
33. עזב ברית (5×)

34. חלל ברית (3×)
35. שחת ברית (1×)
36. נאה ברית (1×)
37. זעם על ברית (1×)
38. הרשיע ברית (1×)
39. מוט ברית (1×)[β]
40. שקר בברית (1×)
41. כפר ברית (1×)[θ]
42. גאל ברית (1×)
43. מאס ברית (1×)
44. (היה לבב) על ברית (1×)
45. ארון הברית (38×)[ι]
46. דברי (ספר) הברית (11×)
47. ספר הברית (4×)
48. לוחת הברית (3×)
49. אות (ה)ברית (4×)
50. דם הברית (2×)
51. אלות ברית (1×)[א]
52. מסרת הברית (1×)
53. מלח ברית (1×)
54. נקם ברית (1×)
55. נגיד ברית (1×)
56. בעל ברית (3×)[λ]
57. אל ברית (1×)[λ]
58. איש ברית (1×)
59. (בני) ארץ (ה)ברית
60. אשת ברית (1×)
61. מלאך (ה)ברית (1×)
62. ברית עולם (16×)
63. ברית-(Party's name)[μ]
64. ברית מלת (עולם) (2×)
65. ברית כהנת (עולם) (2×)
66. ברית שלום (4×)
67. ברית קדש (2×)
68. ברית חדשה (1×)
69. בריה אחים (1×)
70. ברית עבד (1×)
71. ברית ראשנים (1×)
72. ברית עם (2×)
73. שׁמר (את) הברית ו(את) החסד (7×)
74. ברית ועדות (1×)
75. ברית ואלה (2×)[א]
76. חקים וברית /ברית וחקות (2×)
77. מברית (נתן...) (1×)
78. למען ברית (1×)
79. ברית בבשרכם (1×)
80. ברית עלי זבח (1×)
81. ברית (היתה אתו) החיים השלום (1×)
82. בריתי היום והלילה
ברית יומם ולילה (3×)

Notes on the Undifferentiated List of Syntagms of ברית.

* Statistical information can serve as an approximate guide only, as scholars sometimes place a different statistical interpretation on the textual data, which, after all, is not comprehensively representative of the spoken tongue.[1] Thus, for example, while 16 instances of the syntagm ברית עולם are registered, this takes no account of those times when ברית is modified by לעולם.

α. In the case of הקים ברית, the noun ברית is regularly definite, suggesting that הקים signifies covenant maintaining, rather than covenant making. Questions relating to this distinction must be asked of the basic syntagm, כרת ברית.

β. In the vast majority of cases, ברית functions as the object, or indirect object, of the verb, but in a few cases, it stands as the subject: (3), (24), and (39).

γ. This does not include Ezekiel 17:19, which reads:

לכן כה אמר אדני יהוה

חי אני אם לא אלתי אשר בזה

וברתי אשר הפיר ונתתיו בראשו :

This verse has been interpreted as an instance of the syntagm, נתן ברית.[2]

δ. The difficulty of Isaianic language is exemplified in this construction, (from Is 42:6; 49:8,) which might warrant interpretation in terms of metonymy.

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1. Buis, op.cit., pp.17,19,22,25,26, shows a varying interpretation of some of the statistics of covenant language.

2. Ibid., p.17.

ε. The ambiguity attendant upon the usual syntactic arrangement of ברית נשבע as ברית(ה) אשר נשבע makes statistical assessment unreliable.

ζ. The Qal is used once, at Ezekiel 17:14.

η. This treats the verbal roots פור (הפיר) (1X, Ezek 17:19) and פרר (הפר) (19X) as one.[1]

θ. וכפר ברית (Is 28:18), where the genders of noun and verb are inconsistent, has been deemed doubtful by some scholars, who have proposed an emendation to the verb, reading ותפר (3.f.s.impf.Hoph'al פרר).[2]

ι. Phrases denoting the Sacred Ark of the Covenant are numerous, varying as follows:

ארון ברית יהוה אלהים

ארון ברית יהוה

ארון ברית האלהים

ארון ברית יהוה צבאות

ארון הברית

*הארון הבריה

*הארון ברית יהוה

*ארון הברית אדון

ארון אשר שם ברית

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1. Cf. BDB p.830, following GK para 67(v), which regards הפיר as an assimilation of הפר (פרר) to the ו"ע form of the Hiph'il, thus appearing to belong to the root פור*. Contrast KB pp.755,781f, which gives פרר (הפר) and פור (הפיר) ("Nebenform") separately.

2. Cf. BHK critical apparatus, citing Is 8:10 (... עצו עצה ותפר) as a parallel in favour of emendation. GK para 145(o) explains the grammatical construction that uses the simplest form of the verb (3.m.s.) first, allowing context to supply true gender; thus וכפר is acceptable. LXX lends support to MT, choosing ἀφαιρεῖν (ἀφέλη) "to remove" (which translates approximately 35 Hebrew verbs), rather than παραβαίνειν, the usual equivalent of Hebrew הפר (cf. Is 24:5); the LXX translation certainly cannot be used to support emendation of the text.

* Gesenius notes the difficulty of the phrase הארון הברית, at Joshua 3:14, comparing it with other "syntactically impossible" constructions in verse 11. These he attributes to the activity of a redactor; in verse 14, הברית was added to הארון.[1] The Septuagint, which reads τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου, offers no confirmation of this explanation.[2] The possibility of apposition, though rejected by Gesenius, has been considered to be reasonable in more recent examination of the problem; it has been noted that העדות is used in the same way as הארון (comparing Lev 16:13 with Ex 25:21), allowing the possibility of the same function for הברית.[3] The irregularity of usage of the definite article might point to the permanence, or antiquity, of the designation.

א. ברית is associated with אלה more often than would be suggested by the statistic given; cf. Ezekiel 16:59; 17:19; etc.

ל. בעל ברית signifies both the participant in, or owner of, a covenant, as in Genesis 14:13, and the deity, "Baal of the Covenant," in Judges 8:33 and 9:4, where there appears to be an identification with אל ברית (57) of Judges 9:45.

מ. The variety of personal designations encountered in the text stands as a single structural syntagm; e.g. ברית אברם, ברית אתיך, etc.

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1. GK para 127(g). Cf. C.F.Burney, Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Kings, (Oxford, 1903), p.31.

2. J.Méritan, La Version grecque des Livres de Samuel, (Paris, 1898), p.100. For discussion of the Lucian recension, cf. S.Jellicoe, The Septuagint and Modern Study, (Oxford, Clarendon, 1968), pp.157ff.

3. M.H.Woudstra, The Ark of the Covenant from Conquest to Kingship, (Philadelphia, Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1965), pp.78f.

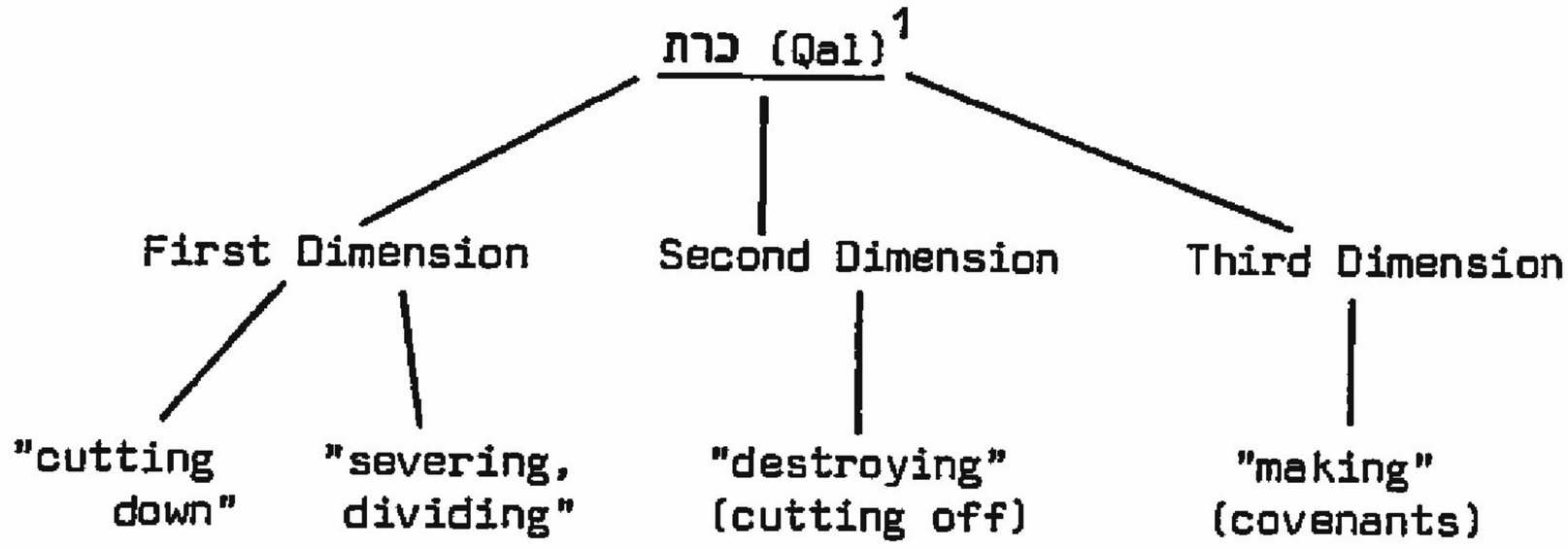
2. An Undifferentiated Analysis of the Collocational Extensions of the Words that Form Syntagms with ברית.

(a) Syntagm A: Verb + Noun (D.O.).

In the majority of cases, ברית functions as the direct object (D.O.) of a transitive verb.

(1) כרת (Qal) "to cut."

This verb falls into three dimensions of usage, forming four branches of meaning, which can be represented diagrammatically, as follows:



The First Dimension.

(i) כרת of cutting down trees, wood, etc., as a dendrological term.

כרת עץ	cut down a tree, wood (Deu 19:5)
כרת יער	cut down a forest (Jer 46:23)
כרת ארז/ארזים	cut down a cedar/cedars (I Ki 5:20(AV:6)
כרת זמורה	cut down a branch (of a vine) (Nu 13:23)

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1. כרת Niph'al, Pu'al, Hiph'il, and Hoph'al, are formed in the first and second dimensions only, especially in the second dimension, cf. BDB p.504.

כרת שוך/שוכה — cut down a branch, bough (Ju 9:48)

כרת זלזלים — cut down tendrils (of a vine) (Is 18:5)

כרת אשכל ענבים — cut down a cluster of grapes (Nu 13:24)

(ii) כרת of severing parts of the body, parts of a garment, etc.[1]

כרת ראש — cut off the head (I Sam 17:51)

כרת שתי כפות ידים — sever the two hands (I Sam 5:4)

כרת ערלה — cut off a foreskin (Ex 4:5)

כרת שפכה — sever the male organ (Deu 23:2(AV:1)

כרת מדוה (בחצי) — divide a garment (in half) (II Sam 10:4)

כרת כנף מעיל — sever the fringe of a robe (hem of a coat) (I Sam 24:6)

The Second Dimension.

(iii) כרת of destroying (cutting off from life).

כרת ... מארץ חיים — cut off ...(D.O.) from the land of the living (Jer 11:19)

The Third Dimension.

(iv) כרת of making covenants.

כרת ברית — make a covenant (63X)

כרת דבר — make a word (Hag 2:5)[2]

כרת אמנה — make a firm covenant (Neh 10:1)[2]

The range of fluctuation within each of these semantic groups is small, and consequently, their juxtaposition establishes a relationship of trans-dimensional contrast (or incompatibility) for ברית. Because there appears to be no connection of meaning between "tree," "head," "fringe," and "covenant," the temptation to dismiss these collocational extensions

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1. Note also, in the first dimension, the use of the verb without any direct object, e.g. כרות "that which is cut," i.e. imperfect, hence unfit for offering (Lev 22:24).

2. The inadequacy of translational values is evident here, as it is impossible in English to preserve both the sense of דבר and of כרת (ברית) in the phrase כרת דבר; similarly, אמנה is rendered only imperfectly by the words "firm covenant." The compromise is evident in both cases.

of כרת as irrelevant to one another must, inevitably, be felt quite strongly. However, this would be to submit to the misleading demands of English grammar and semantics. The relationship (of trans-dimensional contrast) which does exist between יצ, ראש, ערלה, etc., and ברית, is of significance as an intra-hebraic structure. Indeed, it was evidently significant for the words of Jeremiah 34:18, which draw out the connection between the first and third dimensions of כרת, as follows:

ונתתי את האנשים העברים את בריתי אשר לא הקימו
את דברי הברית אשר כרתו לפני העגל אשר כרתו
לשנים ויעברו בין בתריו :

Apart from the usual questions regarding the existence of a covenant ceremony, which this verse often prompts, these words confirm the importance of the synchronic semantic relationship of trans-dimensional contrast between כרת ברית and כרת עגל, etc., and between ברית and עגל, (יצ, ראש, etc.).

Within the third dimension of כרת, the almost exclusive syntagmatic structure כרת ברית makes those diversions from this form extremely significant. Whilst it would be possible to argue for a relationship of contrast between ברית, דבר, and אמנה, the firmness of the hold of כרת ברית on the Hebrew language, which is confirmed by encapsulation, favours analysis in terms of synonymy. Thus, the paradigmatic relation between the syntagms כרת ברית, כרת דבר, and כרת אמנה, and therefore, between the words ברית, דבר, and אמנה, is one of synonymy, in the case of the words, partial synonymy. It should be noted that direct confirmation of this is not found in the Septuagint. Although on another occasion, דבר is translated by διαθήκη,[1] the Septuagint, at

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1. Deu 9:5. Cf. supra, Part I, p.53.

Haggai 2:5, omits the first half of the verse, where the phrase את הדבר אשר כרתי אתכם occurs, suggesting that it is an interpolation into the original text.[1] In the case of Nehemiah 10:1 (AV:9:38), the Septuagint renders the phrase אנחנו כרתים אמנה by the words ἡμεῖς διατιθέμεθα πίστιν (ΕΣΔΡΑΣ Β' 20:1), selecting a noun that regularly translates the root אמן, but a verb that signifies covenant making, as does כרת, and also נתן, צוה, and הקים,[2] which verb is cognate with διαθήκη. By using διατιθέναι, the Greek does what the English is incapable of, that is, it implies a covenantal sense for the associated noun, πίστις.[3] The only other occurrence of אמנה, thought to be a textual error by some, at Nehemiah 11:23, is not preserved by most Greek codices.[4] Nevertheless, the reality of the Hebrew text becomes more acceptable in the light of the collocation of אמנה with מצוה, a structure shared by ברית.[5] Therefore, the evidence of the Septuagint does not contradict the conclusions drawn about the intra-hebraic semantic relations, just noted.

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1. H.G.Mitchell, J.M.P.Smith, J.A.Bewer, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and Jonah, ICC, (Edinburgh, T.& T.Clark, (1912) 1971), pp.60f. C.F.Keil and F.Delitzsch, Commentary on the Old Testament, tr. J.Martin, X/2 (Michigan, Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1973), 188f.

2. διατιθέναι translates כרת, נתן, צוה, and הקים.

3. Cf. supra, Part I, p.54. L.W.Batten, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, ICC, (Edinburgh, T.&T.Clark, (1913) 1972), p.374, finds difficulty with a covenantal sense for אמנה.

4. ΕΣΔΡΑΣ Β' 21:23, ὅτι ἐντολὴ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπ' αὐτούς, but Codex Sinaiticus adds και διεμεινεν, and Codex Purpureus Vindobonensis adds δειμε(ι)νεν εν πιστει. Cf. Batten, op.cit., p.272. C.F. Keil and F.Delitzsch, Commentary on the Old Testament. The Books of Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther, tr.S.Taylor, (Michigan, Eerdmans, n.d.), p.249, takes אמנה = "a sure agreement," and cf. p.262, accepts MT at Neh 11:23.

5. Cf. infra, p.138, etc.

Encapsulation.

Habitual collocation within a restricted range has given rise to the encapsulation of sense in two directions for the verb כרת. In the first dimension, הכורת ("the cutter") encapsulates the sense of עץ, so signifying "the tree-feller" (Is 14:8). In the third dimension, כרת often encapsulates the sense of ברית, producing an equivalence of כרת with כרת ברית; the following instances can be noted:

אכרת לכם — I will make a covenant with you (I Sam 11:2)

בכרת בני עם בן ישי — that my son has made a covenant with the son of Jesse (I Sam 22:8)

In these verses, the Septuagint translation, recognising the encapsulation, supplies the object, διαθήκη(ν).

ויכרת יהונתן עם בית דוד — and Jonathan made a covenant with the house of David (I Sam 20:16)

An emendation to this text has been proposed, reading: יִכָּרֵת שם יהונתן (מ)עם בית דוד, connecting the verb with the preceding ולא, on the basis of the Septuagint, which reads: ἐξαρθῆναι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ιωναθαν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου Δαυιδ, although there is quite a degree of variation in the Greek manuscripts, Codex Vaticanus reading εὑρεθῆναι, but the Lucian recension reading εἰ ἐξαρθήσεται. Indeed, considerable uncertainty has been created by the many attempts to restore the 'correct' reading to the Hebrew text.[1] At least, it may be said that the present text is defensible, without

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1. H.P.Smith, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel, ICC, (Edinburgh, T.&T.Clark, (1899) 1969), p.191. Cf. the extended discussion in S.R.Driver, Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel, (Oxford, 1913), pp.165ff. The issue is taken up later, cf. infra, pp.358ff.

emendation, as an instance of encapsulation.

אשר כרת יהוה עם בני ישראל where the LORD made a covenant with the people of Israel (RSV) (I Ki 8:9; II Chron 5:10)

כאשר כרתי לדוד as I covenanted with David (II Chron 7:18)

The encapsulation of ברית in these texts is indicated, in the Septuagint, by the use of the verb διατιθέναι.[1]

ותכרת לך מהם and you made a covenant for yourself with them (Is 57:8)

There is a number of difficulties with this verse, and with these words in particular: the form ותכרת is masculine, whereas the context requires the feminine, ותכרתי; the prepositional arrangement is most unusual. Accordingly, correction of the text, to read ותכרי, (כרה (II) "to trade"), has been proposed, which is followed by the RSV: "and you have made a bargain for yourself."[2] If the present Hebrew text be followed, the inconsistency of genders finds an accepted parallel in Jeremiah 3:5, לך functions as an emphatic reflexive, and מן serves to indicate the source of the covenantal partnership, "from them."[3] In these circumstances, there is another instance of encapsulation; but the evidence is not beyond

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1. In the text of I Ki 8:9, the LXX adds πλάκες τῆς διαθήκης, which is missing from the parallel text in Chronicles. This clarifies the significance of the Hebrew relative pronoun אשר, referring to the covenant. Alternatively, RSV makes אשר = where (of Horeb), AV makes אשר = when.

2. Cf. BHK critical apparatus. C.Westermann, Isaiah 40-66, (London, SCM, 1969), pp.323f.

3. C.F.Keil and F.Delitzsch, Commentary on the Old Testament. Isaiah, tr.J.Martin, VII (Michigan, Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1976), 374.

dispute.[1]

(2) הקים (Hiph'il) "to establish, confirm, raise up."

Three dimensions of usage can be detected for this verb:

The First Dimension.

(i) הקים of raising up a physical object and making it stand.

הקים משכן	set up the tabernacle (Ex 26:30)
הקים עמוד	raise a pillar (Ex 40:18)
הקים חצר	set up the court (of the tabernacle) (Ex 40:33)
הקים פסל ומצבה	raise an idol and a pillar (Lev 26:1)
הקים אבנים	erect stones (Deu 27:2)
הקים מזבח	erect (or build) an altar (II Sam 24:18)

The Second Dimension.

(ii) הקים of raising up children etc. (e.g. by levirate marriage)

הקים זרע	raise up seed (Gen 38:8)
הקים שם	raise up a name (Ruth 4:5,10)

(iii) הקים of establishing (or constituting) a person in office, etc.

הקים מלך (כסא)	establish a king (a throne) (Jer 30:9)
הקים נביא	raise up a prophet (Deu 18:15,18)
הקים כהן	establish a priest (I Sam 2:35)
הקים שפטים	raise up judges (Ju 2:16)
הקים שטן	raise up an accuser (I Ki 11:14)
הקים מושיע	raise up a deliverer (Ju 3:9)

(iv) הקים of rousing, or raising up (evil, or other entities).

הקים סערה	rouse a tempest (storm) (Ps 107:29)
הקים רעה	raise evil (II Sam 12:11)

The Third Dimension.

(v) הקים of establishing, confirming, bringing to pass, a word, a vow, etc. In this case, the direct object is almost always definite, that is, as it is defined by the preceding context.[1]

הקים את (ה)ברית(ו/י)	confirm (establish) the covenant (Gen 6:18; 9:9,11,17; 17:7,19,21; Ex 6:4; Lev 26:9; Deu 8:18; Ezek 16:60,62).
הקים את דברי הברית.	confirm the terms (words) of the covenant (II Ki 23:3; Jer 34:18)
הקים את דברי התורה	confirm the terms (words) of the law (II Ki 23:24; Deu 27:26)
הקים את (ה)דבר(ו...)	confirm, or establish, the word/commandment, etc. (Deu 9:5; I Sam 1:23; 15:11,13; II Sam 7:25; I Ki 2:4; 6:12; 8:20; 12:15; Is 44:26; Jer 28:6; 29:10; 33:14; Dan 9:12; II Chron 6:10; 10:15; Neh 5:13; 9:8)
הקים את השבועה	confirm, or establish, an oath (Gen 26:3; Jer 11:5; cf. also Nu 30:14)
הקים את הנדר	confirm a vow (Nu 30:14,15; Jer 44:25)
הקים (שבועת) אסר	confirm a pledge (the oath of a pledge) (Nu 30:14,15)
הקים את המצוה	establish the commandment (Jer 35:16)
הקים עדות	establish a testimony (Ps 78:4(AV:5)
הקים את האמרה	confirm the word (Ps 119:38)

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1 Note also Hoph'al הוקם את דברי יהונדב (Jer 35:14), which might be a corruption, cf. Jer 35:16. The Qal form also adopts a third dimension, cf. Nu 30:5. הקים exhibits two senses, which are not distinguished from each other: of raising up a (new) word etc., and of confirming an already existing word.

The good degree of freedom of collocation in the first and second dimensions establishes a wide-ranging trans-dimensional contrast for ברית. However, within the third dimension, collocation is more restricted, exposing a closer paradigmatic relation of the nouns associated with הקים. Thus, ברית is found to be related paradigmatically to דבר, שבועה, נדר, אסר, מצוה, עדות, and אמרה. The precise nature of the paradigm, whether synonymous, contrastive, hyponymous, or something else, cannot be settled satisfactorily at this point, in isolation from evidence afforded by further lexical and compositional analysis; that is to say, the collocative range is too great to be definitive. The question is complicated by the fact that some of these terms have cognate verbs, which reduces the strength of their alliance with verbs shared with ברית, such as הקים; these verbs are: דבר (Pi'el) "to speak," נשבע "to swear," נדר "to vow," אסר "to bind," צוה "to command," and אמר "to say."

Encapsulation.

Although occupying a less restricted orbit of association than כרת, הקים, on two occasions, admits of the possibility of the encapsulation of the sense of its direct object.

ודבר ולא יקימנה and has he spoken (commanded) and will he not establish it? (Nu 23:19)

In this text, there is a possibility that the sense of the direct object דבר (word) is encapsulated into הקים, by implication of the preceding verb ודבר (and he has spoken), and is represented by the pronominal suffix. The gender (feminine) of that suffix might constitute an obstacle to this conclusion. However, it is possible to assign this discord to the cause of constructio ad sensum,

perhaps motivated, in part, by the assonance of the following verse.[1]

כי קשרתם כלכם עלי ואין גלה את אזני בכרת בני עם בן ישי
ואין חלה מכם עלי וגלה את אזני כי הקים בני את עבדי עלי
לארב כיום הזה :

(I Sam 22:8)

The RSV translates these words:

".. that all of you have conspired against me? No one discloses to me when my son makes a league with the son of Jesse, none of you is sorry for me or discloses to me that my son has stirred up my servant against me, to lie in wait, as at this day."

The interesting thing about this verse is the repetitive parallelism of Saul's accusation: "Saul says substantially the same thing twice over, unless we suppose the two counts to state progressive degrees of guilt."[2] If the parallelism is to be interpreted as strictly synonymous, then the instance of encapsulation in the first half of the verse, כרת עם, finds an echo in the second half, הקים את, implying הקים ברית את, where את is prepositional. However, the traditional interpretation finds support from verse 13, where קום appears again in Saul's words, meaning "to rise up (against)": לקום אלי לארב כיום הזה. Verse 13 echoes, not only the use of הקים/קום, but also the phrase לארב כיום הזה (to lie in wait, as at this day), although the preposition has changed from על to אל (against). Later,

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1. Cf. GK para 145.

2. Smith, op.cit., p.206.

at I Samuel 26:19, the narrator introduces a second verb, הסית "to incite," in David's words, הסיתך בי, speaking about Saul.[1] Confirmation of the traditional interpretation is also found in the Septuagint, which translates הקים (I Sam 22:8) by ἐπήγειρεν, and לקום (I Sam 22:13) by θέσθαι (from τίθημι/Inf.θεῖναι).[2] The case may be open to doubt, but the possibility of encapsulation must be allowed; perhaps the narrator chose to play on the ambiguity of the phrase in its context.

(3) צוה (Pi'el) "to order, to command."

It is in the first dimension that this verb functions with reference to the semantic field of ברית.

צוה דבר	command a word (Ex 16:16,32; 35:4; Lev 8:5; 9:6; 17:2; Nu 30:2; 36:6; Deu 4:2; 15:15; Jos 8:27,35; 11:15; I Sam 21:3(2X); II Sam 24:19; I Ki 11:10; Jer 7:23; 29:23; 51:59; Ps 105:8; I Chron 16:15)
צוה דברים	command words (Ex 19:7; 35:1; Jer 38:27)
צוה תורה	command law (Nu 19:2; Deu 33:4; Jos 1:7; II Ki 17:13; I Chron 16:40; Neh 9:14; Mal 3:22)
צוה ברית	command a covenant (Deu 4:13; Jos 7:11; 23:16; Ju 2:20; I Ki 11:11; Jer 11:3-4; Ps 111:9)

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1. Perhaps the narrator deliberately distinguished between הקים (with a positive connotation) of David, and הסית (with a negative connotation) of Saul. This can be compared with the number of times that אלי/עלי "against me" is used by Saul of himself.

2. N.B. LXX reads לארב as לאיב, εἰς ἐχθρον, reflecting some uncertainty regarding the meaning, or reading, of the Hebrew text; cf. Smith, op.cit., p.206.

צוה חסד	command covenant love, (commitment, loyalty, devotion) (Ps 42:9)
צוה מצוה/מצות	command a commandment/commandments (Deu 6:2; 26:13; I Sam 13:13; I Ki 2:43; 13:21; Neh 9:14; Jer 35:16)
צוה חקים/חקות	command statutes (Nu 19:2; Deu 6:17; 28:45; I Ki 8:58; 11:11; Zech 1:6; Mal 3:22)
צוה ברכה	command blessing (Lev 25:21; Deu 28:8; Ps 133:3)
צוה משפט	command judgment (Ps 7:7)
צוה פקודים	command precepts (Ps 119:4)
צוה מנחה	command tribute (I Sam 2:29)
צוה ישועה	command salvation (Ps 44:5)
צוה דרך	command a way (Ex 32:8; Deu 9:12,16; 31:29; Jer 7:23)
צוה עז	command strength (Ps 68:29)[1]

This set of syntagms increases the number of nouns that stand in some sort of paradigmatic relation with ברית: דבר, מצוה, (as with חקים), תורה, חקים/חקות, ברכה, מנחה, דרך, and from the Psalms, חסד, משפט, פקודים, ישועה, and עז.[2] This paradigmatic association can be made precise, only within the framework of compositional analysis, as noted previously. In addition, the close similarity of usage between צוה and חקים should be recognised, as it is manifested, for example, in I Samuel 13:13-15, where these verbs occur several times, exhibiting significant word play, and exposing the theme of these few verses.

So also, Isaiah 55:4 suggests a similar function for נתן.

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1. This reference might appear to belong to figurative usage, but it rather reflects the intrusion of poetic style, leading to the non-literal use of עז.

2. The Psalms augment the range of syntagms notably.

(4) נשבע (Niph'al) "to swear, take an oath."

This verb often functions with a following infinitive, where the contents of the oath are stated or referred to, but on a few occasions it receives a direct object.

נשבע ברית	swear a covenant (Deu 4:31; 8:18)
נשבע ברית וחסד	swear a covenant and loyalty (Deu 7:12)
נשבע אמת וחסד	swear truth and loyalty (Mic 7:20)[1]
נשבע דבר	swear a word (Deu 9:5; cf. also Gen 24:9)
נשבע שבועה	swear an oath (Nu 30:3; Deu 7:8; Jer 11:5)

The infrequent ascription of an object to נשבע, the awkwardness of which is perhaps reflected by the regular syntactic achievement of this by means of the relative pronoun,[2] imparts greater significance to the paradigmatic association of nouns that occupy that functional role: דבר, שבועה, חסד, אמת, and ברית. In addition, the verb נשבע manifests a close connection with נדר (Ps 132:2,11), דבר (Gen 24:7), כרת ברית (Ps 89:4), and בוא בברית (Ezek 16:8), by contextual association, confirming the paradigms of nouns.

(5) הודיע (Hiph'il) "to make known."

הודיע, like הגיד (to make known), is very general in its collocative range, but, nevertheless, certain syntagms confirm the evidence already marshalled.

הודיע דבר	make known a word (Deu 4:9; Prov 1:23)
הודיע חקים	make known statutes (Ex 18:16)

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1. Cf. R.G.Boling, " 'Synonymous' Parallelism in the Psalms," JSS, V (1960), 221-255, note esp. 231 on the sequence of חסד ואמת.

2. Cf. supra, p.129, note 6.

הודיע ארח/דרך	make known a way (Ex 18:20; 33:13; Is 40:14; Ps 16:11)
הודיע אמת	make known (reveal) truth (Is 38:19)
הודיע עצה	make known counsel (Is 40:13)
הודיע משפטים	make known judgments (Ezek 20:11)
הודיע תורת	make known laws (Ezek 43:11)
הודיע אמונה	make known faithfulness (Ps 89:2)
הודיע ישועה	make known salvation (Ps 98:2)
הודיע ברית וסוד	make known covenant and counsel (Ps 25:14)[1]
הודיע חכמה	make known wisdom (Ps 51:8)
הודיע עז	make known strength (Ps 77:15)[2]

(6) כתב (Qal) "to write."

Two sets of association may be distinguished for this verb.

(i) כתב of writing a book, a scroll, etc., or in a book, scroll, etc.[3]

כתב מכתב	write a writing (Ex 39:30)
כתב כְּתָב	write a writing (late word) (Ezra 4:7)
כתב ספר	write a book (Ex 32:32)
כתב מגלה	write a scroll (Jer 38:6)
כתב אגרת	write a letter (II Chron 30:1)
כתב לחות	write tablets (Ex 31:18)

In addition to these standard direct objects, certain unusual accusatives

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1. סוד has a significantly close connection with ברית, obscured by translation, meriting attention in its compositional role; cf. Jer 23:18, 22; Job 15:8; Ps 111:1; Prov 3:32; etc.

2. Again, the Psalms extend the collocative range, and therefore the paradigmatic associations, in the same direction.

3. More often, the noun is indirect, preceded by the preposition ב, על, אל.

are associated with כתב, such as יע, יצ׳ץ, לב, etc., when the verb retains its regular significance.

(ii) כתב of writing the contents of a writing, that is, the object indicating the substance, or nature of that which was written.

כתב ברית	write a covenant (Deu 29:20(AV:21))[1]
כתב דברים	write words (terms/commandments) (Ex 34:17; Jer 36:27)
כתב תורה	write a law (II Ki 17:37; Jer 31:33)
כתב מצוה	write a commandment (Ex 24:12)
כתב משפט	write a judgment (Ps 149:9)
כתב חקות	write statutes (I Ki 2:3)
כתב עדות	write testimonies (I Ki 2:3)
כתב אלה	write a curse (Deu 29:19,26(AV:20,27))

(7) זכר (Qal) "to remember, preserve, maintain."

The subject of an intensive study by Schottroff,[2] this verb has a wide-ranging usage, but a restricted set of direct objects can be discerned: "Unter diesen Objekten steht an erster Stelle der Begriff ברית, daneben sind zu nennen: רחם, חסד, רחמים und דבר (Verheissungswort)."[3] Within the present terms of reference, the following set of syntagms can be constructed:

זכר ברית	remember a covenant (Gen 9:15,16; Ex 2:4; 6:5; Lev 26:42(2X),45; Jer 14:21; Ezek 16:60; Am 1:9;

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1. Deu 29:20(AV:21): ככל אלות הברית הכתובה. In the context, cf. verse 19, the reference of the passive participle to ברית is not incontestable, in the light of Deu 30:10, where there is a lack of concord of number: מצותיו וחקתיו הכתובה.

2. Schottroff, op.cit. Cf. supra, Part I, p.40.

3. Schottroff, op.cit., p.202.

Ps 105:8; 106:45; 111:5; I Chron 16:5)

זכר מצוה remember a commandment (Nu 15:39,40 (=pl.))

זכר דבר remember a word (Jos 1:13; Neh 1:8; Ps 105:42; 119:49)

זכר תורה remember law (Mal 3:22)

זכר מנחה remember tribute (offering) (Ps 20:4)

זכר רחמים (וחסד) remember compassion (and covenant love) (Ps 25:6)

זכר חסד remember covenant love (Ps 98:3; 106:7; II Chron 6:42; 24:22)[1]

זכר משפט remember judgment (Ps 119:52)

זכר פקדים remember precepts (Ps 103:18)

(8) שמר (Qal) "to keep, observe, preserve."

שמר receives a large selection of objects; within the semantic field under consideration, the following may be noted:

שמר ברית keep covenant (Gen 17:9,10; Ex 19:5; Deu 7:9,12; I Ki 8:23; 11:11; Ezek 17:14; Ps 103:18; 132:12; Dan 9:4; Neh 1:5; 9:32; II Chron 6:14)

שמר את דברי הברית keep the terms of the covenant (Deu 29:8)

שמר חרם keep a ban (Jos 6:18)

שמר דרך keep a way (Gen 18:19; Ju 2:22; II Sam 22:22; Mal 2:9; Ps 18:22; Job 22:15 (=אֹרח))

שמר משמרה keep a charge (Gen 26:5; Lev 8:35; 18:30; 22:9; Nu 1:53; 3:7,38; 8:26; 9:19,23; 18:3,5; Deu 11:1; Jos 22:3; I Ki 2:3)

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1. N.B. the use of ל before the direct object, at II Chron 6:42.

שמר עדות	keep testimonies (Ps 78:56; 99:7)
שמר עדות	keep a testimony (Ps 119:88)[1]
שמר דבר	keep a word (Ex 12:24; Ps 119:57,101)
שמר פקודים	keep precepts (Ps 119:63,134; Job 10:12)
שמר תורה/תורת	keep law/laws (Gen 26:5; Ex 16:28; Jos 1:7; Ps 119:44,55)
שמר את דברי התורה	keep the words of the law (Deu 17:9)
שמר עבדה	observe service (Ex 12:25)
שמר חק/חקים/חקה	observe statute(s) (Gen 26:5; Ex 13:10; 15:26; Lev 18:4,5,26; 19:19,37; 20:8,22; Deu 4:5-6,40; 6:2; 16:12; 26:17; 30:10,16; I Ki 3:14; 8:58; 9:4; 11:11,34,38)
שמר מצוה/מצות	keep (obey) commandment(s) (Gen 26:5; Ex 16:28; 20:6; Lev 22:31; 26:3; Deu 4:2; 5:29,32; 7:11; 8:1,2,6,11; 10:13; 11:8; 13:5,19; 18:5; 19:9; 26:17,18; 27:1; 28:9,45; 30:10,16; Jos 22:(3),5; I Sam 13:13; I Ki 3:14; 6:12; 8:58,61; 9:6; 11:34,38; 13:21; 14:8)
שמר משפט	keep judgment (Lev 25:18; Deu 4:5-6; 7:12; I Ki 9:4; Is 56:1; Ezek 11:20; Hos 12:7)
שמר שבועה	keep (fulfil) an oath (Deu 7:8; I Ki 2:43)
שמר נדר	keep (perform) a vow (Deu 23:24)
שמר אמרה	keep a word (Deu 33:9; Ps 119:67)
שמר חסד	keep covenant love (maintain commitment) (I Ki 3:6; Hos 12:7; Ps 89:29)

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1. Cf. BDB, p.730, on pointing differences.

שמר ברית וחסד	keep covenant and loyalty (Dan 9:4; Neh 1:5; etc.)
שמר אמת	keep truth (Ps 146:6)
שמר צורתו	keep/observe (its) form (Ezek 43:11)[1]
שמר חג	observe a festival (Ex 23:15; 34:18)
שמר שבת	observe the Sabbath (Ex 31:13,14,16; Lev 19:3,30; 26:2; Deu 5:12)
שמר כהנה	attend to the priesthood (Nu 3:10; 18:7)
שמר את חדש האביב	observe the month of Abib (Deu 16:1)
שמר מוסר	observe discipline (Prov 10:17)
שמר תוכחת	heed (observe) reproof (Prov 13:18; 15:5)
שמר תבונה	keep understanding (Prov 19:8)[2]

(9) נצר (Qal) "to keep."

נצר is a less frequently occurring equivalent of שמר.

נצר ברית	keep covenant (Deu 33:9; Ps 25:10)
נצר חסד	maintain loyalty (Ex 34:7; Ps 40:12; 61:8; Prov 20:28)
נצר דעת	keep knowledge (Prov 22:12)
נצר מצות	keep commandments (Ps 78:7; Prov 3:1; 6:20)
נצר תורת	keep laws (Ps 105:45; 119:35; Prov 28:7)
נצר עדת	keep testimonies (Ps 119:2,22; (cf.Ps25:10))
נצר פקודים	keep precepts (Ps 119:56,64,100)
נצר חקים	observe statutes (Ps 119:145)

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1. צורתו perhaps should be read תורהו, as RSV, cf LXX, reading δικαιώματά ; cf. G.A.Cooke, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel, (Edinburgh, T.&T.Clark, (1936) 1970), pp.474f.

2. The book of Proverbs augments the list of syntagms in a new direction.

נצר ארחות משפט	keep ways of judgment (Prov 2:8)
נצר תבונה	keep understanding (Prov 2:11)
נצר תושיה	observe wisdom (Prov 3:21)

(10) הפר (הפיר) (Hiph'il) "to break, fracture, annul, destroy, etc."

הפר is used almost exclusively of the semantic field in question; the exception, in Ecclesiastes 12:5, ותפר האביונה, is thought, by many scholars, to be an error in the text.[1] Otherwise, the following syntagms can be registered:

הפר ברית	break a covenant (Gen 17:14; Lev 26:15,44; Deu 31:16,20; Ju 2:1; I Ki 15:19; Is 24:5; 33:8; Jer 11:10; 14:21; 31:32; 33:20; Ezek 16:50; 17:15,16,18; 44:7; Zech 11:10; II Chron 16:3)
הפר אחוה	break a covenant (fraternity) (Zech 11:14)
הפר נדר	break (annul) a vow (Nu 30:9,13)
הפר אסר	break (annul) a pledge (Nu 30:13)
הפר מצוה	break a commandment (Nu 15:31; Ezra 9:14)
הפר תורה	break law (Ps 119:126)
הפר עצה	break (frustrate) counsel (II Sam 15:34; 17:14; Ezra 4:5; Neh 4:9)
הפר משפט	break judgment (Job 40:8)
הפר אות (=אֹתות בדים)	break a sign (omens of liars RSV) (Is 44:25)
הפר יראה	break fear (destroy reverence) (Job 15:4)

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1. The Versions emend to read the Hoph'al, retaining האביונה = "caper-berry," possibly excepting the Version of Symmachus; note, the Targums read הָאֶבְיוֹנָה "the poor." It is the unusual association of the verb הפר (פרר) that creates the problem; cf. G.A.Barton, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes, ICC, (Edinburgh, T.&T.Clark, (1908) 1971), pp.191f, 196.

הפר כעס	break anger (Ps 85:5)
הפר מחשבות (ערומים)	break thoughts/devices (of the crafty) (Job 5:12; Prov 15:22)

The Hoph'al, though occurring far less frequently than the Hiph'il, is seen to operate within the same collocative range:

ברית הפר	a covenant being broken (Jer 33:21; Zech 11:10-11)
עצה הפר	counsel being broken (Is 8:10)

(11) שכח (Qal) "to forget."

Of the wide range of usage, of forgetting persons, sins, etc., a limited set of collocations can be registered in consistency with the preceding associations:

שכח בריה	forget a covenant (Deu 4:23,31; II Ki 17:10; Prov 2:17; Jer 50:5(Niph'al))
שכח דבר(ים)	forget a word (words) (Deu 4:9; Ps 119:16,139)
שכח מצות	forget commandments (Deu 26:13; Ps 119:176)[1]
שכח תורה	forget law(s) (Hos 4:6; Ps 119:61,109,153; Prov 3:1)
שכח חקים	forget statutes (Ps 119:83)
שכח פקודים	forget precepts (Ps 119:93, 141)

(12) עזב (Qal) "to leave, forsake, abandon."

עזב appears to function synonymously with שכח.

עזב בריה	forsake a covenant (Deu 29:24; I Ki 19:10,14;

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1. The inaccuracies of translational representation of the facts of Hebrew langue are exemplified by BDB p.1013, on this point, where דבר and מצוה are regarded as one item, "commandment," cf. Hos 4:6; Deu 26:13.

Jer 22:9; Dan 11:30)

עזב חסד ואמת — forsake loyalty and truth (Gen 24:27; Jon 2:9 (AV:8); Ruth 2:20; Prov 3:3)

עזב עצה — forsake counsel (I Ki 12:8,13; II Chron 10:8,13)

עזב מצות — forsake commandments (I Ki 18:18; II Ki 17:16; Ezra 9:10; II Chron 7:19)

עזב דברים — forsake words (Is 42:16)

עזב חקים — forsake statutes (II Chron 7:19)

עזב משפט — forsake judgment (Is 58:2)

עזב תורה — forsake law (Jer 9:12(AV:13); Ps 89:31; 119:53; Prov 4:2; 28:4; II Chron 12:1)

עזב פקודים — forsake precepts (Ps 119:87)

עזב דרך — forsake a way (Is 55:7)

עזב ארחות ישר — forsake ways of uprightness (Prov 2:13)

עזב תוכחת — forsake reproof (Prov 10:17)

עזב מוסר — forsake discipline (Prov 15:10)

(13) עבר (Qal) "to pass over, transgress."

עבר את פי יהוה — transgress the command (mouth) of YHWH (Nu 14:14; 22:18; 24:13; I Sam 15:24; Prov 8:29)

עבר (את ה)ברית — transgress a/the covenant (Deu 17:2; Jos 7:11,15; 23:16; Ju 2:20; II Ki 18:12; Jer 34:18;[1] Hos 6:7; 8:1)

עבר דבר — transgress a word (command) (Esth 1:19)

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1. At Jer 34:18, notice the manipulation of the bifurcation of meaning of עבר "to transgress," and "to pass over, through," a verse which also develops the different senses of the verb כרת, cf. supra, p.133.

עבר (מ)צוה	transgress a commandment (Deu 26:13; Esth 3:3; II Chron 24:20)
עבר תורת	transgress laws (Is 24:5; Dan 9:11)
עבר חק	transgress a statute (Ps 148:6; Job 14:15)

(b) A Paradigmatic Set of Nouns Derived from the Undifferentiated Analysis of the Collocational Extensions of Words that Form Syntagms with ברית according to the Structure of Syntagm A, Verb + Noun (D.O.), with the Introduction of Certain Principles of Differentiation.

There is a noteworthy consistency of nouns that associate with those verbs which form syntagms with ברית. The strength of the paradigmatic association of these nouns (including ברית) is dependent upon several factors:

(i) the combinatorial restriction of the verbs in question, which link the nouns;

(ii) the number of attested instances of the syntagm concerned;

(iii) the number of verbs that two nouns hold in common;

(iv) the fact of usage of the syntagms concerned within the same literary context, or contexts.

The last point introduces a major principle of differentiation, which has been alluded to only, in preceding discussion.

The results of analysis can be charted in a table of the main paradigmatic structures, with additional notes on weaker connections:

Table of Nouns in Paradigmatic Association with ברית and the Syntagmatic Structures which Establish those Associations.

Nouns:	Associated Verbs												
ברי	כרת	הקים	צוה	נשבע	הודיע	כתב	זכר	שמר	נצר	הפר	שכח	עזב	עבר
אמנ[α]	כרת												
אחו[α]										הפר			
דב	כרת	הקים	צוה	נשבע	הודיע	כתב	זכר	שמר			שכח	עזב	עבר
תור			צוה		הודיע	כתב	זכר	שמר	נצר	הפר	שכח	עזב	עבר
מצו		הקים	צוה			כתב	זכר	שמר	נצר	הפר	שכח	עזב	עבר
חק(י			צוה		הודיע	כתב		שמר	נצר		שכח	עזב	עבר
משפ			צוה		הודיע	כתב	זכר	שמר		הפר		עזב	
פקודי			צוה				זכר	שמר	נצר		שכח	עזב	
חס			צוה	נשבע			זכר	שמר	נצר			עזב	
אמ				נשבע	הודיע			שמר				עזב	
דרך/אר			צוה		הודיע			שמר	נצר			עזב	
שבוע		הקים		נשבע				שמר					
נד		הקים						שמר		הפר			
אס		הקים								הפר			
עדו		הקים						שמר					
עדו						כתב		שמר	נצר				
עצ					הודיע					הפר		עזב	
אמר		הקים						שמר					
מנח			צוה				זכר						

louns with a single shared syntagm:

פו			עבר
או		הפר	
ברכו	צוה		
אלו		כהב	
חרו		שמר	
משמרו		שמר	

louns derived from syntagms which find their point of origin in cultic law:

עבדו		שמר	
כהנו		שמר	
ת		שמר	
שבו		שמר	
תד		שמר	

ssociations drawn from the Psalms (7):

ישוע	צוה	הודיע	
ע	צוה	הודיע	
אמונ		הודיע	
סו[β]		הודיע	
רחמי[β]			זכר
חכמ		הודיע	
כע			הפר

ssociations drawn from the Proverbs and Job (8):

מוס		שמר		עזב
תוכח		שמר		עזב
תבונ	נצר	שמר		
דע	נצר			
תושי	נצר			

יראו	הפר
מחשבון	הפר
צורו	שמר

An additional association drawn from Ezekiel:

Notes on the Table of Paradigmatic Associations of ברית.

α. אמנה occurs twice. In Nehemiah 10:1 (AV 9:38), it appears in the phrase אנחנו כרתים אמנה, where it is evidently used as an equivalent of ברית. In Nehemiah 11:23, despite weak support from the Septuagint, אמנה, parallel with מצוה, could receive the same sense, that of "covenant," in terms of a decreed disposition from the king, a sense that is reminiscent of the Greek term, διαθήκη.

אמונה occurs twice. Traditionally, these two occurrences are treated as homonyms, אמונה (I) "declaration" (Job 13:17), and אמונה (II) "brotherhood" (Zech 11:14). אמונה (I) is thought to belong, properly, to the form אמונה (root אמה) (cf. Dan 5:12), and, thus, is related to the discussion of covenant language only in terms of being registered as a homonym.[1] Contextual considerations reinforce the distinction by contrast, as Zechariah's use of אמונה, unlike Job's, is in a framework of rich covenantal reference.

Both אמנה and אמונה claim a prominent place among contenders for the role of sýnonym of ברית, and the fact that they share only one verbal association does not detract from the case, because of their

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1. S.R.Driver and G.B.Gray, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Job, ICC, (Edinburgh, T.&T.Clark, (1921) 1971), Part II, "Philological Notes," p.85.

generally infrequent appearance. On the contrary, this fact, coupled with the impression that these nouns were of late introduction into Biblical Hebrew, improves the case for synonymy with ברית.

β. Psalm 25, an acrostic Psalm containing several instances of covenant language, yields both of these syntagms. The hendiadys of verse 6, רחמים וחסדים, strengthens the association of the first of the pair with the ברית-field. In the case of verse 14, however, both the syntax and the semantic structure present difficulties. The traditional interpretation of the verse, represented by Kraus, rests on parallelism:

> "Eigentümlich ist der Parallelismus סוד יהוה - בריתו. Beide Begriffe liegen im Kraftfeld der Offenbarung des דרך. סוד hat darum die Bedeutung: „wegweisender Ratschluss" (vgl. Am 3 7). Und ברית ist die „wegweisende Willensäusserung des Gottesbundes" (vgl. 10). In der Offenbarung kommen סוד und ברית zum Menschen. ל bezeichnet die Richtung ... In Ges-K § 114i wird darum 14b folgendermassen aufgefasst: „et foedus suum manifestaturus est eis"."[1]

Dahood supports the semantic connection by reference to the Aramaic treaty texts of Sefire, where there are "three occurrences of the expression cdy' wtbt' 'the treaty and the friendship'."[2] However, he chooses to disagree over the syntax, "parsing l^e of l^ehodi^cam as lamedh emphaticum ... while hodi^cam is the preterite hiphil of yd^c."[3] Further, the waw he parses as waw emphaticum, as it introduces the second half of the verse.[4] The evidence of Aramaic is of minor significance to the discussion, and Dahood's use of these facts

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1. H.J.Kraus, Psalmen. BKAT XV, I, (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1972), 211f. Cf. supra, p.144.

2. M.Dahood, Psalms. The Anchor Bible, I (New York, Doubleday, 1965), 158.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p.157, (note on verse 11).

merely affirms the RSV translation of סוד as "friendship," suggesting a covenantal association for the idea. The word סוד has proved very difficult to define in terms of English translation, perhaps the main reason being that, in 21 occurrences in the text, it never appears in prose, only in the more fluid context of poetic utterance. Nevertheless, intra-hebraic usage reveals a consistent role involving metonymic bifurcation of meaning; this is observed in the following structures:

(i) קהל : סוד (Gen 49:6)

עדה : סוד (Ps 111:1)

רגש : סוד (Ps 55:15[AV:14])

רגשה : סוד (Ps 64:3)

רב : סוד (Prov 15:22)

Similarly, Jer 6:11; 15:17; 23:18,22; Ps 89:8; Prov 3:32; 20:19; Job 15:8; 19:19; 29:4(perhaps an error in the text?).

(ii) ברית : סוד (Ps 25:14, i.e. the present text)

דבר : סוד (Prov 11:13)

סוד : דבר (Am 3:7)

סוד : ריב (Prov 25:9)

Compare Ps 83:4.

These structures of poetic parallelism indicate that, in the first place, סוד signifies a gathering of people, and could accept a translation as "assembly, community." In the second group of structures, the meaning "community" (in the subjective sense, i.e. = "communion") could be advanced, or the meaning "concord, agreement."[1] It is noticeable that, in most cases, סוד stands as the A-word of the

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1. The sense "secret," (AV) is probably derived from the implication of the often associated verb גלה.

pair, and the B-word is more specific.[1] Accordingly, סוד can be understood as a poetic synonym of ברית.[2] The value of this conclusion, in the case of Psalm 25:14, is enhanced by the possible existence of a concealed hendiadys in the awkward syntax of the verse. The linear arrangement can be regarded as implying the semantic structure, *להודיע סוד יהוה ובריתו (ליראיו); this is the position underlying the inclusion of this syntagm in the preceding analysis, and of סוד as a noun standing in a paradigmatic relationship with ברית.

(c) Analysis of Other Syntagms of ברית.

The preceding analysis, based upon syntagmatic collocations of verbs that are sufficiently restricted in range, and that are used in sufficiently numerous instances, which, therefore, warrant the reconstruction of a structural core of semantic relations, must be supplemented by analysis of other syntagms of ברית; these syntagms are less frequently attested in the text, and, in certain cases, are far less restricted in their collocative range. They serve to confirm the positions already established.

(1) A number of syntagms follow the syntactic order: verb + בְּ (preposition) + noun (i.e. ברית).

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1. Boling, op.cit., 223, with regard to synonymous parallelism, cites, as source for the terminology "A" and "B'" M.Held, Studies in Ugaritic Lexicography and Poetic Style, (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation in the John Hopkins Library, 1957), esp. p.6. Present usage differs slightly from that of Held, in its application to individual cases.

2. Cf. supra, Part II, p.94; (here, partial synonymy).

"entering into," or "standing in (a covenant)." The close similarity (amounting to paradigmatic equivalence in some cases) of these syntagms should be noted.

בוא בברית	enter a covenant (Ezek 16:8; Jer 34:10; II Chron 15: 12)
עבר בברית	enter (pass into) a covenant (Deu 29:11(AV:12))

In this case, ברית is coupled with אלה.

הביא בברית	bring into a covenant (I Sam 20:8)
לקח בברית	take into a covenant (II Chron 23:1)
שלח בברית	send away in a covenant (I Ki 20:34)[1]

Because of their general usage, these three verbs provide no further evidence for paradigms of ברית.

עמד בברית	stand in a covenant (II Ki 23:3)

An interesting parallel to this phrase is encountered in Jeremiah 23:18,22: עמד בסוד יהוה. RSV understands סוד in its first sense, "council," whereas AV takes it in the second sense, "counsel." The Septuagint, ὑποστήμα and ὑποστάσις, by usage, provide no assistance.[2] In the light of foregoing discussion, it must be maintained as a possibility that סוד functions as covenantal term in these texts, perhaps, once more, as an equivalent of ברית.

נאמן בברית	be faithful (true/stedfast) in a covenant (Ps 78:37)

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1. A.S.van der Woude, "I REG 20 34," ZAW, LXXVI (1964), 188-190, suggests, in the light of a number of difficulties with the text, that שלח be understood according to some Ugaritic evidence, meaning "to give, bestow," ברית be taken to mean "a solemn promise," and the subject who speaks be Banhadad. The traditional interpretation is sustained here.

2. The LXX might appear to support AV at this point, but it would seem probable that selection of nouns, ὑποστήμα and ὑποστάσις, was determined more by the verb עמד than by the noun סוד.

החזיק בברית adhere to (hold fast in) a covenant (Is 56:4,6)

(2) נתן ברית and שים ברית are paradigmatically equivalent. Although both verbs are of general significance and usage, נתן takes certain direct objects, confirming those previously listed: ברכה (וקללה) (Deu 12:15; 30:1,19), רחמים (Deu 13:18), מצות (I Ki 9:6), חקות (I Ki 9:6; Jer 44:10), תורה (Jer 26:4; 44:10; Dan 9:10), and אמת וחסד (Mic 7:20).

(3) הגיד ברית is equivalent to הודיע ברית. With these two, Buis would include the phrase נשא ברית על פה ("proclamer"),[1] and the parallelism of the verse, at Psalm 50:16, which uses ספר (Pi'el), seems to support his view.[2] However, comparison of the phrase נשא שם (of taking the name of YHWH in vain, Ex 20:7) suggests that more is involved than simply "proclaiming" or "speaking about" the covenant: rather, the sense of "laying claim to" the covenant seems to be intended. Further support might be derived from the phrase ונשא בו אלה, at I Kings 8:31 and II Chronicles 6:22. As it stands, the verb, in the Masoretic Text, is נָשָׂא (I) "to lend, credit, be a creditor," a reading followed by the Targums (ירש), yielding the translation, "exact a curse against him."[3] However, the Septuagint λαβη indicates that the verb was read as נָשָׂא. If this interpretation

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1. Buis, op.cit., p.20.

2. Cf. BDB p.670b, נָשָׂא 1(b) (5)-(9).

3. J.A.Montgomery and H.S.Gehman, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings, ICC, (Edinburgh, T.&T.Clark, (1951) 1976), p.202.

be accepted, and it has been supported by the Akkadian noun nīšu,[1] then it offers confirmation of the understanding of נשא ברית על פה in terms of "taking a covenant upon oneself."

(4) העמיד ברית, "to confirm a covenant," (Ps 105:10; I Chron 16: 17), is similar to הקים ברית. Apart from the two instances cited, a third, perhaps doubtful, instance might be found at II Chronicles 34: 32, in the words: ויעמד את כל הנמצא בירושלם ובנימן. Two interpretations of these words are possible: (i) that יעמד encapsulates the sense of the direct object ברית, את having prepositional force, thus reading, "And he confirmed the covenant with all who were found in Jerusalem and in Benjamin." (ii) that בברית has been dropped out, perhaps being replaced by ובנימן in some confusion, so that the text should read, "And he made all who were found in Jerusalem (and Benjamin) stand in the covenant."[2] The second explanation would appear to be favoured by the parallel text of Kings (II Ki 23:3), which has the words: ויעמד כל העם בברית (Qal). However, it must be observed that there are several linguistic differences between the two accounts, at this verse.[3] If the second position be verified, then העמיד בברית must be distinguished from העמיד ברית, and would be equivalent to הביא בברית. Nonetheless, the first interpretation of sense cannot be dismissed as impossible. Returning to the syntagm העמיד ברית, a comparison with העמיד דבר (II Chron 30:5) and with העמיד מצות (Neh 10:33)

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1. Ibid., nīšu, "oath," = נשׂא (i.e. phonological equivalence).

2. Curtis and Madsen, op.cit., pp.511f. Septuagint supports reading ובנימן, and appears to interpret the verb עמד without any direct implication (linguistic) of ב)ברית).

3. ב)ברית) need not be supplied, by emendation of the text, as it could have been suppressed, but implied by context, or by encapsulation.

can be made, confirming the paradigmatic association of ברית with דבר and מצות. Finally, an equivalence can be detected between העמיד ברית and הגביר ברית, "to confirm a covenant," (Dan 9:27).[1]

(5) A number of syntagms, all but one of which appear once only in the text, and that within a very short compass, reveal the following connections:

חלל ברית profane (violate/break) a covenant (Mal 2:10; Ps 55:21; 89:35)

An alternative collocation, חלל חקות (Ps 89:32), occurs in close proximity to חלל ברית (i.e. v.35 of the same Psalm), confirming the paradigm of ברית and חקות.

נאר ברית despise (abandon/violate) a covenant (Ps 89:40)

נאר appears to have the same semantic range as חלל, although used twice in the corpus; that is, it is used of ברית and מקדש (sanctuary). Furthermore, it occurs in the very Psalm where חלל is used twice, (Psalm 89).

שקר בברית act falsely against a covenant (Ps 44:18)

In Leviticus 19:11, שקר is used in close connection with כחש (Pi'el, lie, deceive), carrying the meaning of swearing falsely; so, it could signify fracture of covenant by oath.

The paradigm of ברית and אמונה, from שקר אמונה, is, once again, supplied by Psalm 89:34.

שחת ברית violate (destroy) a covenant (Mal 2:8)

It is interesting, that within two verses (Mal 2:10), the syntagm חלל ברית is found. Additionally, שחת רחמים (Am 1:11),

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1. This interpretation with AV, against RSV.

which serves to confirm the paradigmatic association of ברית with רחמים, is located within two verses of the syntagm זכר ברית (לא) (Am 1:9); indeed, the semantic connection, and the thematic-historical connection of the oracles of judgment against Tyre and Edom, in this prophetic text, merit closer consideration.

Such a synopsis makes evident, not only a close association of a number of rarely attested syntagms, but also the importance of certain compositional units for the purpose of drawing such connections, in this case, especially Psalm 89.

(6) Daniel 11:30 contains the following words:

וזעם על ברית קודש ועשה (ושב ויבן על עזבי בריה קדש) :

The context is one of clear covenantal concern. The verb זעם is inadequately rendered "and have indignation."[1] Even "rage" misses the point, despite the connection of the cognate noun זעם with other terms, like עברה and אפים (cf.Is 30:27, etc.).[2] Usage makes it clear that the verb זעם signifies "cursing," perhaps the opposite of covenant making, or keeping. Mote the following parallelisms:

זעם : ארר (Nu 23:7)

זעם : קבב (Nu 23:8(2X); Prov 29:24)

זעם : שפט (Ps 7:12)

These may be compared with Micah 6:10; Zechariah 1:18; Malachi 1:4; Proverbs 22:14.

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1. Cf. AV, and BDB, pp.276f.

2. The translation of J.A.Montgomery, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel, ICC, (Edinburgh, T.&T.Clark, (1927) 1972), p.456.

Further evidence for a connection between זעם and כרת ברית, perhaps in terms of opposition, might be derived from a comparison of Daniel 11:30 (and its immediate context, at verse 32), with Isaiah 66:14b, which reads:

ונודעה יד יהוה את עבדיו וזעם את איביו

The opposition indicated here, between זעם and נודעה יד, (which signifies a closely positive relationship, at least; but also has covenantal connotations,)[1] is parallel to that of Daniel 11:30, between זעם and וירבן. This might be supported further by Daniel 11:32, which contains the opposition:

מרשיעי ברית : ידעי אלהיו

On the basis of this evidence, it can be asserted that זעם signifies "cursing," one of whose semantic roles is that of opposition to כרת ברית, הקים ברית, etc. One difficulty in making a more precise definition of this role lies in the fact that זעם occurs in a poetic context of utterance only, which encourages a certain fluidity of application and association.[2]

At the termination of this undifferentiated analysis, it must be remarked that the concentration upon certain syntagms, to the exclusion of others, has been a matter of policy, operating with the principle,

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1. The significance of יד for covenantal reference has yet to be established, cf. infra, pp. 186ff., etc. (fn.2), and supra, Part I, p.27. Cf. also Hos 7:6, where זיד may be a sarcastic metaphorical reference to Baalism, i.e. of an alien covenant (=curse) on Israel.

2. The same factor of usage was observed for חוב, again resulting in a lack of semantic precision.

previously enunciated, that the greater the restriction placed upon the collocation of a term, the more significant become its recognised associations.[1] In addition, a second principle has been operative, that many of the desired conclusions on the plane of lexical analysis depend, for their substance, on the results of compositional analysis. Consequently, the preceding facts of observation are to be viewed as a limited preliminary investigation, to be followed, first by the introduction of certain lines of distinction, and then, by the broad sweep of compositional study.

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1. Cf. supra, Part II, pp.92f., and (Part III) pp.135,139,etc.

3. A Differentiated Analysis of Syntagms of ברית and the Construction of an Hypothesis Regarding their Paradigmatic Relationships.

A duality of differentiation, according to the dimension of usage, and according to the stylistic context of utterance, is proposed, within which, the differences of individual compositions can subsequently be considered. The background assumption is that the basic semantic structures, which might be regarded as the core of the field, reside in the first-dimensional narrative-legislative situation. From that core, each linguistic expansion must be traced. In addition, priority is to be accorded to the association of verbal syntagms, rather than to that of individual lexical items. This constitutes the central concern of the investigation.[1]

(a) The Distributional Patterns of Syntagms of ברית through the Corpus.

(i) The First Dimension of ברית.

(1) The Pentateuch: Narratives Contexts.

כרת ברית	2×	Gen 21:32; 31:44
כרת ברית עם	1×	Gen 26:28
(היה) בעל(י) ברית	1×	Gen 14:13
ברית אברם	1×	Gen 14:13

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1. Verbal syntagms receive priority over nominal syntagms also, as seen, already, in the preceding undifferentiated analysis, because of the fact that the former are more functionally active, whereas the latter are less definitive.

(1) The Pentateuch: Legislative Contexts.

כרת ברית ל (לא/פן)	4×	Ex 23:32; 34:12,15; Deu 7:2

(2) The Deuteronomistic History.

כרת ברית	4×	I Sam 18:3; 23:18; I Ki 5:26(AV:12); II Ki 4:17
כרת ברית ל	10×	Jos 9:6,7,11,15,16; Ju 2:2; I Sam 11:1; II Sam 5:3; I Ki 20:34b; II Ki 11:4
כרת ל	1×	I Sam 11:2
כרת ברית את	3×	II Sam 3:12,13,21
כרת עם	2×	I Sam 20:16; 22:8
(היה) ברית בין ...	1×	I Ki 15:19a
הביא בברית עם	1×	I Sam 20:8
שלח בברית	1×	I Ki 20:34a
הפר ברית את	1×	I Ki 15:19b
ברית יהוה	1×	I Sam 20:8
ברית לפני יהוה	2×	I Sam 23:18; II Sam 5:3
ברית לחיותם	1×	Jos 9:15

(3) The Chronicles.

כרת ברית	1×	II Chron 23:16
כרת ברית ל	1×	I Chron 11:3
כרת ברית עם	1×	II Chron 23:3
(היה) ברית בין ...	1×	II Chron 16:3a
לקח בברית	1×	II Chron 23:1
הפר ברית את	1×	II Chron 16:3b
ברית לפני יהוה	1×	I Chron 11:3

(6) The Books of the Prophets and Daniel 7:1-12:13.

כרת ברית	2×	Jer 34:15,18
כרת ברית את	2×	Jer 34:8; Ezek 17:13
כרת ברית עם	1×	Hos 12:2(AV:1)
הקים ברית	1×	Jer 34:18
בוא בברית	1×	Jer 34:10
(לא) זכר ברית	1×	Am 1:9
שמר ברית	1×	Ezek 17:14
הפר ברית	4×	Is 33:8; Ezek 17:15,16,18
דברי הברית	1×	Jer 34:18
איש ברית	1×	Ob :7
בני ארץ הברית	1×	Ezek 30:5
אשת ברית	1×	Mal 2:14
ברית אחים	1×	Am 1:9

(7) The Psalms.

כרה ברית (על)	1×	Ps 83:6(AV:5)
חלל ברית	1×	Ps 55:21(AV:20)

(ii) The Second Dimension of ברית.

(6) The Books of the Prophets and Daniel 7:1-12:13.

כרת ברית	1×	Is 28:15
כרת ברית ל	1×	Hos 2:20(AV:18)
(לא) (היה) ברית	1×	Jer 33:25
הפר ברית	2×	Jer 33:20(2X)
כפר ברית	1×	Is 28:18

בריתי היום/בריתי הלילה	2×	Jer 33:20

(8) The Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes.

כרת ברית ל	1×	Job 31:1
כרת ברית עם	1×	Job 40:28(AV 41:4)
(היה) ברית	1×	Job 5:23

(iii) The Third Dimension of ברית.

(1) The Pentateuch: Narrative Contexts.

כרת ברית את	1×	Gen 15:18
הקים ברית	8×	Gen 6:18; 9:9,11,17; 17:7,19,21; Ex 6:4
(היה) ברית	8×	Gen 9:15; 17:4,7,10,13,19; Nu 18:19; 25:13
נתן ברית	3×	Gen 9:12; 17:2; Nu 25:12
זכר ברית	4×	Gen 9:15,16; Ex 2:24; 6:5
שמר ברית	3×	Gen 17:9,10- Ex 19:5
הפר ברית	1×	Gen 17:14
אות (ה)ברית	4×	Gen 9:12,13,17; 17:11
ברית עולם	6×	Gen 9:16; 17:7,13,19; (Nu 18:19; 25:13)
ברית מלח	1×	Nu 18:19
ברית כהנה	1×	Nu 25:13
ברית שלום	1×	Nu 25:12

(1) The Pentateuch: Legislative Contexts.

כרת ברית את/עם/נגד/בין	13×	Ex 24:8; 34:10,27; Deu 4:23; 5:2,3; 9:9; 28:69(2X); 29:11,13,24; 31:16
הקים ברית	2×	Lev 26:9; Deu 8:18
צוה ברית	2×	Deu 4:13; 28:69
נשבע ברית	3×	Deu 4:31; 7:12; 8:18
עבר בברית	1×	Deu 29:11
הגיד ברית	1×	Deu 4:13
זכר ברית	4×	Lev 26:42(3X),45
שמר ברית	2×	Deu 7:9,12
נצר ברית	1×	Deu 33:9
הפר ברית	4×	Lev 26:15,44; Deu 31:16,20
עבר ברית	1×	Deu 17:2
שכח ברית	2×	Deu 4:23,31
עזב ברית	2×	Deu 29:24; 31:16
דברי הברית	3×	Ex 34:28; Deu 28:69; 29:8
ספר הברית	1×	Ex 24:7
לוחת הברית	3×	Deu 9:9,11,15
דם הברית	1×	Ex 24:8
אלות הברית	1×	Deu 29:20
מלח ברית	1×	Lev 2:13
נקם ברית	1×	Lev 26:25
ברית עולם	2×	Ex 31:16; Lev 24:8
הברית והחסד	2×	Deu 7:9,12
ברית ואלה	2×	Deu 29:11,13

(2) The Deuteronomistic History.

כרת ברית ל	1×	Jos 24:5
כרת ברית את	3×	II Ki 17:15,35,38
כרת ברית לפני	1×	II Ki 23:3
כרת ברית בין	1×	II Ki 11:17
הקים ברית	1×	II Ki 23:3
צוה ברית	4×	Jos 7:11; 23:16; Ju 2:20; I Ki 11:11
שים ברית	1×	II Sam 23:5
עמד בברית	1×	II Ki 23:3
שמר ברית	2×	I Ki 8:23; 11:11
הפר ברית	1×	Ju 2:1
עבר ברית	5×	Jos 7:11,12; 23:16; Ju 2:20; II Ki 18:12
(לא) שכח ברית	1×	II Ki 17:38
עזב ברית	2×	I Ki 19:10,14
מאס ברית	1×	II Ki 17:15
דברי הברית	2×	II Ki 23:2,3
ספר הברית	2×	II Ki 23:2,21
ברית עולם	1×	II Sam 23:5
הברית והחסד	1×	I Ki 8:23
ברית וחקות	2×	I Ki 11:11; II Ki 17:15
ברית ערוכה בכל ושמרה	1×	II Sam 23:5

(3) The Chronicles.

כרת ברית ל	2×	II Chron 21:7; 29:10
כרת ברית עם	1×	II Chron 6:11
כרת ברית לפני ..	1×	II Chron 34:31

כרת ברית בין ...	1×	II Chron 23:16
בוא בברית	1×	II Chron 15:12
נתן ברית	1×	II Chron 13:5
זכר ברית	1×	I Chron 16:15
שמר ברית	1×	II Chron 6:14
העמיד ברית	1×	I Chron 16:17
עשה כברית	1×	II Chron 34:32
דברי הברית	2×	II Chron 34:30,31
ספר הברית	1×	II Chron 34:30
ברית עולם	1×	I Chron 16:17
ברית מלח	1×	II Chron 13:5
הברית והחסד	1×	II Chron 6:14

(4) The Ezra-Nehemiah Record.

כרת ברית ל	1×	Ezra 10:3
כרת ברית עם	1×	Neh 9:8
שמר ברית	2×	Neh 1:5; 9:32
גאל ברית	1×	Neh 13:29
ברית כהנה	1×	Neh 13:29
הברית והחסד	2×	Neh 1:5; 9:32

(6) The Books of the Prophets and Daniel 7:1-12:13.

כרת ברית	1×	Hos 10:4
כרת ברית ל	5×	Is 55:3; 61:8; Jer 32:40; Ezek 34:25; 37:26
כרת ברית את	5×	Jer 11:10; 31:31,32,33; 34:13; Zech 11:10

הקים ברית	2×	Ezek 16:60,62
היה ברית	5×	Is 59:21; Jer 31:33; Ezek 37:26; Mal 2:4,5
בוא בברית	2×	Jer 34:10; Ezek 16:8
הביא בברית	1×	Ezek 20:37
נתן לברית	2×	Is 42:6; 49:8
נלוה אל - ברית	1×	Jer 50:5
זכר ברית	2×	Jer 14:21; Ezek 16:60
שמר ברית	1×	Dan 9:4
הגביר ברית	1×	Dan 9:27
החזיק ברית	2×	Is 56:4,6
הפר ברית	9×	Is 24:5; Jer 11:10; 14:21; 31:32; 33:21; Ezek 16:59; 17:19; 44:7; Zech 11:10
עבר ברית	3×	Jer 34:18; Hos 6:7; 8:1
(לא) שכח ברית	1×	Jer 50:5
עזב ברית	1×	Jer 22:9
חלל ברית	1×	Mal 2:10
שחת ברית	1×	Mal 2:8
זעם על ברית	1×	Dan 11:30
מוט ברית	1×	Is 54:10
הרשיע ברית	1×	Dan 11:32
דברי הברית	4×	Jer 11:2,3,6,8
דם הברית	1×	Zech 9:11
מסרת הברית	1×	Ezek 20:37
נגיד ברית	1×	Dan 11:22
מלאך הברית	1×	Mal 3:1

ברית עולם	7×	Is 24:5; 55:3; 61:8; Jer 32:40; 50:5; Ezek 16:60; 37:26
ברית שלום	4×	Is 54:10; Ezek 34:25; 37:26; (Mal 2:5)
ברית קדש	2×	Dan 11:28,30
ברית חדשה	1×	Jer 31:31
ברית עם	2×	Is 42:6; 49:8
הברית והחסד	1×	Dan 9:4

(7) The Psalms.

כרת ברית	1×	Ps 89:4(AV:3)
(היה) בריתו	1×	Ps 25:14
צוה בריתו	1×	Ps 111:9
הודיע בריתו	1×	Ps 25:4
זכר בריתו	3×	Ps 105:8; 106:45; 111:5
שמר בריתו	3×	Ps 78:10; 103:18; 132:12
נצר בריתו	1×	Ps 25:10
העמיד בריתו	1×	Ps 105:10
הביט לבריתו	1×	Ps 74:20
נשא בריתו על פיו	1×	Ps 50:16
בריתו נאמנת	1×	Ps 89:29(AV:28)
נאמן בבריתו	1×	Ps 78:37
חלל בריתו	1×	Ps 89:35(AV:34)
נאר בריתו	1×	Ps 89:40(AV:39)
(לא) שקר בריתו	1×	Ps 44:18
בריתו עולם	1×	Ps 105:10
בריתו עבד	1×	Ps 89:40(AV:39)
בריתו ועדותו	2×	Ps 25:10; 132:12

(8) The Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes.

שכח ברית	1×	Prov 2:17

(iv) The Fourth Dimension of ברית.

(1) The Pentateuch: Legislative Contexts.

כרת ברית ל	1×	Ex 23:32

(2) The Deuteronomistic History.

בעל ברית	2×	Ju 8:33; 9:4
אל ברית	1×	Ju 9:46

The separation of the data, according to the given principles, can be conveniently represented in the form of a chart, which preserves the more significant information, providing the means for subsequent, intensive investigation of the paradigmatic structures of the ברית-field. For this purpose, categories of syntagmatic representation must be observed, as follows:

α category: syntagms shared by various parts of the corpus, and across dimensions;

β category: syntagms present in one section of the corpus, and in one dimension, but attested more than once;

γ category: syntagms occurring once only;

δ category: syntagms present by encapsulation, or ellipsis;

ε category: syntagms occurring once, but witnessed in another form in another section of the analysis.

Selective Table of the Distributional Patterns of Syntagms of ברית.

	1st D.							2nd D.		3rd D.								4th D.	
	1	1	2	3	6	7		6	8	1	1	2	3	4	6	7	8	1	2
	N	L								N	L							L	
כרת ברית	α		α	α	α			α							α	α			
כרת ברית ל			α	α	α			α	α					α	α	α	α	α	
כרת ברית את				α		α						α	α	α			α		
כרת ברית עם	α		δ	α	α			α			α			α	α				
כרת ברית לפני														α	α	α			
כרת ברית בין...														α	α	α			
כרת ברית על							α												
הקים ברית						α							α	α	α		α		
(היה) ברית			α	α				α	α			α					α	α	
הביא/בוא בברית			α	α										α			δ		
נתן ברית														α	δ				
נתן לברית																	β		
צוה ברית															α	α		α	
נשבע ברית														β					
שים ברית														γ					
עבר בברית														γ					
עמד בברית															ε				
לקח בברית													γ						
שלח בברית												γ							
נלוה אל- ברית																γ			

	1 1 2 3 6 7	6 8	1 1 2 3 4 6 7 8	1 2
	N L		N L	L
הגיד ברית			γ	
הודיע ברית			γ	
כתב ברית			ε	
זכר ברית		α	α α α α α	
שמר ברית		α	α α α α α α α	
נצר ברית			α α	
העמיד ברית			α α	
עשה כברית			ε	
הביט לברית			γ	
נשא ברית על פה			γ	
ברית נאמנת			γ	
נאמן בברית			γ	
הגביר ברית			γ	
החזיק בברית			β	
הפר ברית	α α α	α	α α α	α
עבר ברית			α α	α
שכח ברית			α α	α α
עזב ברית			α α	α
חלל ברית		α	α α	
שחת ברית			γ	
נאר ברית			γ	
זעם על ברית			γ	
הרשיע ברית			γ	
מוט ברית			γ	

	1 1 2 3 6 7 6 8	1 1 2 3 4 6 7 8	1 2
	N L	N L	L
שקר ברית		ץ	
כפר ברית	ץ		
גאל ברית		ץ	
מאס ברית		ץ	
(לבב) על ברית		ץ	
דברי הברית	α	α α α	α
ספר הברית		α α α	
לחות הברית		β	
אות (ה)ברית		β	
דם הברית		α	α
אלות ברית		ε	
מסרת הברית		ץ	
מלח ברית		ε	
נקם ברית		ץ	
נגיד ברית		ץ	
בעל ברית	α		α
אל ברית			ץ
איש ברית	ץ		
(בני) ארץ (ה)ברית	ץ		
אשת ברית	ץ		
מלאך (ה)ברית		ץ	
ברית עולם		α α α α	α α
ברית מלח		α	α
ברית כהנה		α	α
ברית שלום		α	α

	1 1 2 3 6 7 6 8	1 1 2 3 4 6 7 8	1 2
	N L	N L	L
ברית קדש		β	
ברית חדשה		γ	
ברית אחים	γ		
ברית עבד		γ	
ברית עם		β	
הברית והחסד		α α α α α	
ברית ועדות		β	
ברית ואלה		β	
ברית וחקות		β	

This chart of syntagms is an essential point of reference for any* hypothesis which concerns the significance of language of ברית, that seeks to observe actual distinctions of usage.[1]

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* The numbering represents the categories marked out in the lassification of the Biblical Corpus, cf. supra, pp.121-124; N = narrative; L = legislative material; the headings "1st D." etc., = first dimension, etc.

1. Cf. Buis, op.cit., pp.17ff. which fails to operate with any such principles of differentiation. Cf. supra, pp.69ff.

(b) An Investigation into Three Traditional Perspectives on the Use of ברית.

Lexical analysis, and the foregoing inventory of syntagms, their extensions, and their distributional patterns, in particular, although an essential part of the linguistic procedure, is limited in the evidence that it can supply regarding the paradigmatic association of ברית, and syntagms of ברית. Therefore, the hypothetical-deductive emphasis gains in significance as a point of departure for the execution of compositional analysis.[1] Consideration of the construction of an hypothesis regarding paradigmatic associations is bound to take account of the positions already held among scholars; three, in particular, require discussion.[2]

In the first place, that there was a recognised conceptual distinction between parity and disparity, in the case of oaths and covenants, in the ancient world of the Near East, seems to be firmly implied by the New Testament epistle to the Hebrews, which reads: χωρὶς δὲ πάσης ἀντιλογίας τὸ ἔλαττον ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος εὐλογεῖται, and further, ἄνθρωποι γὰρ κατὰ τοῦ μείζονος ὀμνύουσιν.[3] Although this particular evidence is epichristian, generally speaking, scholars are content to grant the existence of

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1. Polzin, Biblical Structuralism. Method and Subjectivity in the Study of Ancient Texts, pp.16ff. The distinction here is applied internally.

2. These points have been alluded to previously in the discourse, cf. pp.

3. Heb 7:7; 6:16a.

the same distinction in earlier times.[1] Subsequently, the case has been developed along linguistic lines, with regard to the phrase כרת ברית, where a distinction has been postulated between, on one hand, כרת ברית את and כרת ברית ל, of a superior imposing his covenant upon an inferior, and, on the other hand, כרת ברית עם and כרת ברית (with a plural subject), of mutual activity between equals. Weinfeld states the case as follows:

> "karath berith le, 'to cut a covenant to,' is used of a superior, particularly a conqueror, prescribing terms to an inferior (Ex.23:32; 34:12,15; Dt.7:2; Josh.9:6,7,11,15,16; Jgs. 2:2; 1 S.11:1), or granting rights and priveleges (Isa.55:3; etc.), and also of one making the inferior party swear or commit itself (Josh.24:25; 2 S.5:3; Hos.2:20(18)). (karath berith le'lohim, 'to cut a covenant to God,' in Ezr.10:3 and 2 Ch.29:10 is a late and irregular usage.) However, the same idea might be expressed sometimes by karath berith 'eth (cf. Gen.15:18; 2 K.11:17; 17:35; 23:3; Jer 34:8). karath berith 'im, 'to cut a covenant with,' implies an agreement of mutual character (Gen.26:28; Dt.5:2; 1 S.22:8). karath berith le ... 'im ... (cf. Hos.2:20(18)) involves a mutual pact between two parties sponsored or imposed by a third mostly superior party."[2]

At first sight, this seems to be a most plausible and attractive case, but closer scrutiny reveals that it does not constitute an accurate statement of the structural relations that hold between these phrases. In the first place, it can be pointed out that it is hardly likely that כרת ברית ל... עם... of Hosea 2:20 (AV:18) could be suggesting that the sons of Israel were to be regarded as the equals of the beasts of the field, the fowls of the skies, and the creeping things of the ground. In the second place, that the precise significance of these phrases is difficult to determine, with regard to the dichotomy between parity

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1. For example, cf. Hillers, Covenant. The History of a Biblical Idea, pp.6ff. and McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, pp.16-18, etc.

2. TDOT, II, 259f.

and disparity, is shown by the fact that Köhler arrived at a different analysis from that of Weinfeld. He considered כרת ברית עם to apply to cases of disparity.[1] Again, a third position, worked out by Kutsch, is described by McCarthy as "neat and satisfying," but "also misleading in many cases."[2] The danger of attempting to tie down prepositions to a restricted scheme is indicated by their vague use in other syntagms of covenant making, such as הקים ברית (עם). In the third place, evidence of a contradictory nature exists, which demonstrates the artificiality of the constructions of such schemes.[3] Too much has been read into the meaning of the prepositions ל, עם, and את; it has been assumed that the conceptual distinction has semantic status also. A more suitable manner of representing the distinction between the phrases under consideration is in terms of the directional aspect of meaning, expounded by Lyons in connection with directional opposition, as a fundamental element of semantic theory:

> "It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of directional opposition, both deictic and non-deictic, as a structural relation. It is all pervasive, in both the grammatical and the lexical structure of languages: it is central to the analysis of the grammatical categories of tense, aspect and case and the personal and demonstrative pronouns, and it is the basis of much that we might think of as metaphorical in the use of particular lexemes and expressions."[4]

The directional element is operative in phrases of covenant making. It is determined by the position and content of subject and object,

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1. Köhler, op.cit.

2. McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, p.18.

3. Cf. infra, the evidence for the paradigmatic association of the syntagms in question.

4. Lyons, Semantics, I, 281f.

and by the prepositional modification of כרת ברית. The semantic structures indicate the direction of the activity signified. This cannot be taken as a deliberate and consistent articulation of the conceptual dichotomy, although the employment of these semantic structures in various contexts may be compatible with that dichotomy. That the semantic distinction between the prepositional modifications of כרת ברית must be articulated in directional terms is confirmed by an examination of the paradigmatic relations of the syntagms listed in this connection. כרת ברית (with a plural subject) is to be distinguished from כרת ברית עם/את/ל by the fact that the latter form of expression entails the identification of one party as directionally active, though not necessarily superior. Finally, perhaps one of the clearest cases of expression of the parity/disparity distinction, in terms of Hebrew semantic structures, is to be seen in the difference between the terms עבד and אח, used to denote the parties to a covenant; עבד would denote an inferior, while אח would be used of parties of equal standing. However, this distinction is not found to be correlative with any distinction of usage of ... כרת ברית. For example, in the Deuteronomistic History, Benhadad is called אח, while, in the same context, the making of a covenant is described by the syntagm, כרת ברית ל.[1] Thus, the textual material available does not support the argument for a consistently observed parity/disparity distinction with regard to the syntagm כרת ברית.

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1. I Ki 20:33f.

In the second place, the division of the Pentateuchal literature according to documentary sources of tradition has been accompanied by the postulation of certain corresponding linguistic distinctions, some in the ברית-field. Whereas the language of ברית in J/E is quite regular, this is not so for P. Arguments for the justification of the documentary hypothesis are not the concern of the present discourse, but interest lies in the implications of those arguments for distinguishing various forms of covenantal expression. The following points are relevant:

(i) P is thought to have held a distinctive conception of covenant. According to Skinner, "the Berith is a permanent and irreversible determination of the divine will."[1] Of course, the keen discussion, which has followed this point, has failed to bring scholars to agreement regarding precisely in what way P's meaning for ברית is distinctive. Valeton, among others, defined ברית in terms of a self-imposed unconditional obligation on the part of God, and McEvenue translates it as "oath," but Kraetzschmar emphasised the element of conditional obligation in reciprocal terms.[2] In each case, a different aspect of the immediate textual context is stressed, causing Skinner to conclude that "the truth seems to lie somewhere between the two extremes."[3]

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1. J.Skinner, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis, ICC, (2nd ed.; Edinburgh, T.&T.Clark, (1976) 1930), p.297.

2. J.J.P.Valeton,"Bedeutung und Stellung des Wortes b^{e}rit im Priesterkodex," ZAW, XII (1892), 1-22. McEvenue, op.cit., pp.74,79, etc. Cf. also, N.Lohfink, Die Landverheissung als Eid, (Stuttgart, 1967), pp.101ff. A number of other scholars have pursued the case, cf. Bibliography.

3. Skinner, op.cit., p.298.

(ii) P is said to manifest a distinctive usage; McEvenue represents the case in the following manner:

> "P's vocabulary for berit is technical. The expression haqim b^{e}rit, in the sense of taking an oath is found only in Pg: (Gen 6,18; 9,9.11.17; Ex 6,4). The expression occurs 3 other times in Pg (17,7.19.21), and in 4 other places in the Bible (Lev 26,9; Dt 8,18; 2 Kings 23,3 (cf.23,24); Jer 34,18) always in the sense of fulfilling an oath taken earlier. The special meaning in P may be seen most clearly by his use of this expression in parallel with the traditional expression ns' yād in Ex 6,4.8. P's usage is remarkable in that he uses this expression, and completely avoids the normal krt b^{e}rit."[1]

Not every statement of the case is quite as refined as this; Spurrell, for example, simply notes that הקים ברית (together with נתן ברית) is characteristic of P, and signifies the perpetuation of an already existing covenant.[2] Against this less sophisticated position, opponents of the documentary hypothesis have been able to object that הקים ברית cannot be a substitution for כרת ברית by P, because they are by no means equivalent: this objection, so stated, cannot be levelled against McEvenue.[3] It is the inceptive sense of הקים ברית that is claimed to be distinctive.

(iii) Further, a tendency towards "the conscious use of a word in two senses," which also characterises P, was observed in the case of ברית, which merged with אות, by metonymy, in Genesis 17.[4]

(iv) Finally, נתן ברית and אות ברית seem to be peculiar to P.

In entering into a close examination of these points, it perhaps

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1. McEvenue, op.cit., p.74.

2. G.J.Spurrell, Notes on the Text of the Book of Genesis, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1896), pp.79,91.

3. U.Cassuto, The Documentary Hypothesis. Eight Lectures, tr.I. Abrahams, (Jerusalem, the Magnes Press, 1961), pp.47f.

4. McEvenue, op.cit., p.79, (italics his).

needs to be reiterated, that the validity of the documentary hypothesis is not being called into question here, but, rather, one of its detailed implications for linguistic differentiation in the ברית-field, on the plane of langue. To begin with, therefore, the principle must be re-emphasised, that there is a distinction between the concept of covenant that may have been held by P and the sense of ברית, as P used it.[1] For example, the connotation of permanency, which is clearly expressed in phrases such as ברית עולם (Gen 17:7), which forms an element in the theological conception of divine covenants in P, does not, as a necessary consequence, imply that permanency was an intrinsic semantic element of the word ברית in the linguistic structures of P; thus, P could also use the phrase הפר ברית (Gen 17:14). In order to avoid this subtle category mistake, greater metalinguistic precision must be insisted upon, so that a regular distinction is preserved between, say, P's concept of the Noahic, or Abrahamic, covenant, and the sense of ברית, in the langue structures of P. As a result, the fact that the concepts involved in Genesis 6-9, and 17, (in P material), were different from those of Deuteronomy, does not establish a semantic differentiation. The latter must be proven independently, if at all. Secondly, therefore, the strength of McEvenue's argument for the unique inceptive sense of the syntagm הקים ברית (P), requires investigation. Of the five instances cited, two, והקימתי את בריתי אתך/אתכם... (Gen 6:18; 9:11), are ambiguous; the point of reference for the future tense value of the verb is debatable, and the fact that the noun is definite suggests that the covenant was, in

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1. Cf. supra, pp.

some sense, already defined. Such was Spurrell's view. The statement of Genesis 9:9, ... ואני הנני מקים את בריתי אתכם, is immediately preceded by the "term's of mankind's restored existence after the flood." The use of הנה, which, as Lambdin has shown, does not translate well as "behold," but really serves to denote the immediacy of predication in conjunctive clauses, favours the inceptive sense of מקים, although, it is to be recognised, that the reference could be to the previously stated terms, an interpretation that again might be favoured by the definite character of את בריתי.[1] The precise significance of the following verse 17 depends directly upon what is to be concluded regarding this verse. It is interesting to note that these P sections of Genesis 9 and 17 are also characterised by אות. The question must be asked, whether or not this might be a significant connection, in that the confirmation, or establishment of the covenant was in terms of the sign; hence the accouplement of these two unica. This suggestion would be consistent, also, with the perhaps unnoticed transition from את to ...בין ...ובין, with the introduction of the sign. A similar unconscious feature is to be observed in certain J/E texts, where the preposition בין appears alongside the introduction of a symbol.[2] Indeed, it has been pointed out by linguists that it is the unconscious linguistic features, rather than the deliberate use of terms and expressions, that often reveals true idiolectal marks.[3]

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1. T.O.Lambdin, Introduction to Biblical Hebrew, (London, Darton, Longman and Todd, 1973), pp.168ff.

2. Cf. Gen 26:28; 31:44.

3. W.J.Martin, Stylistic Criteria and the Analysis of the Pentateuch, (London, Tyndale Press, 1955), pp.21f, and p.9(with regard to Homeric criticism).

In the case of Exodus 6:2-8, נשא יד could refer to the same event as הקים ברית, but this remains only a possibility; even so, referential identity does not imply semantic equivalence. Therefore, this relation (of parole) cannot be used to establish that ברית, in P, means "oath," nor can it prove that הקים ברית means "to take an oath," in this instance. Indeed, the passage, which contains the keenly disputed verse 3,[1] strongly suggests that, here, וגם הקימתי את בריתי has the sense of establishing a previously defined covenant. Whichever view one may take of the difficult phrase לא נודעתי להם, if, as will be demonstrated at a later point,[2] the verbs נודעתי and וארא have the sense of "being revealed in terms of a covenant," then הקים ברית marks some subsequent event of confirmation; this is favoured by the use of וגם, and possibly by the fact that ברית is again defined.[3] Perhaps the most probable manifestation of the inceptive sense of הקים ברית is to be found in Genesis 9:9,17, even though much of McEvenue's case rests on ambiguous references. However, despite the problems, if his argument be received favourably, it has still to be observed that it is the verb, הקים, and not the entire syntagm, הקים ברית, which supplies the inceptive significance. For the semanticist, the question remains, whether this is simply a feature of P's selection from the same linguistic "well," or whether he drew from a distinctive set of langue structures? The observation of the same use of the verb outside P-material, at Psalm 78:5, וישם עדות ביעקב, seems to confirm the fact that this semantic structure was not restricted

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1. For discussion of the dispute, cf. Martin, op.cit., pp.16ff.

2. Cf. infra, pp.396ff.

3. Here the significance of the definition is a moot point.

to P. Indeed, it is to be remembered, that the first and second dimensional applications of הקים are predominantly inceptive.[1] This issues a caution against concluding that the inceptive sense in the syntagm הקים ברית was uniquely characteristic of P. At best, it was his selection from the available options. Thirdly, the argument must be placed in the context of the general linguistic procedures to be adopted. In a number of passages, the more common phrases of covenantal expression have been abandoned for less usual combinations; in this light, the absence of כרת ברית from Genesis 6-9 and 17 is to be understood. Thus, for example, the difference between II Samuel 3, which uses כרת ברית את consistently throughout, and I Samuel 20, which prefers הביא בברית עם (v.8), cannot be used to prove that the latter text was from the hand of an author who deliberately avoided the former construction. Indeed, the existence of encapsulation, in I Samuel 20:16, indicates the folly of such an assumption. The distinction must be made clear; while the selection of less common syntagms of ברית might indicate different authorship, it is stretching the point to conclude that this reflects a consciously developed diversion of langue. The semanticist does not question the existence of P, nor P's right to employ those linguistic forms best suited to his purpose; his brief is to examine the implications of parole for langue. In the case under consideration, the argument from silence is inconclusive. An argument from analogy reinforces this point. In many ברית-passages, there appear, alongside well-established syntagmatic collocations, unique, or rare phrases, sometimes in far greater density than is witnessed in these P texts.

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1. Cf. supra, p.137.

In most cases, the principle of exclusion by replacement, a necessary criterion of judgment in these matters, is difficult to establish with a reasonable degree of assurance. Again, a caution may be advanced from the previous analysis of the relationship of the syntagms חלל ברית, נאר ברית, שחת ברית, and שקר בברית, the evidence for which was all but lost, and without which, it would have been easy to conclude that the compositions in question were to be distinguished linguistically from one another.[1] In this connection, a further reason why the linguistic distinctiveness of P, for ברית, cannot be pressed, is that certain internal differences between Genesis 9 and Genesis 17 are to be observed, one of which, also, has probably been a factor contributing to the lack of agreement over the true nature of P's covenantal concept.[2] Finally, the importance of the holistic approach, for the semanticist, is seen at this point, which seeks to explain why the redactor omitted to eliminate such disparity of expression that the modern age finds so striking. In this instance, where there appears to have been a selective policy at work, either the redactor saw no problem, perhaps because he was able to associate the use of הקים with נתן and with the introduction of a covenantal sign (אות), or it becomes necessary to give serious consideration to the possible priority of P^S over Pg, temporally, thereby accounting for the permanence of Pg's phraseology.[3] In conclusion of

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1. Cf. supra, p.162, and Psalms 44, 55, 89, and Mal 2.

2. Cf. supra, p.184: Is P's covenantal concept conditional or not? Gen 9 makes it absolute, Gen 17, conditional. There are corresponding linguistic marks, e.g. הפר ברית (Gen 17:14.) Further, Gen 17 has 'poor' grammar (seen also in parts of Jeremiah), which is not shared by Gen 9, (e,g, Gen 17:11).

3. Karl Elliger, "Sinn und Ursprung der priesterlichen Geschichtserzählung," ZTK, (1952), 121-143, which is cited by McEvenue as a basic chart of Pg, cf. McEvenue, op.cit., p.189. Ps is thought to show closer affinity to J/E.

the matter, to the claim that the dualistic interpretation of ברית was characteristic of P, it must be answered that neither metonymy, nor the use of ברית in either of the two senses defined, was peculiar to the province of P. A similar usage is to be observed in a number of texts, not one of which belongs to P^G: Exodus 31:16, Leviticus 24:8, Numbers 18:19, Joshua 7:11,15, Jeremiah 33:20,21,25; 34:8ff., Isaiah 56:4,6, etc. As a result of these considerations, it should be clear that, while P's theological conception of the Noahic, the Abrahamic, (and the Sinaitic), covenants may have differed somewhat from that of other pentateuchal sources, and correspondingly, his selection of linguistic forms may have been determined by that fact, nevertheless, when understood correctly, the evidence suggests that he utilised the same resources of langue, to give expression to his ideas, as did other biblical writers. The resultant linguistic consistency, perhaps paradoxically, preserved the differences in parole.

Before passing on to the third consideration, a digression is justified at this point. The general assumption of scholars, and of the principal dictionaries of Biblical Hebrew, is that כרת ברית means "to make (= cut) a covenant."[1] Therefore, it is thought that, while הקים ברית, meaning "to establish a covenant (concluded formerly)," is not equivalent to כרת ברית, the alternative sense for הקים ברית is. That this is an oversimplification of the semantic relations involved here, has been alluded to previously.[2] The truth is, that, though

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1. Cf. BDB, p.137. KB, p.151.

2. Cf. supra, p.5.

obscured by translation, כרת ברית can signify both "to make (i.e. initiate) a covenant," and "to re-make (i.e. to renew, or continue) a covenant." Whether this derives from the proposed origin of the idiom, in terms of cutting food, which might not differentiate between making and renewing, is a matter for diachronic speculation.[1] In synchronic structural terms, what was a possibility for I Kings 5:26 (AV:12), is promoted by other texts. I Samuel 20, which acknowledges the prior existence of a covenant (v.8), goes on to record the repeat event: ויכרת יהונתן עם בית דוד (v.16), making the repetition explicit in the following verse: ויוסף יהונתן להשביע את דוד באהבתו אתו (v.17).[3] This duality, or, more accurately, absence of differentiation, is vital to an understanding of the oppositional structures of intra-hebraic semantic relations.

In the third place, it is necessary to refer, at this stage, to an observation that has been made about the various designations of the Sacred Ark of the Israelite cult. It is claimed that a distributional pattern is to be detected, where ארון העדות is the title adopted by the priestly writer, whereas ארון הברית was of Deuteronomic character and origin.[4] An exception, at Joshua 4:16, which contains the title

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1. Cf. supra, pp.31ff.

2. Cf. supra, p.5.

3. Instances could be multiplied, cf. Deu 28:69(AV 29:1); Jer 31:31; etc. It may be wondered if the writer's use of encapsulation (I Sam 20:16) was due to a conscious avoidance of ברית from an awareness of the idea of renewal, but this speculation is highly improbable.

4. Burney, op.cit., p.31. Woudstra, op.cit., pp.77f., 101f. R.de Vaux, The Early History of Israel, tr. David Smith, I (London, Darton, Longman and Todd, 1978), 393ff.

ארון העדות, is variously regarded as corrupt, or as an insertion of P, to introduce the return of the water; those who accept the verse as genuine are in the minority.[1] Whatever be the truth of the matter, only an attempt at complete despecification could disregard the general trend of usage of the phrases in question; this is borne out by the similar titles, לחות העדות and לחות הברית. This being granted, it raises two other questions. What is the paradigmatic relationship between the words עדות and ברית? Is there a corresponding trend of usage for those words?

Association of עדות with the Akkadian term adû (A) is now preferred to the older explanation of meaning, which associated it with the root עוד, and nouns such as עד "witness" etc.[2] According to the "Chicago Assyrian Dictionary,"

> "The agreement called adû was drawn up in writing between a partner of higher status (god, king, member of the royal family) and servants or subjects."[3]

Accordingly, de Vaux, noting also the Aramaic treaties of Sefire, which know of אתע (עדן), insists that, in every case, עדות can be translated by "solemn pact" or "undertaking." "It is wrongly translated as 'testimony'."[4] The implication of the comparative evidence would

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1. A.Dillmann, Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus, (Leipzig, 1880), comm. Ex 25:16, accepts Jos 4:16 as authentic. Contrast: W.Lotz, "Die Bundeslade," Festschrift Luitpold von Bayern, (Erlangen, 1901), p.182. J.Gray, Joshua, Judges and Ruth. New Century Bible, (London, Oliphants, 1977), p.60. Cf, supra, p.53, on the value of the LXX.

2. Cf. BDB, p.730.

3. Cf. CAD, I/A, 133.

4. De Vaux, op.cit., 396, following M.G.Kline, "The Two Tables of the Covenant," WTJ, XXII (1960), 133ff. Woudstra, op.cit., p.101.

point to the virtual synonymy of ברית and עדות, both having the sense of "covenant," or "treaty." However, it is the intra-hebraic semantic role of עדות that is decisive. The following propositions, therefore, are pertinent:

(i) The fact that ארון העדות and ארון הברית carry the same denotation does not entail, necessarily, a paradigmatic equivalence of עדות and ברית.

(ii) עדות sustains a different orbit of association from ברית, which is far more restricted, although there may be some intersection.

Its field of association defines three areas of meaning:

(1) עדות "the document of covenant terms." Exodus 25:16 states that this עדות must be placed in the Ark. De Vaux observes the point:

> "There is no doubt that this treaty or pact, ʿēdhuth, was, for the priestly editor, the same as the document of the covenant, bᵉrith, for the other traditions, the 'ten words' or the decalogue."[1]

(2) עדות "the place where the covenant document was retained."

By extension, the name assumed locative import. Exodus 30:36 speaks of putting the incense לפני העדת באהל.

(3) עדות "the terms of the covenant." In this sense, it comes to signify the actual contents of the covenant law. Here, the plural of the noun is most frequent, which is closely connected with ברית (cf.Ps 132:12).

In fact, a bifurcation of application can be detected within this framework, between עדות of the document and its location, which is

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1. De Vaux, op.cit., p.396.

normally used in contexts of cultic expression, and עדות of the contents of the covenant, which is removed from the cultic framework of reference.[1] In all three senses, עדות is not exclusively priestly. Deuteronomy 17:18 commands each new king of Israel to "write for himself in a book a copy of this law, from that which is in charge of the Levitical priests...." II Kings 11:12, speaking about the enthronement of Jehoash, records:

ויתן עליו את הנזר ואת העדות וימלכו אתו וימשחהו ...

This reading is followed by the parallel text of II Chronicles 23:11, and receives unanimous support from the versions. However, many scholars wish to emend העדות to read צעדות (bracelets), comparing the description of the royal insignia at II Samuel 1:10.[2] The sole basis for such a move rests in the prior assumption that the Deuteronomistic account could not have used a 'priestly' term. This kind of argument represents a misconception of both the nature of proper linguistic method and the true application of the distinction between langue and parole, particularly with reference to idiolectal definition. The fact is, that עדות does appear in non-priestly texts on a number of occasions, and this cannot be ignored, or removed from the consideration by emendation in every case. The authenticity of עדות in the text in question (II Ki 11:12) might find indirect support from Psalm 89:40, which draws a connection between the kingly covenant (ברית עבדך) and the crown (נזר), although the referential, and hence semantic, relation between ברית and עדות, in this

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1. This observation, to be made more precise below, is consistent with the explanation of P's preference for עדות, in order to emphasise the distinction between the Abrahamic (and Noahic) covenants (ברית) and the Sinaitic dispensation (עדות). Cf.de Vaux, op.cit., pp.395f.

2. Montgomery and Gehman, op.cit., pp.420f.. Curtis and Madsen, op.cit., pp.428f. Burney, op.cit., p.311.

case, is tenuous. Nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence to legitimise retention of the Hebrew text as it stands. Such isolated instances cast doubt upon the absoluteness of P's claim to עדות, over against the Deuteronomist. Within the Pentateuch, the locative sense of מקום is encountered at Exodus 16:34, which, by definition, could not be attributed to P, a conclusion confirmed by Elliger's description of pg.[1] Instances could be multiplied, but, despite the exceptions, the general tendency, observed for P, is confirmed. However, a difficulty arises because the observation has been made, almost exclusively, from the point of view of a concern with the Pentateuchal sources, which has led, unwittingly, to a diaskeuatic myopia regarding the biblical corpus as a whole, where, according to the categorisation proposed above, wider patterns of usage are discernible. Thus, in the legal, cultic material of the Pentateuch, is the principal area of application for עדות, in the sense of the document of terms, or its location, to be found. These cases are generally ascribed to P. The third sense of עדות, as the contents of the covenant, in which, it becomes virtually synonymous with ברית, occurs in the Psalms, when it is often plural. The following syntagmatic structures are manifested:

שים עדות	Ps 81:6
הקים עדות	Ps 78:5
שמר עדות	Ps 119:8; 132:12(pl.)
עדות נאמנה	Ps 19:8

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1. Cf. Elliger, op.cit., pp.121ff. McEvenue, op.cit., p.189. It is incompatible with P's determined designation of the Sinaitic covenant by this term, even if anachronistic. Cf. G.A.F.Knight, Theology as Narration. A Commentary on the Book of Exodus, (Edinburgh, The Handsel Press, 1976), p.119.

An exception to this apparent tendency in the Psalms is encountered at Psalm 122:4, where עדות appears to have a locative sense; conversely, עדות, with reference to the substance of a covenant, occurs outside the Psalter, in the syntagm (pl.) מאס עדות.[1] In conclusion of this point, with regard to linguistic differentiation in the ברית-field, it may be summarised, that the undoubted tendency in Pentateuchal parole, which, in theological terms, is said to reflect a conscious purpose on the part of the priestly writer, must, for its significance, be derived from the same langue structures as those used by other writers, paradoxical as it might seem.[2] In simple terms, P could only distinguish his conception of the Sinaitic event from that of other writers by using terms which they avoided, but which nevertheless meant the same thing for all concerned. From this perspective, the fact that the priestly choice of language and expression is not unique is not a disadvantage, but is to be anticipated.

The conclusions of the foregoing discussion are these:

(i) the prepositional modifications of כרת ברית do not entail the distinction between parity and disparity, respecting the status of the parties to the covenant;

(ii) the inceptive sense of הקים, seen in the syntagm הקים ברית, is not uniquely the province of P, as a mutually exclusive synonymous

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1. מאס עדות (II Kings 17:15). At Ps 122:4, Anderson, op.cit., II, 856, regards עדות as "testimony," or "ordinance," and translates, "as was decreed for Israel." Dahood, Psalms, III, 205f., translates, "It is a decree, O Israel," still taking עדות in the third sense; but he admits the difficulty involved in reading the lamedh as a vocative particle, in the light of 11QPs^{a}, which has עדת ישראל, "the congregation of Israel." The locative sense, which fits the cultic context of extra-linguistic reference, appears to have been overlooked in these discussions.

2. Cf. supra, p.187.

option for כרת ברית of other writers, as both senses, (inceptive and continuous), are found for both syntagms, and the principles of choice are extra-linguistically determined;

(iii) עדות has the sense of "covenant document," in contexts of formal assembly, and "covenant terms, (or words)," in Psalms that constitute meditations on the words of God, trends of usage that reveal its partial identification, in structural terms, with ברית.

This information is essential to any attempt to construct an hypothesis concerning the paradigm of syntagms of ברית.

(c) The Construction of a Selective Hypothesis Regarding the Paradigmatic Relationships of Nouns Associated with ברית, and of Syntagms of ברית.

The preceding elements of lexical analysis, including several indications of paradigmatic relations of sense between certain nouns, and verbal syntagms, are capable of being assembled into a preliminary hypothesis, which should serve as a foundation for subsequent compositional research. At the outset, it should be noted, that the current construct is to be viewed in conjunction with 'the Table of Nouns in Paradigmatic Association with ברית ...' (p.153), and 'the Selective Table of Distributional Patterns of Syntagms of ברית' (p.176), as it does not supersede them.

(i) Nominal Syntagms.

The fundamental semantic structures of nominal syntagms of ברית are general, not suffering dimensional or stylistic limitation. Further, whichever morphological role ברית fills, the semantic result is often the same. Note the following:

(1) Parties to the covenant: בעל ברית, איש ברית, אשת ברית, מלאך ברית; נגיד ברית, בני ארץ ברית; to be regarded as proper names are בעל ברית and אל ברית, of Judges.[1]

Similarly, ascription of the covenant to parties: ברית אחים, ברית ראשונים, ברית עם, ברית עבד; and with proper names: ברית אלהים, ברית אבתיך, ברית אברם, etc.

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1. Cf. supra, p.130.

(2) Qualities, or characteristics, of covenant: ברית עולם, ברית שלום, ברית קדש, ברית חדשה, (ברית אחים), בריה כהנה, and ברית מלח; in the last case, ברית may have a narrower sense, comparable with that of חק or מצוה, but the structure still indicates a 'covenantal' quality.

(3) Covenantal associations: לחות הברית, ספר הברית, דברי הברית, אות הברית, דם הברית, מסרת ברית, אלות ברית, מלח ברית, נקם ברית.

The fact that the majority of these syntagms appear in the third dimension reflects two things: first, the augmentation of the field in question to accommodate the expansion of ideas; second, the focus of interest of the biblical literature.

(ii) Nominal Paradigms.

Previously noted paradigmatic associations may be made more precise in the following manner:

ברית : principal term.

Synonyms.	Contrasts.		Superordinates.
אמנה	שבועה	מצוה	דבר
אחוה	נדר	חק(ים)	שבועה
דבר	אסר	עדות	
מצוה	ברכה	תורה	
חק	אלה	משפט	
עדות	דבר	פקודים	
חרם	חרם	חסד	
סוד (poetic)	מנחה	אמת	
	משמרה	עצה	
	דרך/ארח	אמרה	

The relations thus charted are not rigid.[1] Synonymy is often partial and incomplete. For example, דבר stands as a synonym, a superordinate, and in contrast with ברית; so, apart from its general use,[2] its appearance in Haggai 2:5 with ברת (encapsulating the sense of ברית) and its use in Deuteronomy 9:5, translated διαθήκη by the Septuagint translators,[3] confirm its sometimes synonymous function; in addition, it can attain to its own specific role, particularly where the plural clearly indicates the "terms of" the covenant. Several paradigms are not registered, mainly because they are more tenuous than those recorded; among such, the trans-dimensional contrast of ברית with עגל, utilised by Jeremiah, should be noted, as this does constitute a real structural relation.[4] Again, whereas the various paradigms attested are derived from different dimensions and contexts of style, the precise differentiation must be postponed until the execution of compositional analysis.

(iii) Paradigms of Verbal Syntagms.

In this part of the enquiry, differentiation is clearer, and the results can be organised according to the square of opposition, showing degrees of augmentation. The basic structural distinctions are represented as follows:

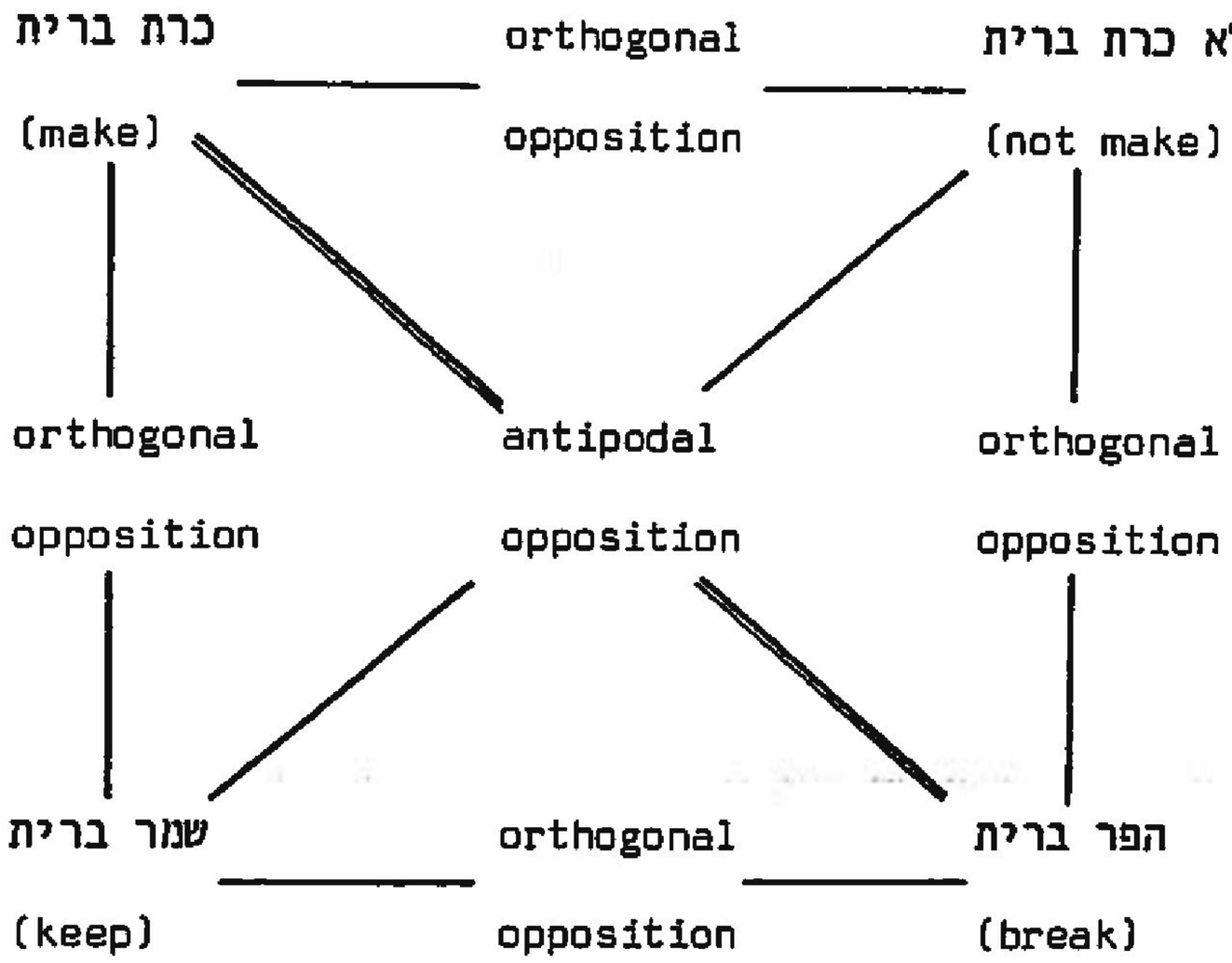
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1. Reference has been made earlier to the "tendency to over-systematization," cf. pp.42,49.

2. BDB, pp.182ff., render דבר by a wide range of vocabulary, "speech, word, matter, thing, counsel, message, report, etc."

3. Cf. supra, pp. 19, 93, 132ff., and 53.

4. Cf. supra, pp.33, 133.



The dominant relation is that of antipodal opposition between כרת ברית and הפר ברית. Such a square of opposition registers the principal oppositional structures, but that is not to claim that finer distinctions do not operate within the suggested framework.[1] The substance may be supplied by the more expansive tabulation following:

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1. Cf. supra, pp.94ff.; the square is usually applied to the role of nouns, but it is capable of extension, as here, to syntagms; this is one of the assumed principles of the theory being applied.

3.7/8	הודיע ברית
3.6	נלוה אל - ברית
	(כתב ברית)
	הגיד ברית
	עמד/העמיד בברית
	עבר בברית
	נשבע ברית
	צוה ברית
	שים ברית
	נתן ברית
3.1-5	(הקים ברית)
2.(6)	
1.7/8	
1.6	
	שלח בברית
	לקח בברית
	בוא/הבוא בברית
1.1-5	כרת ברית ל/עם/את ...

3.7/8	
3.6	
3.1-5	
2.(6)	
1.7/8	
1.6	
1.1-5	לא כרת ברית

1.1-5	(כרת ברית)
	היה ברית (בין ובין)
	לא הפר ברית
	. . .
1.6	זכר ברית
	שמר ברית
1.7/8	
2.(6)	
3.1-5	הקים ברית
	נצר ברית
	העמיד ברית
	עשה כברית
3.6	הגביר ברית
	התזיק ברית
	נתן לברית
3.7/8	נשא ברית על פה
	נאמן ברית
	ברית נאמנת
	הביט לברית

1.1-5	הפר ברית
	. . .
1.6	לא זכר ברית
1.7/8	חלל ברית
2.(6)	כפר ברית
3.1-5	עבר ברית
	שבח ברית
	עזב ברית
	גאל ברית
	מאס ברית
3.6	שחת ברית
	מזג ברית
	זעם על ברית
	הרשיע ברית
	(לבב) על ברית
3.7/8	נאר ברית
	שקר בברית

This form of tabulation shows, not only the main semantic connections, but also the principal areas of phraseological innovation in the corpus; it does not reflect the proportions of syntagmatic distribution.[1] By this means, it becomes evident, that the third dimensional use of ברית injects the field with new significance, a structural augmentation that, no doubt, mirrors the great impact of the concept of the divine covenant at certain periods of Israel's history. Nevertheless, the creative mould was predetermined linguistically by the esatblished patterns of Hebrew semantics.

It will be readily admitted, that the results of the foregoing lexical analysis are incomplete, but necessarily so, as they are designed as a basis for subsequent enquiry. The semantic structures revealed are an indispensible foundation for compositional analysis, which should confirm, refine, and modify that basis, and further increase the semantic perspective on the word ברית, and related language.

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1. The preceding table (p.203) does not represent fully the syntagmatic range of ברית - e.g. לא שכח ברית is omitted - but what is registered is sufficient. The symbols 1.1-5, 3.6 etc., signify the dimension and the portions of the corpus in which the forms first appear, beginning with the first dimensional narration and legislation, which is regarded as basic.

C. Compositional Analysis in Relation to the Semantic Field of ברית. An Investigation of the Structures of Compositional Units of the Biblical Hebrew Corpus where ברית is Attested.*

Compositional analysis, with regard to the surface arrangement, and the deep structure of texts, provides objective means for a more expansive study of the langue structures of the semantic field of ברית than is possible within the narrow parameter of field theory at the lexical level only.[1] When introducing his book, "Treaty and Covenant," McCarthy wrote in the following manner:

> "More serious is the problem of the connotations of b^{e}rit, the cluster of implications carried with it. The word comes from the secular sphere.... The problem is to discover some of these meanings, but here we are lucky, for an ample series of texts describe covenant making for us. Further, many of them are old and yet they appear also in stories from the monarchical period, and they fit a pattern. In other words, the texts establish an old and consistent field for the application of b^{e}rit. Its connotations were solidly fixed and they are accessible to us.
>
> These texts reveal a remarkably constant pattern.... There are at least thirteen of these texts (counting J and E variants as separate witnesses) and they regularly show conformity to the pattern. Of course, as is normal the conformity is not absolute.... Still the pattern is quite constant:
>
> 1) Negotiations based on existing relations;
> 2) Clearer definition of the relations;
> 3) Symbolic affirmation;
> 4) Notice of covenant making;
> 5) Association with a shrine.
>
> Such frequent appearance of such regular structure involving standard forms of expression points to a distinct literary genre. Its setting was the constant human need to create relationships beyond those of kinship. Form and setting are

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* Cf. Appendix I for the compositions where ברית is attested.

1. Cf. supra, p.100.

established; the genre needs a name and it may be called 'report of covenant making'."[1]

Without a doubt, the elements identified by McCarthy were integral parts of covenant making, and, as a consequence, are preserved in the record, but his statement of the case reveals a degree of confusion, in common with certain other writers, who do not distinguish clearly various categories of thought, such as sense and reference.[2] For example, he insists that "there can be too much concentration on a words rather than on the word as an element in a human, social context."[3] There is a fallacy involved in speaking about a word as an existential and active force in a social context; at best, Matore's concept of mots témoins may be invoked, but it becomes necessary to differentiate between the word as a representation of the human situation, that is, having reference by virtue of its sense, and the covenantal, or communal, concept, which is operative in the existential situation.[4] As McCarthy's point is clearly non-linguistic in nature, his vacillation between linguistic and literary, or conceptual, forms of proposition is somewhat lisleading. Regrettably, the apparatus for making, and employing, that distinction was not at his disposal; his itemisation of the literary contexts of reports of covenant making must not be mistaken for semantic

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1. McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, pp.18-21. The texts noted are: Gen 21:22-34 (2 narratives, one J, one E); 26:23-33; 31:25-32:5 (at least 2 narratives); Jos 9:1-10:1 (Gibeon); I Sam 11:1-3 (Jabesh-Gilead and Nahash); 18:1-4 + 20:5-8, and 20:11-17 + 23:16-18 (2 versions of the Jonathan-David covenant); II Sam 3:17-21 + 5:1-3 (David and the northern tribes); 3:12-21 (David and Abner); I Ki 15:19 (Judah and Damascus); 20:31-34 (Ahab and Ben-hadad); and II Ki 11 (= II Chron 23; the revolt against Athaliah).

2. Cf. supra, pp.42-47, 48f., etc.

3. McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, p.20.

4. Matoré, Le vocabulaire et la société sous Louis-Philippe. Matoré, La méthode en lexicologie. Domaine français.

observations. Unless this distinction be observed as a matter of policy, a return may be anticipated to the traditional limitations of such questions as whether or not ברית "always involved bilateral obligations"?[1] These inhibiting factors are dispensed with by structural analysis, as it seeks to address itself to issues of compositional association, where the word is not regarded as the basic unit of meaning, without qualification.[2] Coupled with the fallacy just noted, is the attempt to pass directly from the identification of a literary pattern to the connotational cluster around a word. This route of investigation, which by-passes the deep structures that organise the intra-hebraic semantic content of an utterance, is bound to fail.[3] Therefore, at both the lexical and the compositional levels, the distinction between sense and reference must be preserved.

Nevertheless, despite the restricted perspective of McCarthy's approach, it is interesting to note that he identified an old, and established, pattern, in texts that concern covenantal events, one that transcends the divisions of literary sources.[4] This bears a superficial resemblance to the holistic approach advocated by structuralists, such as Clines, who was concerned with the finished document of the Pentateuch.[5] However, it must be recognised that, unlike Clines, McCarthy was occupied with a pattern which antedated the existing documents and their sources.

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1. McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, p.20.

2. Cf. supra, p.100.

3. Cf. supra, pp.89, 106ff. N.B. the distinction between the linguistic form and the semantic content of an utterance, which are not of necessity isomorphic.

4. McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, p.19.

5. Clines, op.cit., pp.10-15.

In contradistinction to the aforementioned positions, the semanticist must prosecute an investigation of the deep compositional structures which govern the semantic associations of covenant language, which finds a convenient focal point in the word ברית. Questions of thematic unity and literary patterning are secondary matters: of primary importance is the detection of semantic structures that are manifest in composition.

1. An Examination of Four Narrative Units of the Pentateuch, which Relate Covenants of the Patriarchs with their Neighbours, Involving the Use of ברית in the First Dimension.

(a) Genesis 14:1-24. Abram's Sojourn in the Plain of Mamre, and the Battle of the Kings in the Vale of Siddim.

Genesis 14 is a complicated pericope of the patriarchal narratives, usually treated as quite distinct from the major pentateuchal sources, J, E, and P.[1] Whereas most scholarly discussion of the passage has turned on such issues as the historical identity of the kings, the person of Melchizedek, or the significance of certain uncommon Hebrew words, the seemingly incidental phrase והם בעלי ברית אברם (v.13) has received little attention. Nevertheless, it may be remarked that the description of Abram as party to a regional covenant would seem to be an accurate reflection of the patterns of political interchange at the time.

Attempting to describe how this passage differs from the other sources, von Rad states that "the events are not told with the usual vividness but are reported like a chronicle."[2] This lack of vividness is explained by the predominance of straight narrative, the scenic mode being reserved until the conclusion of events, at verses 19b-24. Within this broad framework, the phrase בעלי ברית אברם belongs to a clause in the descriptive (third) mode of narration; thus, it appears to be an

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1. G.von Rad, Genesis, (OTL; London, SCM, 1961), pp.170ff. R.de Vaux, op.cit., I, 216-220.

2. Von Rad, Genesis, p.170.

aside, almost mimetic, giving circumstantial information. Consequently, surface analysis of the text supplies no further semantic evidence for language associated with ברית. Deep structure analysis, however, is more profitable.

It is important to discern the telic aspect of the chapter in order to conduct an analysis of the deep structure. At this point, it is observable that scholars have developed different ways of handling the material. For Leupold, the basic theme is "the Dignity of the Father of Believers."[1] Von Rad divides the chapter into two parts, the first of which was not originally an Abraham-story but an ancient epic from pre-Israelite times, and the second was "originally to be understood aetiologically, and therefore as a narrative it has quite a different generic character and purpose from the preceding war story."[2] However, that the original intentions of the two sections, as stated by von Rad, were not preserved by the redactor, is indicated by the position of the scenic encounter of Abram with the king of Sodom, after the Melchizedek event. Therefore, the attempt to discover the telic aspect of the final compositional structure of the chapter must be made in terms of functional analysis.

Functional Analysis of Genesis 14:1-24.

The deep structure of the composition deviates somewhat from the

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1. H.C.Leupold, Exposition of Genesis, (London, Evangelical Press, 1942), p.469.

2. Von Rad, Genesis, p.173.

linear arrangement, but also, is related to that arrangement and accounts for the functioning of the various modes of narration. The action of the narrative proceeds through three movements, each comprised of a number of sequences and functions: (1) the initial movement, the contract of the narrative, which describes the circumstances, the rebellion of the kings, the warfare, the relations of the principal characters; (2) the medial movement, the struggle, or conflict, of Abram to acquit himself of his responsibility; (3) the final movement, the resolution of the struggle, and the re-establishment of social order. The details of this structure may be set out in the following model of analysis:

COMPOSITION: GENESIS 14:1-24 (NARRATIVE).

FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS.

MOVEMENT ONE: CONTRACT.

This movement can be divided into two sequences, the first containing those elements which define the circumstantial arrangements in terms of the principal relationships of obligation, the second containing the initial events which create the struggle of the second movement. Certain secondary functions can be omitted from the consideration.

SEQUENCE 1: the Circumstances.

FUNCTION 1.
The covenant of the kings.
חברו אל עמק השדים (v.3)

FUNCTION 2.
The familial relationship with Lot.
אחי אברם (לוט) (v.12)

FUNCTION 3.
The covenant of Abram with the Amorites.
והם בעלי ברית אברם (v.13)

FUNCTION 4.
The oath of Abram to YHWH, God Most High.
הרמתי ידי אל יהוה אל עליון (v.22)

SEQUENCE 2: the Initial Events.

FUNCTION 5.
The covenant upheld by service.
עבדו (v.4)

FUNCTION 6.
The rebellion of the kings.
מרדו (v.4)

FUNCTION 7.
The resulting warfare.
בא...ויכו...ויערכו (v.7-8)

FUNCTION 8.
Spoil and captives taken, including Lot.
ויקחו את כל רכש סדם ועמרה (v.13)
ויקחו את לוט ואת רכשו (v.12)

FUNCTION 9.
A messenger informs Abram.
ויגד לאברם (v.13)

MOVEMENT TWO: STRUGGLE.

FUNCTION 10.
Abram pursues and engages in battle.
וירק את חניכיו...וירדף (v.14)
ויכם (v.15)

FUNCTION 11.
The Amorites accompany Abram.
האנשים אשר הלכו אתי (v.24)

FUNCTION 12.
The offer of the spoils.
והרכש קח לך (v.21)

MOVEMENT THREE: RESOLUTION.

FUNCTION 13.
Abram restores the captives and the spoil.
וישב את כל הרכש (v.16)

FUNCTION 14.
The kings meet Abram.
ויצא לקראתו (v.17)

FUNCTION 15.
Abram restores Lot.
וישב... וגם את לוט אחיו (v.16)

FUNCTION 16.
The Amorites take their portion.
ענר אשכל וממרא הם יקחו חלקם (v.24)

FUNCTION 17.
Abram renounces the spoils.
ואם אקח מכל אשר לך (v.23)

FUNCTION 18.
The Blessing of Melchizedek.
והוציא לחם ויין
ויברכהו ויאמר) ברוך אברם לאל עליון
(וברוך אל עליון) (vv.19-20)

FUNCTION 19.
The payment of a tithe by Abram.
ויתן לו מעשר מכל (v.20)

Commentary on the Functional Analysis of Genesis 14:1-24.

The definition of the telic aspect of Genesis 14:1-24 is indicated by functional analysis, and can be formulated, at this point, as "the legal satisfaction of covenant, oath, and familial obligation, towards God and man, on the part of Abram." This is seen in the relation of the functions in series, where, for example, the restoration of Lot (function 15), brings to resolution the familial obligation upon Abram (function 2), through the conflict occasioned by Lot's capture (function 8). Four series can be identified, which can be stated, with reference to the preceding model of analysis, numerically: series A: functions 1,5, 6,7,10,13,14; series B: functions 2,8,(9),15; series C: functions 3,(9), 11,16; series D: functions 4,12,17,18,19. This functional analysis, which is, in nature, non-linguistic, must be substantiated in detail, and its implications for the structures of Biblical Hebrew langue (that is, the linguistic infra-structure) must be expounded.

The opening statement, a report of the battle between Chedorlaomer, his three allies, and the five kings of the Vale of Siddim, עשו מלחמה (v.2), could be regarded as a summarising 'title' of the narrative, referring to the main event, in which case verse 3 would be descriptive, relating previous historical information, and hence, עשו מלחמה would be functionally synonymous with וישבו (v.8). A better interpretation would take verses 1-6 to be relating an historical sequence of events, in which, an initial invasion resulted in a subjugation of the Vale of Siddim, by a covenant, which was observed for a while and then broken, provoking a punitive expedition. The long succession of perfect tense

formations seems to confirm the latter point of view, which finds support, also, from von Rad's assessment of the chapter as being of chronicle-like character.[1] The relationship of the four kings with the five, established after the first battle, therefore constitutes the first hinge of the narrative, as it is described in the words of verse 3, חברו אל עמק השדים. Among the various interpretations of this clause is that of Spurrell, who regards it as a pregnant construction, translating, "they came allied to (the Vale of Siddim)."[2] He is supported by von Rad, but opposed by Skinner, who considers this to be a rather harsh treatment of חברו, which he understands in an "absolute" sense.[3] He concludes, "The most probable sense is that the five cities formed a league) of the Vale of Siddim, and therefore acted in concert."[4] Functional analysis, taken on the basis of foregoing preliminary considerations of covenant issues, leads to an understanding of the verb חברו in terms of a covenantal association between the pentapolis and the four kings of the East. In 27 instances in the Old Testament, חבר has a variety of uses, referring to the joining together of persons, or things, quite unspecifically, and a covenantal sense is far from inevitable in every case. Certain cognate words, חבר, חברה (company, association), חבר (companion), and חבר (partner, associate, colleague), appear to be compatible with, and even close to, such a connotation of sense, but others, חברה (stripe, blow), and חברורה (stripe of a tiger?), are well removed from it. Whereas the

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1. Von Rad, Genesis, p.170.
2. Spurrell, op.cit., p.147. GK para.119.4. OS para.101.
3. Skinner, op.cit., p.260. Cf.Von Rad, Genesis, p.169.
4. Skinner, op.cit., p.260.

verb itself is essentially unspecific, functional analysis of the narrative structure of Genesis 14:1-24, in consistency with the relatively well attested practice of political covenant making at the time, favours a covenantal association of sense here.[1] Thus, חבר would mean, in Genesis 14:3, "to join together in covenant," or "to make a covenant," and would be functionally equivalent to (or synonymous with) the syntagm כרת ברית. Confirmation of the validity of this semantic equation cam be derived from the verbs related to חבר in series. עבד (v.4, function 5) denotes the service of vassals to their suzerain according to the terms of a covenant; by implication, the five kings of the Vale of Siddim are portrayed as complying with Chedorlaomer's demands for tribute. מרד (v.4, function 6), similarly, signifies the fracture of those terms, a rebellion, not necessarily in the form of military aggression, made unlikely by the factor of geographical separation, but a refusal of tribute.[2] Whatever the precise nature of the rebellion (i.e..the referential significance of מרד), the functional series, מרד - עבד - חבר, contributes an important structural association of sense to the semantic field of covenant language.

The syntax of Genesis 14 is not without its difficulties. The connection between verses 1 and 2 has been labelled "faulty syntax."[3] The awkward use of the preposition, in the phrase חברו אל, has also occasioned comment.[4] Non-grammatical issues have, likewise, been

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1. Cf. supra, p.5, (esp. fn.1), pp.22ff., and pp.55f.
2. Skinner, op.cit., p.260.
3. Ibid., p.257.
4. Spurrell, op.cit., p.147, et.al.

raised. Von Rad has observed:

> "The route of the Eastern kings on their punitive expedition is especially strange. It does not advance towards the rebels but goes to the extreme south of East Jordan, returning from there to Kadesh - sixty miles south of the Dead Sea! And then finally it moves in a direction from south to north to the region of the Dead Sea where the Canaanites had long expected them for battle."[1]

The route may appear inexplicable, but the scale of the venture is consistent with the distance covered by the pursuing forces of Abram. It would seem to be a plausible suggestion that the name עמק השדים, "Vale of Siddim," conceals the reason for the strange route taken by Chedorlaomer, and also, by implication, explains the difficult construction תגרו אל, noted above. It is reasonable to suppose that the military incursion was directed against the area in revolt, and the designation "Vale of Siddim," could represent a technical appellation for the specific political-geographical region surrounding the Dead Sea on the southern plain, under the control of the principal cities, Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboiim.[2] This possibility seems to have been contemplated by Skinner, in slightly different terms:

> "An Elamite dominion over Palestine in the earlier part of Hammurabi's reign is perfectly credible in the light of the monumental evidence. But the importance attributed in this connexion to the petty kings of the Pentapolis is one of the features which excite suspicion of the historicity of the narrative."[3]

The suspicion noted, however, might be the result of the "writer's laxity in narration."[4] Much is left unsaid. Indeed, this becomes

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1. Von Rad, Genesis, p.172. Cf. infra, Sketch Maps 1 and 2.

2. עמק השדים is referred to, also, by the name ככר הירדן, at Gen 13:11.

3. Skinner, op.cit., p.260.

4. Ibid., p.266.

an important principle for assessing biblical narration; the record is fragmentary, there is a tendency towards severe selectiveness throughout the historical literature, according to which, many facts are sacrificed to the main aim of the writer. However, returning to the matter in hand, several reasons can be advanced for reading עמק השדים as a technical designation. As noted already, it would account for the invasion route. Similarly, the preposition אל, in the phrase חברו אל, could be interpreted quite regularly, so that the kings named were represented as being joined by covenant to the subjugated region. Lot had chosen to reside within the circumscription of the authority of those cities, and, consequently, he fell within the terms of the covenant of the Vale of Siddim, and suffered in the rebellion. Abram was domiciled in the territory of the Amorites, which lay in the hill country to the north.[1] His involvement with the Pentapolis arose out of his familial responsibility to Lot, but he was not, himself, directly involved in the covenant or its fracture. He was party to a different regional covenant, with the Amorites, Mamre, Eshcol, and Aner. The separation is implied by the need for a messenger to inform Abram of the battle tidings, and the capture of Lot. Abram's renunciation of the spoils of victory was presumably prompted by the knowledge of his insociate status, and his desire to maintain that state of affairs. Finally, on this point, the character of the account, as a chronicle, would favour technical restriction of language, perhaps in a similar manner to the Mesha stele.[2]

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1. The separation implied by chapter 14 is explicit in chapter 13, and the relationship of these chapters has been discussed by W.H.Green, The Unity of the Book of Genesis, (New York, Scribner's, 1895), pp.195ff.

2. The Mesha stele might be a comparable extra-biblical text; cf. Gibson, op.cit., I, 71ff., and H.Donner and W.Röllig, Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften, II, (Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1973), 168ff.

Taking into account the factual lacunae, the arguments adduced render the understanding of עמק השדים as the defined region of covenantal subjugation, "perfectly credible."[1]

The covenant between Abram and the Amorite "brothers" is related as a circumstantial matter, in the descriptive mode of narration, and it gives no further semantic information. Functionally, it signifies that Abram was not joined to the Vale of Siddim. The form of the expression בעלי ברית might raise the question whether Abram was an inferior party, subject to Mamre's lordship. However, the noun בעל is ambiguous; although it frequently denotes a superior, a lord, an husband, it also denotes the possessor of an object, the member of an institution, the inhabitant of a city, without the implication of superiority.[2] It is tempting to consider the Akkadian phrase bēl ade which referred to the servant, or vassal who was bound by the adu-agreement.[3] Indeed, Genesis 14 suggests that Abram was the leader, and he it is who speaks for the confederacy in the matter of the spoils.[4] The paucity of evidence of an intra-hebraic linguistic quality enforces a caution upon any desired conclusion on this question, especially in the light of warnings issued earlier about imposing conceptual structures upon the semantic character of the language.

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1. "Perfectly credible" - Skinner's own words; cf. supra, p.217.

2. Cf. BDB, p.127.

3. Cf. CAD, I/A, 134. Kraetzschmar, op.cit., pp.23f.

4. Extra-biblical covenants included a condition that the vassal could not undertake a military exercise except on behalf of his suzerain. Cf. treaty between Mursilis II of Hatti and Niqmepa of Ugarit, lines 10ff. (obv.): J.Nougayrol, Mission de Ras Shamra IX. Le palais royal d'Ugarit IV, (Paris, 1956), pp.84ff. McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, p.302.

In addition to the Amorite confederacy, Abram was under obligation to YHWH El Elyon: הרימתי ידי אל יהוה אל עליון (v.22, function 4). The syntagm יד הרים is generally thought to be equivalent to יד נשא, (and possibly, יד נתן), and therefore, by extension, to be broadly synonymous with נשבע, meaning "to take an oath," "to swear."[1] As far as the significance of this syntagm in Genesis 14:22 is concerned, the traditional position is represented by Driver:

> "Here the perfect is employed to describe the immediate past, being generally best translated by the present; as Gen 14,22 הרימתי I lift up (have this moment, as I speak, lifted) my hand to heaven."[2]

This is compared with the "so-called 'aorist of immediate past'," of Greek, for example, ἐδεξάμην, "I welcome."[3] In the case of Genesis 14:22, this punctiliar sense can hardly mean that Abram took an oath actually 'as he spoke' to the king of Sodom. It is more likely that it refers to the immediately prior encounter with Melchizedek, recorded at verses 18 and 19. Alternatively, but far less probably, it could be taken as a straight perfect, alluding to an unrecorded event that occurred before the battle, on the basis of which, Melchizedek met Abram. Again, the scholar is confronted with the brevity of the account. In attempting to assess the significance of this statement, ... יד הרימתי, certain points must be borne in mind. First, if, as would seem most probable, it is a reference to the previous encounter with the priest-king of Salem, then it represents an addition to knowledge, as verses 18-19 do not mention

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1. Cf. BDB, p.389(b). Leupold, op.cit., p.486. יד נשא: Ex 6:8; Nu 14:30; Deu 32:40; Ezek 20:23; and, N.B., הרים ימין ושמאל (=יד).

2. S.R.Driver, A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew, and Some Other Syntactical Questions, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1892), p.15. Spurrell, op.cit., p.157. GK para.106.2(b). DS para.40(b).

3. Driver, A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew, p.15, fn.3.

an oath. So, it must be concluded that, although in the scenic mode, the record of the Melchizedekian meeting is composed of representative elements only. Secondly, therefore, it may be inquired what is the significance of the fact that Melchizedek brought forth bread and wine. This text has aroused interest from many quarters. The Roman Catholic interpretation, as a type of the sacrifice of Christ, and of the mass, was rejected by the reformers of the sixteenth century, following Luther, and modern scholarship takes the latter path.[1] It is suggested that it is an idiom for "food and drink," offered for the sustenance of the returning armies.[2] In the light of recent studies of covenantal phenomenology, a resemblance to the covenantal meal seems to present an enticing solution. Thirdly, the payment of tithes might resemble the payment of tribute. Indeed, a covenant would have been the customary grounds for such a donation. Could it have been the product merely of benevolent feeling? The contrast with the reaction on Abram's part to the king of Sodom suggests that the matter was not so arbitrary. Finally, the priest-king's benediction is analogous to the covenantal blessing. To sum up, by drawing these elements together, it would seem that Melchizedek brought Abram into an oath to YHWH El Elyon, by virtue of his sacerdotal standing, with a celebration meal, a blessing, and the payment of tribute. Elsewhere, it has been asked whether נשׂא יד (= הרים יד) was equivalent to הקים ברית (= כרת ברית), although, in that context, the view was canvassed that ברית meant "oath."[3] While it is wrong to deprive

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1. Leupold, op.cit., pp.462ff. John Calvin, A Commentary on Genesis, tr. and ed. J.King, (London, Banner of Truth Trust, 1965), pp. 386ff.

2. Skinner, op.cit., p.268.

3. Cf. supra, pp.185,188.

such syntagms of their specific force, for example, by concluding that כרת ברית is exactly equal to נשא/הרים יד, the possibility of referential identification here, as in other places, is raised. Structural analysis indicates the existence of four functional series in parallel, showing that the oath of Abram, the Amorite covenant, and the covenant of the Vale of Siddim, operate in the same way in the narrative. Thus, this is one place where compositional analysis seems to establish a corresponding infra-structure of Biblical Hebrew langue. It remains for this to be further defined according to the traditional categories of linguistic description; at this stage, it is sufficient to speak about "a paradigm of functional equivalence of כרת ברית, הרים יד (=נשא יד), and, by extension, נשבע, and תמר." These steps of argumentation and the form of conclusion reached, demonstrate the importance of not being restricted to the traditional modes of linguistic study and expression.[1] They also demonstrate the application of distinctions between the general compositional structure and the sub-structural semantic level, and between the linguistic form and the semantic funetion, which are not isomorphic.[2]

Finally, the brotherhood of Lot and Abram occupies the same structural role, suggestion an accompanying linguistic category-association. The familial aspect of covenantal expression is quite well-known, but, at this point, new light is shed upon the connection already noted for אח. Whereas אח does sometimes suffer metaphorical

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1. Cf. supra, p.118.

2. Cf. supra, pp.88f., 112.

extension into the ברית-field, in this connection it is literal, and yet occupies the same functional role as בעל ברית.[1] By this means, the semantic motivation, and the semantic vehicle, for the dimensional expansion of חנ are identified.

Actantial Analysis of Genesis 14:1-24.

Functional analysis must be complemented by actantial analysis, wherever that is possible. The results are compatible and harmonious. Thus, the paradigm is constructed, by which means, the comparison of Genesis 14 with other narrative units can be effected. This is contained in the following actantial model.

1. For the covenantal-familial connection of חנ, cf. supra, pp.6ff.

COMPOSITION: GENESIS 14:1-24 (NARRATIVE).

ACTANTIAL ANALYSIS.

Commentary on the Actantial Analysis of Genesis 14:1-24.

In the first place, it is clear that the Subject (Sub) of the narrative is Abram. He is also the Receiver (R) of the desired Object (O). The telic aspect of the preceding functional analysis, which was formally defined as 'the legal satisfaction of covenant, oath, and familial obligation, towards God and man, on the part of Abram,' must now be related to the axes of desire and communication. The telic aspect and the axis of desire are one and the same, that is to say, the 'telos' of legal satisfaction, or the re-achievement of covenant, oath, and kinship bond, through the crisis, is to be identified with the intrinsic consequence of ברכה (blessing), found in the narrative in the form of Melchizedek's benediction, ... ברוך אברם, and the accompanying acts, which constitute the Object (O). The importance of this Object is emphasised by the narrator, in that, despite the plain chronicle-like character of the episode, he breaks into scenic narration at the point of telic significance. In this way, the superficial arrangement of the text serves the deep structure. The Object is symbolised in the meal of 'bread and wine', which bears a resemblance to the covenant celebration. The axis of communication identifies the horizontal means by which the end was attained. YHWH God Most High is the author of blessing, the Sender (S), through the priestly ambassador, Melchizedek. The actantial units of Helper (H) and Opponent (Opp), containing a multiplicity of components, both personal and abstract, are significant for the purpose of the construction of certain actantial paradigms, relating to covenant language. These paradigms can be articulated in terms of actantial equivalence and actantial opposition.

The units of Helper (H) and Opponent (Opp) are, in the nature of the case, structurally opposed, and consequently, they utilise, on some occasions, words and phrases that stand in a relationship of <u>semantic opposition</u>. In the execution of functional analysis, it has already been noted that חבר, עבד, and מרד, operate in series, but this was given no further definition.[1] Now it is found that חבר and עבד belong to the actantial role (or slot) of Helper (H), while מרד belongs to the role of Opponent (Opp). Thus, they are related and defined in terms of <u>actantial opposition</u>. This statement, within the terms of structural analysis, can be related to the traditional lines of definition, expressed in the square of opposition, which suggests, by analogy, that עבד and מרד, (and חבר and עבד), are orthogonally opposed, whereas חבר and מרד are antipodally opposed.[2] Nevertheless, it must be firmly asserted that the immediate concern is to be with the structural apparatus of description along ā-traditional lines. As Lyons has commented, "It is important to realize that there is not necessarily a single answer to the question 'What is the opposite of such-and-such a lexeme?' "[3] Clearly, at this stage, actantial analysis offers a means for discovery and articulation of oppositional semantic structures. It is to be anticipated that subsequent harmonisation of results will produce a synthesis.

The same model establishes actantial equivalence for חבר, (and עבד), את (היה), הרים יד (= נשא יד : = נשבע), and ברית (= היה ברית), which occupy

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1. Cf. <u>supra</u>, p.216.
2. Cf. <u>supra</u>, pp.203f,
3. Lyons, <u>Semantics</u>, I, 285.

the role of Helper. Naturally, this equivalence required more refined expression, but, again, it is to be insisted that this departure from traditional modes of analysis be preserved in independence of traditional criteria, with the intention of exploring the multivariety of association in the semantic field of ברית.

The extraction of semantic relations, purely on the basis of the patterns of functional and actantial analysis, would be wide-ranging to the extent of being almost limitless, apart from the imposition of certain indispensible principles, which must now be made explicit. From the preceding actantial model alone, which is already selective, as it stands in relation to the details of the text of Genesis 14, a far greater number of linguistic associations could be stated, as, for example, the connections between קח and אם אקח, or among מלך סדם, אמרפל, אריוך, כדרלעמר, תדעל, and לוט, אברם, or מלכי צדק, to name but two. The provision of a limit is made by the introduction of a principle of selection, enunciated previously in connection with the methodological discussion of syntagmatic collocation, and which can now be extended by application to the syntagmatic aspect of compositional-structural associations.[1] The principle can be stated: 'the usefulness of the evidence of syntagmatic collocation (at the compositional level) will vary in direct proportion to the degree of restriction placed upon the combinatorial freedom of the word (or syntagm) in question.' Accordingly, the function of proper nouns, for instance, in the functional-actantial structure, is not very instructive. There is an element of subjective, or "intuitive," judgment

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1. Cf. supra, p.93, and, for the application of this principle in the study of encapsulation, cf. pp.133ff.

on the semanticist's part, in the application of this principle of selection, not in terms of his intuitive knowledge of Biblical Hebrew as such, but with regard to his purpose.[1] Thus, while some might wish to omit the syntagm עשה מלחמה from the consideration, as being too general, it might be felt by others to be a relevant association, and an important link, in the series (עשה מלחמה) - מרד - עבד - חבר.[2] Because there are many shades of restriction, (that is, structural restriction,) rendering the principle of restricted collocation, as a basis for selection, somewhat vague, and leaving room for interpretation, the danger of the argument taking the form of petitio principii, and the danger of yielding to theological preconceptions, are ever present, and must be recognised.[3] Consequently, a statement of the preconditions, assumptions, and aims, involved in the implementation of the selective principle, becomes desirable. Inevitably, the procedure adopted will commence with the most firmly held connections of language, and move towards the 'fringe' of the field. In the present discourse, a via media is intended, where the analysis is selective, in that it is not exhaustive, but it is also broad, not being limited to the almost exclusive associations, or those favoured by covenant theology, of the גרית-field. Diligent attention must be paid, in effecting this policy, to the distinction between the compositional structures themselves, and the sub-structures of semantics.

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1. "Intuitive" is used here differently from the use with reference to linguistic "native" intuition, above, cf. supra, p.90.

2. Cf. supra, p.216. At least it is capable of registration.

3. Cf. supra, pp.43ff.

(b) Genesis 21:22-34. The Covenant between Abraham and Abimelech at Beersheba.

This passage records the covenantal dealings between Abraham and the Philistines. Westermann has classified it as a passage to do with land, and the rights of land ownership.[1] Scholars are divided with regard to the documentary sources of the text. Some treat it as a combination of J and E material, whereas others attribute the whole section, or at least verses 22-31, to E.[2] Even among those who regard it as composite, there has been a forced admission that the linguistic criteria are "indecisive as between J and E."[3] Whatever be the answer to this commonly posed question, in structural terms, the composition is a unit.

Turning, therefore, to the final form of the text, a superficial reading of an English translation would produce the impression of a very simple structure. Abraham, who had moved into Philistine country, made an oath with Abimelech and Phicol. Subsequently, Abimelech's servants deprived him of a well, and, when he complained to Abimelech, they made a covenant for the sake of peace. This would translate into the basic structure of three movements: the initial movement, of the

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1. Claus Westermann, Handbook to the Old Testament, tr. Robert H.Boyd, (London, SPCK, 1969), p.32.

2. D.J.McCarthy, "Three Covenants in Genesis," CBQ, XXVI (1964), 179-189. McCarthy (p.179) analyses the text: E= 21:22-24,27,31; J= 21:25-26,28-30. Cf. Skinner, op.cit., pp.325ff. This is opposed by G.Holscher, Geschichtsschreibung in Israel, (Lund, 1952), pp.282f., and H.Holzinger, Genesis. Kurzer Handkommentar zum Alten Testament,I, (Freiburg, 1898), who is referred to by Holscher.

3. Skinner, op.cit., p.325.

oath; the medial movement, of the complaint about the strife; the final movement, of the restoration of peace by a covenant. However, the accuracy of this reconstruction has been challenged, the focal point of dispute being the verbal form והוכח (v.24), where the use of the perfect seems to interrupt the consecutive flow of the narrative. The facile evasion of the problem by emendation, to read ויוכח*, has received little support.[1] Instead, the explanation of the existing verbal construction has been found in terms of a frequentative perfect, translating, "And as often as Abraham took Abimelech to task about the wells . . . Abimelech would answer)."[2] As a result, the structure of the account is entirely altered, so that the oath and the covenant are presented as the solution to habitual quarrelling between Abraham and the Philistines. Such a reconstruction of events is not without its own difficulties. Skinner comments on the situation, in which, Abraham, though ready to swear, raises the question of a previous dispute, "This unreserved consent (cf.v.24) is inconsistent with the expostulation of v.26."[3] Leupold finds a way around the difficulty:

> "However, had Abraham raised his objection first, before he expressed his assent, he would have created the impression he sought to avoid, namely that he seemed somewhat reluctant about taking steps to guarantee peace. Besides, there is no grammatical difficulty in the way of construing v.25 thus. For the conjunction is not a waw conversive, necessitating the translation, 'And as often as Abraham took Abimelech to task about the wells ... Abimelech would answer' - a translation which throws

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1. C.J.Ball, The Book of Genesis. SBOT, (1898), and GK, para. 112(tt), both cited by Skinner, op.cit., p.325.

2. Skinner, op.cit., p.326. Cf. Driver, A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew, p.129 (= para.114β), which, nevertheless, does not cite Gen 21:25. DS para.58(b), which treats והוכח as being out of sequence.

3. Skinner, op.cit., p.325.

> the whole account into confusion. Here is an instance where the waw with a perfect merely expresses 'a digression or an epexegesis'."[1]

This explanation, which is open to the charge of being subjectively based, leaves Leupold with other difficulties regarding the failure of Abraham to reprove Abimelech prior to this occasion. Contrary to those who saw והוכח as a difficulty in the text, Spurrell compared it with the phrase והאמן ביהוה, at Genesis 15:6, seeing both as cases of "the perfect with simple waw, where an imperf. with waw conversive would be expected."[2] This has been confirmed by Blake's reappraisal of the traditional grammar of the verbal tenses, explaining והוכח, of Genesis 21:25, as an unconverted perfect used independently with ו, comparing I Samuel 1:12; 3:13; etc.[3] This syntactical account of Genesis 21:25 receives possible confirmation from the suggestion, made by Gesenius, that "the influence of Aramaic modes of expression" is sometimes present in demonstrations of such a phenomenon.[4] In the passage in question, another, similar connection has been registered by McCarthy, in that שקר, as used in verse 23, with the meaning "to break covenantal faith," was the standard designation for the violation of a covenant in the eighth century Aramaic treaty texts of Sefire.[5] Further support for reading והוכח as a simple perfect is derived from

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1. Leupold, op.cit., pp.611f.

2. Spurrell, op.cit., p.160 and pp.205f. Cf. Driver, A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew, pp.160ff. (para.133).

3. Frank R.Blake, A Resurvey of Hebrew Tenses, (Rome, Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1951), p.53 (para.37(b)), opposing GK para.112(rr). Cf. Driver, Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel, pp.13,43,etc.

4. GK para.112(pp). Cf.Driver, A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew, pp.160ff. on Aramaic influence in later material.

5. McCarthy, "Three Covenants in Genesis," 188. Cf. J.A.Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire I and II," JAOS, LXXXI (1961), 178-222.

an examination of the style of narration as it functions in relation to the surface arrangement of the composition. The initial mention of the oath, in verses 22-24, is in the form of a scene, but a transition to the straight mode of narration is experienced in verse 25, which relates the dispute. Finally, the resolution of the difficulty is recorded, predominantly in the scenic mode. This stylistic variation introduces a time manipulation, where the intrusion of the quarrel is dealt with swiftly, as it constitutes a link between the first oath and the second. The use of the perfect, by disrupting the sequence of verbs, increases the abruptness of the transition, almost imparting the force of a paragraph. In this sense, Davidson is correct when he states that the "action is thrown out of the stream of the narrative."[1] Thus, it is seen that the linear reading of the text is acceptable, particularly in the light of modern grammatical theory, and in the consideration of stylistic features of narration.

Functional Analysis of Genesis 21:22-34.

Due to the brevity of the account, a relatively condensed functional model can be prepared according to the pattern suggested previously.

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1. DS para.58(b). Thus, semantically, the perfect is a simpler equivalent of a phrase like וְהִי אַחֲרֵי הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה, which would have been less suited to the swiftness of the narration, and less fitting for the narrator's policy of expurgation of all but what is absolutely necessary.

COMPOSITION: GENESIS 21:22-34 (NARRATIVE).

FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS.*

MOVEMENT ONE: CONTRACT.

SEQUENCE 1: Circumstances. The Relationship between Abraham and Abimelech. (Implied Conjunction.)

FUNCTION 1.
Abimelech states the terms of the proposed oath.
ועתה השבעה לי באלהים הנה אם תשקר לי ...
כחסד אשר עשיתי עמך תעשה עמדי ... : (v.23)

FUNCTION 2.
Abraham takes an oath.
אנכי אשבע (v.24)

SEQUENCE 2: Occasion. The Fracture of the Relationship. (Initiating Events.)

FUNCTION 3.
Abraham digs a well.
חפרתי את הבאר הזאת (v.30b)

FUNCTION 4.
Abimelech's servants take away the rights of access to the well by violent means.
גזלו (v.25b)

MOVEMENT TWO: CONFLICT (STRUGGLE).

SEQUENCE 3: Confrontation. Abraham and Abimelech Argue the Case.

FUNCTION 5.
Abraham challenges Abimelech regarding the legality of his behaviour.
והוכח (v.25a)

FUNCTION 6.
Abimelech denies responsibility.
לא ידעתי מי עשה את הדבר הזה
וגם אתה לא הגדת לי
וגם אנכי לא שמעתי ... (v.26)

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* The columnar tabulation of this functional model is facilitated by the brevity of the subject-text; contrast Genesis 14. Cf. supra, pp.212f.

MOVEMENT THREE: RESOLUTION.

SEQUENCE 4: Resolution. The Re-establishment of the Relationship by Oath and Covenant.

FUNCTION 7.
They make a covenant and an oath.
ויכרתו שניהם ברית (vv.27,32)
נשבעו שניהם (v.31)

FUNCTION 8.
Abraham gives seven ewe lambs as a witness to his ownership of the well.
תהיה לי לעדה (v.30)

FUNCTION 9.
Abraham names the place Beersheba.
על כן קרא למקום ההוא באר שבע (v.31)

SEQUENCE 5: Disjunction.

FUNCTION 10.
Abimelech takes his leave of Abraham.
וישבו ... ויקם (v.32)

FUNCTION 11.
Abraham worships YHWH, having planted a tree.
וישע אשל ... ויקרא שם בשם יהוה אל עולם (v.33)

FUNCTION 12.
Abraham lives at peace in the land of the Philistines.
ויגר (v.34)

Commentary on the Functional Analysis of Genesis 21:22-34.

It has been asserted that "originally the story was told as a means to establishing in folk memory the ancient Israelite right to use the oasis at Beer-sheba."[1] Accordingly, the dual explanation of the name, Beer-sheba (באר שבע), in connection with the oath (נשבע), and in connection with the seven ewe lambs (שבע כבשת), is made much of. However, this is only part of the story. The final utilisation of this ancient tradition shows a concern to establish the right behaviour of the patriarch when he acquired land, wells of water, and so, the means to maintain his existence in Palestine. In this perspective, the well at Beersheba is incidental almost, a test-case of the Philistine-Hebrew relationship. The story would have been very different, had the narrator decided to perpetuate the portrayal of Abraham the warrior, seen in the preceding account, Genesis 14:1-24.[2] Consequently, the telic aspect, to which the compositional structure is orientated in Genesis 21:22-34, can be defined as, "Abraham's securing of a legal, and peaceful, relationship with Abimelech and the Philistines, for the term of his sojourn in their territory, by means of covenant and oath." This lays appropriate stress upon the means used to achieve the end. Before proceeding to analyse closely the language operating here, the functional model can be complemented by actantial analysis.

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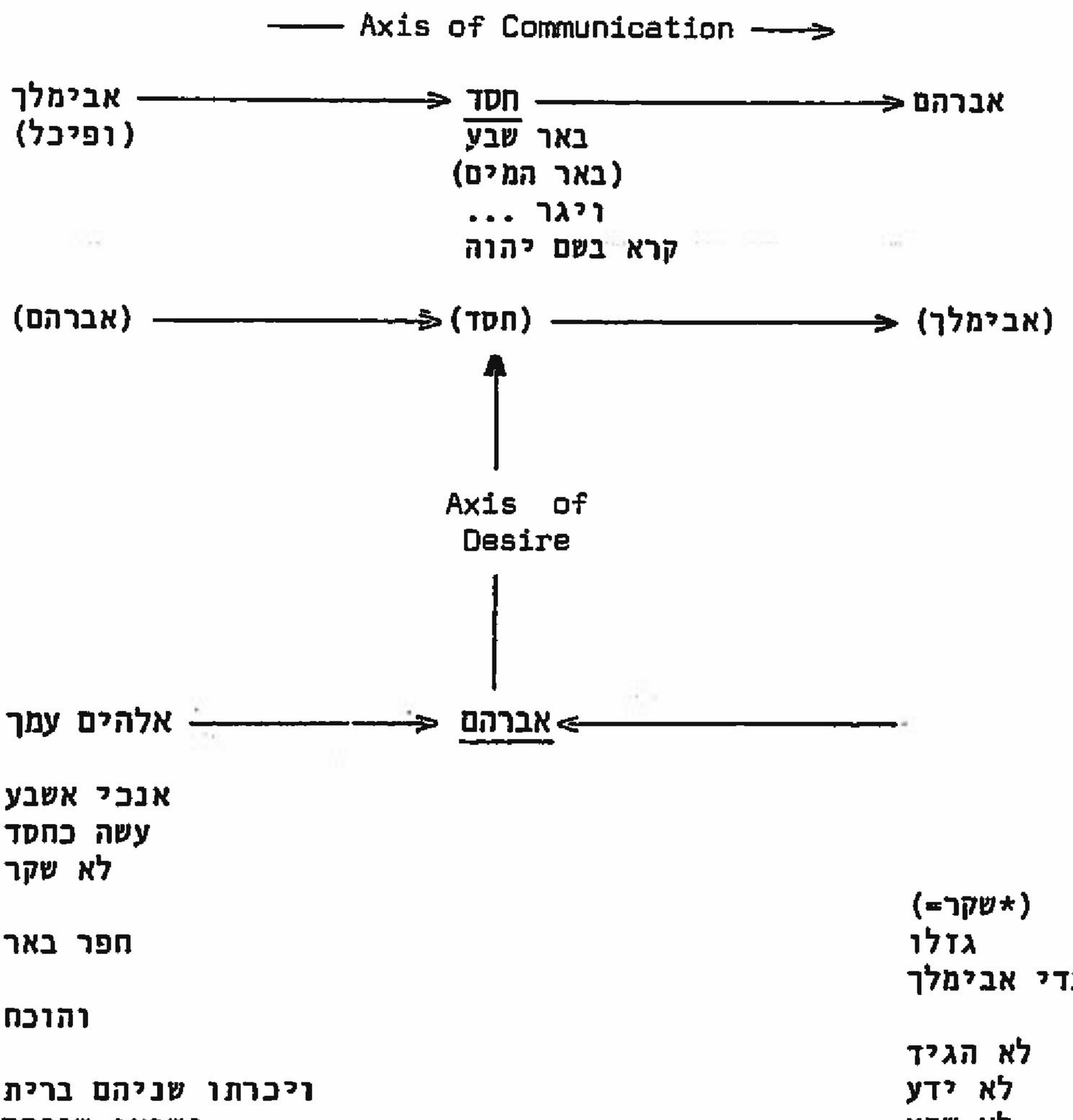
1. A.S.Herbert, Genesis 12-50, (London, SCM,1962), p.51. This quotation is representative of several.

2. Cf. supra, pp.209ff.

Actantial Analysis of Genesis 21:22-34.

COMPOSITION: GENESIS 21:22-34 (NARRATIVE).

ACTANTIAL ANALYSIS.



Commentary on the Actantial Analysis of Genesis 21:22-34 with Further Commentary on the Complementary Functional Analysis.

A series of comments can be offered in the form of brief notes on the linguistic properties of the composition.

Taking an oath is a prominent feature of the text. McCarthy makes the following observation on this point:

> "The precise use of this verb (i.e.נשבע) in our passages is worth some notice. It is used absolutely, never with a direct object. 'To swear' taken by itself is enough to imply a covenant. There is no need to say 'swear a covenant' even though the phrase is perfectly possible, (cf.Deu.4:31;7:11) and the verb appears parallel to 'cutting a covenant,' particularly in the sequence 21,27 & 31, but virtually in 31,44 & 53b and in J in 26,28 & 31."[1]

The antiquity of the connection, it is suggested, is established by reference to the Akkadian treaty of Abba-AN of Iamhad with Iarimlim, from Alalah, of the eighteenth to seventeenth centuries: "Abba-AN swore an oath and cut the throat of a sheep."[2] The attempt to relate the distinction between נשבע and כרת ברית to a diversity of origin in the documentary sources, נשבע being preferred in E, כרת ברית in J, must be judged inconclusive.[3] The danger of imposing harsh schemes of procrustean policy in semantics has already been noted, and this is borne out in the present study, where, for example, the use of עד/עדה within E material is found to be inconsistent, comparing Genesis 21:30 with

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1. McCarthy, "Three Covenants in Genesis," 181.

2. D.J.Wiseman, "Abban and Alalah," JCS, XII (1958), 127, (reading lines 39-41). This is quoted by McCarthy, "Three Covenants in Genesis," 181, in support of the case.

3. Ibid.

Genesis 31:44.[1] Indeed, נשבע was far from being the obviously preferred semantic substitution for כרת ברית, in the language of E. The combination is witnessed in J material also.[2] What is more significant for the present discourse is the semantic connection. There is, without doubt, a close referential association. Whilst it is dangerous to conclude that there is, therefore, a corresponding equivalence of sense, a point of principle made in relation to Genesis 14:22, where the phrase יד הָרִים receives a possible covenantal connection, it can be affirmed that there is a functional and actantial equivalence to be observed for נשבע and כרת ברית here.[3] There will be a need to return to this point later.

As has been commented earlier, שקר is regularly used of covenant breaking in the Aramaic treaty texts of Sefire. In Biblical Hebrew, the verb appears only six times, once in the Qal, five times in the Pi'el. The cognate noun is more frequent. Nevertheless, certain uses of the verb stand out. The syntagm שקר בברית has been noted already, in Psalm 44:18(AV:17).[4] Similarly, Psalm 89:34-36 merit close attention:

וחסדי לא אפיר מעמו ולא אשקר באמונתי :

לא אחלל בריתי ומוצא שפתי לא אשנה :

אחת נשבעתי בקדשי אם לדוד אכזב :

The 'synonymous' parallelism of verse 34 provides a direct link between

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1. Cf. supra, pp.42,49.

2. Cf. Gen 26:31, and McCarthy, "Three Covenants in Genesis,"179.

3. Cf. supra, pp.120ff.

4. Cf. supra, p.162.

שקר באמונה (לא) and הפר חסד (לא), a link which finds expression in the words of Abimelech, at Genesis 21:23, where שקר (לא) and עשה כחסד appear together. The next verse of Psalm 89 supplies a link between חלל ברית and שקר באמונה, and, by implication, with שקר בברית. In fact, these three verses exhibit a small associative field, which includes a number of equivalences paralleled by Leviticus 19:11-12, which reads:

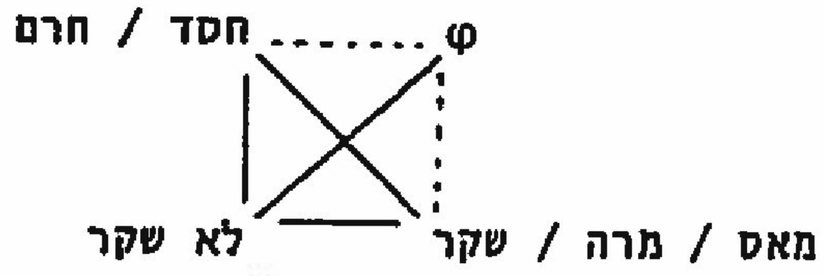
לא תגנבו ולא תכחשו ולא תשקרו איש בעמיתו: ולא תשבעו
בשמי לשקר וחללת את שם אלהיך אני יהוה:

The comparison may be set out in a tabular form:

Psalm 89:34-36	Leviticus 19:11-12.
	(גנב)
הפר חסד	כחש
שקר באמונה	שקר
חלל ברית	נשבע לשקר
נשבע ...(אם) כזב	חלל (שם)

The general comparison is very suggestive of a whole set of relations, but the immediate concern has been the place of שקר. It constitutes a minimal assessment, and only a beginning, to state that this verb seems to entail the sense of defection from covenant or oath, (perhaps, by an oath). However, it must not be imputed to such a statement, that an absolute, or comprehensive, definition of usage is here given. Even so, the remaining two occurrences of this verb confirm the case. The first, at I Samuel 15:29, occurs in the narrative relating how Saul, Israel's king, transgressed the "curse" (= חרם) placed on the Amalekites, when he failed to destroy them completely. That there is a close and peculiar relationship between חרם and ברית must be taken for granted at this point - it will be demonstrated later - but Saul's action is described as rebellion

(מרי) and rejection (מאס) of the word of YHWH.[1] Verse 29 draws the contrast between this (implied שקר) and the non-violation (לא שקר) of the Glory of Israel. By way of a slight digression, it is interesting to observe that the name of God is avoided in connection with the verb שקר, and a descriptive title, "the Glory of Israel," (RSV), is employed instead, perhaps as the result of a conscious policy to dissociate the two. The second of the remaining texts is at Isaiah 63:8, part of a prophetic oracle relating the steadfast covenantal devotion (חסד) of YHWH.[2] The anticipated character of the reciprocation of the Israelites is portrayed in the following words: בנים לא ישקרו. Two verses later, their action is contrasted with this, as rebellion: והמה מרו. A major digression, to analyse in detail the structure of this oracle, cannot be entertained at this stage of the investigation, because the area of interest lies with first dimensional narrative usage of ברית at the compositional level. Nevertheless, the structures should be marked, especially as they will be confirmed by the accumulation of semantic data, as the discourse proceeds, eventually achieving synthesis. In both of these texts, the associations exhibited could be represented in terms of an incomplete square of opposition:



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1. Cf. supra, pp.154 and 200, where חרם is included as a partial synonym of ברית, a fact to be substantiated in structural terms below. Questions as to the translation of חרם arise, but they are passed over at this stage, and the rendering "curse" is reluctantly employed until the matter can be made clearer.

2. Again, notice the difficulty in translating a word such as חסד. The present dissertation is committed to a view of translation as an elementary aid, heavily dependent upon structural apprehension of the field of associations in the langue of Hebrew.

All these facts are important, but the immediate point is that Abimelech's initial approach to Abraham was couched in the language of covenant and oath, in this case, in the words עשה כחסד and שקר. However, it becomes evident that the covenantal character of his speech is obscured by translation because the English words do not stand in the same associative field as the Hebrew, and, therefore, do not carry the same semantic connotations as those resident in Biblical Hebrew structure. It needs to be emphasised repeatedly, in this kind of linguistic exercise, that the fallacious 'totality' approach to the study of meaning, heavily criticised by Barr, is not being adopted.[1] Nevertheless, the limited use of a verb such as שקר has the effect of tying down its semantic role. Thus, the principle of collocational restriction counterbalances the warning of "illegitimate totality transfer," recognising that the restriction is the product, in some such cases, of a specific field of sense and association.[2] However, the application of this measure cannot be indiscriminate.

When Abraham reproved Abimelech, the latter replied with the following words:

לא ידעתי מי עשה את הדבר הזה וגם אתה לא הגדת לי
וגם אנכי לא שמעתי בלתי היום :

The phraseology used bears some resemblance to expressions in the laws of Leviticus and Deuteronomy. Speaking about the evidence of covenant transgression in Israel, Deuteronomy 17:4 says: ... והגד לך ושמעת.

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1. Barr, The Semantics of Biblical Language, pp.218ff. Cf. supra, p.44.

2. The meaning is not reviewed as "the total series of relations" (Barr, The Semantics of Biblical Language, p.218), but the accumulation of sense through repeated use of the same 'series of relations' is of relevance to semantic definition. Cf. supra, pp.93,133ff.,227f.

Leviticus 5:1 and 4 states:

ונפש כי תחטא ושמעה קול אלה והוא עד או ראה או ידע אם לוא
יגיד ונשא עונו : .... או נפש כי תשבע לבטא בשפתים להרע
או להיטיב לכל אשר יבטא האדם בשבעה ונעלם ממנו והוא ידע
ואשם לאחת מאלה :

A similar resemblance is to be observed between the picture of Abraham, given in Genesis 26:5, and several legal texts, Abraham is described as keeping the charge, commandments, statutes, and laws of God. There are two ways of looking at this type of similarity: either it is to be dismissed simply as the imposition of a later age upon ancient traditions, or it is to be regarded as an authentic reflection of ancient tradition out of which the more recent traditions have grown, recognising the fact that laws sprang from customs. Thus, the possibility is raised that Abimelech's denial was typical, that is to say, it was to be expected; the customary nature of his plea of ignorance is, accordingly, reflected in later laws. The possibility is enhanced by McCarthy's judgment on the character of the texts at present under scrutiny; the evidence of Genesis 21:22-34; 26:26-33; and 31:49-54, is thought to be very old, before both J and E, because it transcends the divisions of sources.[1] In the case in question, there is no intention of arguing for the presence of an ancient formula of legal expression, merely a trend of parole, which adds to the substantiation of the formal nature of the record and its existential reference point.

Finally, by way of comment, a functional series can be detected in the preceding models of analysis, on an analogy with those of Genesis 14,

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1. McCarthy, "Three Covenants in Genesis," 180.

where the series חבר was exposed.[1] עבד - מרד - עשה מלחמה For Genesis 21:22-34, the result is slightly more elaborate:

נשבע - עשה כחסד - שקר - הוכיח - נשבע

לא שקר — לא עשה כחסד — כרת ברית

גזל — נתן/לקח לעדה

Apart from the relationship between נשבע and כרת ברית, noted above, which has also been developed in connection with חבר, confirming the position reached earlier,[2] the comparison of these two functional series leads to an identification of various syntagms and verbs, in the following sets:

לא שקר[3] = עבד = עשה כחסד

שקר = מרד (= לא עשה כחסד = גזל)

עשה מלחמה = הוכיח

The second of these sets indicates a connection between שקר and מרד. Allowing for the kinship of roots, of מרד and מרה, this connection is confirmed by the association of שקר and מרה, encountered at I Samuel 15: 29 and Isaiah 63:8-10, registered in the form of a square of opposition.[4] The place of הוכיח, in the third set, merits closer attention, but this can conveniently be postponed until the remaining compositions in this section have been analysed.[5]

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1. Cf. supra, pp.216ff., 228.

2. Cf. supra, pp.220-222.

3. English translational values for this set, "to act loyally," "to serve," "(not) to deal falsely," indicate a certain relation of sense. However, the temptation to return to translations must be resisted; it dare not be assumed that the same relations pertain to Biblical Hebrew, but the need to explore the intrinsic intra-hebraic relations must be re-emphasised.

4. BDB, pp.597f. Cf. supra, p.240.

5. Cf. infra, pp.277ff.

(c) Genesis 26:1-33. The Record of the Relationship of Isaac with Abimelech and the Philistines.

Chapter 26 of Genesis, excepting verses 34f., contains the record of a series of events that took place between Isaac and Abimelech, and is generally regarded as a duplicate tradition of certain incidents, already related at Genesis 20:1-18 and 21:22-34, from the life of Abraham.[1] It is usually attributed to the Yahwist.[2] It has been thought that, with regard to the textual context, this chapter is "out of its proper order," and should be treated as a distinct unit of narrative tradition.[3] This is consistent with the material content of the passage, which comprises, in the view of some, "the entire cycle of Isaac-legends properly so called," and accommodates the character and purpose of the structural approach.[4] The following linear arrangement of the narrative's contents can be detected:

(1) A famine compels Isaac to go to Gerar (vv.1 & 6);
YHWH confirms to him the oath that he swore to Abraham, his servant (vv.2-5);

(2) Isaac pretends that Rebekah is his sister, but his deception is discovered (vv.7-11);

(3) Isaac prospers, and he is sent away from the Philistine

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1. Driver, The Book of Genesis, p.254. A.H.Finn, The Unity of the Pentateuch, (London, Marshall Brothers, n.d.), pp.26ff. Skinner, op.cit., p.363. Verses 34f. are attributed to P.

2. Skinner, op.cit., p.363. Cf. McCarthy, "Three Covenants in Genesis," 179.

3. Skinner, op.cit., p.363.

4. Ibid.

territory (vv.12-16);

(4) He re-opens the wells used by his father, but the servants of Abimelech drive him away, until he arrives at Rehoboth (vv.17-22);

(5) He travels to Beersheba, where he receives a second confirmation of the divine oath, and he digs another well (vv.23-25);

(6) Abimelech seeks a covenant with Isaac, recognising his prosperity (from the hand of YHWH) (vv.26-33).

This text is characterised by structural and phraseological repetition. The purpose of the repetition is best appreciated from the point of view of functional analysis. Broadly speaking, the narrative can be divided into three movements:

Movement One: Isaac increases in prosperity in the land of the Philistines (vv.1-14a/or/vv.1-18);

Movement Two: the jealousy of the Philistines is aroused, and Isaac, forced to leave, searches for a new domicilium under pressure from the Philistines (vv.14b-22/or/vv.19-22);

Movement Three: Isaac establishes himself at Beersheba, and receives the blessing of YHWH, leading also to a covenant of peace with Abimelech (vv.23-33).

Within this structural framework, two repetitional arrangements are seen to operate. In the first place, the narrator, on five occasions, describes Isaac as enjoying (or anticipating) the blessing, or abiding presence, of YHWH, for example, verse 3: ואהיה עמך ואברכך (cf.vv.12,24,28,29). This affirmation of blessing appears in the first and third movements only.[1]

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1. Cf. Gen 25:11, where the same feature is manifest.

Secondly, the medial movement is structured by a repetitional pattern: Isaac digs a well, Abimelech's servants strive with him, and he names the well accordingly. This happens three times in the second movement, and a fourth time, at Beersheba, in the third and final movement. These repetitions are skilfully used by the narrator to emphasise the theme of the passage, and thus, they serve to identify the telic aspect of the composition. So, it is surprising, perhaps, that many commentators fail even to mention the strong pattern of repetitions in this passage.[1]

Functional Analysis of Genesis 26:1-33.

It is important to understand why the narrator begins by recording the event of famine. The scholar who resides in "England's green and pleasant land" faces a cultural barrier in attempting to comprehend the monumental tragedy signalled by drought and famine for the inhabitants of Palestine and the Near East. Thus, for example, the significance of the "green pastures" of the twenty-third Psalm is often lost. Leupold wrongly describes the dispute over the wells in terms of a "petty strife" and "trivialities."[2] On the contrary, the opening words, וַיְהִי רָעָב (v.1), announced disaster. It is only from this standpoint that the narrator's interest in the wells can be assessed, and the close association of YHWH's blessing and access to water be rightly understood. It might be tempting to speculate that the Hebrew idiom, מַיִם חַיִּים (v.19), signifies more than simply "running water." However, the point of this

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1. So, Leupold, Herbert, Calvin, Skinner, et.al., cf. Bibliography.

2. Leupold, op.cit., p.726.

discussion is to establish the telic aspect of the composition, against the background noted; this is, "the perpetuation of the patriarchal blessing by YHWH to Isaac, by the securing of the means to support life in a hostile environment." As in the case of the previous compositions analysed, the ancient narrators show a preoccupation with blessing, and thus, are concerned with the practical means to achieve it. This accords well with the large proportion of the Genesis text that is devoted to recording the words of blessing, curse, oath, and covenant.[1] The functional model can now be constructed in its detail.

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1. Cf. supra, pp.121f., especially p.122, fn.1, which lists the references for such 'legal' records.

COMPOSITION: GENESIS 26:1-33 (NARRATIVE).

FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS.

MOVEMENT ONE: CONTRACT.

SEQUENCE 1: Circumstances. Isaac's Initial Involvement with Abimelech, and the Promise of Blessing. וישב יצחק בגרר (v.6).

FUNCTION 1.
The legacy of blocked wells, left by the Philistines after Abraham's death. (Related in the Descriptive Mode.)

B וכל הבארת אשר חפרו עבדי אביו בימי אברהם (v.15)
אביו סתמום פלשתים וימלאום עפר :

B אשר חפרו בימי אברהם אביו ויסתמום ... (v.18b)
פלשתים אחרי מות אברהם ... :

FUNCTION 2.
Famine grips the land of Canaan.
ויהי רעב (v.1a)

FUNCTION 3.
Isaac journeys to Abimelech, King of the Philistines.
וילך יצחק אל אבימלך (v.1b)

FUNCTION 4.
Isaac receives the first statement (promise) of blessing.

A גור בארץ הזאת ואהיה עמך ואברכך כי לך ולזרעך אתן את (v.3)$^{\alpha}$
כל הארצת האל והקימתי את השבעה אשר נשבעתי לאברהם אביך :

SEQUENCE 2: Conflict Anticipated. Isaac Presents Rebekah as his Sister.

FUNCTION 5.
The inhabitants of Gerar inquire after Rebekah (v.7a)

FUNCTION 6.
Isaac is afraid, and pretends that Rebekah is his sister (v.7b & v.9b)

FUNCTION 7.
The deception is uncovered by Abimelech (vv.8-9a)

FUNCTION 8.
Abimelech rebukes Isaac, because he could have brought guilt upon the Philistines (v.10)

FUNCTION 9.
Abimelech commands that no-one touch Isaac and Rebekah (v.11)

SEQUENCE 3: Occasion. Isaac Becomes Established in the Land of the Philistines.

FUNCTION 10.
Isaac sows in the land.(v.12a).

FUNCTION 11.
He reaps an abundant harvest; YHWH blesses him.
A ויברכהו יהוה (v.12b-13).

FUNCTION 12.
The jealousy of the Philistines is aroused (v.14).

FUNCTION 13.
The Philistines demand a separation and Isaac complies.
לך ממנו ... וילך משם (vv.16-17).$_{\beta}$

MOVEMENT TWO: CONFLICT.

SEQUENCE 4: The Well Esek.

FUNCTION 14.
Isaac's servants dig in the valley of Gerar, and they find water.
B ויחפרו ... בנחל וימצאו שם באר מים חיים (v.19).

FUNCTION 15.
The herdsmen of Gerar strive over the well.
B לנו המים ... ויריבו (v.20a).

FUNCTION 16.
Isaac names the well according to the strife.
B ויקרא שם הבאר עשק כי התעשקו עמו (v.20b).

SEQUENCE 5: The Well Sitnah.

FUNCTION 17.
They dig another well.
B ויחפר באר אחרת (v.21a).

FUNCTION 18.
They strive.
B ויריבו (v.21b).

FUNCTION 19.
He names the well "Sitnah."
B ויקרא שמה שטנה (v.21c).

SEQUENCE 6: The Well Rehoboth.

FUNCTION 20.
They dig another well.
B ויחפר באר אחרת (v.22a).

FUNCTION 21.
They do not strive over this well.
B ולא רבו (v.22b).

FUNCTION 22.
Isaac names the well "Rehoboth."
B ויקרא שמה רחבות (v.22c).

Parenthetic Comment on Movement Two.

This second movement, with its repetitions, could be re-formulated, taking account of the extension of the repetitions into other movements.

REPEATED SEQUENCE 4.

FUNCTION 14(R).
They dig wells:
(v.15) (הבארת אשר חפרו ...)
(v.18) ויחפר את בארת המים אשר חפרו ...
(v.19) ויחפרו ... באר מים חיים
(v.21) ויחפרו באר אחרת
(v.22) ויחפר באר אחרת
(v.25) *(ויכרו שם באר)
(v.32) (אדות באר אשר חפרו)

FUNCTION 15(R).
They strive:
(v.15) (סתמום ... וימלאום עפר)
(v.18) (ויסתמום)
(v.20) ויריבו ... כי התעשקו עמו
(v.21) ויריבו
(v.22) ולא רבו

FUNCTION 16(R).
Isaac names the wells:
(v.18) (ויקרא להן שמות
" כשמת אשר קרא להן אביו)
(v.20) ויקרא שם הבאר עשק
(v.21) ויקרא שמה שטנה
(v.22) ויקרא שמה רחבות
(v.33) (וקקהא אתה שבעה)

MOVEMENT THREE: RESOLUTION.

SEQUENCE 7: Blessing Spoken again at Beersheba.

FUNCTION 23.
Isaac moves to Beersheba.(v.23).

FUNCTION 24.
Isaac receives a blessing from YHWH.
A כי אהך אנכי וברכתיך (v.24).

FUNCTION 25.
Isaac worships, calling on the name of YHWH.
(B) ויקרא בשם יהוה (v.25).

SEQUENCE 8: A Covenant is Made with Abimelech.

FUNCTION 26.
Abimelech approaches Isaac.
ואבימלך הלך אליו (v.26).

FUNCTION 27.
Isaac challenges him for his hatred.
ואתם שנאתם אתי ותשלחוני מאתכם (v.27).

FUNCTION 28.
Abimelech presents a request for an oath and a covenant.
A כי היה יהוה עמך (v.28)
תהי נא אלה בינותינו ובינך
ונכרתה ברית עמך :
אם תעשה עמנו רעה כאשר לא נגענוך (v.29)
וכאשר עשינו עמך רק טוב
ונשלחך בשלום
A אתה עתה ברוך יהוה :

FUNCTION 29.
Isaac makes them a feast.
ויעש להם משתה ויאכלו וישתו (v.30).

FUNCTION 30.
They sware an oath to one another.
וישכימו בבקר (v.31)
וישבעו איש לאחיו
וישלחם יצחק וילכו מאתו בשלום

SEQUENCE 9: The Well is Re-opened at Beersheba.

FUNCTION 31.
Isaac's servants dig a well.
B ויכרו שם באר (v.25).
B אדות הבאר אשר חפרו (v.32).

FUNCTION 32.
Isaac names the well after the ancestral name.
B ויקרא אתה שבעה (v.33).

Two Notes on the Functional Analysis of Genesis 26:1-33.

(i) The repetitious character of the style of this passage is not restricted to the major repetitions noted, but, on a smaller scale, is witnessed in a generally limited, and recurring, choice of vocabulary, for example, זרע (α) and הלך (β) appear on several occasions, as do other words. This can only be described as a marked feature of the text.

(ii) At verse 25, the consistently recurring verb חפר "to dig," is replaced by כרה, a synonym, also meaning "to dig." The synonymous usage of these verbs is seen in the parallelism of Numbers 21:18. It may well be asked, "Why should the narrator temporarily abandon his pattern?" Leupold suggests that the cause lies in the difference of meaning:

> "Karah, the verb for 'dig' here used, differs from chaphar used earlier in the chapter, in that the former simply means 'to dig,' whereas the latter involves the idea of 'search.' Both may imply the successful completion of the digging operations,"[1]

Although a possibility, this explanation is weakened by the fact that there is a reversion to pattern, while speaking of the same action, at verse 32. Alternatively, recognising the creative liberty of the ancient Hebrew writers, and that, in their use of repetition, it might be conjectured that the change was intended to anticipate the use of כרת (of כרת ברית) at verse 28, three verses later.[2] However, the process of 'seeing' such links is always open to the charge of subjectivity.

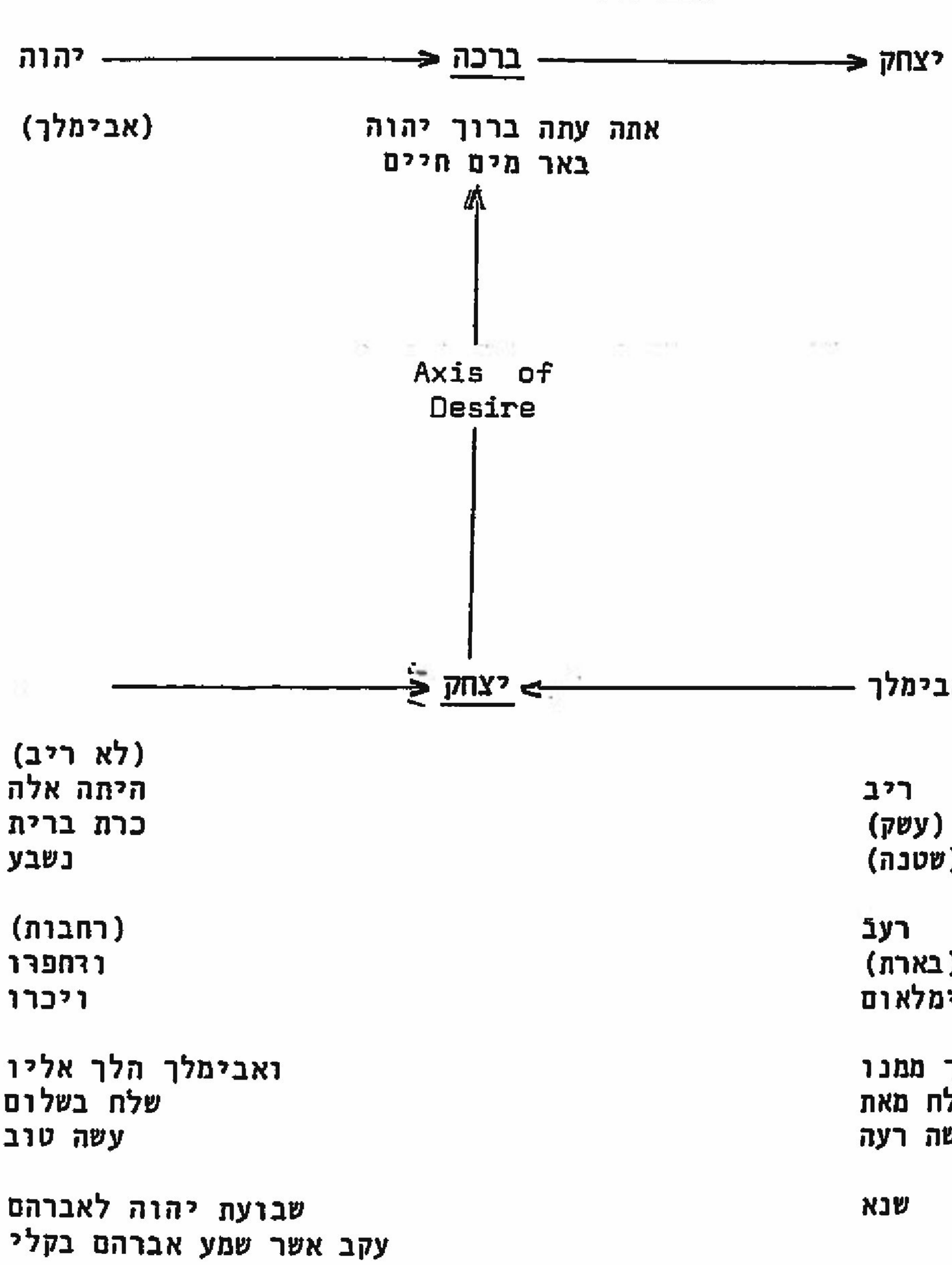
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1. Leupold, op.cit., p.730. Skinner, op.cit., p.366. Cf. BDB, pp.343, 500.

2. Licht, op.cit., pp.51ff.

COMPOSITION: GENESIS 26:1-33 (NARRATIVE).

ACTANTIAL ANALYSIS.



ריב	(לא ריב)
(עשק)	היתה אלה
(שטנה)	כרת ברית
	נשבע
רעב	(רחבות)
סתמום (בארת)	ונפרו
וימלאום	ויכרו
לך ממנו	ואבימלך הלך אליו
שלח מאת	שלח בשלום
עשה רעה	עשה טוב
שנא	שבועת יהוה לאברהם
	עקב אשר שמע אברהם בקלי

Commentary on the Functional and Actantial Analyses of Genesis 26:1-33.

Comparing this text, which is attributed to J, with Genesis 21,22-34, which is regarded as composite, attributed to J/E, McCarthy has written:

> "In this connection it is worth remarking that in 21,23-24 E makes use of a vocabulary which is characteristic of a more sophisticated covenant thinking .... This use of a fuller covenant terminology would seem to confirm the more developed character of E."[1]

To conclude, on this basis, that the vocabulary of Genesis 26:1-33 is, in some sense, primitive, would constitute a gross misrepresentation of the evidence of the text. Questions about conceptual sophistication are properly the province of the theologian, or religious historian: sophistication would seem to be rather a different matter for the semanticist. In linguistic terms, the passage under review carries the same level of complexity - if it is possible to quantify this - as the former passage. In this respect, the distinction formulated as an integral part of the methodology of this dissertation, between idiolect and individual utterances, can be re-emphasised. There is a need to beware of the linguistic fallacy of converse accident.[2]

In the first place, therefore, it should be noted that repetition draws attention to the significance of נשׁבע. As was observed earlier, this word has been defined, by some, in terms of "covenant lawsuit," a form-critical assessment, made in relation to certain prophetic oracles.[3]

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1. McCarthy, "Three Covenants in Genesis," 188.

2. Cf. supra, p.74. This is an extension of the axiomatic distinction between langue and parole.

3. Cf. supra, p.26, especially, cf. p.26 fn.2, which gives bibliographical support.

However, only 6% of its usage is distributed to the prophetic-lawsuit context of utterance.[1] Thus, a far wider perspective must be gained on ריב. From the preceding models of compositional analysis, as in the case of previous compositions, a functional series can be isolated from the structure, the skeleton chain of which is as follows:

ריב - לא ריב - היתה אלה/כרת ברית/נשבע

This can be supplemented by several additions:

הלך אל - שלח מאת - ריב - לא ריב - הלך אל - היתה אלה - שלח בשלום

עשה רעה (עשה רעה) עשה טוב בוא אל כרת ברית עשה טוב

הלך מן נשבע לא עשה רעה

שנא עשה משתה

Further details could be added to this series, but the main structure is clear, and can be compared with similar series already established:

	Genesis 14	Genesis 21	Genesis 26
Movement	חבר	נשבע	הלך אל
One. (A)	עבר	עשה כחסד לא שקר	
(B)[2]	מרד	שקר לא עשה כחסד	שנא עשה רעה שלח מאת (הלך מן)
Movement	עשה מלחמה	הוכיח	ריב
Two.		גזל	

1. Cf. supra, p.29, i.e. 8 : 127 occurrences, approximately.

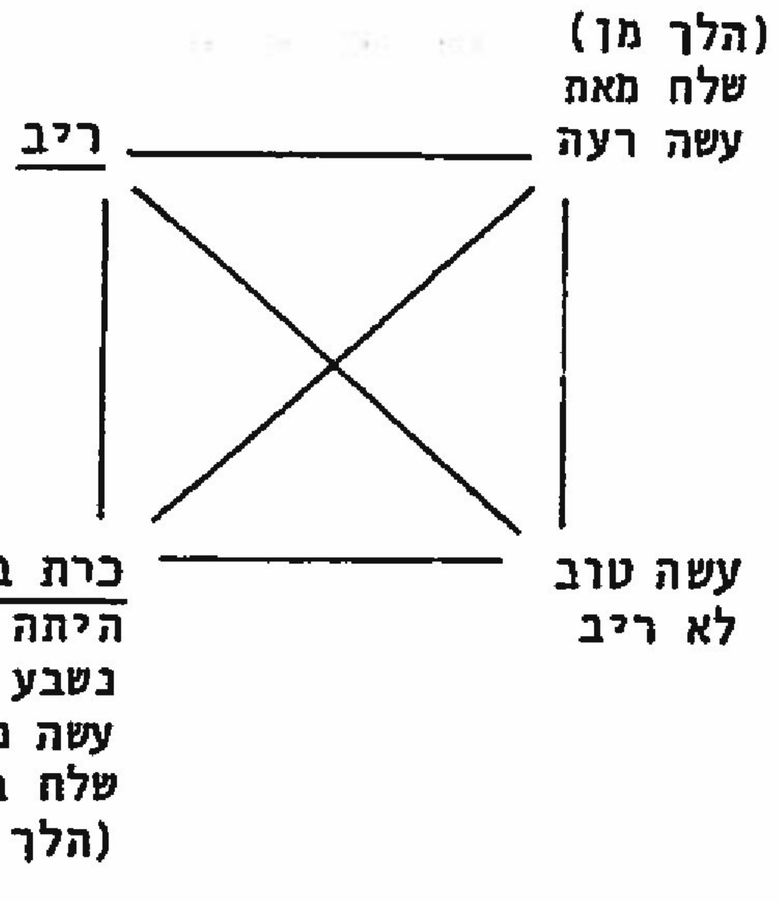
2. Terms and phrases related to covenant breaking might appear to warrant inclusion in the second movement, but, in these cases, they have been regarded as setting up the conditions of the struggle, the 'mandate' for ריב. However, the ambiguity of this placement can be noted.

	(Genesis 14)	(Genesis 21)	(Genesis 26)
Movement			הלך אל/בוא אל
			היתה אלה
Three.		כרת ברית	כרת ברית
		נשבע	נשבע
		נתן/לקח לעדה	עשה משתה
			שלח בשלום
		עשה כחסד	עשה טוב
		ויקם	וישכימו בבקר
		וישבו	וילכו בשלום

This vertical comparison, which differs from the horizontal register of the functional series previously extracted from Genesis 26 in certain details, draws a connection between many words and syntagms that would otherwise be totally unrelated. In general terms, the existence of semantic structures, within the framework of non-linguistic compositional structures, is being postulated; new categories of linguistic description are emerging from the analysis. These categories are not precise in the same way as the traditional categories of analysis, partly because there is an avoidance of the traditional preoccupation with the word, and larger units of signification are recognised, and partly because the kind of precision that is apparent for the traditional mode is inappropriate for the full range of semantic description. In this sense, the disciplines of phonology and morphology cannot be emulated in semantics. Consequently, it is of the greatest importance that semantic discussion be divested of the traditional presuppositions, engendered by the historical background of the development of this science, and that are not intrinsic to it, as to what the nature of semantic description ought to be. Further, to introduce an element of balance, in connection with the fear of imprecision,

it must be appreciated that this form of description is capable of precision within its own definition of order and terms of reference. In addition, it offers no contradiction of the 'tradition,' but rather, complements it.

This last point can be illustrated in the attempt to convert the functional series under discussion into a square of opposition, where the following structures can be framed, by way of an hypothesis:

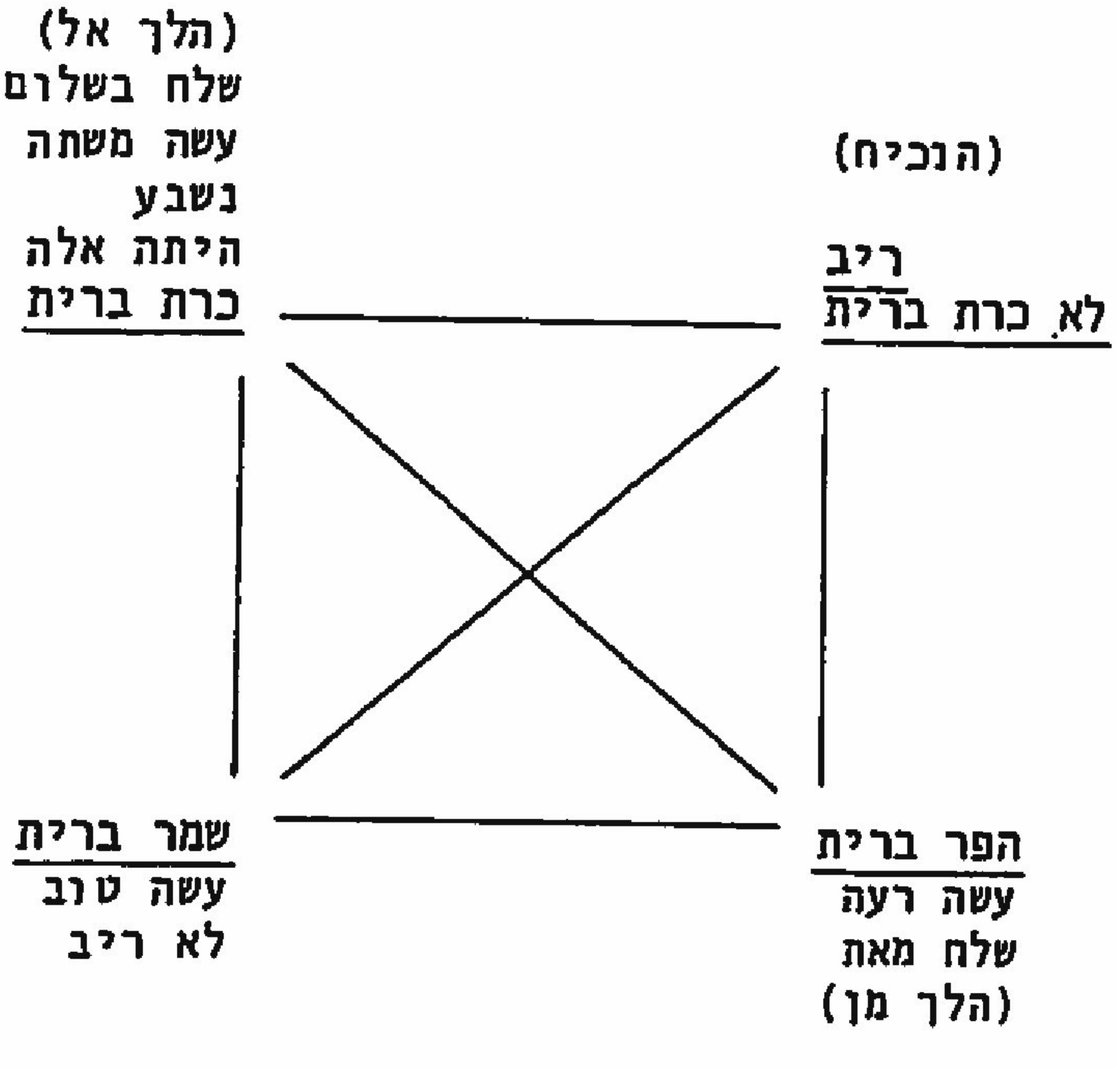


By comparison, this appears to be a 90^{o} transformation of the basic square of opposition, defined previously:[1]

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1. Cf. supra, pp.202f. This comparison, in terms of a 90^{o} transformation, is made in terms of the square of opposition only. When a synthesis of this with other forms of semantic articulation is attempted, the result may need certain modifications, in order to produce harmony; this is one of the implications of the 'lack of precision' of this type of investigative mechanism. Cf. infra, p.281.

Synthesis of the two produces the following pattern:



It is clear that when the traditional methods of definition for nouns are applied to syntagmatic association, the degree of accuracy (in one direction) is reduced. Indeed, it becomes more evident that, due to such a reduction, the value of functional and actantial qualification is increased. In the case under discussion, it is found that, when the semantic structures of Genesis 21 are brought into the consideration, in terms of the traditional categories of opposition, הוכיח is located with ריב. However, comparison of the respective actantial models reveals that these two verbs stand in opposition. This apparent anomaly is resolved, in structuralist terms, when it is realised that ריב can occupy aither actantial position, (H) or (Opp), as can כרת ברית. Thus, the actantial model suggests that more information is required about words and syntagms

than is made available by the usual methods and categories of lexical definition.

Further analysis of the functional series yielded by Genesis 26, provides evidence of a semantic bifurcation within the series. This can be represented in the form of two parallel series, extracted from the one, having the same starting point:

הלך אל - כרת ברית - שלח בשלום - עשה טוב
היתה אלה
נשבע
עשה משתה

הלך אל - (שנא) - (שנא) - עשה רעה - ריב
שלח מאת

It is noticeable that the semantic relations of opposition indicated by this model differ, in certain respects, from those already noted. On the basis of the combination of the various sets of information gained from the preceding general analysis, detailed study of each of the component items can be undertaken.

ריב refers to the dispute over the wells, and is usually translated "strive" (AV), or "quarrel" (RSV). In functional terms, it is drawn into an association of equivalence with עשה מלחמה and הוכיח, but of contrast with עשה רעה (and also, כרת ברית), this contrast being defined by the square in terms of orthogonal opposition. It is the antipodal opposite of עשה טוב. Thus, it might seem very strange that, after his herdsmen had quarrelled with the servants of Isaac, and taken from them

the right of access to wells of water, thereby putting Isaac's existence in jeopardy, Abimelech could approach Isaac, claiming that he had "done good!" (עשה טוב) to him, and that he was now expecting reciprocation. Form criticism has revealed that most ancient treaties contained a so-called "Historical Prologue," which, presumably, required some positive statement of antecedent historical relations, a fact that might account, in part, for this apparent incongruity.[1] The strangeness of the scene would be further dissolved by a correct understanding of the verb ריב. There is evidence to suggest that, far from signifying mere aggression, ריב indicates that this was a dispute over "rights" of entitlement - the men of Gerar regarded the wells as Philistine property, and were entitled to block them with dirt - and so it was a legal affair. Not least, in the evidence in favour of this interpretation is the close connection between ריב and הוכיח. The concomitance of these two verbs, in the functional role of response to fracture of covenantal relationships is the important factor. This is identified by scholars in contexts where YHWH's challenge to Israel for her infidelity is described as ריב.[2] In the case of Genesis 26, the 'secular' roots of theological language are observable in the use of ריב. In making this point, there is an anticipation of data yet to be discussed. It is interesting to note that on two occasions, the name given to the disputed well serves to describe the dispute. Consequently, semantic evidence can be derived from the names. Isaac called the first well, "Esek," "because they contended with him" (Gen 26:20, RSV). This text is the only place

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1. Cf. supra, pp.22,(24).

2. Cf. R.E.Clements, Prophecy and Tradition, (Oxford, B.H.Blackwell, 1975), pp.14ff. Cf. also, supra, pp. 26 (especially fn.2) and 29.

in the corpus where עשק is attested, once as a verb in the Hithpa'el, התעשקו, and once in the form of the name itself. It is variously translated as "contention," "annoyance," etc.[1] As far as internal evidence, from Biblical Hebrew, is concerned, the association with ריב is the only semantic connection supplied, and hence, it would be circular to use עשק to shed light on ריב. However, there is some evidence to be gathered from external sources. The Septuagint translators, at this passage, chose to represent התעשקו by ἠδίκησαν (3.m.pl.Aor.Indic.Act. of ἀδικεῖν, "to act unjustly (illegally)," "to violate laws," etc.).[2] Αδικεῖν is a wide-ranging term, used for at least 24 Hebrew words, among which, are included מרד (Dan 9:5, where it is associated with עוה !), and ריב (Ps 35:1 (LXX 34:1)). These links are interesting to note, but the Greek verb is too unrestricted to be definitive. In Modern Hebrew, the equivalent, עסק (noun), means "business," "occupation," "concern."[3] It seems probable that diachronic separation, which contains a semantic development, deprives this piece of evidence of its force and relevance. Perhaps the best evidence comes from Syriac, where the cognate verb, ܥܟܣ (Pe'al), means "to be difficult," and in the form ܐܬܥܟܣ (Ethpa'al), "to contend," "to dispute," "to be indignant."[4] In the light of this

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1. "Contention," so BDB, p.796, and Leupold, op.cit., p.727, cf. KB, p.742 = "Zank," "sich zanken mit." "Annoyance," only Skinner, op.cit., p.366.

2. Arndt and Gingrich, op.cit., p.17. Cf. also, J.H.Thayer, Thayer's Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, (Grand Rapids, AP&A, 1885), pp.11f.

3. See dictionaries of Modern Hebrew, e.g., Ehud Ben Yehuda and David Weinstein, Ben Yehuda's Pocket English-Hebrew/Hebrew-English Dictionary, (New York, Pocket Books, 1961), p.234(a).
אהוד בן יהודה • דוד וינשטין מלון בן יהודה. מלון כיס אנגלי-עברי/עברי-אנגלי (1961).
Cf. also other dictionaries cited by Ben Yehuda.

4. J.Payne Smith, A Compendious Syriac Dictionary, Founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R.Payne Smith, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, (1903) 1957), p.421.

Syriac connection, it is tempting to recall McCarthy's question, when he asked, in relation to the use of אלה at verse 28, whether this might not be a hint of the Philistine dialect in Abimelech's speech.[1] It may be asked whether a similar influence is discernible in the ancient well-name, and hence, in Isaac's reported speech. Perhaps the suggestion of an Aramaic connection is attractive, especially as the use of the Hithpa'el theme resembles the Ethpa'al of Syriac, which, in this case, retains an active sense.[2] However, the matter cannot be pressed here. At least, the Syriac confirms the sense of התעשקו ("they contended"), and its link with וירֵיבו (ריב). The second well, Isaac called "Sitnah," (שטנה). In this case, there is no qualifying verbal expression, explaining the name, but the cognate verb is surely implied, by analogy. Thus, the explanation can be supplied: * ... כי שטנו, ("because they opposed, or acted as an adversary"). Again, therefore, the verb ריב is qualified, this time by the verb שטן, (and, of course, by the sense of the name שטנה "accusation"). The common noun, שטנה, appears at Ezra 4:6, where it designates a written "accusation," in the form of an official missive. Probably the best-known form of this root is in the associated noun, שטן, "adversary," or "Satan." About the time that the Septuagint translation was made, and probably before the time of the Chronicler, this noun developed the force of a proper noun, passing into Greek in transliteration as σατᾶν, and, as such, it became familiar, through many appearances in the New Testament,

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1. McCarthy, "Three Covenants in Genesis," 180: אלה is unusual in Biblical Hebrew, but well-attested in Phoenician. Cf.T.H.Gaster, "A Canaanite Magical Text," Orientalia, (N.S.) XI (1942), 44. Cf. supra, p.73, for a note on the Philistine dialect, מדבר אשדודית.

2. Cf.Ezra 4:6, where שטנה is used in an Aramaic context. Cf. F.Rosenthal, A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic, (Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1974), pp.42ff., for the verb-themes of Aramaic, in particular, the hitpa''al.

as the name for "the prince of devils" (so the synoptic gospels), or "the prince of this world" (so John's gospel).[1] This tradition can be misleading, for, in the Old Testament, שטן is far less frequent, and, for the most part, retains its role as a common noun, signifying "adversary," "accuser," or "opponent (in battle)."[2] The cognate verb (implied in Genesis 26:21), which occurs only 6 times, has a related sense, "to be, or act as, an adversary," "to accuse." Whereas the noun functions in several areas, denoting opponents in battle, enemies of a king's reign (cf. I Kings 11:14,23,25), and so on, the primary point of reference, in the case of the verb, is seen to be the law-court situation. Psalm 109, which has been thought to be 'appallingly vindictive,' as it is characterised by a concentration of the root שטן, (containing 50% of the total usage of the verb in the Biblical Hebrew corpus,) illustrates the point. Although scholars are divided over the precise nature of the composition, its literary type and 'liturgical' context of usage, dominated, as it is, by a lengthy imprecation, there is no doubt that it fits firmly into a legal framework of reference, the context of trial and judgment, a fact that is witnessed to in several places. The sixth and seventh verses make it evident:

> "Appoint a wicked man against him; let an accuser
> bring him to trial.
> When he is tried, let him come forth guilty;"[3]

This is reinforced by a strongly emphasised antithesis throughout the psalm, between good and evil, love and hatred, blessing and curse. In this context,

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1. Mitchell, Smith, Bewer, op.cit., pp.147ff. esp. p.149 for bibliography on "Satan," with respect also to I Chron 21:1.

2. Cf. BDB, p.966. N.B. Job uses definite article, השטן, but contrast RSV at I Chron 21:1, interpreting II Sam 24:1.

3. RSV for Ps 109:6f, underlining to indicate 'legal terminology.'

שטן (noun) denotes the adversary, who brings the charge against the defendant, and שטן (verb) denotes the action of accusing, or prosecuting the charge, in the court. It is very important, even though it may seem to be a digression, to pursue the legal association involved in this psalm. Of partâcular interest is the phrase that is translated above, by the Revised Standard Version translators, "let an accuser bring him to trial." This is the function of the adversary. However, the Hebrew is quite different: ושטן יעמד על ימינו (v.6), "and let an adversary stand at his right hand." From several descriptions of court situations in the Old Testament, certain established linguistic patterns emerge. The prophecy of Micaiah against Ahab, just before the latter's death, describes the scene in the heavenly court:

> "I saw the LORD sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing beside him on his right hand and on his left; .... Then a spirit came forward and stood before the LORD, saying ...."[1]

A similar scene is observed in Job, where the sons of God, and the Satan among them, present themselves before YHWH.[2] Zecharâah 3:1ff. is full of this language, as it relates another court, this time, of the Angel of YHWH. The text reads as follows:

וירא֫ני את יהושע הכהן הגדול עמד לפני מלאך יהוה

והשטן עמד על ימינו לשטנו : [2] ויאמר יהוה אל השטן יגער

יהוה בך השטן ... : [3] ויהושע ... ועמד לפני המלאך : [4] ויען

ויאמר אל העמדים לפניו ... : [5] ... ומלאך יהוה עמד :[3]

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1. I Ki 22:19b-21a. N.B. v.21, ויעמד לפני יהוה.

2. Job 1:6ff. In this text, a synonym for עמד is employed, i.e. התיצב על, "to station oneself before (against)."

3. Zech 3:1-5. Cf. further, Nu 35:12; Jos 20:6; I Ki 3:16 (where the two harlots stood before King Solomon for his judgment concerning the living child).

The adversary stands at the right hand of the defendant to accuse him, (so verse 1). Psalm 109 draws into contrast with this, the function of an advocate; YHWH stands at the right hand of the needy victim, to save him from those who would condemn him.[1] Further, all those involved in a case, stand before the judge. Deuteronomy 19:17, dealing with laws of court justice, draws things together, in the following manner:

ועמדו שני האנשים אשר להם הריב לפני יהוה לפני הכהנים והשפטים...

Thus, Isaac's naming of the well, שטנה, at Genesis 26:21, reflects a semantic association, of which, no doubt, the narrator was well aware, between שטן, "to oppose (at law)," and ריב, "to strive (at law)."

At this juncture, a digression is in order. Eisegetic procedures, resting on the assumption of a 'pan-covenantalist' outlook, have already been repudiated.[2] This repudiation must now be reiterated. By the above means, a connection of ברית with ריב, and hence, with עשק (התעשק) and שטן, has been established, and the fact that חמס-שקר also enter the consideration, being shared by the שטן/עשק/ריב-field and the ברית-field, is worthy of comment too, but the conclusion that שטן, (עשק), or ריב, always entail an association of sense with ברית is not established.[3] Indeed, in purely logical terms, the fallacy is invalid, a specimen of secundum quid.[4] The point, as far as the semanticist is concerned, is

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1. Ps 109:32: כי יעמד לימין אביון להושיע משפטי נפשו.

2. Cf. supra, p.50.

3. Cf. supra, pp.26ff., for the pan-covenantalist assertion with regard to ריב, on the grounds of insufficient evidence. For the חמס-שקר connection, cf. Deu 19:18 and Ps 109:2,12,16,21,26.

4. Hamblin, op.cit., pp.28-32, (Greek = παρα το πῆ). Copi, op. cit,, p.68.

not one of total identity, but that the intersection of these two fields contributes to their mutual enrichment.

A number of other points can be made briefly, regarding the language of Genesis 26:1-33. Comments have already been made about the connection between נשבע and כרת ברית, which still apply.[1] There is a close link, but functional and referential equivalence do not imply semantic identity.[2] Generally, the oath is regarded as a part of the covenant.[3] In this case, as at Genesis 21:22-34, it is noteworthy that, judging by the place name, באר שבע (שבעה), the oath was the dominating element.

Genesis 26:31 records: וישבעו איש לאחיו. This offers further confirmation for the view that parties to covenants regarded themselves in the familial terms of brotherhood; thus, the semantic equation is observed: בעל ברית = אח.[4]

When Abimelech requested a covenant with Isaac, the patriarch accused him of hatred: (ותשלחונני מאתכם) ואתם שנאתם אתי. There are strong reasons for supposing that these words bear the marks of the language of covenant, apart from the immediate context of utterance. Generally speaking, as it was observed earlier, that אהב, "to love,"

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1. Cf. supra, pp.237f., and also pp.220ff.,185ff.

2. Barr, The Semantics of Biblical Language, pp.217f., and supra, p.97.

3. McCarthy, "Three Covenants in Genesis," 181. Contrast the view that ברית means "oath," noted above at pp.185ff.

4. The familial analogy is exposed at Genesis 14:12. Cf. supra, p.223.

sometimes signifies the existence of a covenantally defined relationship, such as that between Hiram and David, so, by implication, the opposite verb, שנא, "to hate," might be expected to acquire a similar association of meaning.[1] However, such as association is far from guaranteed in every case. Nevertheless, stronger evidence for this particular sense in Genesis 26:31 is derived from the structural analysis previously conducted, where שנא is linked with עשה רעה (against עשה טוב), which is parallel to the opposition between שלח בשלום and שלח מאת; by analogy, it is further linked with מרד and שקר. Thus, it stands opposed to the basic syntagm, כרת ברית (and ברית (היה)).

In the structural analysis of Genesis 26:1-33, as noted, שלח בשלום is opposed to שלח מאת. This bifurcation of meaning for the verb שלח is transparent, being motivated by the dominant semantic element, שלום. On the basis of comparative material, furnished by Akkadian, Fensham has argued for the sense of "treaty-like friendship" for the word שלום. A similar position is adhered to by Pedersen:

> "We see that usus loquendi only distinguishes vaguely between the relation of kin and friendship. Both are called shālōm or bᵉrīth, peace or covenant. These two words are of different origin and scope, but they do not designate different kinds of relationship. shālōm means the state prevailing in those united ...., bᵉrīth the community with all the priveleges and duties implied in it. Therefore both words may be used together, a 'covenant of peace' (Ezek. 34,25; 37,26) being only a stronger expression for covenant. The two words are often used interchangeably (e.g., Gen. 26,28f. 31; 1 Kings 5,26; Ps. 55,21), and if it does not appear from the context, we cannot see whether mention is made of kinship or friendship."[3]

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1. I Ki 5:15 (AV:1); cf. supra, pp.4f.

2. Fensham, "The Treaty between the Israelites and Tyrians," 71ff.

3. J. Pedersen, Israel. Its Life and Culture, I-II, (London (& Copenhagen), OUP (& Banner og Korch), 1926), 285.

It would seem that Pedersen has in mind referential intersubstitutability for שלום and ברית, but this must be qualified. Admittedly, the root field of שלום has a number of covenantal contacts; lexicons record that שלם, "peace offering," might have originated with reference to a sacrifice for an alliance, or friendship, and the verb שלם (denominative) is given the meaning, "to be in a covenant of peace."[1] The Greek verb διατιθέναι, which sometimes reflects the encapsulation of the sense of ברית, is used to translate this denominative verb (in the Hiph'il), השלים, at II Samuel 10:19.[2] In the final analysis, however, the structural role of שלום will determine its relation to ברית. It is possible to compare the syntagms שלח בברית and שלח בשלום, which have the same functional significance, and in which, the two nouns appear to be interchangeable. Similarly, the words of Joshua 9:15 contribute to the case:

ויעש להם יהושע שלום ויכרת להם ברית לחיותם וישבעו ...

There is an indication here of the close association of sense between the syntagms כרת ברית and עשה שלום that might even be described as functional synonymy. Nevertheless, on many occasions, ברית cannot be replaced by שלום; so, for example, the phrase אשת ברית (Mal 2:14). What is indicated in this discussion, is the importance of studying the structural relations of syntagms, rather than enduring the imposition of the limits of the traditional preoccupation with the word as the basic semantic unit. The fact that שלום, in certain syntagmatic combinations, gains a partial equivalence with ברית (in comparable collocations), does not imply an equivalence of the words, and certainly not a general synonymy. On

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1. BDB, pp.1022-1024.

2. Cf supra, pp.54, 134-136, 159 (שלח בבריה).

the contrary, attempts to find the idea of covenant in every reference to peace, will rob Biblical Hebrew of its vitality, in this respect. Because שלום does not simply mean "covenant," it has the power to contribute to the ברית-field, providing increased resources for varied syntagmatic expression.

The narrative record of Isaac's covenant with Abimelech mentions that they held a feast (Gen 26:30). Although the covenant meal is thought to have been confined to J-source material (cf. Gen 26:31f.; 31:46,(54).), it has been understood to have been a regular custom when the ancients celebrated a new covenant. Indeed, it has been suggested that a communal meal, as also a handshake, could actually constitute a covenant.[1] In the light of the great importance attached to this ceremony, it might seem quite surprising that the J-source alone notes its observance. The wording of Genesis 26:30f., should be noticed:

ויעש להם משתה ויאכלו וישתו : וישכימו בבקר וישבעו איש לאחיו

This wording finds echoes in the account of Genesis 21:22-34:

ויכרתוברית בבאר שבע ויקם אבימלך ... וישבו ... :[2]

It is legitimate to ask whether this very important ceremonial meal was not implied by the mention of Abimelech's "rising" to return home: ויקם (parallel with וישכימו). If, of those proposed etymologies discussed previously, the ascription of ברית to the root ברה, "to eat," is correct, linking ברית with ברות, "food," then it might be conjectured that the

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1. McCarthy, "Three Covenants in Genesis," 184, (= confined to J). On the importance of the meal: Pedersen, op.cit., I-II, 305. McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, pp.11, 254.

2. Gen 21:32.

natural idiom, כרת ברית, entailed a festal connotation. The retained consciousness of this origin is arguable for Jeremiah 34:18, where ברית is connected with עגל, "calf," (in terms of trans-dimensional contrast).[1] The implication of this for E's usage of ויקם would be perfectly consistent with McCarthy's statement regarding the sophistication of E's language.[2] Further, in structuralist terms, the functional parallelism of כרת ברית and עשה משתה is unmistakable. Finally, for the present purpose, the meal observed by Isaac with his Philistine 'brothers' can be compared with the bringing forth of bread and wine by Melchizedek, (Gen 14:18). That event's similarity with the celebration feast has already been discussed.[3]

Sufficient has been made of the various connections of language associated with ברית in Genesis 26:1-33. Not all has been said that could be said. Some facts of observation must be left until the composition of Genesis 31:1-55 has been subjected to a like analysis. This is the next task.

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1. Cf. supra, p.133. A modern parallel might be found in the British custom of 'cutting the cake' at wedding ceremonies, although the practice of seeking contemporary parallels is not a healthy one.

2. McCarthy, "Three Covenants in Genesis," 188. Cf. supra, p.254.

3. Cf. supra, pp.220f., (esp. p.221).

(d) Genesis 31:1-32:1 (AV 31:1-55). The Account of Jacob's Separation from Laban, to Return to the Land of the Fathers.

This account is part of a larger section of Jacob stories.[1] In them, the narrator's (or redactor's) interest is not concealed; he was concerned for the continuation of the patriarchal line, through Jacob, to the twelve tribes of Israel, and more than that, he was concerned to demonstrate the perpetuation of blessing to the 'seed.'[2] This explains the intertwining threads of tradition respecting the different patriarchal figures. Within the overall structure, Genesis 31:1-32:1, (chapter 31 in the English translations,) can be analysed as a distinct elemental unit of composition. Scholars have been disposed to regard the passage as a composite unit, the product of the redaction of J and E. Thus, Skinner writes,

> "Evidences of a double recension appear in every circumstance of the narrative .... To arrange these duplicates in two parallel series is difficult, because of the numerous glosses and dislocations of the text; but some connecting lines can be drawn."[3]

The application of the theory of the composite authorship of the Pentateuch to this portion of the Genesis text was made before the turn of the century, and it comes into direct conflict with more recent and better informed views, based upon newer evidence and more sophisticated literary theories. So, for example, Skinner's division of the text relating the report of covenant-

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1. Gen 25:19-34; 27:1-33:20; 35:1-29.

2. Clines, op.cit., p.29 notes the 'posterity' element, and pp.32f. provide useful and weighty confirmation of the emphasis on the seed. However, the concern for lineage, (and its blessing,) was not the exclusive interest in these compositions.

3. Skinner, op.cit., p.399. Cf. McCarthy, "Three Covenants in Genesis," 179.

making, (Gen 31:44-54,) cuts across the reflection of the so-called 'covenant formulary' in these verses.[1] The resolution of this contradiction of method must be postponed to a later point in the discussion.[2]

The linear structure of the composition of Genesis 31:1-32:1 (AV 31:1-55) is as follows:

(1) The decision to flee from Padan-aram (vv.1-16);

(2) The flight (vv.17-22);

(3) Laban's pursuit (vv.23-25);

(4) The confrontation (vv.26-35);

(5) Jacob's chiding, in reply (vv.36-42);

(6) A covenant is made (31:43-32:1 (AV 31:43-55)).

One marked stylistic feature of the text is what might be called 'shadow repetition.' This can be observed, for example, in the recorded assessment of Laban's attitude towards Jacob; this is first noted at verse 2, in straight narration, but then it is reiterated scenically by Jacob (v.5a), by the angel in the vision, which is itself reported by Jacob, (v.12b), by Laban's daughters, Leah and Rachel, (vv.15-16), and then at three points later in the narrative (vv.31,41b,42). This device, which is observed in other matters, presents one continuous note throughout regarding Laban. It also has the effect of proportionate reduction of the functional components of the account. 'Shadow repetition' is

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1. Skinner, op.cit., p.400. Cf. supra, pp.22ff., for the 'covenant formulary,' or 'Bundesformular.'

2. Cf. infra, Excursus 1, on the traces of the literary form of covenant, i.e. 'Bundesformular,' in the texts in question.

combined with the frequent use of certain words; גנב, "to steal," is an example of this, appearing at least seven times (vv.19,20,26,27,30, 32,39). Such characteristics of narration have been recognised in those compositions of Genesis analysed above, and they must be observed in the execution of structural analysis.

Functional Analysis of Genesis 31:1-32:1 (AV 31:1-55).

In structural terms, the narrator, in the first movement, makes clear the conditions of the episode: the hostility of Laban; the favour of the God of the fathers. The second element counterbalances the first, and, like the first, it is perpetuated throughout by shadow repetition of the statement of YHWH to Jacob, made at the beginning of the story: ואהיה עמך (v.3).[1] Then, in the medial movement, Jacob flees, and, when overtaken, argues his case with his kinsman, Laban. Finally, the relationship is restored by a covenant. This settles the peace and prosperity of Jacob, and he receives, with his wives, Laban's blessing. The structure can be analysed in the following models of functional and actantial analysis:

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1. In the statement immediately preceding the covenant-making scene, the presence of the God of the fathers is reckoned to be the source of Jacob's protection:
... לולי אלהי אבי אלהי אברהם ופחד יצחק היה לי (v.42a).
Cf. also, v.5, (and vv.7,9,13,16,24,29, etc., and outside the narrative, e.g. Gen 32:1 (AV:2)).

COMPOSITION: GENESIS 31:1-32:1 (AV 31:1-55) (NARRATIVE).

FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS.

MOVEMENT ONE: CONTRACT.

SEQUENCE 1: Circumstances. The Hostility of Laban and the Command of YHWH to Jacob that he Leave Padan-aram.

FUNCTION 1.
Laban is hostile.
וירא יעקב את פני לבן והנה איננו עמו (v.2, cf. vv.1,5a,(6,)7a,8, (12b,)14-15).

FUNCTION 2.
The statement of God's favour upon Jacob.
ואהיה עמך (v.3, cf. vv.5b,7b,9-12a,13,16,42).

FUNCTION 3.
Rachel steals the teraphim belonging to her father.
ותגנב רחל את התרפים אשר לאביה (v.19, cf. vv.30,32).

FUNCTION 4.
Jacob is commanded to return to the land of his fathers.
שוב אל ארץ אבתיך (vv.3,13).

MOVEMENT TWO: CONFLICT.

SEQUENCE 2: Departure.

FUNCTION 5.
Jacob leaves; he "steals away" from Padan-aram.
ויגנב יעקב את לב לבן הארמי על בלי הגיד לו (vv.20-21, cf.vv.17-18,27-28). כי ברח הוא : ויברח הוא וכל אשר לו

SEQUENCE 3: Pursuit.

FUNCTION 6.
After being informed, Laban engages in hot pursuit.
ויגד ... : ויקח את אחיו עמו וירדף (vv.22-23,25).

FUNCTION 7.
The vision from God, commanding restraint.
השמר לך פן תדבר עם יעקב מטוב עד רע (vv.24,29,42b).

FUNCTION 8.
Laban overtakes Jacob, in the mountain of Gilead.
וישג לבן את יעקב ... בהר הגלעד (v.25).

SEQUENCE 4: Confrontation.

FUNCTION 9.
The accusation against Jacob, of theft, and of acting foolishly in 'stealing away' from Laban.
... ויאמר לבן ליעקב מה עשית ותגנב את לבבי (vv.26-30).

FUNCTION 10.
Jacob's reply, (and denial).
... ויען יעקב ויאמר ללבן ... נגד אחינו (vv.31-32).

FUNCTION 11.
Laban's fruitless search for the gods.
ויחפש ולא מצא את התרפים (vv.33-35).

FUNCTION 12.
Jacob's chiding.
וילר ליעקב וירב בלבן ויען יעקב מה פשעי ...
שים כה נגד אחי ואחיך ויוכיחו בין שנינו ...

MOVEMENT THREE: RESOLUTION.

SEQUENCE 5: The Covenant is Made.

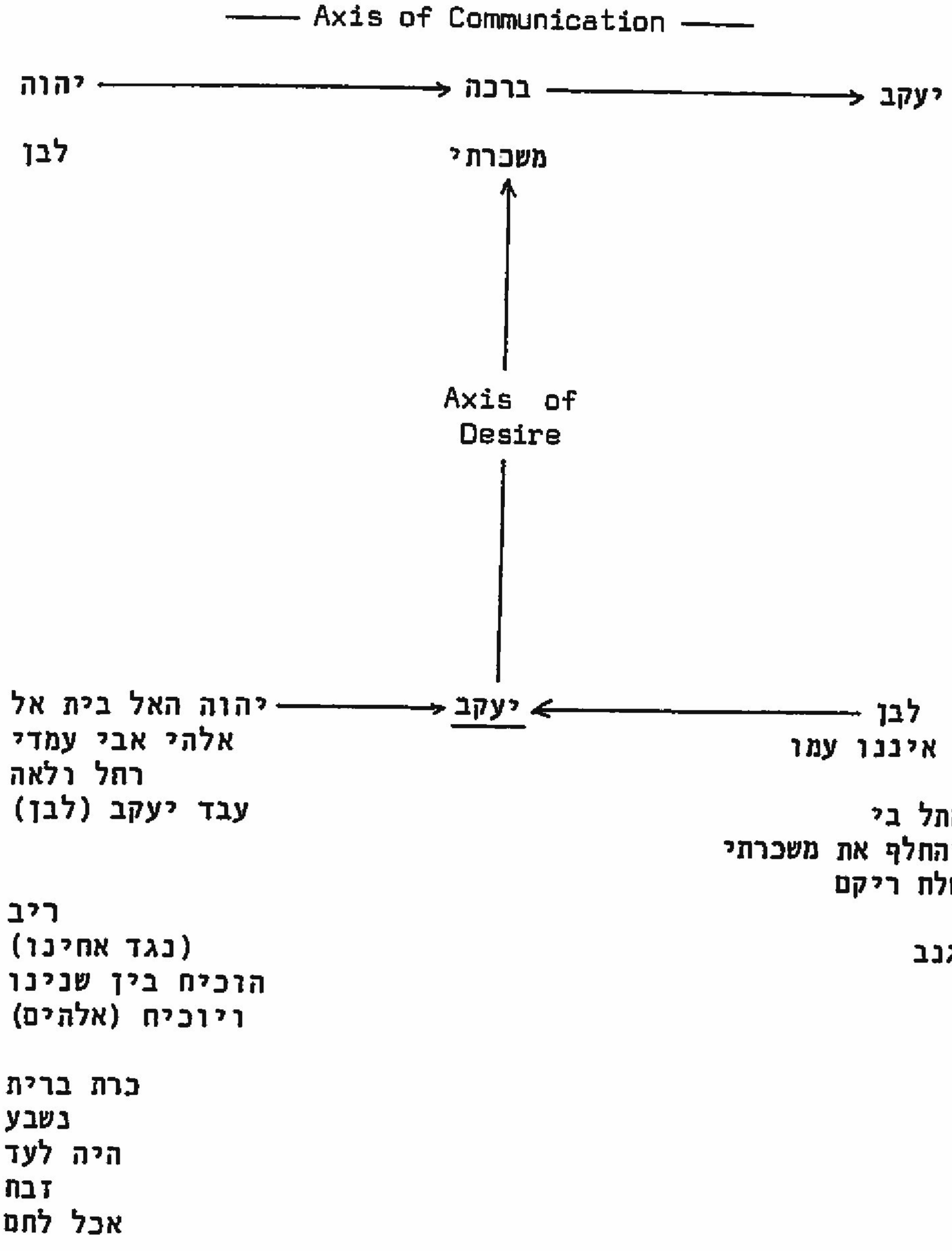
FUNCTION 13.
The scene of covenant making:

(a) The request for a covenant;
(b) The erection of a pillar, and the heap of stones;
(c) The naming of that witness, with elements of the conditions to be observed;
(d) The oath of Jacob, (and of Laban, by implication ?);
(e) The sacrifice;
(f) The meal;
(g) The blessing of Laban upon Jacob and his wives;
(h) The separation.

43 ויעל לבן ויאמר אל יעקב ... : 44 ועתה לכה נכרתה ברית
אני ואתה והיה לעד ביני וביניך : 45 ויקח יעקב אבן ...
46 ויאמר יעקב לאחיו לקטו אבנים ... ויאכלו שם על הגל :
47 ויקרא ... : 48 הגל הזה עד ביני וביניך ... : 50 ראה
אלהים עד ... : 53 אלהי אברהם ... ישפטו ביניכו ... וישבע
יעקב בפחד אביו יצחק ... : 54 ויזבח יעקב זבח בהר ויקרא
לאחיו לאכל לחם ויאכלו לחם ... : 32:1 וישכם לבן בבקר ...
ויברך אתהם וילך ... :

COMPOSITION: GENESIS 31:1-32:1 (AV 31:1-55) (NARRATIVE).

ACTANTIAL ANALYSIS.



Commentary on the Functional and Actantial Analyses of Genesis 31:1-32:1 (AV 31:1-55).

Minimal comment on Genesis 31:1-32:1 (AV 31:1-55) will suffice at this stage of the discourse, in anticipation of the results of the intended synopsis of these covenantal texts, with their linguistic implications, to follow. Based upon the results of previous analyses, a number of points can be made.

(i) The composition displays the operation of another functional series, within the basic narrative structure, where the situation of animosity leads to strife, which is resolved by a covenant. The series may be isolated accordingly:

(פני לבן) איננו עמו	- שלח ריקם	- ריב	- כרת ברית	- השכים
	גזל	הוכיח	נשבע	ברך
	גנב	(שפט)	היה לעד	הלך/שוב
	(לא שלח בשמחה)		זבח	
			אכל לחם	

It is evident that this structure bears a close resemblance to the functional comparison of Genesis 14:1-24, 21:22-34, and 26:1-33, which was executed above.[1]

(ii) From this functional series, it can be seen that ריב and הוכיח occupy the same functional role. This identification yields

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1. Cf. supra, pp.255f.

valuable additional information about the specific sense of these two verbs. First of all, in this passage, הוכיח is discovered to have a duality of association and sense, which indicates that the synonymy with ריב, suggested by the previous functional equivalence, is only partial:[1] The semantic duality can be registered in the following manner:

α' הוכיח בין שנינו (31:37) = שפט בינינו (31:53)

β' הוכיח (31:42) = ריב (31:36)

Careful study of the implications of this distinction reveals a close association of sense between ריב and שפט, which could be stated in terms of a consecutive functional series, containing two elements: שפט - ריב. Secondly, although there are certain acknowledged difficulties in the analysis of chapter 31, with regard to its literary origins, according to the source critics, on both occasions, הוכיח belongs to E, whereas שפט and ריב belong to J.[2] The question may be raised, whether or not this is a characteristic linguistic division between these two sources. There is an immediate obstacle to such a conclusion, in that linguistic usage in comparable accounts of strife and covenant making, is indecisive on the point. Thus, ריב, at Genesis 26:20-22, is ascribed to J, but, in the case of הוכיח of Genesis 21:25, scholars are divided about the text, some wishing to ascribe it to E, but the majority attributing it to J.[3] Therefore, to conclude that two mutually exclusive semantic patterns are here combined as the result of redaction of sources would

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1. Cf. supra, pp.258ff., esp. p.260.

2. So, Skinner, op.cit., p.395: "A complete analysis ... cannot be effected," i.e. of vv.17-25, but cf. his reference to Meyer's identification of two strata in E.

3. Cf. supra, p.229, for a discussion of this debate.

constitute a premature judgment on the matter. Furthermore, whatever be the outcome of the kind of discussion that deals with source analysis, it must not be permitted to detract from the structural synthesis that exists in the preserved text.

(iii) Structural analysis of Genesis 31:1-32:1 (AV 31:1-55) has again indicated that a close functional association binds כרה ברית to נשבע, which is fully consistent with preceding analyses. Here, this association is augmented by היה לעד, which is comparable with Genesis 21:30.

(iv) This covenant is celebrated in a meal, which is actually referred to twice in the text (vv.46, 54). On this occasion, the action is qualified by זבח, "to sacrifice." Further, it should be noted that the action of rising up afterwards is included, השכים. So, within one narrative function, under כרת ברית, three syntagms occur, forming their own functional series (of a minor sort):

זבח - אכל לחם - השכים

(v) The dispute between Laban and Jacob is reported to have occurred between kinsmen, that is, brothers (אחים), and, as part of the covenant making ceremony, Jacob called his brothers to eat food with him. Here, as in the case of Genesis 14, where brotherhood was seen to function in the same way as covenantal partnership, the common ground of the covenantal-familial analogy is perceived. In this case, the kinsmen are actually in covenant with each other. As a result, the linguistic connection, בעל ברית = אח, is reinforced, not that it is absolute, but that it is contextually defined for partial equivalence.

2. A Structural Synopsis of the Four Narrative Units of the Pentateuch, which Relate Covenants of the Patriarchs with their Neighbours, Leading to the Establishment of a Set of Semantic Functional-Actantial Paradigms of the First Dimension of the ברית-field.*

In four narrative compositions of the Pentateuch, all of which are placed in the patriarchal narratives of Genesis 12-50, the structures discovered have been remarkably alike. With regard to the superficial literary form of these texts, McCarthy found a common pattern, which transcends the divisions of literary sources, by which he concluded that there is an ancient genre exhibited in this material.[1] Without diminishing the individuality of each account, the deep structures of these texts similarly yield one common structure, a paradigm, which promotes a rich group of semantic associations. These represent the constants of langue, and, in this respect, form the basis for further analysis of other similar texts, to be conducted in the course of the present dissertation's argument. In isolating the paradigm, the policy of avoiding English explanations of meaning, especially in the form of translation, which has been adopted for the preceding analysis, will be maintained for the synthesis.[2]

At the commencement of this synopsis, a new and finer point of

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* The execution of the synopsis takes its starting point with first-dimensional narratives, but will include the extensions of association into the third dimension, e.g. with the oath of Abram to YHWH El Elyon of Genesis 14.

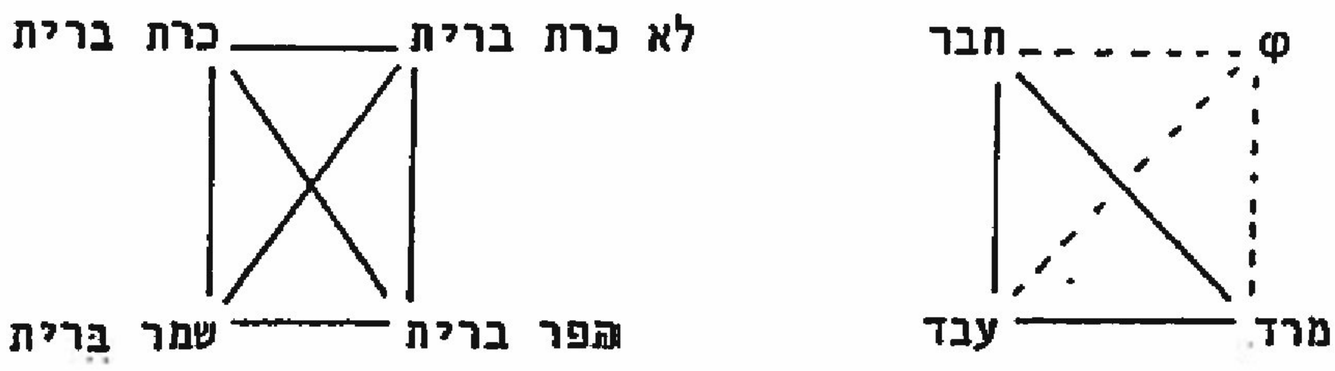
1. Cf. supra, pp.205ff. McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, pp.18-21.

2. The basic data of standard dictionaries (e.g., BDB, KB,) are regarded as the primitives, although there is no automatic acceptance of the authenticity of every entry.

semantic methodology must be introduced into the consideration.[1] This emphasises further the progressive character of the synthesis. It is not a static summarising of past conclusions, but a productive employment of those conclusions in order to develop the articulation of the Biblical Hebrew langue structures of this aspect of the ברית-field. One functional series determined from the composition of Genesis 14 can be stated in the following form:

עשה מלחמה - חבר - עבד - מרד - עשה מלחמה [2]

Within this series, a relationship of opposition exists, which it was decided to express in terms of a square of opposition, recognising the directional component of meaning, relating it to the basic square of opposition for כרת ברית. These can be juxtaposed thus:

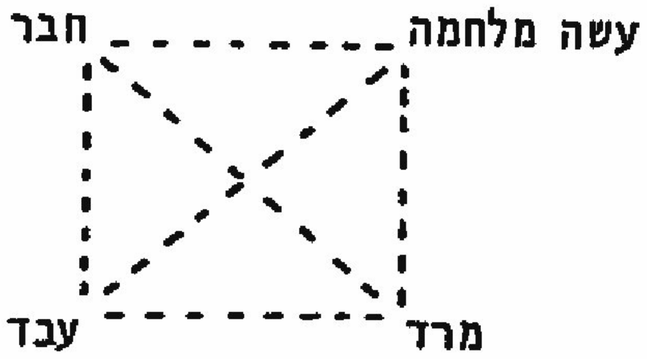


However, it should be noticed that another relationship of opposition operates within the Genesis 14 structure; between חבר and עשה מלחמה. It must be asked how this relationship can be incorporated into the square of opposition, if at all. The following is proposed:

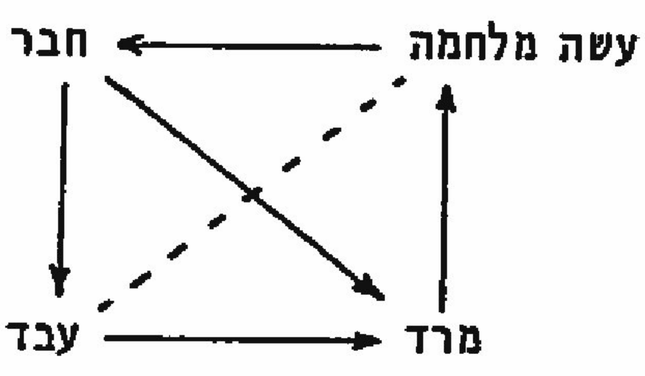
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1. This is particularly important in the light of the vagueness that has been noticed for the structural approach, in certain respects, cf. supra, pp.256f., 258f.

2. Cf. supra, pp.214,216,228. Through these pages, a development has occurred, and this is again supplemented here, by the addition of an initial syntagm (from verse 2 of the text), עשה מלחמה.



A 'dominant directional element' appears to operate within the links of this structure. This may be incorporated in the model by the following modification:



What has happened is that the order of the functional series has been registered in the square of opposition. This represents a methodological innovation that arises naturally out of the process of shedding the chains of inhibition laid upon the semanticist by the traditional concentration upon the 'word.' The square of opposition was originally developed for the study of substantival meaning, in which area, it has been noticed that, in most languages, nouns and adjectives that operate in pairs appear to exhibit a preferred order, for example, in Hebrew, זכר ונקבה, and in English, it is never "a matter of wrong and right," always "a matter of right and wrong." However, it is difficult to identify the source of this order. What is being discovered here, is that syntagms related as opposites have a similar 'priority structure,' which finds its source in functional structures, defined by compositional analysis. Thus,

each oppositional link is semantically progressive and retrospective, that is to say, a given syntagm 'looks forward' to the next, and 'looks back' to the syntagm before. The possibility of extended semantic encapsulation must be countenanced on this basis. Having made this point, synoptic paradigms can be constructed from the preceding compositional analyses in the text of Genesis.

A Synoptic Paradigm of Functional Analysis.

Genesis 31	Genesis 26	Genesis 21	Genesis 14
	הלך אל	נשבע	חבר הרים יד הוציא לחם ויין
		עשה כחסד לא שקר	עבד (בעל ברית) (היה אח) נתן מעשר מכל
פנים אין עם	שבא	שקר / מרה	מרד
שלח ריקם לא שלח בשמחה	עשה רעה שלח מאת	לא עשה כחסד	
גדל / גנב		גדל	
ריב / הוכיח	ריב שטן עשק עמד על ימין	הוכיח	עשה מלחמה
הוכיח / שפט			
	הלך אל / בוא אל		
כרת ברית נשבע	כרת ברית נשבע היה אלה	כרת ברית נשבע	הרים יד
היה לעד אכל לחם (שתה) (זבח)	עשה משתה	נתן/לקח לעדה	נתן מעשר הוציא לחם ויין
השכים	השכים	קום	
ברך			ברך
נשק	שלח בשלום		
הלך	הלך בשלום		
שוב		שוב	
	עשה טוב	עשה כחסד	

This synoptic paradigm of functional analysis constitutes an attempt to register the principal semantic structures - of equivalence, contrast, and opposition - revealed by compositional analysis, in order to bring about a synthesis. Two points of qualification must be made. First, the multitude of finer semantic relations cannot be comprehensively retained by the chart format as such, but they nevertheless operate in the paradigm's structure. Secondly, the inclusion of a word in the paradigm is not intended to signify that the totality of the semantic relations which it enters is thereby exhausted. As has been stated, in some cases, the intersection of two different semantic fields is witnessed. As a consequence, despite the analytical depths that have been plumbed by the determined prosecution of a consistent methodological policy, in the foregoing discussion, some of the semantic relationships proposed might be received with some scepticism. An example can perhaps be found in the assertion of functional equivalence for עשה מלחמה with ריב (and הוכיח), which might appear to be a most improbable connection. However, further research only confirms the result. Psalm 35, which contains a plea for divine assistance, begins with the words:

ריבה יהוה את יריבי[α] לחם את לחמי :[1]

The synonymous parallelism of this verse reflects the structural relationship between עשה מלחמה = לחם and ריב. Citing Judges 11:25 as an instance, (where this same connection appears once again,) Anderson has commented that this verb ריב is sometimes "used for contending on a battlefield," which might be implied by martial language of the psalm's first three

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1. Ps 35:1; α - according to BHK critical apparatus, 8 MSS read את ריבי. However, Dahood explains and justifies the existing form, יריבי, by reference to Canaanite morphology, translating, in consistency with the battle imagery, "those who attack me," cf. Dahood, Psalms, I, 210.

verses.[1] This accords with Dahood's translation of ריב as "attack." Nevertheless, the majority of commentators accept a forensic sense for ריב at Psalm 35:1, and Moore argues for the same in the case of Judges 11:25: "ריב is a controversy about rights."[2] The immediate issue, however, is the vindication of the structural mechanism of enquiry by confirmation of its results. This is achieved, and the semantic relationships of the ברית-field recorded by the functional paradigm, are seen to exist elsewhere.

It is interesting to observe, in retrospect, how syntagms attributed to the third dimension of the ברית-field by lexical analysis, are shown, by the execution of compositional analysis, to belong also to the first dimension. Thus, for example, the syntagm שקר בברית, which was encountered explicitly in the third dimension only, is clearly seen, by implication, to belong also to the first dimension. This appears to indicate that the rich variety of expression concerning the covenant of YHWH with Israel, was not so much a development by prophetic innovation, but had its roots more in the soil of secular utterance than is obvious from a first reading of the text. The richness of the third dimension reflects the interests of the biblical writers, more than a division of langue. For a word like שקר, which occurs only six times in the entire span of the literature, (and taking into account the weight of Aramaic evidence,) the possibility of encapsulation must be considered, which further strengthens the view that the syntagm שקר באמונה is equivalent to שקר בברית, thus supplying a

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1. Anderson, op.cit., I, 276.

2. G.F.Moore, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges, ICC, (Edinburgh, T.&T.Clark, (1895) 1976), pp.295-297, cf. Ju 12:2.

potential partial poetic synonym for ברית in אמונה, an association that was observed once before in the Psalms, between the symtagms הודיע אמונה and הודיע ברית.[1] Further examples of the confirming effect of the cumulative weight of semantic enquiry could be afforded, but, at this juncture, a better procedure is to represent some of the results of this by the conversion of the functional model into a corresponding square of opposition. This must be compared with the earlier (basic) square, in its differentiated form.[2]

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1. Cf. supra, p.154.

2. Cf. supra, p.203.

A Square of Opposition Registering the Semantic Relationships of the ברית-field Revealed by First Dimension Compositional Analysis, but Incorporating Some Related Structures.

Note *A*:

Certain advances are included within the square, which should not pass without comment. For example, אהב, the antonym of שנא, by virtue of the latter's covenantal role, might be expected to acquire a similar association of sense. This has been alluded to, and a number of scholars have argued the case.[1] Thompson writes:

> "The connotation of the words 'love' and 'lover' in the context of a covenant is a specialized one ... in some cases the term 'lover' denotes a political ally."[2]

Here, the verb אהב is incorporated into the square, but the justification for this 'proleptic' measure must await the analysis of the Deuteronomistic History.[3] The same is true for words such as חרם also.

The almost humanly impossible nature of the task of registering a synthesis of the totality of semantic structures of the ברית-field becomes increasingly apparent, hence the deliberately piecemeal and progressive character of the enquiry. Returning to Genesis 14, it was narrated there, that Abram pursued the eastern kings and their armies as far as Dan, where he smote them (יד, v.15). On the semantic plane, another functional series is implied, the couplet הכה - עשה מלחמה.

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1. Cf. supra, pp.4f., 266f. E.g. Moran, "The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy,"

2. J.A.Thompson, "Israel's 'Lovers'," VT, XXVII (1977), 480.

3. Of אהב in the Deuteronomistic History, cf. P.R.Ackroyd, "The Verb Love - 'āhēb in the David-Jonathan Narratives - A Footnote," VT, XXV (1975), 213f. J.A.Thompson, "The Significance of the Verb Love in the David-Jonathan Narratives in I Samuel," VT, XXIV (1974), 334-338.

This couplet is parallel to the series already noted, a comparison of which can be recorded thus:

מרד - עבד - (כרת ברית), חבר
הכה
} עשה מלחמה, (להם)

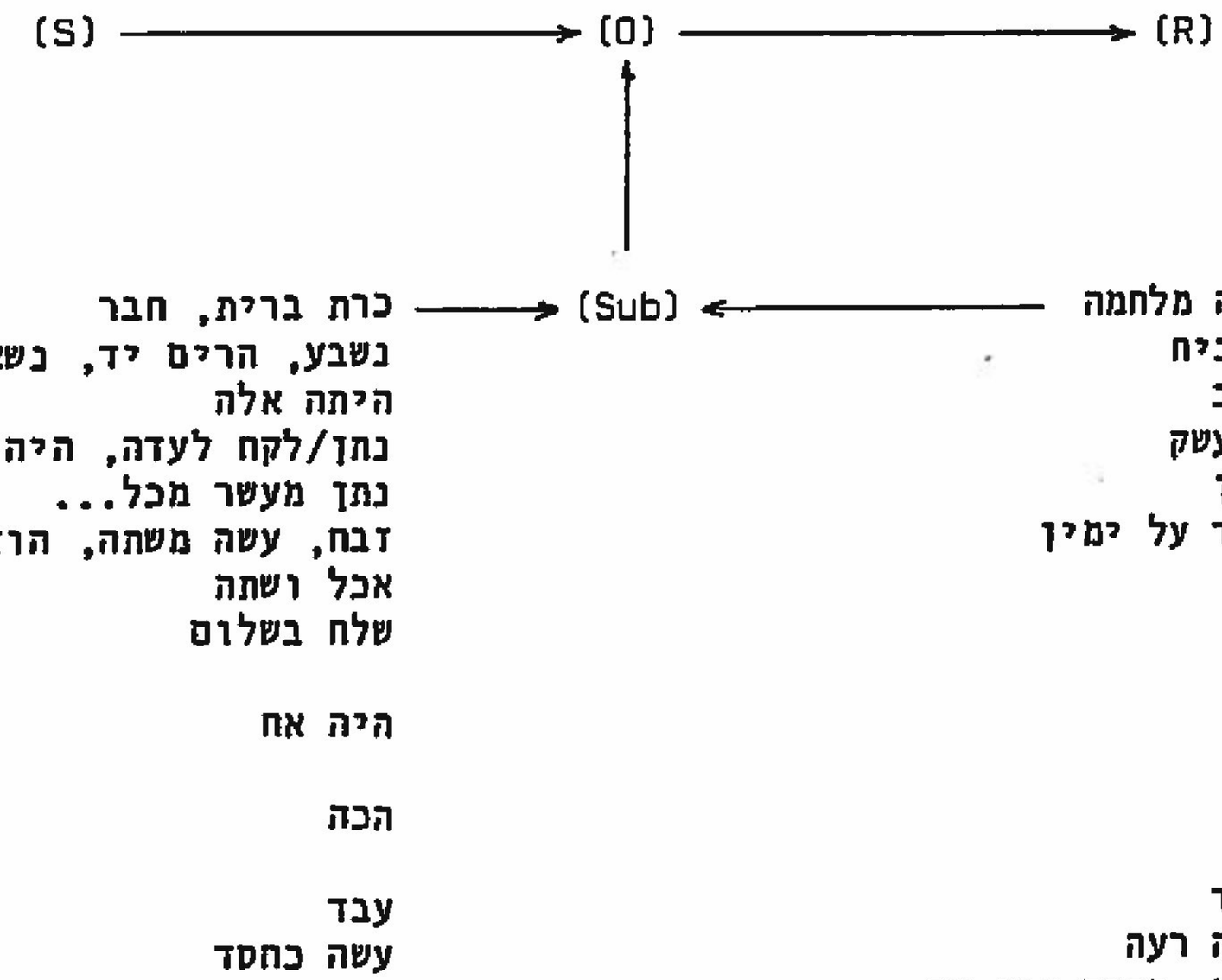
This reveals an important structural relationship of opposition between הכה and חבר (כרת ברית). Such structures are of great significance, but they are often relegated to a secondary position by the traditional preoccupation with synonyms, to such an extent that they are overlooked. However, it has been argued by linguists, that it is the relations of contrast and opposition which serve to define, far more than those of equivalence.[1] In the case under consideration, it is found that כרת ברית (or חבר) and הכה, though opposites, would occupy the same place in the square of opposition, in relation to עשה מלחמה. One means of preserving an appropriate distinction between the two is by relating the square of opposition to the actantial model, where the roles of (H) and (Opp) are occupied by these two components. Indeed, it is important to complement the former considerations with an actantial paradigm. This delivers the semanticist from various contradictions and paradoxes, created by the superimposing of one functional opposition upon another.

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1. Cf. <u>supra</u>, pp.78f.

An Actantial Paradigm.

The process of abstraction of an actantial structure from the compositional analyses of covenant making narratives of Genesis is facilitated by the omission of certain details. Thus, the specific contents of the actantial models, for example, the opposition between (H) חפר, כרה, and (Opp) סתם, is not recorded, because the emphasis is upon the more abstract, and relevant, contents of 'covenantal' language, which maintains a stability of function in the chosen contexts. The following paradigm results:



The manner of listing the component elements of (H) and (Opp) contains a reflection of the lateral orthogonal and antipodal structures of the square of opposition. However, a new feature emerges from the suggestion superimposing of one upon the other, in that both ריב and הוכיח occupy two opposed positions. This duality of sense, where ריב^{a} and הוכיח^{a} (indicating a striving in response to the fracture of terms of covenant) are opposed to ריב^{b} and הוכיח^{b} (indicating a struggle to preserve the covenantal status quo), may seem irreconcilable with the aim of reconstructing a consistent semantic paradigm of relations, but it is not an unknown phenomenon in Biblical Hebrew. The same paradox is encountered at Jeremiah 8:4, which reads:

ואמרת אליהם כה אמר יהוה
היפלו ולא יקומו
אם ישוב ולא ישוב :

Holladay has commented that "the last line is untranslatable, embodying as it does a double ambiguity."[1] The ambiguity of direction of the verb שוב, where it can mean either "to turn away (become apostate)," or "to turn back (repent)," finds a parallel with the verb ריב. This is an instance of the advantage of actantial analysis, revealing semantic characteristics not perceived in the other models. Indeed, it will be discovered that a similar duality exists for the syntagm כרת ברית, and perhaps extends to other elements of the set of oppositional structures in this field.

The semantic structures of Biblical Hebrew recorded in this synopsis

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1. William L.Holladay, The Root Šûbh in the Old Testament, with Particular Reference to its Usages in Covenantal Contexts, (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1958), pp.1f., 147, etc.

must be related to the results of lexical analysis to form a basis for further textual study. Before embarking upon that course, consideration must be given to a recurring semantic problem. At several points in the discussion so far, a close connection has been observed between כרת ברית and נשבע, but no definitive statement has been made regarding that connection. The question raised, whether they are in some way synonymous, naturally extends to the relationship of the nouns ברית and שבועה, since the sense of the latter is encapsulated in the verb נשבע, (and hence, in the syntagms הרים יד and נשא יד). However, despite the simplicity of this encapsulation, it must be affirmed as a matter of principle, that not all that can be said about the verbs and syntagms in question, can be asserted for the 'cognate' nouns. Therefore, it is proposed to deal with the problem by means of a series of statements:

(i) The contradictory assertions of different scholars, either to the effect that ברית means "oath," or that שבועה means "covenant," are to be rejected as an inadequate assessment of the facts.[1]

(ii) Undeniably, the biblical writers were accustomed to using שבועה (נשבע) and ברית (כרת) with reference to one and the same event. Thus, for example, whereas David and Jonathan were in a covenant (ברית), the narrator also refers to it as an oath (שבועה).[2] However, the distinction between reference and sense forbids the conclusion that, therefore, ברית and שבועה have the same sense. Indeed, the argument has to be considered that the oath was a part of the covenant, a confirming

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1. Cf. supra, pp.184ff., McEvenue, op.cit., Valeton, op.cit., Lohfink, op.cit., et.al. Contrast, J.Morgenstern, The Book of Genesis. A Jewish Interpretation, (New York, Schocken, 1965), p.175. Cf. McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, pp.3,254, on J.Pedersen, Der Eid bei den Semiten, (Strassbourg, 1914).

2. Compare I Sam 20:8 with II Sam 21:7.

rite perhaps, and hence, the use of שבועה represents a pars pro toto construction. No attempt is being made here, to deny the importance of referential meaning, nor that reference is intimately bound up with sense, so that a change in one can sometimes produce a change in the other. What is being insisted, is that an appropriate distinction between the two be preserved.

(iii) The verb נשבע is extremely limited in the range of its syntagmatic collocation. Its basic patterns of usage are:

(a) נשבע בשם ... ל....

(b) Often, the contents of the oath are spelled out, with the syntagm ... אשר(כ) נשבע appended.

The attaching of an object to נשבע is attended by an awkwardness, and accordingly has only a few associated nouns, supplying paradigms for שבועה, as follows: ברית, ברית ותסד, אמת ותסד, and דבר.[1]

The noun שבועה is encountered in a number of syntagms. Some connect it with ברית; compare the following:

הקים ברית	:	הקים שבועה
שמר ברית	:	שמר שבועה
היתה ברית בין ...	:	היתה שבועה בין ...
בעלי ברית	:	בעלי שבועה

However, certain other syntagmatic combinations indicate a connection between שבועה and אלה:

נקה מאלה	:	נקה משבועה

In a number of instances, hendiadys of the two is witnessed, or a construct chain: האלה והשבועה, or שבועת האלה.

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1. Cf. <u>supra</u>, pp.143,153.

The fact that אלה is sometimes linked with ברית, and has been defined in terms of the conditional curse of a covenant, should not be allowed to cloud the fact that it is distinct from ברית.[1]

Yet again, שבועה is linked with אסר in the only passge where it occurs, Numbers 30: שבועת אסר and אסר בשבועה.

These facts combine to suggest that, in terms of lexical structures, שבועה (and this holds certain implications for נשבע) stands as a superordinate of the hyponyms ברית, אלה, and אסר, but, in an independent role, it also functions in contrast with these nouns.[2]

(iv) In the light of this conclusion, the importance of the distinction between linguistic form and semantic function is seen, since ברית (כרת) and שבועה (נשבע) occupy the same functional role, and can be identified with each other in that role.[3] This partial contrast and partial equivalence demonstrates that there is no simple answer to the question, "What is meaning?" and there are no neat lines of semantic demarcation. The various semantic structures must be examined, and held in tension.

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1. TDOT, I, p.262.
2. This confirms the hypothesis stated above, cf. supra, p.200.
3. Cf. supra, pp.88f., 222.

Excursus 1.

Traces of the 'Covenant Formulary' within the Covenant Making Narratives of Genesis.

The hypothesis of compositional grammar, developed as part of the methodological foundation of semantic analysis, included the observation that, in the Bible, most composition is compound.[1] Thus, for example, in the section of the Pentateuch, Numbers 22:1-24:25, the narrative account of Balak's hiring of Balaam to curse Israel incorporates certain words of Balaam that are distinguishable as oracle, or proverb, (משל).[2] Similarly, the narrative record of Genesis is abundantly interspersed with oath, vow, blessing, and curse.[3] A good example of the way in which one compositional type is included in another, is found in the Lord's Prayer of the gospels. The evidence of the best Greek manuscripts reveals considerable differences between Matthew and Luke, as also, between both biblical accounts and the popular English liturgical form:

Matthew 6:9-13:	Luke 11:2-4:
οὕτως οὖν προσεύχεσθε ὑμεῖς·	Ὅταν προσεύχησθε, λέγετε,
Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς,	Πάτερ,
Ἁγιασθήτω το ὄνομά σου,	ἁγιασθήτω το ὄνομά σου·
ἐλθάτω ἡ βασιλεία σου,	ἐλθάτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·

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1. Cf. supra, Part II, p.115.
2. Nu 23:7-10, 18-24, etc.
3. Cf. supra, p.122, esp. the references given in fn.1.

γενηθήτω το θέλημά σου	
ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ και ἐπι γῆς.	
Τον ἄρτον ἡμῶν τον ἐπιούσιον	τον ἄρτον ἡμῶν τον ἐπιούσιον
δος ἡμῖν σήμερον·	δίδου ἡμῖν το καθ' ἡμέραν·
και ἄφες ἡμῖν τα ὀφειλήματα	και ἄφες ἡμῖν τας ἁμαρτίας
ἡμῶν, ὡς και ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν	ἡμῶν, και γαρ αὐτοι ἀφίουμεν
τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμων·	παντι ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν·
και μη εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς	και μη εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς
πειρασμόν, ἀλλα ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς	πειρασμόν.
ἀπο τοῦ πονηροῦ.	

Apart from numerous differences in detail between these two versions, which have, themselves, raised questions in scholars minds regarding the 'correct' original, or whether they are totally separate prayers, it is noticeable that neither Matthew nor Luke completes the prayer.[1] This can be deduced from two facts. First of all, it seems that it was the custom to finish a prayer with an "Amen," (cf. I Cor 14:16). Secondly, several manuscripts supply an ending, which has entered into the tradition of the English church:

> "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever, Amen."[2]

The point, as far as this discussion is concerned, is that the evangelists appear not to wish to record the entire prayer, and, indeed, seem content to omit, or change, some of its detail.[3] They make it subservient to the

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1. B.E.Beck, Reading the New Testament Today. An Introduction to New Testament Study, (London, Lutterworth Press, 1977), pp.5ff., for fuller discussion of these differences.

2. Contrast AV with RSV; the English tradition is from PB.

3. A debatable point, depending on whether these two versions are truly synoptic.

wider aim of recording instruction, about persistency in prayer, by Luke, and, in Matthew's case, on forgiveness, contrasted with empty religious observance.[1] Indeed, it can be affirmed as a principle, that component compositions are often modified, with regard to their format, by their inclusion within larger compositions, in which process, they are subjected to the dominant telic aspect of the latter. So important is this principle, that, without it, confusion results from a misunderstanding of the fragmentary nature of much of the biblical text. This has already been noted in the case of the incomplete manifestation of the covenant formulary in certain Old Testament passages.[2] Nevertheless, under the guidance of this principle, the extrapolation of the covenant formulary from certain texts becomes a possibility. In addition, it can be commented, that the modification of the 'pure' literary format of a unit, (that is supposed for various portions of the text,) is of positive value, in that it serves to include non-literary, for example, elements of ceremonial observance.[3]

The literary pattern, known as the 'covenant formulary,' isolated from ancient treaty texts of the Near East, is defined by six elements:

(1) Preamble;

(2) Historical Prologue;

(3) Statement of Substance;

(4) Specific Stipulations;

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1. Matt 6:7, "vain repetition," or "empty phrases," of Gentiles.

2. Cf. supra, pp.24, 28. The correct interpretation of the incompleteness has been lacking from the discussion of the observed facts.

3. Kitchen, op.cit., p.82.

(5) Witnesses;

(6) Curses and Blessings.[1]

The order of these elements is seen to vary, and the attempt has been made to tie down patterns of variation to a chronological scheme of development.[2] Disregarding order, some of these elements can be recognised, in embryonic form, in the scenic narration of covenant making events in Genesis.

The narrative of Genesis 14 must be exempted from this consideration because of the very small use of scenic narration - its chronicle-like presentation - but the blessing of Melchizedek might be noted in passing, in the light of previous discussion on the question of a Melchizedekian covenant.[3]

Genesis 21:22-34 is divided into two principal scenes, interrupted by the dispute (narrated in the first mode). Elements of the covenant formulary can be extracted from their immediate context, leading to the following hypothetical reconstruction:

Preamble:[4]	אלהים עמך בכל אשר אתה עשה
Historical Prologue:	כחסד אשר עשיתי עמך
Statement of Substance:	ועתה השבעה לי באלהים הנה

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1. This form, taking Baltzer's definition, against that which identifies (3) as Stipulations, and (4) as Document Clause. Cf. supra, pp.22ff.

2. Kitchen, op.cit., pp.79ff.

3. Cf. supra, pp.221, 270.

4. It might be argued that this clause belongs to the Historical Prologue, but it is included at this point because it does not relate the prior state of affairs between the two contracting parties.

אם תשקר לי ולניני ולנכדי

כחסד ... תעשה עמדי ועם הארץ ...

Witnesses: כי את שבע כבשת תקח מידי בעבור תהיה לי לעדה

There are no specific stipulations included, except perhaps the assertion of ownership of the well on Abraham's part, but such an inclusion would have been out of accord with the character of the narrative setting. Naturally, as this is not a covenant document, there is no document clause. Finally, the sixth element is not alluded to, or quoted.

Genesis 26:26-31 is open to the same type of examination:

Preamble: ראו ראינו כי היה יהוה עמך

Historical Prologue: לא נגענוך

עשינו עמך רק טוב

Statement of Substance: ותהי נא אלה בינותינו בינינו ובינך

ונכרתה ברית עמך

אם תעשה עמנו רעה

ונשלחך בשלום

Curses and Blessings: אתה עתה ברוך יהוה

In this case, there are no witnesses, but the blessing is stated. However, it is not a conditional blessing, but appears to be performative speech.

Finally, the narrative of Genesis 31:1-32:1 (AV 31:1-55) provides the fullest substantiation of this form of extrapolation:

Preamble/Historical Prologue: הבנות בנתי והבנים בני

והצאן צאני וכל אשר אתה ראה לי הוא

Statement of Substance: ועתה לכה ונכרתה ברית אני ואתה

Specific Stipulations: אם תענה את בנתי ואם תקח נשים
על בנתי ...
אם אני לא אעבר אליך את הגל הזה
ואם אתה לא תעבר אלי את הגל הזה
ואת המצבה הזאת לרעה
והיה לעד ביני ובינך
יגר שהדותא
גלעד
הגל הזה עד ביני ובינך היום
והמצפה
יצף יהוה ביני ובינך
עד הגל הזה ועדה המצבה
אלהי אברהם ואלהי נחור ישפטו בינינו אלהי אביהם

Witnesses:

Curses and Blessing: (ויברך אתהם)

In all three texts, the distinction between the Historical Prologue and the Preamble is ambiguous, particularly in the light of the form of Preamble recorded for extra-biblical treaties, which has no fixed formula.[1] In the last instance, the literary type is most fully attested, but the final element, of blessing and curse, is merely referred to, and is not 'quoted' even embryonically.

As would be expected, in each case of extrapolation, the resulting format is incomplete. However, there appears to be a common core of agreement, with regard to what scenic elements should be reported in

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1. ANET, pp.531ff.

in narration. The characteristic introduction of the statement of substance with the adverb of time, עתה, "now," for example, is departed from on one occasion only, at Genesis 26:28, אלה נא תהי. Indeed, a semantic equivalence of function must be ascribed to עתה and נא, in this context. It is interesting to observe that the same pattern exists in Joshua 24:1ff., where the statement of substance, in Joshua's renewal of covenant, is introduced with the word עתה (Jos 24:14).[1] When this passage was discussed previously, it was commented that the covenant form remained incomplete, by the omission of witnesses and blessing-curse. However, once it is recognised that one literary type is often subjected to the structure of another, it will be seen that the elements of the invocation of witnesses, and of conditional blessing and curse, are alluded to within the scenic structure of the narration; so, "You are witnesses against yourselves ...," (v.22), and, "Behold, this stone shall be a witness against us," (v.27), and the conditional element, "If you forsake the LORD and serve foreign gods, then he will turn and do you harm, and consume you, after having done you good," (v.20). Admittedly, this process of reconstructing the covenant formulary is open to challenge, and so, the nature of these remarks must be clarified. The argument of this excursus does not constitute an attempt to prove the existence of the covenant formulary in the patriarchal narratives of Genesis, (nor in Joshua 24,) but, and only, to explore the possibility that the literary form attested in extra-biblical texts might be reflected in relevant biblical material. Further, it demonstrates the importance of the principle of the compound nature of biblical composition.

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1. Cf. <u>supra</u>, p.24.

Excursus 2.

A Statement of the Role of Comparative Evidence for the Formulation of Semantic Proposition in Biblical Hebrew, with a Particular Examination of the Aramaic Evidence of the Treaty Texts of the Sefire Inscriptions.

Covenants, or treaties, were, by their very nature, of international significance. From this standpoint, various linguistic equivalences (of translation) might be expected to emerge from treaty texts. Throughout the preceding discussion, occasionally some comparative reference has been allowed, but, as a matter of policy, the evidence of Akkadian, Aramaic, and the other Semitic languages, has been disallowed in any attempt to establish semantic conclusions for Biblical Hebrew. Not the product of an 'ostriche-like' mentality, this policy has sprung from an absolute insistence upon the priority of intra-hebraic structural relations of sense. Thus, the similarity of meaning and usage between שלום and salimum (Akk), or סגלה and sglth (Ug), has been noted in passing, as a matter of interest, but this line of enquiry has not been pursued. Consequently, it has become a pressing concern, at this point, to give a fuller statement of the present policy, adopted with regard to the treatment of comparative material. It is not the intention of this discourse to delete all reference to languages other than Hebrew itself. Rather, as has been seen, comparative evidence can serve two purposes: first, it can provide useful hints - primitive data - which can be followed up in Biblical Hebrew; secondly, it can provide some confirmation of already recognised Hebrew meanings and structures, perhaps demonstrating that those meanings and structures had gained a wider hold on linguistic forms of the Semitic community. Nevertheless, extreme caution must be

exercised in this area, as will be demonstrated in the following paragraphs.

The three Sefire steles, which "together comprise the most substantial stretch of text in Syrian Sem. epigraphy,"[1] contain three treaty inscriptions: the first two are between Barga'yah (or Birga'yah), King of KTK, and Mati^{c}el, King of Arpad; in the case of the third text, a large portion, including the introductory lines, has been lost, but it appears to be of the same character as the first two, and certainly, one of the contracting parties was the king of Arpad.[2] Thus, Fitzmyer concludes:

> "All three inscriptions are related not only by their provenience but also by their contents and a comparative study of them is imperative."[3]

The Aramaic connection of some of the narratives of covenant making in Genesis - Genesis 31 in particular, but also, Genesis 26, where the well names, עשק and שטנה, suggest the possibility of Aramaic influence - imparts to the Sefire inscriptions, a peculiar relevance for the present study. So, for example, the biblical narrator's introduction of an Aramaic phrase into Laban's words, יגר שהדותא (Gen 31:47), finds a parallel in the Sefire stele i, with the phrase, ... שהדן כל א(להי, (Sef i/A/12), "Witnesses be all the (or, you) gods of ...." Several comparisons of detail can be added to this one.

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1. Gibson, op.cit., II, 19.

2. Donner and Röllig, op.cit., I, 41-45; II, 238ff.; III, Tafeln XV-XXIII. Gibson, op.cit., II, 18ff. The editio princeps is that of A.Dupont-Sommer and J.Starcky, "Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré," Memoires presentées par divers savants a l'Academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Tome XV (Paris, 1958), 197-351. Cf. Gibson, op.cit., II, 25-27 for full bibliography.

3. Fitzmyer, op.cit., 178.

In the first place, thorough analysis of perhaps the most conspicuous connection, between אתי (emph.pl.; constr.pl. = תי, abs.pl. = תן), the regular term for "treaty" in Aramaic, and the Biblical Hebrew term, עדות (pl.), has already been conducted by many scholars.[1] However, the Sefire inscriptions reveal certain notable phraseological similarities with the syntagmatic structures of the semantic field of ברית in Biblical Hebrew:

Sefire i/C/17, לנצר מלי ספרא זי (בנצבא זנה), closely resembles the syntagm, שמר את דברי (ספר) הברית*;[2] this is reinforced by the knowledge that שמר and נצר function in the same way in Biblical Hebrew.[3] Indeed, it might be tempting to think that, in the light of these Aramaic texts, שמר ברית was the regular (Hebrew) phrase of covenant keeping, whereas the phrase נצר ברית signals Aramaic influence, but the distributional patterns of the two syntagms throughout the corpus opposes the idea, which is based upon a confusion of the synchronic and diachronic perspectives.[4]

Sefire i/A/40, יגזר עגלא זנה כן יגזר מתעאל, furnishes an interesting parallel for Jeremiah 34:18:

... העגל אשר כרתו לפני (דברי) הברית אשר כרתו לשנים[5]

Sefire iii/11,12,22, containing the phrase ותקם דמי מן יד שנאי (line 11), recalls the syntagm of Biblical Hebrew, נקם ברית.

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1. Cf. e.g. Fitzmyer, op.cit., 187, and Gibson, op.cit., II, 34. Also, cf. supra, pp.192ff., 198, 200, on עדות and ברית.

2. Cf. supra, p.171, on II Ki 23:2,3, (the legitimate projection of one syntagmatic structure, from two related syntagms).

3. Cf. supra, p.126, the connection of the two, in the undifferentiated list of syntagms, 18 & 19.

4. Cf. supra, p.177, the table of distributional patterns indicates a common sphere of usage within the corpus. On the principle, cf. supra, pp.64ff.

Finally, in this list of connections of 'covenantal idiom,' the Aramaic syntagm, שקר בעדיא, seems to be an exact parallel of the Hebrew syntagm, שקר בברית.[1]

Such comparisons as these are acceptable, and well secure, mainly because they are attested in both of the languages being compared, but even so, it is not always a straightforward matter to apply the label 'covenantal,' in every case, as the following parallels demonstrate:

Sefire i/C/5, תחת שמשא (יעבדו), compares with the characteristic phrase of Ecclesiastes, תחת השמש.[2]

Sefire iii/22, עבד מרמה עלי, compares with עשה מרמה, of Daniel 11:23.

Sefire i/A/36, מלח (בהן הדד) וירזרע, compares with זרע מלח, of Judges 9:45. The difficulty of defining what is 'covenantal,' from the point of view of comparative linguistics, is illustrated in this last case, where the 'sowing of salt' is a shared idiom, having an application in a covenantal context, in the Aramaic, but, in Hebrew, standing in relation to the 'devotion' (חרם), where a city is destroyed and sowed with salt. Apart from the general similarities of language, noted above, there are certain particular resemblances between the Sefire inscriptions and the covenant-making narratives of Genesis, where, again, it is difficult, in some cases, to decide whether the parallel is specifically covenantal or not. Each case must be viewed on its own merits:

The use of נצבא (Sef i/C/17) might be reflected in the use of מצבה (Gen 31:45).

The verb שקר, in the idiom שקר בברית/עדיא, is common to these two

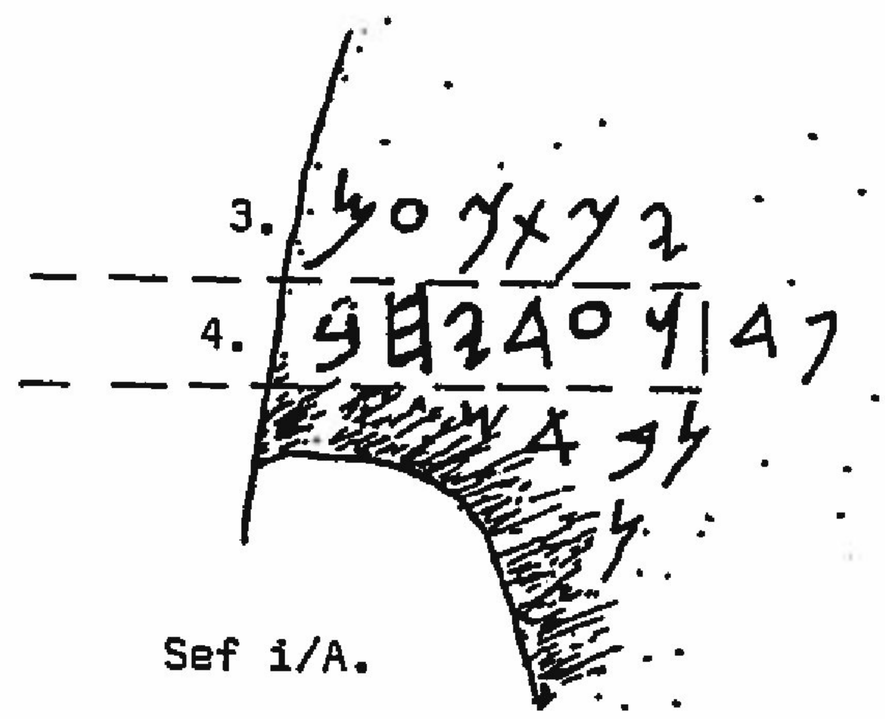
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1. Cf. supra, p.162, pp.238ff. Sef i/A/14,15,24, etc., (18X).

2. Eccl 1:3, and many more times throughout the book.

groups of texts, too.

The restoration of some letters at the end of the fourth line of Sefire i, face A, yields another interesting connection. Due to a cutting of the stone subsequent to its engraving, some letters have been lost from the ends of lines on this face, but, following Dupont-Sommer, a number of epigraphers have considered that the last words of this line should be read:



Sef i/A.

... ועדי חב(ר ארפ*/ו ...[1]

However, this has not gained universal acceptance. The comment of Donner and Röllig should be recorded:

> " —)חב: unsicher. Mit Dupont-Sommer ist wahrscheinlich (ר)חב zu ergänzen; die Wurzel חבר bedeutet gemeinsemit. ‚verbinden, verbunden sein'. Ein Derivat dieser Wurzel wäre im vorliegenden Zusammenhang gut denkbar. Doch wird man Dupont-Sommers Interpretation ‚Bund, Verband, Staat' (vgl. hebr. חֶבֶר Hos. 6,9; Prov. 21,9) nicht ohne Bedenken zustimmen können, da der staatsrechtliche Gebrauch dieses Wortes vor der Hasmonäerzeit nicht bezeugt ist; vgl. Aufschriften auf hasmonäischen Münzen, z.B. יהונתן הכהן הגדול וחבר יהודים (ähnlich Damaskusschrift 12,8). In Betracht käme ein Substantiv ähnlich hebr. חָבֵר ‚Genosse, Verbündeter' Judc. 20,11; Ps. 45, 8; Eccl. 4,10; Cant. 1,7; 8,13 u.ö.; vgl. ugar. hbr (UM Nr 62,48). Dass diesem Substantiv eine Orts- oder Territorialbezeichnung folgte, ist wahrscheinlich, Dupont-Sommers Ergänzung ו(ארפ) ‚Urartu' jedoch sehr zweifelhaft, da sie die Identität des Barga'jā von KTK mit Sardur III von Urartu voraussetzt, die keineswegs gesichert und nicht einmal wahrscheinlich ist. Siehe u. S. 273."[2]

Whatever the uncertainty regarding the name, ו/ארפ, "Urartu (Ararat)," and Donner and Röllig prefer to leave it vacant, the main concern rests

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1. Gibson, op.cit., II, 35, following Dupont-Sommer, op.cit.

2. Donner and Röllig, op.cit., II, 243f., doubts shared by Fitzmyer, op.cit., 188.

with the substantive חבר, which Gibson translates as "confederacy."[1] The precise significance of this term is not certain, but "it could easily mean here a 'union,' or something similar."[2] The cognate verb of Biblical Hebrew, at Genesis 14:3, has already been identified as a synonym of the syntagm כרת ברית, in terms of functional analysis, and its place in the semantic field of ברית is assured.[3] However, the argument for the covenantal sense of חבר did not draw upon the Aramaic evidence of Sefire i/A/4, as reconstructed. This had been decided against, in principle, but the main reason for omitting any mention of this datum was the fact of its ambiguity, with regard to a covenantal association. The fact that חבר (Aram) is used in a treaty document does not guarantee that it has a covenantal sense: on the contrary, it could equally well signify a trading association, comparing the Phoenician evidence for the same root.[4] A warning against the procedure that assumes that, because a word is located in a treaty text, it must have a covenantal connotation, is issued by a consideration of the role of the two nouns אח and עבד, in the Sefire inscriptions. Previous remarks that these nouns, in Biblical Hebrew, can signify parties to a covenant, might lead one to expect the same for the language of Sefire, but, in reality, they retain their primary senses, of "kinsman" and "servant."[5]

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1. Gibson, op.cit., II, 29.

2. Fitzmyer, op.cit., 288f.

3. Cf. supra, pp.215ff.

4. W.F.Albright, "The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization," Studies in the History of Culture, ed. G.Banta, (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1942), p.36, on the Phoen equivalent of Akk & Ug ḫuburu, meaning, "trading company."

5. Sef iii/4,9,13, etc.

For חנן, there appears to be good reason to allow a covenantal sense, and Gibson's translation is not unacceptable, but, even so, the Aramaic evidence adds little to the case previously prepared for Biblical Hebrew. For the same reason, reference to the fairly expansive philological discussion of the appellation, "Ḫabiru," that has been carried on by scholars, which has included a suggestion that it meant "confederates," has been omitted from the semantic analysis of this Biblical Hebrew verb.[1]

Finally, comment is required on the reciprocal use of Hebrew to elucidate Aramaic meanings. Whereas there is agreement about a common core of basic words, there are limits to the comparative argument, in whichever direction it may be used. An illustration of this can be found in Sefire iii/20, which reads: תעשקנ (וא)ל ... . The usual interpretation of this phrase is represented by Gibson:

> "תעשקנ = (ta^{cv}suqnī) or the like; jussive with suffix; in Hebr. 'to oppress, extort, do wrong'; cp. no. 19 Nerab ii 8; thus here perhaps 'hinder'; but with the fuller context of 4-7 for comparison, a sense like Syriac 'slander, accuse' is more suitable."[2]

An alternative explanation can be supplied by the verb עשׂק, "to contend, dispute, challenge, oppose." This verb is attested in Biblical Hebrew, at Genesis 26:20, where it appears also, in the form of the name, "Esek."[3]

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1. F.F.Bruce, "Tell El-Amarna," Archaeology and Old Testament Study. Jubilee Volume of the Society for Old Testament Study 1917-1967, ed. D. Winton Thomas, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1967), pp.14f., which contains some discussion of the question whether "habiru" meant "confederates," or not.

2. Gibson, op.cit., II, 55. Cf. Donner and Röllig, op.cit., II, 270.

3. Cf. supra, pp.261f. (N.B. the possibility of an Aramaic connection at Gen 26). Phonologically, this explanation is quite acceptable, cf. Moscati, op.cit., pp.34-36; this can be confirmed by a phonological study of other roots in the Sefire texts, e.g. שחת.

Indirect support can also be drawn from the contemporaneous existence of the two roots, ܕܚܨ and ܕܥܨ, in Syriac.[1] However, the case for Aramaic cannot be proved from comparative premises; it requires to be substantiated within the linguistic structures operating in the Aramaic texts. The relevant question is, whether or not the sense of עשׂק, "to challenge, oppose, dispute (with)," is more appropriate to the Sefire inscription than that of פשׂע, "to oppress, extort," especially as the context is one of treaty violation, a context shared by Genesis 26.

The foregoing enumeration of detailed connections has not been made with the intention of denying the parallels, but rather, to indicate that the interior linguistic and semantic structures of a language must govern the conclusions drawn about it. There are difficulties with the comparative argument in the finer details of many cases, which render it weak and inconclusive, leaving a residue of doubt. Accordingly, the details of this discussion have been arranged to constitute an 'apology' for the omission, or exclusion, of 'relevant' comparative data from semantic analysis, where, if the tradition of Semitic languages study were to be followed, an extensive comparative search would have been expected. If comparative semantics is to exist, it is the contention of this excursus that it must take a similar form to that of comparative phonology, which studies the analogy of phonological systems, not individual word-sounds. So, semantics must compare entire vocabularies, or semantic fields, not individual words in isolation from their proper context.[2]

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1. Payne Smith, op.cit., pp.421,431.

2. Cf. supra, Part II, p.60.

3. Some Implications of a Comparative Study of Three Legal Texts, Exodus 23:20-33, Exodus 34:10-17, and Deuteronomy 7:1-26.

These three passages in the legislative material of the Pentateuch present three expositions of one commandment, which might be called "the exclusiveness clause of the covenant of YHWH with Israel." The purpose of this commandment was to preserve the purity of the worship of YHWH, and to keep it free from the influence of syncretistic forces. It is given its most emphatic statement in Deuteronomy 7, where the complete annihilation of the inhabitants of Canaan, together with their cult, is expressed in terms of an "Anathema," חרם. In the context of the complete structure of the Pentateuch, this command was issued at the first declaration of the law at Sinai, then after the sin of Israel with the golden calf it was reiterated, and, in the Mosaic address prior to the entry of the tribes into Canaan, it was given a third reading. Although the details of expression vary, these passages are closely parallel, and sustain a synoptic analysis. It should be noted that, in these texts, the covenantal analogy is explicit: in all three, the covenant of YHWH (third dimension) is opposed to covenants with the inhabitants of the land (first dimension), and, at Exodus 23:32, it is also opposed to covenants of false religion (fourth dimension).

Two characteristic arrangements of legislative declaration can be observed:

(i) the ethical conjunction, where a proposition of truth or historical fact is introduced as the basis for a commandment;

(ii) the pragmatic conjunction, where the consequences of an

action, intrinsic or extrinsic, are stated as a reason for compliance with the commandment.

Both of these forms of legal argumentation are recognisable in the material, for example, at Deuteronomy 7:

the ethical conjunction:

> "For you are a people holy to the LORD your God; ... You shall therefore be careful to do the commandment, and the statutes, and the ordinances, which I command you this day."[1]

the pragmatic conjunction:

> "You shall make no covenant with them .... For they would turn away your sons from following me, to serve other gods; ...."[2]

The same features are found in the Exodus sections. Thus, the surface structure of Deuteronomy 7:1-26, comparing the other texts, is as follows:

(1) Positive and negative formulation of the commandment to remove the inhabitants and their gods, (vv.1-5; cf. Ex 23:20-24; 34:10-13);

(2) the theological basis (ethical conjunction), (vv.6-10; cf. Ex 23:25a; 34:14);

(3) resultant blessing declared, (vv.12-15; cf. Ex 23:25b-26);

(4) divine assistance promised, (vv.17-24; Ex 23:27-31);

(5) the commandment reiterated, (vv.25-26, and also, vv.11, 16; cf. Ex 23:32; 34:15-17); this last part contains a warning of the results of failure to eradicate the alien cult.

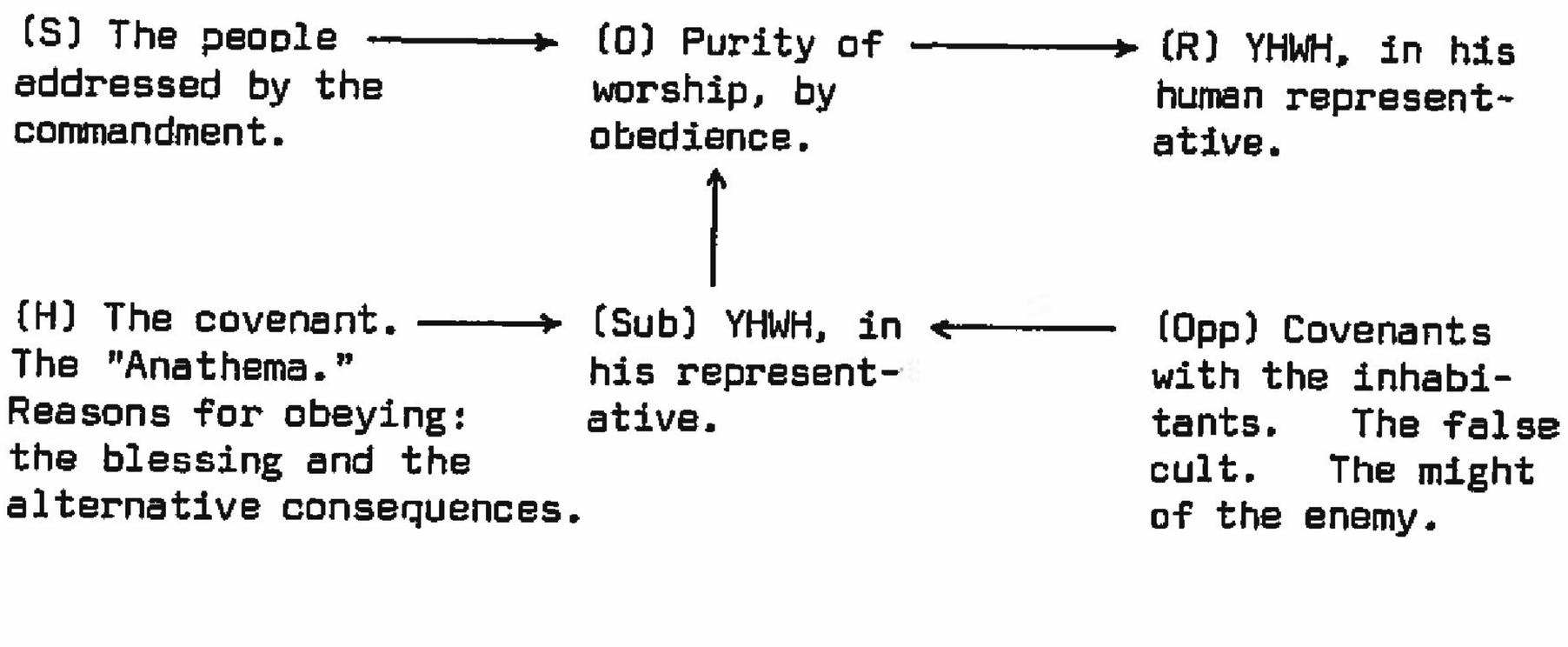
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1. Deu 7:6,11 (RSV).

2. Deu 7:2,4 (RSV).

The language of legislation has an affinity with that of narrative prose, much more than with poetic utterance, but, even so, the transition from narrative to legal exposition introduces the need for radical methodological adjustment. Traditionally, linguists have manifested a priority of interest in the third person indicative form of utterance, and consequently, other forms of speech have suffered neglect.[1] This neglect becomes evident in a study of commandment, which involves the second person, as there is no developed system of analysis.[2] Accordingly, the execution of structural analysis, in particular, actantial analysis, requires a significant re-distribution of the component elements, as compared with narrative analysis.

One actantial structure can be isolated according to the following pattern:



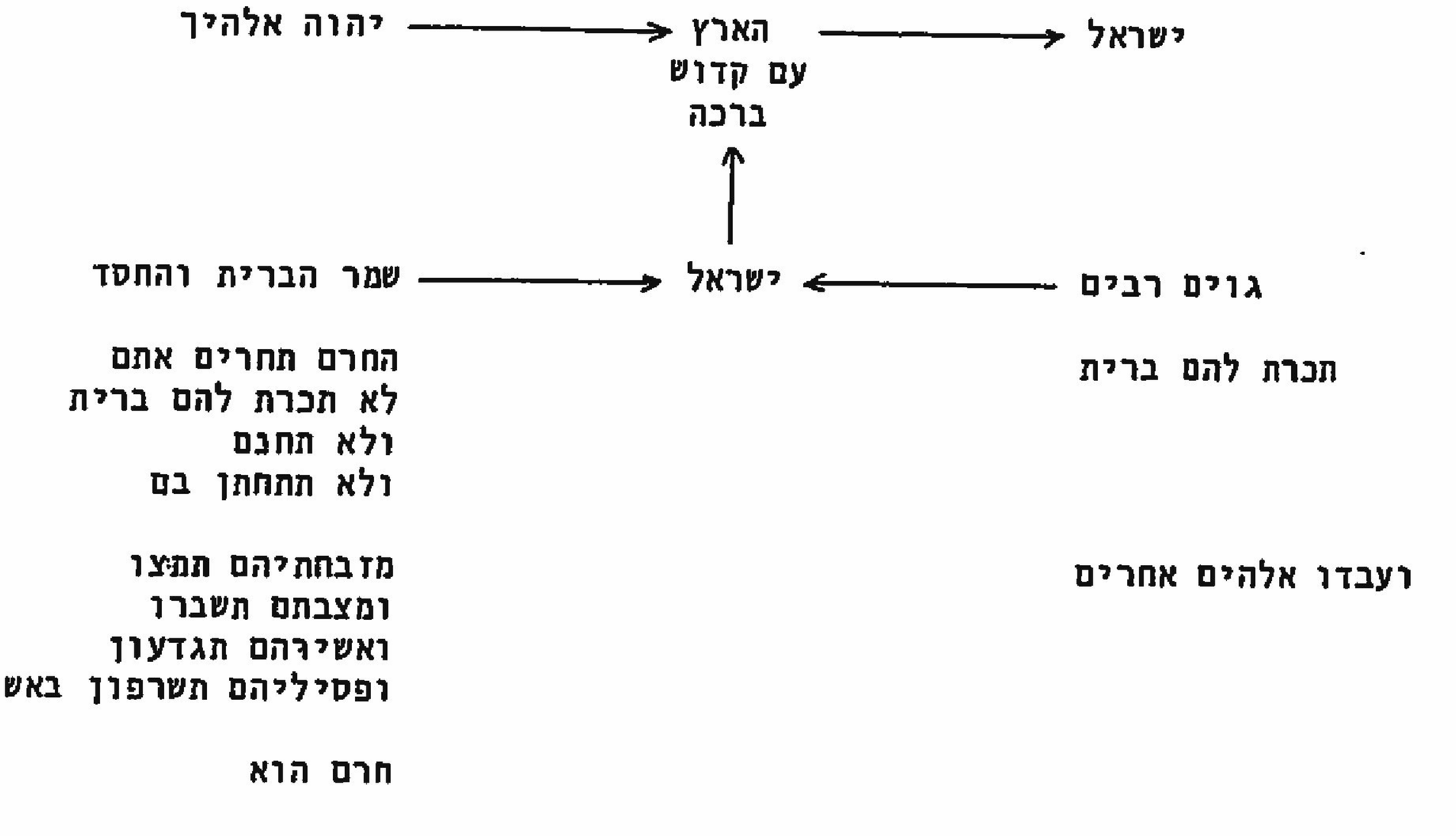
This basic structure reflects a corresponding narrative structure, which is capable of reconstruction, both in actantial, and in functional terms. This can be demonstrated.

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1. Cf. supra, p.88.

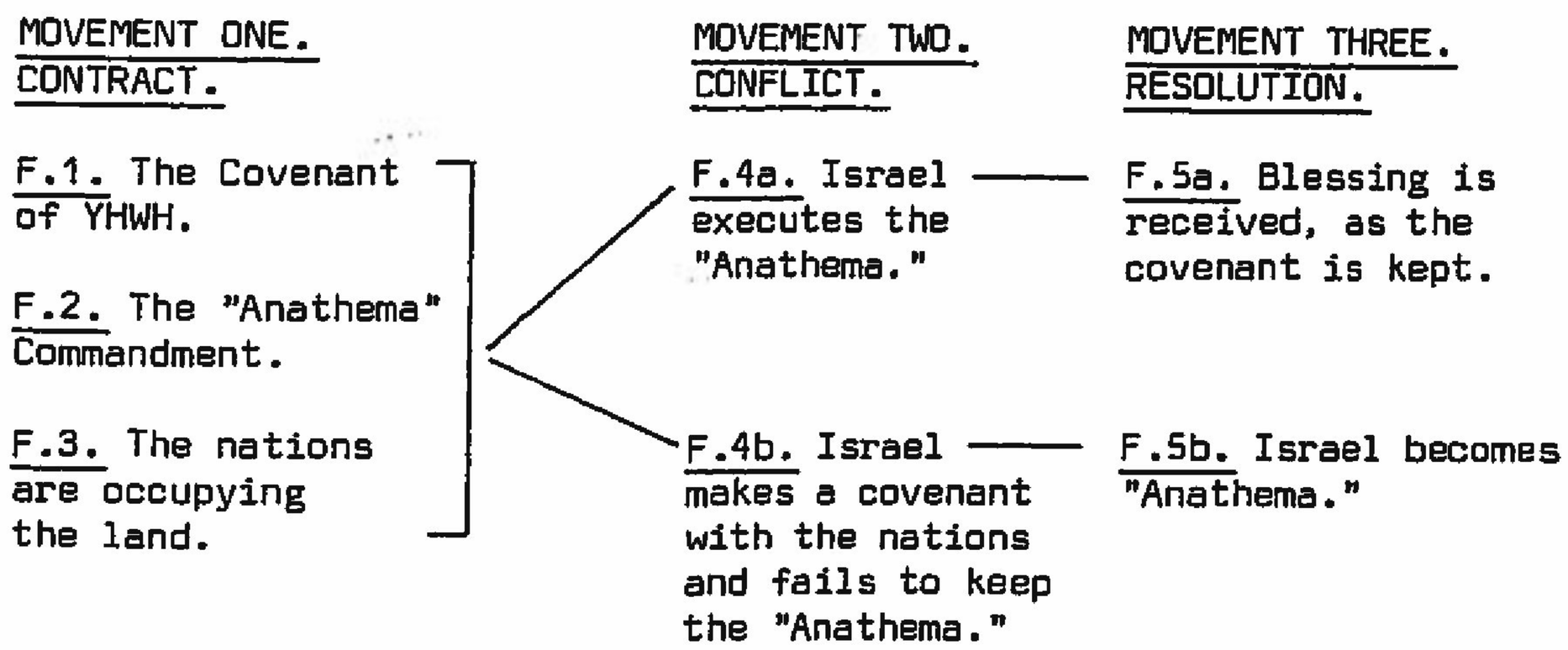
2. Cf. supra, pp.113ff., the hypothesis of compositional grammar marks a new departure in linguistic science.

Reconstructed (Narrative) Actantial Model.



Complementary Reconstructed (Narrative) Functional Model.

This must be represented in the hypothetical disjunction of two functional series:



A glance at the many commentaries that have been written on Deuteronomy, or on the relevant Exodus passages, will indicate the lengths of discussion that could be entered into in connection with this commandment, but, for the immediate purposes of the argument of this dissertation, only two points will be mentioned, and these form a 'preface' to the anticipated study of the Deuteronomistic History, in certain respects. Thus, for example, reflection on the use of עבד to signify the 'covenantal adherence' to a deity, or on the semantic differentiation between עבד and השתחוה, is not included in the discussion, despite being of potential relevance to the application of the covenantal analogy in linguistic terms.[1]

In the first place, it is a matter of importance that ברית (כרת) is found in the roles of (H) and (Opp), an observation that constitutes a development upon the evidence of Genesis. Here is revealed a function for כרת ברית very much like that of ריב, noted above.[2] Psalm 83 utilises the syntagm in this manner, in its description of the enemies of Israel in terms of covenanted opposition, in these words:

[4] על עמך יערימו סוד וית׳עצו על צפוניך :

[6] כי נועצו לב יחדו עליך ברית יכרתו :

[9] גם אשור נלוה עמם היו זרוע לבני לוט סלה :

Using certain relatively infrequently occurring terms, the psalmist elaborates upon his covenantal identification of the hostile nations. Of recurring interest is the term סוד.[3] The syntagm נלוה עם/על/אל

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1. Cf. supra, p.216.

2. Cf. supra, p.292.

3. Cf. supra, pp.156ff.

has already been registered for the ברית-field.[1] Eleven occurrences of the verb indicate a predominant usage signifying the ingression of gentile proselytes into the Israelite covenantal institution and populace, and the other uses are not very far removed from this one.[2] The use of this rather uncommon syntagm in the role (Opp) appears to confirm the potential duality of sense for a considerable portion of the ברית-field.

The second point to be made concerns the verb החרים and its cognate noun חרם. Translations vary for this group of words, which has attracted a significant amount of scholarly attention.[3] The Septuagint translators selected a group of words that would convey the idea of a drastic annihilation, and in particular, the word ἀνάθεμα may be noted, from which the current transliteration has been drawn, "Anathema."[4] Although it might seem difficult to secure a precise English translation, the consensus of opinion tends towards the notion of a 'curse of separation to destruction (probably in consecration to a deity) without any hope of redemption from that appointed end.' What is most important for the present study is

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1. Cf. supra, p.126 (syntagm 13), cf. Jer 50:5.

2. 7X of this ingression: Is 14:1; 56:3,6; Zech 2:15; Esth 9:27; Dan 11:34 (and Jer 50:5). For a similar sense, cf. Gen 29:34, and cf. the syntagm אשת הברית.

3. חרם BDB, pp.355f. ("to ban, devote, exterminate," cf. esp. Syr ܚܪܡ = "to anathematise, excommunicate.") Von Rad, Old Testament Theology, I, 17. G.von Rad, Der Heilige Krieg im Alten Israel, (Zürich, 1951), pp.25ff. R.de Vaux, Ancient Israel. Its Life and Institutions, (London, Darton, Longman and Todd, 1973), p.260. Pedersen, Israel. Its Life and Culture, III-IV, 29-31, 331f. Girdlestone, op.cit., pp. 278-281.

4. Arndt and Gingrich, op.cit., p.53., cf. also, ἀναθεματίζειν, ἀνατίθεναι ("to ascribe"), ἀπολλύειν ("to destroy, ruin") cf.Apollyon,

the connection between חרם (החרים) and ברית (כרת). חרם is seen to occupy the same functional role as ברית, yet it stands in opposition to it in the disjunction of series. Similarly, it takes the same actantial position as ברית, yet also stands as its opposite. This relationship, essentially of opposition, depends upon the duality of sense achieved by ברית. In addition to this opposition, the identification of roles is elucidated by the association of חרם with נדר, at Numbers 21:2-3, which suggests that a contrastive link also pertains to this small group of words.[1] Nevertheless, the oppositional structure dominates the field, a fact that is observable in the Deuteronomistic History, at relevant places. However, it may be remarked that, as כרת ברית was found to occupy the same place as הכה (smite) in the directional square of opposition, so חרם does.[2] It is no accident that the same connection is confirmed by the last words of the collection of canonical prophetic writings:

פן אבוא והכיתי את הארץ חרם :[3]

Such serves to indicate how fundamental are these apparently hidden structures to the operation of Biblical Hebrew utterance, based upon Biblical Hebrew langue.

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1. Cf. supra, p.200.
2. Cf. supra, pp.289f.
3. Mal 3:24 (AV 4:6).

4. An Examination of Seven Narrative Sections of the Deuteronomistic History, with Three Parallel Texts from the Chronicles, which Contain Records of Covenants of the Leaders of Israel, Involving the Use of ברית in the First Dimension.*

(a) Joshua 9:1-27. The Covenant of Joshua and the Leaders of Israel with the Hivite Inhabitants of Gibeon.

Joshua 9:1-27 contains an account of the way in which the Hivite (Hurrian ?) inhabitants of Gibeon and its associated cities, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kiriath-jearim, obtained a covenant with Israel by means of a clever deception.[1] When their trickery was exposed, they became the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation of Israel. Questions of the literary history of the chapter, the historicity of the record, and the type of covenant involved, have been scholarship's main concern. Earlier devaluation of the text, on the basis of Wellhausenian criticism, has, more recently, been reversed by the majority of commentators. They consider that, from the literary point of view, the chapter stands alone, and is not derived from the sources of tradition ascribed to the Pentateuch.[2] Furthermore, they tend to

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* The compositional sections are: Jos 9:1-27; I Sam 11:1-11; I Sam 13:1-II Sam 5:3, (cf. I Chron 11:1-3); I Ki 5:15-26(AV:1-12); I Ki 15:9-24, (cf. II Chron 16:1-14); I Ki 20:1-43; II Ki 11:1-20, (II Chron 22:10-23:21).

1. 'Hivites' (Jos 9:7), LXX = Χορραῖον. Gibeon would seem to have been the chief member of a four-city league. The non-Semitic Hurrians were probably the ruling caste. Cf. Gray, Joshua, Judges and Ruth, pp.83f.

2. Jacob Liver, "The Literary History of Joshua IX," JSS, VIII (1963), 229. Jehoshua M.Grintz, "The Treaty of Joshua with the Gibeonites," JAOS, LXXXVI (1966), 113f.

regard the account as an historically authentic tradition of a protégé covenant, which is confirmed by the later position of the Gibeonites in Israel.[1] However, as in previous cases, so now, the structuralist perspective is different, and exercises a concern with different questions. Joshua 9:1-27 is to be understood within a hierarchy of compositional structure, governed by the theme of the book of Joshua - which concerns the conquest of the land of promise by the prosecution of an "anathema" against the inhabitants, during the period of Joshua's leadership, and the apportionment of the land, culminating in the renewal of the covenant of YHWH at Shechem - which determines the telic aspect of the component composition in question.[2] This general theme is evident in many places, as, for instance, in the large proportion of the literature dedicated to the registration of the inheritances of the tribes, or in the interpretative summary of the events of conquest (fourth mode of narration), at Joshua 11:18-20:

> "Joshua made war a long time with all those kings. There was not a city that made peace with the people of Israel, except the Hivites, the inhabitants of Gibeon; they took all in battle. For it was the LORD's doing to harden their hearts that they should come against Israel in battle, in order that they should be utterly destroyed, and should receive no mercy, but be exterminated, as the LORD commanded Moses."[3]

Within the narrower context, Joshua 9 is integrated with Joshua 10. The functional organisation of these two chapters can be stated in an outline form, in respect of which, the repetitional structure of

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1. Grintz, op.cit., 125.

2. For a discussion of the theme of Joshua in relation to the book of Deuteronomy, cf. Gray, Joshua, Judges and Ruth, pp.16ff. et.al.

3. Jos 11:18-20 (RSV); N.B. למען החרימם of v.20. Chapters 13-22 deal with the apportionment and administration of the conquered land.

Joshua 10:28-39 is of determinative significance:

Movement One.	Movement Two.	Movement Three.
(1) The Anathema. (2) The Gibeonite Covenant. (3) The attack upon the Gibeonites. (4) The appeal to Israel for help.	Israel fights against the five kings of the Amorites. Israel takes repeated action against Makkedah, (Jarmuth,) Libnah, Lachish, (Gezer,) Eglon, Hebron, and Debir.	Israel smites them and destroys them. The Gibeonites are delivered. The Amorite cities are made an anathema.

The account of the Gibeonite covenant (chapter 9) must be understood in this framework, where it functions as a catalyst for the super-ordinate composition. May affirmed the importance of this link, in what might be something of an overstatement:

> "The story of the Gibeonites is told for two primary purposes, to provide motivation for the coalition of the kings and to explain the later position of the Gibeonites as temple servants at Jerusalem."[1]

Certainly, from the structural point of view, the former connection is essential. It is made vital on two counts. First, there is a noteworthy repetition of the fact of the Gibeonite covenant, at several points in the narrative, for example, comparing Joshua 9:15 with Joshua 10:1.[2] Secondly, structural analysis of the subordinate composition, in isolation from its proper setting, is made virtually impossible. The incomplete character of the structure of chapter 9

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1. H.G.May, "Joshua," Peake's Commentary on the Bible, ed. M. Black, (London, Thomas Nelson, 1967), p.296.

2. For the full extent of the repetition, cf. Jos 9:6,7,11,15, 16,(18,) (19,) (20); 10:1,4.

demonstrates the importance of the holistic approach. However, it needs to be restated here, that this emphasis is not being employed as an argument against source criticism as such. Indeed, in the text in question, there is an explicit acknowledgement of one source document, that of the 'book of Jashar.'[1] Within the first movement of the functional progression of Joshua 9:1-10:43, two subordinate functional arrangements are seen to operate:

(a) The Covenant Structure:

(1)	(2)	(3)
The anathema of Israel against the inhabitants.	The deception of the Gibeonites.	The covenant is made with an oath.
The preparation of the inhabitants for battle.		

(b) The Anathema Structure:

(1)	(2)	(3)
The anathema.	The journey to Gibeon, and the confrontation.	The resolution of the problem, by means of a curse and perpetual servitude.
The covenant.		
The discovery of the deception.	The internal struggle to deal with the conflict of anathema and covenant.	

From these two outlines, it should be evident that the former also constitutes a part of the latter. As a result of the combination of

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1. Jos 10:13. Cf. II Sam 1:18. This work was possibly a 'national epic' comparable with 'the Book of the Wars of the LORD,' Nu 21:14-15. Cf. also, Gray, Joshua, Judges and Ruth, p.91.

these two formulations, chapter 9 is seen to be open-ended; it constitutes a cause of dissatisfaction that the Hivites escape the annihilation of the inhabitants of Canaan. It is only in chapter 10 that the narrator utilises the Gibeonite covenant to show how it contributed to the implementation of the anathema upon the Amorites. Indeed, there is a suspicion, in the language of narration, of an antithesis between the Amorites, (the arch-fiends,) and the Hivites, who are regarded in a more favourable light.

The substance of this complex structural synthesis can be drawn from the Hebrew text:

COMPOSITION: JOSHUA 9:1-10:43 (NARRATIVE), WITH PARTICULAR ANALYSIS OF THE SUBORDINATE COMPOSITIONAL STRUCTURES OF JOSHUA 9:1-27.

FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS.

MOVEMENT ONE: CONTRACT.

This movement contains the subordinate structures, which constitute part of the contractual structure. The precise relationships of the various functions can be represented in the following manner:

(1) The Anathema. ——→ Anathema.
↓
(The Anathema.)

(2) The preparation for battle by the inhabitants. | The deception of the men of Gibeon. | The covenant is made with an oath. ——→ Covenant and oath.

(3) (Covenant and oath.) | Confrontation at Gibeon.
↓
The deception is discovered. | Internal conflict.
↓
The covenant is known.

(4) Attack upon Gibeon. ——→ Attack.
↓
(4') The Gibeonites appeal to Israel for help. ——→ Israel.

The final elements of this complex process create the essence of the contract of the narrative, and the Hebrew substance can be registered in relation to those elements.

(1) The Anathema.

Israel is commanded to exterminate all the inhabitants of the land.
צוה יהוה אלהיך ... להשמיד את כל ישבי הארץ מפניכם (9:24).
Allusion here is to the Anathema:
... החרים את כל ישבי (Jos 8:26, etc.). The allusion is made explicit in the third movement. This is the implication of the words of Adoni-zedek, also: ויחרימה ... לכד (10:1f.).

(2) The Covenant and the Oath.

Joshua makes a covenant with the Gibeonites, and the leaders of Israel swear an oath.

(9) 14 ויקחו האנשים מצידם ואת פי יהוה לא שאלו : 15 ויעש להם
יהושע שלום ויכרת להם ברית לחיותם וישבעו להם נשיאי העדה :
(9:14f. Cf. 9:6,7,11,16, (18,19,20); 10:1,4.)

(3) The Curse and the Servitude.

In order to reconcile the covenant to the anathema, a curse is placed upon the Gibeonites, and they are made servants of Israel.

ועתה ארורים אתם ולא יכרת מכם עבד ... (9:23).

(4) The Attack against Gibeon.

Adoni-zedek, King of Jerusalem, forms a coalition of Amorite kings, and makes war with Gibeon.

3 וישלח אדני צדק מלך ירושלם ... לאמר :
4 עלו אלי ועזרני ... :
5 ויחנו על גבעון וילחמו עליה : (10:3-5)

(4') The Appeal to Israel for Help.

The Gibeonites counter the coalition, by making an appeal to the Israelites for immediate assistance.

6 וישלחו אנשי גבעון ... לאמר ...
עלה אלינו מהרה והושיעה לנו ועזרנו ....:
(10:6)

MOVEMENT TWO: CONFLICT.

Joshua and Israel fight against the Amorite kings.

Then they attack the cities who have opposed them, and who are under the anathema.

ויעל יהושע מן הגלגל הוא וכל עם המלחמה עמו
וכל גבורי החיל : (10:7)

ואת מקדה לכד יהושע (10:28)

ויעבר יהושע וכל ישראל עמו ממקדה לבנה (10:29)
וילחם עם לבנה :

ויעבר יהושע וכל ישראל עמו מלבנה לכישה (10:31)
ויחן עליה וילחם בה :

אז עלה הרם מלך גזר לעזר את לכיש (10:33)

ויעבר יהושע וכל ישראל עמו מלכיש עגלנה (10:34)
ויחנו עליה וילחמו עליה :

ויעל יהושע וכל ישראל עמו מעגלונה חברונה
(10:36) וילחמו עליה :

ויש֫ב יהושע וכל ישראל עמו דברה
(10:38) וילחם עליה :

MOVEMENT THREE: RESOLUTION.

The resolution of the conflict consists in the defeat of the hostile Amorite coalition, the death of the five kings, and the execution of the anathema upon many Canaanite cities. By implication, the covenantal duties towards the Gibeonites are fulfilled by their deliverance from the common foe.

ויכם מכה גדולה ... ויכם עד עזקה ועד מקדה ...
(10:10)

ויהוה השליך עליהם אבנים גדלות מן השמים
עד עזקה וימתו רבים אשר מתו ... מאשר
(10:11) הרגו בני ישראל בחרב :

(10:26) ויכם יהושע אחרי כן וימיתם

(ואת מקדה לכד יהושע ביום ההוא) ויכה לפי חרב
ואת מלכה החרם אותם ואת כל הנפש אשר בה לא
השאיר שריד ויעש למלך מקדה כאשר עשה למלך יריחו :
(10:28)

ויתן יהוה גם (*לבנה) ביד ישראל ואת מלכה
ויכה לפי חרב ואת כל הנפש אשר בה
לא השאיר בה שריד
(10:30) ויעש למלכה כאשר עשה למלך יריחו :

ויתן יהוה את לכיש ביד ישראל וילכדה ביום השני
ויכה לפי חרב ואת כל הנפש אשר בה
(10:32) ככל אשר עשה ללבנה :

(מלך גזר) ויכהו יהושע ואת עמו
(10:33) עד בלתי השאיר לו שריד :

(עגלון) וילכדה ביום ההוא ויכוה לפי חרב ואת כל
הנפש אשר בה ביום ההוא החרים
(10:35) ככל אשר עשה ללכיש :

(חברון) וילכדוה ויכוה לפי חרב ואת מלכה ואת כל
עריה ואת כל הנפש אשר בה
לא השאיר שריד
ככל אשר עשה לעגלון
(10:37) ויחרם אותה ואת כל הנפש אשר בה :

(דברה) וילכדה ואת מלכה ואת כל עריה
ויכום לפי חרב
ויחרימו את כל נפש אשר בה
לא השאיר שריד
כאשר עשה לחברון כן עשה לדברה ולמלכה ... :
(10:39)

ויכה יהושע את כל הארץ ... לא השאיר שריד
ואת כל הנשמה החרים כאשר צוה יהוה אלהי ישראל :
(10:40f.)

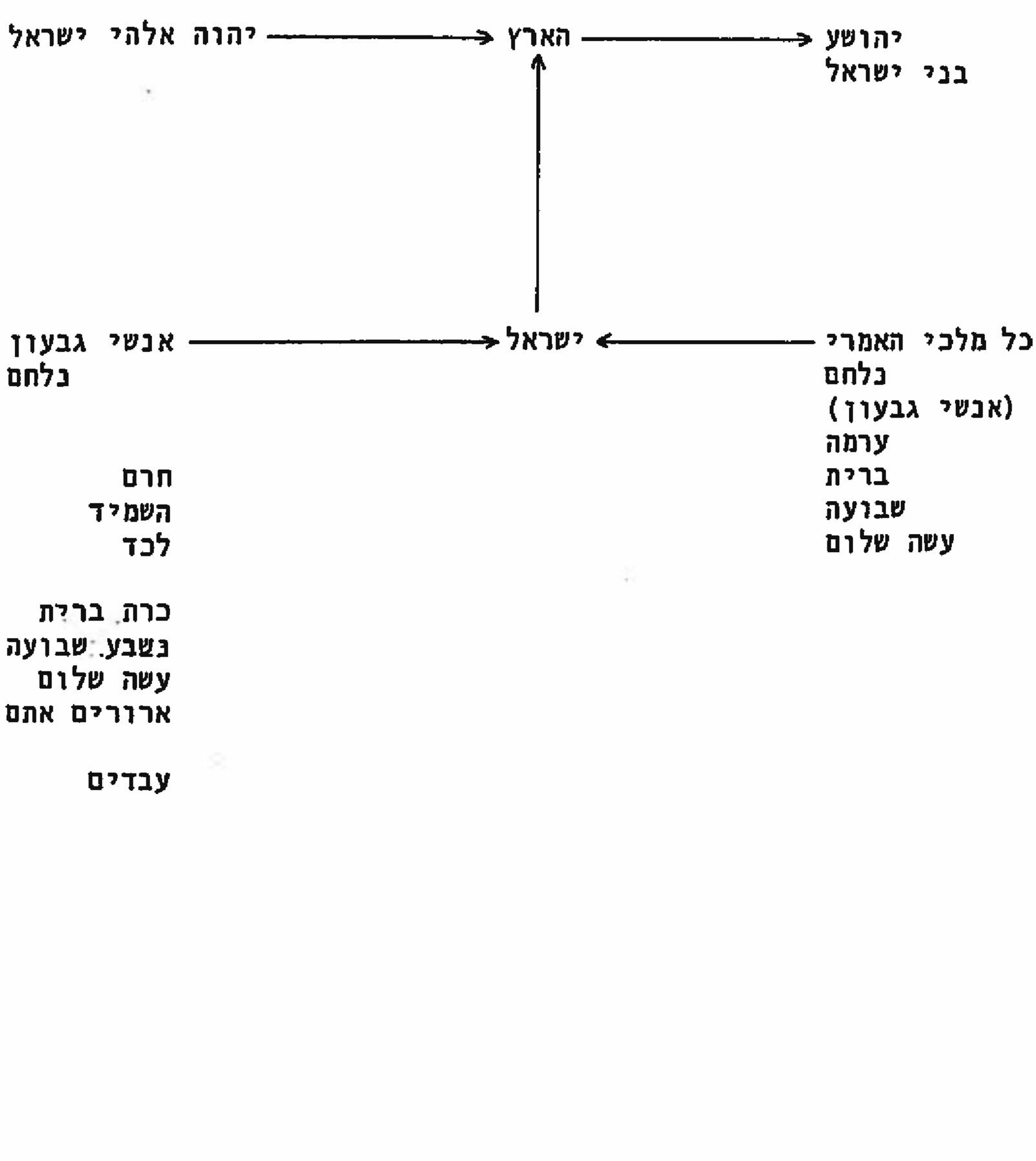
ויכם יהושע ... :

(10:13)

עד יקם גוי איביו

COMPOSITION: JOSHUA 9:1-10:43 (NARRATIVE).

ACTANTIAL ANALYSIS.



Commentary on the Structural Analysis of Joshua 9:1-10:43.

There is a remarkable degree of consistency between the structuration of this composition and those of the patriarchal narratives of Genesis, and this seems to carry with it the same linguistic patterns, but with certain additions. The most significant structuring feature of these two chapters is the characteristic use of repetition. This occurs in the high-density repetition of words and phrases, and in the recurring structure of events. As was observed by Greenberg, with regard to the repeated plague sequence of the passover episode in Exodus, the narrator was flexible in his use of this device.[1] This flexibility, known as "replacement technique" to some writers, is observable in this case too.[2] This should not be allowed to obscure the implication of regularity, which serves to emphasise the dominant role of certain items, and indeed, gives some indication of semantic connections.

In the first place, it may be commented that the relationships previously expounded for כרת ברית, (שבועה) נשבע, נלחם, and so on, are again well attested here. The functional use of *חרם, החרים, which dominates the telic aspect of the whole narrative, confirms the pattern discovered from the exclusiveness clause of the pentateuchal legislation of the covenant of YHWH with Israel. The dominance of the Anathema

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1. Greenberg, "The Redaction of the Plague Narrative in Exodus," 244f. Greenberg, Understanding Exodus, pp.171f.

2. Licht, op.cit., p.54.

theme, and the importance of the corresponding lexical items, חרם and החרים, are exposed by the siting of this composition in its literary context, but also, by the repetition of the second and third movements; in eight sequences, the verb החרים occurs five times, but in the light of the operation of the replacement technique, it can be shown that its sense is encapsulated in each non-occurrence of the word. The connection between כרת ברית and הכה is also utilised. Further, it is tempting to believe that there is an allusion to the covenant meal in the Israelites' receiving of the Gibeonites' provisions. As McCarthy wrote, "All this is indeed material standard in the covenant context."[1] However, a few linguistic points require consideration.

Secondly, therefore, it will be noticed that the statement, "We are thy servants" (עבדיך אנחנו), is reiterated on four occasions, though not all in precisely the same form: twice, in close proximity to the Gibeonites' request for a covenant from Joshua and the leaders of Israel (Jos 9:8,11); once, in a different form, as part of the curse (Jos 9:23); once, in the appeal to Israel for assistance (Jos 10:6). These occurrences of the word עבד present an interesting, if perplexing, semantic problem. With respect to the first two occurrences, the likelihood of a covenantal connotation is opposed by the interpretation proposed in the commentary of Keil and Delitzsch:

> "In reply to this the Gibeonites simply said, "We are thy servants" (ver.8), i.e. we are at thy service, which, according to the obsequious language common in the

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1. McCarthy, Old Testament Covenant. A Survey of Current Opinions, p.43. F.C.Fensham, "The Treaty between Israel and the Gibeonites," BA, XXVII (1964), 96-100 argues the same position.

East, was nothing more than a phrase intended to secure the favour of Joshua, and by no means implied a readiness on their part to submit to the Israelites and pay them tribute, as Rosenmüller, Knobel, and others suppose; for, as Grotius correctly observes, what they wished for was

> 'a friendly alliance, by which both their territory and also full liberty would be secured to themselves."[1]

A covenantal connotation is often present for the term נגע, but the argument here is made to revolve around the type of covenant that was intended. Thus, although the Gibeonites wanted to preserve their lives, a situation of parity is assumed, and their inferior status is challenged. However, the case for their lower standing is arguable from several premises. It may be commented, in passing, that the 'linguistic' argument from the use of the preposition ל, in the syntagm כרת ברית ל, which constitutes a ground of appeal for a number of scholars, is excluded from this argument, for the reasons given in prior discussion, which showed this to impart a directional component of meaning.[2] Nevertheless, positively, in the first place, the narrator makes it clear that the Gibeonites were motivated by fear in their quest for a treaty safeguarding their lives. They are the lesser party. Secondly, the use of the curse formula, ועתה ארורים אתם, probably implies a subordination of the Gibeonites. Such was the interpretation of Scharbert, on the matter:

> "But the relevant passages in the OT show that the person who was smitten by a curse was in a subordinate relationship to the one who had uttered the curse ...."[3]

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1. C.F.Keil and F.Delitzsch, Commentary on the Old Testament in Ten Volumes; Joshua, Judges, Ruth, I & II Samuel, II, tr. J.Martin, (Michigan, Eerdmans, (1976)), 97.

2. Cf. supra, pp.180ff.

3. TDOT, I, 408f.

Without a doubt, Joshua's curse lowered yet further the status of the Gibeonites, so that a semantic distinction is necessitated between עבד of Joshua 9:23 and עבדים of Joshua 9:8,11, which is usually given expression in terms of the slave-servant distinction.[1] This does not resolve the problem of the precise sense of עבדים in the phrase being studied. It is a semantic question, and it is not answered by referential analysis. Grintz draws an appropriate comparison:

> "The Gibeonites' object was a treaty. However, the form of address they employed was in the style of 'We are thy servants' such as was used by the elders of Azzi in speaking to Mursilis or by Ahaz in appealing to the king of Assyria."[2]

The latter reference is peculiarly relevant to the fourth occurrence of the term עבד, at Joshua 10:6, which reads:

וישלחו אנשי גבעון אל יהושע אל המחנה הגלגלה
לאמר אל תרף ידיך מעבדיך עלה אילנו מהרה
והושיעה לנו ... :

II Kings 16:5-18 relates how Ahaz, King of Judah, when under siege in Jerusalem by the kings of Syria and Israel, sent to the king of Assyria, Tiglath-pileser, using the words:

עבדך ובנך אני עלה והושעני ... :

Interesting is the fact that, in this parallel, which comes from within the Deuteronomistic History, the phraseological similarity extends to the request, "Come up and save me." The Chronicler's

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1. Ibid. Scharbert takes their status in the first instant to be that of vassals. Cf. the translation of the RSV: slaves - servants; AV; bondmen - servants.

2. Grintz, op.cit., 122.

account of the reign of Ahaz suggests that he adopted the same course of action when troubled by the Edomites.[1] Whether or not this was the same occasion is debatable.[2] There might appear to be a reasonable degree of probability for a covenantal interchange between Tiglath-pileser and Ahaz - Ahaz sent him a present, which looks very much like tribute - but historical conjecture is an unsure foundation for any semantic edifice. Whatever be the case for II Kings 16, the comparison is directed to the third usage of עבד, at Joshua 10:6, at which point, the Gibeonites are already in a covenant. Hence, their appeal for assistance on the basis of their servanthood must surely reflect their covenanted status, which was, after all, their preoccupation, (rather than their cursed role as slaves). However, the evidence for the exact sense of the first usage of עבד (Jos 9:8,11), prior to the granting of a covenant, remains equivocal. The decision of the Septuagint translators, with regard to עבד in this passage, is worthy of being recorded. They made a threefold differentiation of sense: for the initial assertion, "We are thy servants," which accompanied the request for a covenant, they chose the term οἰκέτης (οἰκέται σοὺ ἐσμέν), which often translates עבד, and has the sense of "a house-servant, (who stands in a closer relationship to the family of the house than the slaves)"; for the second usage, δοῦλος is employed; finally, for the third usage, they chose the term παῖς, which has the dual sense of "child," "servant," and which translates עבד on

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1. II Chron 28:16-18, 20-22.

2. Curtis and Madsen, op.cit., pp.459ff.

countless occasions, but which also translates נער (which frequently signifies a young man who serves his elder, an attendant or minister). The Septuagint translators were aware of the need to recognise the distinctions of sense which operate with the term נער. Unfortunately, they seem not to have achieved a consistency about the matter. Thus, at II Kings 16:7, which has been compared above, they introduce the term δοῦλος (Δοῦλός σου καὶ υἱός σου ἐγώ), where παῖς is found in Joshua, yet, at II Kings 10:5, in a similar phrase, παῖς again occurs. In fact, the evidence from all sides fails to resolve the ambiguity of the term נער, as used in the passage in question. In the last text mentioned, where the sons of Ahab are to be killed by Jehu, the leaders of Samaria send to Jehu with words that resemble the words of the Gibeonites when they sought a covenant: עבדיך אנחנו.[1] However, there is still no suggestion of a covenant. Thus, Hebrew usage, Greek translation, historical circumstance, neither prove, nor disprove, the existence of a covenantal connotation for עבד in Joshua 9:8,11 and 10:6. Two problems, perhaps, sometimes cloud the discussion. The first is the desire to find 'treaty terminology' everywhere. The second is a misconception regarding the level of linguistic sophistication of the Hebrew narrator. The Deuteronomistic History, in particular, reveals that those responsible for its production were capable of impressive perception into the qualities of their native tongue. At times, they indulged in the most sophisticated manipulation of terms; for example, the play on words, which is to be discerned in the case in point, cannot be dismissed

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1. II Ki 10:5 (cf.vv.1ff.). Cf. Montgomery and Gehman, op. cit., pp.407ff.

without due consideration:

(9:11) עבדיכם אנחנו ועתה כרתו לנו ברית

(9:23) ועתה ארורים אתם ולא יכרת מכם עבד

The writer's word-consciousness is made evident by certain features already mentioned, such as repetition, which enhances the possibility of a deliberate linguistic intention here. Whatever be the case, the specific question, in this instance, remains without a definitive answer, and must be left open until better evidence is made available.

Thirdly, a comment is in order on the use of the verb ארר in the phrase, ועתה ארורים אתם. It appears that this represents a stereotyped formula:

> "Among the various uses of the Heb. root 'rr, the 'arur-formula, formed with the qal passive participle, occupies a very special position."[1]

Although there is a need to beware of hasty assumptions about this form of speech, there can be little doubt that it was a well established pattern in ancient Hebrew.[2] In the compositional structure now being considered, the ארור-formula functions in the same role as חרם. With regard to ברית, it stands primarily as an opposite, but the shifting placement of this term creates another dual relationship, where a secondary functional equivalence must be held in tension with this opposition. An examination of usage in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History, suggests an antithesis between the ארור-formula and the similar ברוך-formula, which finds

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1. TDOT, I, 408.

2. For its antiquity, cf. Donner and Röllig, op.cit., inscription number 191/B/2. Scharbert makes a number of assumptions in his article in TDOT, to which, reference is being made; cf. TDOT, I, 405-418.

its most emphatic expression at Deuteronomy 27-28, where the curses and blessings of the Law of Israel are itemised, as they are to be proclaimed by the Levites from the mountain-tops of Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal.[1] Just prior to the account of the Gibeonite covenant, at Joshua 6:26 there is an instance of the warning of the visitation of the curse on any man who transgresses the חרם. These comments indicate that the ארור-formula holds its most specific relationship of opposition in the ברית-field with the ברוך-formula, as recorded for Genesis 14 above, but this is one claim of many upon the sense of the term.

Finally, in conclusion of this brief study of Joshua 9:1-10:43, the range of the semantic field of ברית is significantly extended by the evidence of the Deuteronomistic historian's usage, where כרת ברית, עשה שלום, and השלים, are functionally equivalent.[2] The hint of this, which was gained from the evidence of the Septuagint, in its application of the verbal phrase διατιθέναι διαθήκην; is hereby substantiated in structural terms.[3] It may be that this particular augmentation has certain 'idiolectal' implications for Biblical Hebrew langue.

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1. Deu 27:11-26; 28:1-14,15ff.

2. Cf. Jos 9:15; 10:1. This reinforces the importance of repetition and replacement for the identification of structural synonymy.

3. Cf. supra, p.54, and II Sam 10:19.

(b) I Samuel 11:1-15. An Account of the Renewal of the Kingship of Saul after his Victory over the Ammonites, and the Proposed Covenant of Nahash, the Ammonite, with the men of Jabesh-gilead, which was not Made.

When Nahash, the Ammonite, besieged Jabesh-gilead, the men and elders of that city asked for a covenant, but the conditions offered were most severe, they were all to suffer the loss of their right eyes. The narrator employs these events to demonstrate how they contributed to the development of Saul's kingship; by his deliverance of the inhabitants of Jabesh, he gained the confidence of the Israelites, who, led by Samuel, reaffirm his leadership. Nahash's covenant, therefore, is never concluded. As a result, in structural terms, the covenant has a secondary role.

The telic aspect of narration is the vindication of Saul's appointment as the king of Israel. In discerning the structures that are orientated to this axis, it is most important that the chapter be viewed in its context; the initial attitude of the Israelites towards Saul, for example - they despised him - is supplied by the preceding chapter.[1] This connection, assumed in the Hebrew text, is made explicit in the Septuagint, by the addition of certain words to the beginning of chapter 11: Και έγενήθη ὡς μετα μηνα .... With this in mind, the basic structures can be outlined:

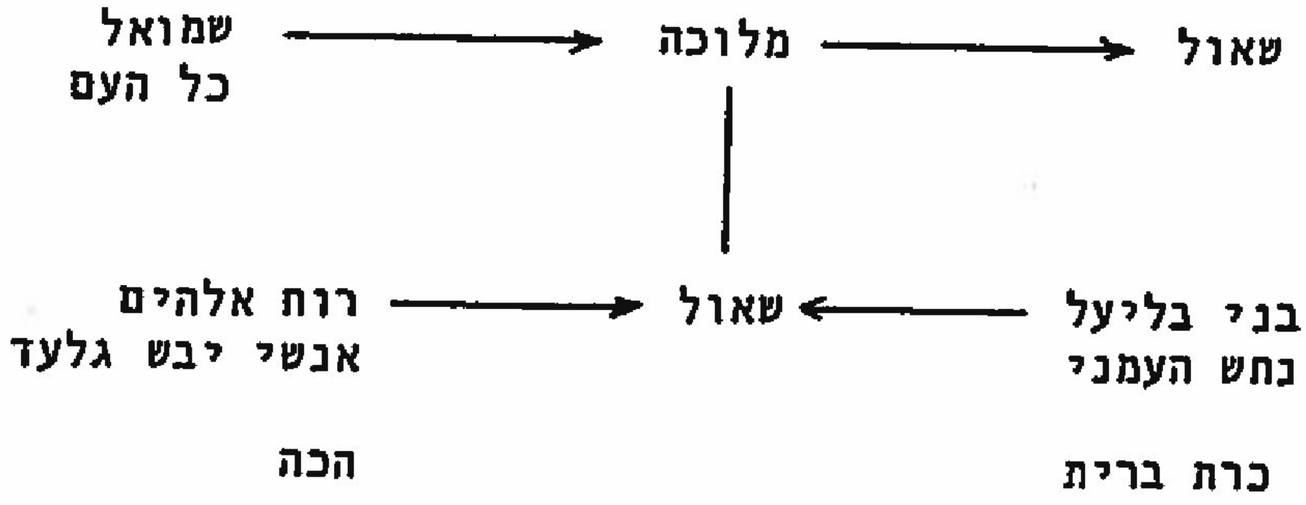
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1. I Sam 10:27. The implication is that they refused to acknowledge his position, withholding kingly dues: מנחה.

Functional Analysis.

(1)	(2)	(3)
Saul is despised.	The men of Jabesh request a covenant.	Saul smites the Ammonites.
Nahash besieges Jabesh-gilead.	The terms offered are a cruel reproach.	Jabesh-gilead is delivered.
	They negotiate time and send for help.	The people grant recognition to Saul.
	Saul rallies an army.	
	He battles with Nahash.	

Actantial Analysis.



Commentary on the Structural Analysis of I Samuel 11:1-15.

No more than a series of brief comments is required.

(i) The text provides an instance of the encapsulation of the sense of ברית in the verb כרת, at I Samuel 11:2. A few manuscripts insert the object, but this is surely secondary. The ancient versions must add the direct object because they contain no corresponding idiomatic encapsulation; so, the Septuagint reads: Ἐν ταύτῃ διαθήσομαι ὑμῖν διαθήκην, and the Vulgate: in hoc feriam vobiscum foedus .... [1]

(ii) The functional series and orthogonal opposition of כרת ברית and עבד is reflected in the words of the men of Jabesh.

(iii) The opposition of הכה and כרת ברית is once again exposed by actantial analysis, where the syntagm כרת ברית is exercised in its antagonistic capacity.

These factors of observation serve merely to confirm the semantic conclusions of previous analyses.

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1. Cf. supra, p.135.

(c) I Samuel 16:1-II Samuel 5:3. The History of the Establishment of the Throne of David, and the Davidic Covenants.

This section of the Deuteronomistic History preserves a long and complex epic narrative, which recounts the establishment of the throne of David over Israel. Within that period, David became involved in at least five covenant making events: on three occasions, he was party to a covenant with Jonathan, Saul's son (I Samuel 18: 1-4; 20:1-21:1 (AV 20:1-42); 23:16-18); once, he made a covenant with Abner (II Samuel 3:12-21); and finally, he was brought into a covenant with the elders of Israel, when they anointed him to be king, at Hebron (II Samuel 5:1-3).

The definition of compositional limits, for the purpose of analysis and commentary, is a difficult and disputed question. Without doubt, this is due in part to the continuous nature of the historical record, but it is further complicated by the presence of duplication in the narrative, which has been taken as a reflection of the use of sources, some of which are explicitly acknowledged.[1] Thus, whereas Keil and Delitzsch isolate I Samuel 16-31,[2] to which Smith and Mauchline add the retrospective first chapter of II Samuel,[3] Jobling, who follows McCarthy's division of the text after chapter

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1. Smith op.cit., pp.xxii.ff. David Jobling, The Sense of Biblical Narrative. Three Structural Analyses in the Old Testament, JSOT Suppl. Series, VII, (Sheffield, 1978), p.6, para. 1.22.

2. C.F.Keil and F.Delitzsch, Commentary on the Old Testament. The Books of Samuel, tr. J.Martin, (Michigan, Eerdmans, 1968), pp.160ff.

3. Smith, op.cit., pp.143ff. J.Mauchline, 1 and 2 Samuel. New Century Bible, (London, Oliphants, 1971), pp.24ff., 128ff.

12, defines the limits of the section as I Samuel 13-31.[1] However, chapters 13-15 are regarded as a preamble to the main narrative. In the face of such disagreement, structural analysis reveals that the foregoing suggestions constitute an inadequate representation of the text's organisation, in that the criteria for division of the text are subject to variation and are employed from a pragmatic point of view. In contrast, by insisting upon the definition of the telic aspect of the composition, not only are suitable compositional limits prescribed, but also, the relations of the various covenants are explained, thereby vindicating the decision to include all five in one and the same analysis.

The telic aspect of I Samuel 16:1-II Samuel 5:3 may be stated as "the rejection of Saul and the legitimisation and establishment of the kingship of David, son of Jesse." From this perspective, it can be demonstrated, first, that I Samuel 16 sets up the contract of the narration, where the rejection of Saul is recorded in a summary statement (I Sam 16:1), alluding to chapters 13-15, and Samuel is commanded by YHWH to anoint a chosen son of Jesse, whom he discovers to be David (I Sam 16:2-13). Thus, the divine revelation to Samuel, narrated in the scenic mode, provides the focal point of the narrative's dialectic, and so marks the commencement of the section. Secondly, II Samuel 5:4-5 reflects a formula often used in the historical records to signal the end, or the beginning, of a reign:

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1. Jobling, op.cit., p.8, para. 2.13. D.J.McCarthy, "The Inauguration of the Monarchy in Israel: A Form-Critical Study of I Samuel 8-12," Int, XXVII (1973), 401-412.

"David was thirty years old when he began to reign, and he reigned forty years. At Hebron he reigned over Judah seven years and six months; and at Jerusalem he reigned over all Israel and Judah thirty-three years."[1]

In its present position, this formula marks a transition, punctuating the preceding narrative - as far as that is possible in a continuous history - and initiating the chronicle of the united monarchy. An alternative to this 'Hebron-Jerusalem' watershed, is to take the comment of II Samuel 5:12 as the termination of the section:

> "And David perceived that the LORD had established him king over Israel, and that he had exalted his kingdom for the sake of his people Israel."[2]

However, this division would seem to be less suitable as it does not accord well with the general character of the immediate context. Thus, the prescription of compositional limits, "I Samuel 16:1 - II Samuel 5:3," is not only appropriately punctuated, but is further defensible by its consonance with the broad movements of narration. These can be represented in the following form:

COMPOSITION: I SAMUEL 16:1-II SAMUEL 5:3 (NARRATIVE).

FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS A. (GENERAL).

MOVEMENT ONE: CONTRACT. I Samuel 16:1, (2-13).

Saul is rejected; Samuel is commanded to anoint a son of Jesse, and David is chosen.

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1. II Sam 5:4-5 (RSV). Cf. I Ki 11:42-43; 14:29-31; 15:1-2; etc.

2. II Sam 5:12. Westermann, op.cit., pp.114ff., propounds this view; (he also includes the remainder of chapter 5, but the principles by which the division is drawn, are consistent with those used here.)

MOVEMENT TWO: CONFLICT. I Samuel 16:2-II Samuel 4:12.

Movement 2A. The acceptance of David at the royal court, and in the sight of all Israel, (I Sam 16:2-18:4).

Movement 2B. The period of danger at the court and Saul's growing hatred of David, (I Sam 18:5-21:1 (AV 20:42)).

Movement 2C. The flight. David becomes a fugitive as Saul seeks his life, (I Sam 21:2 (AV:1)- 31:13).

Movement 2D. The attainment to the throne, (II Sam 1:1-4:12).

MOVEMENT THREE: RESOLUTION. II Samuel 5:1-3.

The whole episode is brought to a conclusion by the covenantal expression of united support from all the tribes for the Davidic kingdom.

The narrator constructs a polarisation of the two principal characters, identified by the telic aspect, which creates the dialectic of the second movement, which passes through four phases of development. A number of compositional devices are employed most skilfully to emphasise and sustain this dialectic throughout the diuturnal struggle. At certain points, there is a lapse into the quite rare fourth mode, comment; for example, I Samuel 18:12-16 is not simply a continuation of the straight and scenic combination. When it is said that Saul was afraid of David, YHWH was with David, that David behaved himself wisely, was favoured, was loved, these are not single events in sequence, but an emerging interpretative pattern. This pattern is reflected by certain elements of repetition, which are

noteworthy: YHWH was with David (I Sam 16:13b,18; 17:37; 18:2,14,28; 20:13; 25:29); Saul was afraid of David (I Sam 17:11,24,32; 18:12,15, 29: 28:5,20,21); David was loved, accepted, found favour, or behaved himself wisely (I Sam 16:21,22; 18:1-3,5,14-16,20,22,28,30; 19:2; 20: 3,17; 22:8,17; 23:16; 27:5; II Sam 1:26; 3:36; 5:1). Throughout the narrative, increasingly towards the end, David is referred to as the king (I Sam 16:1-13; 21:11; 23:17; 24:20; 25:30; 28:17; II Sam 2:4; 3:10,21;36-39; 5:1-3). In addition to these features of modal variation and repetition, the narrator seems to have consciously manipulated the notable "profusion of doublets, non sequiturs, and narrative implausibilities," to prolong and intensify the conflict of the medial movement.[1] The introduction of David to the royal court twice, once as a skilled musician, once as the vanquisher of the Philistine foe (I Sam 16:15-23; 17:55-58; both of Movement 2A), two attempts upon his life by Saul, using a javelin (I Sam 18:5-11; 19: 8-24; - related in remarkably similar terms - both of Movement 2B), two occasions when David joined Achish, King of Gath, (I Sam 21:10-15; 27:1-12; both of Movement 2C), and other duplications, which are usually discussed with an interest in the genesis of the text, have been creatively employed by the historical narrator (or redactor) to lend force to the dialectic. All these features of narration not only confirm the telic aspect, but shed important light on the fact that five covenants are related within the same compass.

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1. Jobling, op.cit., p.6, para.1.22.

COMPOSITION: I SAMUEL 16:1-II SAMUEL 5:3 (NARRATIVE).

FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS B.

MOVEMENT ONE: CONTRACT.

(1) The rejection of Saul is declared (16:1a; mirrored by 16:14).

(2) Samuel is commanded to anoint a chosen son of Jesse (16:1b; mirrored by 16:2-13).

MOVEMENT TWO: CONFLICT.

MOVEMENT TWO PHASE A: Recognition of David (over against Saul).

(3a) David is anointed for the first time, and the Spirit of YHWH comes upon him (16:2-13).

(3b) The Spirit of YHWH departs from Saul, and an evil spirit troubles him (16:14).

(4a) David is introduced to the court as a musician (16:15-23).

(4b) He is accepted at the court for a second time, after his victory over Goliath, the Philistine champion (17:1-58).

(5) Jonathan and David make a covenant for the first time (18:1-4).[α]

MOVEMENT TWO PHASE B: A Period of Danger at Saul's Court.

(6a) Saul's first attempt on David's life (18:5-11).

(7a) David receives Michal to wife (18:17-27).[β]

(8a) Saul swears to Jonathan for David's safety (19:1-7).

(6b) Saul's second attempt on David's life (19:8-11).

(7b) Michal, his wife, helps his escape (19:12-18a).

(8b) Jonathan and David swear another covenant (20:1-23).

(6c) Saul makes an attempt on Jonathan's life - symbolising a third attempt on David's life - (20:24-34).

(7c) Jonathan helps David escape (20:35-40).

(8c) Jonathan sends him away in peace, as they have a sworn covenant between them (20:41-42).

MOVEMENT TWO PHASE C: David's Flight from Saul.

(9) David flees from Saul: to Nob, Gath, Adullam, (Moab,) Keilah, the wilderness of Ziph, Gath, Ziklag; he is helped by the priests of Nob, Abiathar, the prophet Gad, etc.; the discontented join him (21:1ff.)

(10) David is strengthened by a third covenant with Jonathan (23:16-18).

(11) David spares Saul's life at Engedi (24:1-22).

(12) Samuel dies (25:1a).

(13) Nabal opposes David, Abigail intercedes, and so David spares him, but he dies, and Abigail becomes David's wife (25:1b-42).

(14) David spares Saul a second time (26:1-25).

(15) David joins the Philistines, but is eventually dismissed from them (27:1-12; 29:1-11).

(16) He conducts a campaign against the Amalekites (30:1-31).

(17) Saul and his three sons die at the hands of the Philistines as told by Samuel through the witch of Endor (28:3-25; 31: 1-13).

MOVEMENT TWO PHASE D: David's Attainment to the Throne.

(18) Saul's death is anounced to David (II Sam 1:1-10).

(19) David avenges his death (1:13-16).

(20) His lamentation (1:11-12,17-27).

(21) David is anointed king over Judah at Hebron (2:1-4,11).

(22) Abner makes Ishbosheth king over Israel (2:8-10).

(23) Abner defects, and makes a covenant with David to give him the throne of Ishbosheth (3:6-21).

(24) Abner is killed by Joab (3:22-27).

(25) David disowns the act and laments his death (3:31-39).

(26) Ishbosheth is murdered (4:5-8).

(27) David avenges his death (4:9-12).[Y]

MOVEMENT THREE: RESOLUTION.

(28) All the tribes gather to Hebron (5:1).

(29) They express the rejection of Saul (5:2).

(30) They anoint David to be king, and there is a covenant made (5:3).

Notes on the Functional Analysis B of I Samuel 16:1-II Samuel 5:3.

Three items to be noted exemplify the manner in which the narrator draws the full substance of the narration into support for the telic aspect of the composition.

α. Functional analysis is not designed to preserve the maze of details encountered in such a text as this, nor can it register the complexity of their combination, but the reality of the narrator's conscious use of the 'incidentals' of the record can be illustrated by Jobling's observation, who compared David's rejection of Saul's armour to the stated rejection of the man himself.[1] Similarly, David's reception of Jonathan's clothing and weaponry can symbolise a recognition of David himself.

β. Several of the sequences recorded comprise subordinate compositions. This can be seen in the case of I Samuel 18: 17-27, which records the struggle involved in David's gaining of a wife from Saul.

γ. Despite the weight of detail, some structuring is apparent and resembles the technique known as "panel writing."[2] This is illustrated most clearly by the triplet of the medial movement's second phase. Less obvious is the narrative pattern surrounding the slayings of Ishbosheth and Saul, implied by II Samuel 4:9-12.

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1. Jobling, op.cit., p.9, para.2.21. Cf. I Sam 17:38f.; 18:4.

2. McEvenue, op.cit., pp.14f.

COMPOSITION: I SAMUEL 16:1-II SAMUEL 5:3 (NARRATIVE).

COMPLEMENTARY SELECTIVE ACTANTIAL ANALYSIS.



It is interesting to observe the fluctuations that occur in the actantial structures of the narration. The Philistines, for example, while antagonistic towards David, also prove to be his helpers; they remove him from the battle, and deprive him of any involvement in the death of Saul, the anointed one. The main purpose of actantial analysis, at this point, is to indicate the role which the various covenants, and similar functions, adopt. Indeed, the significant elements are, to some degree, exposed by the use of repetition, which has been noted previously.[1] This skeleton actantial model can now be succeeded by detailed analysis of those items that are of primary relevance to the nature of this enquiry.

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1. Cf. <u>supra</u>, pp.342f.

Commentary on the Functional and Actantial Analyses of I Samuel 16:1-II Samuel 5:3.

This extended narration, which traces the events of a long struggle, is resolved by a covenant between David and the elders of all Israel, by which he receives the kingship. Four intermediate covenants, among numerous other incidents, constitute steps towards that goal; this can be seen in the case of the first two covenants between David and Jonathan, for example, which operate as 'pseudo-resolutions' of the first two phases of the conflict. Contrasted with some twenty chapters and three verses in the Deuteronomistic History, the Chronicler covers the same series of events in only seventeen verses, in effect, summarising the transfer of kingship from Saul to David.

> "So Saul died for his unfaithfulness; he was unfaithful to the LORD .... Therefore the LORD slew him, and turned the kingdom over to David the son of Jesse."[1]

Many of the details are dismissed from the text of the Chronicles, as it serves a different purpose within its literary context, but the fulcrum is the same, and the conclusion is recorded almost verbatim:

I Chron 11:1-3:	II Sam 5:1-3:
ויבאו כל שבטי ישראל אל דוד	ויקבצו כל ישראל אל דויד
חברונה ויאמרו לאמר	חברונה לאמר
הננו עצמך ובשרך אנחנו :	הנה עצמך ובשרך אנחנו :
גם אתמול גם שלשום בהיות	גם תמול גם שלשום גם בהיות

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1. I Chron 10:13-14 (RSV).

שאול מלך עלינו אתה הייתה	שאול מלך אתה
מוציא והמבי את ישראל	המוציא והמביא את ישראל
ויאמר יהוה לך	ויאמר יהוה אלהיך לך
אתה תרעה את עמי את ישראל	אתה תרעה את עמי את ישראל
ואתה תהיה לנגיד על ישראל :	ואתה תהיה נגיד על עמי ישראל :
ויבאו כל זקני ישראל אל	ויבאו כל זקני ישראל אל
המלך חברונה	המלך חברונה
ויכרת להם המלך דוד ברית	ויכרת להם דויד ברית
בחברון לפני יהוה	בחברון לפני יהוה
וימשחו את דוד למלך על	וימשחו את דויד למלך על
ישראל :	ישראל כדבר יהוה ביד שמואל :

The significance of this comparison resides in the fact that, despite the massive reduction, the Chronicler identified the heart of the matter according to the Deuteronomistic History's telic aspect.[1] As far as covenant language is concerned, two points can be considered. In the first place, the covenant is prefaced by an acknowledgement of kinship:

"Behold, we are your bone and your flesh."[2]

Daube and Yaron have argued that this formula, which finds echoes in the words of Adam to Eve, and in Laban's greeting to Jacob, is a legal phrase of the formal recognition of kinship, and which, they maintain, was known as such to Josephus.[3] Certainly, the same

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1. Cf. supra, p.340.

2. II Sam 5:1b; I Chron 11:1b; (RSV).

3. David Daube and Reuven Yaron, "Jacob's Reception by Laban," JSS, I (1956), 60-62. Cf. Gen 2:23 (which RSV prints in poetic measure); 30:14f.

phrase is repeated to the elders of Judah who were slow to restore David after Absalom's insurrection had been brought to an end.[1] There might be a suggestion here, that kinship was more to be prized than a covenant. Secondly, the covenant is related in a straight-forward manner, by means of the basic syntagm, כרת ברית (ל). Indeed, the resolution of this very complex narrative is, by contrast, very simple. The most that can be observed, consequently, at this point, is that kinship and covenant are again brought into juxtaposition. However, the intermediate covenants offer more in the way of richness of language.

The first covenant to be made by Jonathan and David is related concisely, at I Samuel 18:1-4. The donation of clothing and arms which went with it, might be more important from a phenomenological perspective, but for semantics, one linguistic matter can be noted. The narrator exposes a linear connection between אהב and כרת ברית.[2] This linearity reflects a structure of functional sequence. The intensity of the love is stressed by the phrase:

ונפש יהונתן נקשרה בנפש דוד ...[3]

It should be recorded that the frequent occurrence of the two words נפש and אהב (with David as the object of the verbal action) characterises the development of the narrative.[4] He is loved by many in Israel.

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1. II Sam 19:13f. (AV:12f.).

2. A suspicion of this relationship of sense has been mentioned previously: cf. supra, pp.4f., 266f., and, especially, p.289, Note *A*.

3. I Sam 18:1.

4. נפש occurs 4X in the immeditate context, and אהב has already been noticed as a characteristic repetition: cf. supra, pp.342f.

Here, this love is given a covenantal expression, as the first phase of the medial movement is punctuated by the guarantee to David of a place in the royal household. Again, the words are simple:

ויכרת יהונתן ודוד ברית באהבתו אתו כנפשו :[1]

The second covenantal event is found at I Samuel 20:1-21:1 (AV 20:1-42), which constitutes a subordinate composition, divided into two parts, and integrally related to the total structure of phase B of the second movement. The overriding concern is the safe preservation of David's life at a time when he was in grave danger. The tripartite panelling of phase B shows how his life was in jeopardy on three occasions, and each time, he was delivered and an oath or covenant followed, strengthening his position. Within that framework, the structure of chapter 20 can be given the following formulation:

A'	(1)	(2)	(3)
	The covenant of Jonathan and David. Saul's animosity.	The confrontation of Jonathan by David.	Their covenant is reaffirmed.
B'	(1)	(2)	(3)
	The covenant is reaffirmed.	A conflict arises between Saul and Jonathan.	David flees, but he goes in peace, and the covenant is secure.

1. I Sam 18:3.

The interim telos of this dual structure is the maintenance of the covenant as an assurance for David's life, in connection with which, the A' structure, in particular, resembles the Genesis structures that have been taken as the basic paradigm for the present investigation.

Verses 1-10 of I Samuel 20 record the confrontation between David and Jonathan. The fact of a pre-existing covenant is mentioned in the dialogue:

כי בברית יהוה הבאת את עבדך עמך [1]

The reference is to I Samuel 18:3, and, by way of a short digression, it will be observed that the comparison of these two statements confirms the position adopted previously in the discourse with regard to the 'disparity question,' which amounted to a rejection of a fixed set of connotations for the prepositional modifications of the basic syntagm, כרת ברית, and an insistence upon the linguistic flexibility of the idiom.[2] In this case, the covenant is raised as one condition of the confrontation. The other factor, which sets up the contract of the narration, is the hatred of Saul:

מה עשיתי מה עוני ומה חטאתי לפני אביך כי מבקש את נפשי: [3]

Both of these elements are spoken of in the young men's dispute. That dispute merits closer attention.

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1. I Sam 20:8.
2. Cf. supra, pp.180ff.
3. I Sam 20:1b.

Some commentators, in assessing the initial activity of David, understand him to be pouring out his heart in complaint to his friend.[1] This is not the case. There is very good reason to suppose that this is more than a friendly complaint and a request for help: it amounts to a challenge to Jonathan on the count of infidelity to his covenant and his servant in not defending his life. So, Smith notices the "obvious force of language" in the encounter.[2] A number of considerations bear upon the exact interpretation of this situation in the narrative, and these must be studied.

The phrase אמר לפני is unusual in Biblical Hebrew:

ויבא ויאמר לפני יהונתן ...[3]

The Septuagint reading, και ἔρχεται ἐνώπιον Ιωναθαν και εἶπεν, might appear to indicate a reordering of the Hebrew text: ...ויבא לפני יהונתן ויאמר*.[4] Although this may accord well with the commonest usage of the verb אמר, as is seen in the following verse, for instance, (ויאמר ל,) there is no textual support for an emendation to this effect. It will be argued, therefore, that the general sense of the verb was not intended here. The force of לפני is to add a semantic modification to the verb אמר. This is

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1. Keil and Delitzsch, Samuel, p.206.

2. Smith, op.cit., p.184.

3. I Sam 20:1.

4. Alternatively, Smith, op.cit., p.186, suggests that the original connection was: ודוד נס וימלט ויאמר לפני יהונתן, which was lost in the redaction process. This leaves the unusual Hebrew construction unchanged.

a general verb, open to qualification by collocation with other words, such as נדר ("to vow"). Thus, here, אמר לפני becomes equivalent to דבר לפני, and signifies, "witnessing against," or "the bringing of a formal complaint, charge, or accusation, in law," as seen, for example, in Solomon's court, where the two harlots 'spoke before' the king.[1] This sense is applicable to the other occurrence of the phrase אמר לפני, at Ezekiel 28:9. The principle becomes important, in this connection, that a phrase cannot be reduced to the sum of its component meanings. In this case, two considerations confirm the meaning proposed as an authentic representation of Biblical Hebrew. First, the structural role is the same as that of ריב.[2] Their common role in the semantic catena suggests strongly an identification of sense. Secondly, this is supported by the forceful language employed in the confrontation. It would appear that Jonathan perceived the covenantal significance of David's remonstration, and so he replied with the ad profanum חלילה. The force of this exclamation is weakened by the Septuagint, Μηδαμῶς, and is further diluted by the English translations, "Far from it!" (RSV), or "God forbid" (AV). The word חלילה has received relatively little scholarly attention, but it may be said that attempts to analyse it on the basis of etymology leave a colourless idea related to the literal sense, "to profanity."[3] In 21 occurrences in the Old Testament corpus, it functions as a strong oath of denial.

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1. For the phrase דבר לפני, cf. Ex 6:12; Nu 36:1; Ju 11:11; I Ki 3:22; Esth 8:3. The incident at Solomon's court is at I Ki 3:22.

2. On ריב, cf. supra, pp.284, 288.

3. BDB, p.321.

This is seen most clearly when it is followed by the oath formula, ... אם ("surely not").[1] It is of particular significance for the present enquiry that חלילה appears in the context of a denial of an accusation. The Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, use the same expression to refute the charge against them of rebellion against the covenant of YHWH.[2] Consistently with its exclamatory nature, חלילה is syntactically distinguished from the verb נשבע by its restriction to direct speech in scenic narration, but נשבע, although predominantly found in straight narration, is occasionally used in direct speech, where it can take the same performative role as חלילה.[3] Thus, חלילה is an appropriate oath of denial of David's accusation on Jonathan's part. This is matched by David's response: ... וישבע עוד.[4] Again, the RSV rendering does not do justice to the force of the Hebrew language, but follows the Greek, και άπεκρίθη, translating, "and David replied." The Greek verb άποκρίνομαι has an uncertain history, illustrated by the inconsistency in its epichristian usage between the writings of the New Testament and those of Josephus. In the former corpus, the first aorist middle, άπεκρινάμην, is rare, (7X), and specialised, signifying a solemn, or legal, utterance, the first aorist passive playing the dominant part, (195X), "to answer, reply," equivalent to the Hebrew verb ענה (ויען or ויאמר), as used to continue discourse.

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1. Cf. II Sam 20:20; Job 27:5.

2. Jos 22:29. Cf. also, Gen 44:7; I Sam 22:15.

3. Copi, op.cit., p.39.

4. In the present passage: I Sam 20:3.

The converse is true of the latter, Josephus. It may be that this oscillation accounts for the Septuagint translators' use of the first aorist passive form for וישבע. Whatever be the fact of the matter, the force of the verb נשבע is perpetuated in the Hebrew by the emphatic use of the infinitive absolute, coupled with the oath formula, חי יהוה וחי נפשך. Furthermore, David swore 'again' (וישבע עוד), implying that אמר לפני carried the meaning of נשבע in verse 1. After this second oath, Jonathan accedes to David's demands.[1] These things substantiate the validity of the interpretation being placed both on David's activity and on the character of some of the apparently ambiguous language employed.

David's demands are couched in specific terms, but they are reinforced by the general requirement, of verse 8:

ועשית חסד על עבדך כי בברית יהוה הבאת את עבדך עמך ...

These words resemble closely the language identified in the Genesis narratives in the same connection.[2] Leaving aside a consideration of the covenantal sense of עבד, the consequential behaviour, expressed as ... עשה חסד על, finds a parallel with the syntagm עשה כחסד.[3]

When, in the course of the confrontation, the two friends go out into the field, Jonathan makes a reciprocal statement of his own requirements, expanding the same syntagmatic basis:

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1. It should be noted, in addition, that the 'oath' language carries on in the confrontation; cf. the second חלילה (לך), v.9.

2. Cf. supra, pp.239,241,252, and 284ff.

3. Gen 21:23. Cf. also, עשה טוב of Gen 26:29.

ולא תעשה עמדי חסד יהוה ... ולא תכרת את חסדך
מעם ביתי עד עולם ... :[1]

Jonathan's words fall in a part of the text that is widely felt to be corrupt. With regard to these alleged corruptions, the details of the text must now be examined, but the covenantal import of Jonathan's words remains, and is unmistakable; he is requiring the same loyalty as that which David required, and the basis is the same, their prior covenant.

The problem, to which the discussion has now led, is a complex one. It centres upon the difficult passage found in verses 14-17:

[14] לא אם עודני חי ולא תעשה עמדי חסד יהוה ולא אמות : [15] ולא
תכרת את חסדך מעם ביתי עד עולם ולא בהכרת יהוה את איבי דוד
איש מעל פני האדמה : [16] ויכרת יהונתן עם בית דוד ובקש יהוה
מיד איבי דוד : [17] ויוסף יהונתן להשביע את דוד באהבתו אתו כי
אהבת נפשו אהבו :

Most commentators acknowledge the obscurity of the Hebrew at this point. The Septuagint proposes an entirely different tradition, but it would seem that this, for the most part, rests upon a reinterpretation of the Masoretic tradition, rather than constituting a witness to a different Hebrew text altogether.[2] The Greek reads:

14 και μεν ἔτι μου ζῶντος και ποιήσεις ἔλεος μετ'
ἐμοῦ, και ἐαν θανάτῳ ἀποθάνω, [15] οὐκ ἐξαρεῖς ἔλεός

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1. I Sam 20:14f.

2. This can be demonstrated at a later point, but, it is clear, for example, at v.17, where Niph'al is read for Hiph'il, להשביע; cf. Smith, op.cit., p.189.

σου ἀπο τοῦ οἴκου μου ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος· και εἰ μη
ἐν τῷ ἐξαίρειν κύριον τους ἐχθρους Δαυιδ ἕκαστον
ἀπο προσώπου τῆς γῆς [16] ἐξαρθῆναι+ το ὄνομα τοῦ
Ιωναθαν ἀπο τοῦ οἴκου Δαυιδ, και ἐκζητήσαι κύριος
ἐχθρους τοῦ Δαυιδ. [17] και προσέθετο ἔτι Ιωναθαν
ὁμόσαι τῷ Δαυιδ, ὅτι ἠγάπησεν ψυχην ἀγαπῶντος αὐτόν.

The problem seems to arise because the correct conjunction of this sequence of clauses in the Hebrew text is difficult to apprehend. In the first place, לא(ו) occurs five times in successive clauses of verses 14-15, and it might be taken each time as a negative adverb. This is the position of the Authorised Version:

> "And thou shalt not* only while I live shew me the kindness of the LORD, that I die not:
> But *also* thou shalt not cut off thy kindness from my house for ever: no, not when the LORD hath cut off the enemies of David every one from the face of the earth."[1]

However, it has been pointed out that לֹא functions occasionally as another form of the conjunction לוּ (לֹא): (i) "O that"... (optative); (ii) "If (only)"....[2] So, the Revised Standard Version presents a different reading, following the Greek largely, where the Hebrew is virtually irreconcilable to the strain of the utterance:

> "If I am still alive, show me the loyal love of the LORD, that I may not die; and do not cut off your loyalty from my house for ever. When the LORD cuts off every one of the enemies of David from the face of the earth, ..."

\+ Variants: Vaticanus =. εὑρεθῆναι; Lucian = εἰ εξαρθησεται.

1. Underlining to indicate Hebrew אל. N.B., * signifies that the first two occurrences of אל are incorporated at this point.

2. BDB, p.530. Cf. F.Nötscher, "Zum emphatischen Lamed," VT, III (1953), 372-380.

The problem is intensified by the extension of the uncertainty and discord to the sixteenth and seventeenth verses, where the heart of the matter is found.[1] The traditional interpretation of the first half of verse 16 is in terms of an encapsulation of ברית in ויכרת.[2] However, this gives the second half of the verse an appearance of being poorly sited; it has been understood as an interposed comment of the historian,[3] or as a return to the scenic mode of narration.[4] The Septuagint suggests a different meaning, expressed by the Revised Standard Version:

> "... let not the name of Jonathan be cut off from the house of David. And may the LORD take vengeance on David's enemies. And Jonathan made David swear again ...."[5]

Even this has occasioned some dissatisfaction; either Jonathan himself should be swearing, or the reference to David's enemies is an erroneous duplication, which should read: "David's house."[6] This debate has provided two different, but 'sensible' English versions, among a host of conjectures, but agreement is elusive. Accordingly, for the purposes of the present discourse, a 'hard-line' Masoretic Hebrew position is to be taken up for a number of reasons.

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1. The problem is summarised by Driver, Samuel, pp.165ff.

2. Keil and Delitzsch, Samuel, p.210, with MT and AV; cf. infra, the following page, (P.361).

3. This interpretation is promulgated by Keil and Delitzsch, Samuel, p.211.

4. So AV, supplying the link: "*saying*, let the LORD ...."

5. RSV. Cf. H.W.Hertzberg, I & II Samuel. A Commentary, OTL, (London, SCM, 1964), pp.169, 174. Driver, Samuel, p.165.

6. Mauchline, op.cit., p.146. Driver, Samuel, pp.166f.

First, the argument in support of the Greek version, and those translations that follow it, leaves much to be desired. This can be illustrated by Smith's comment on the phrase להשביע את דוד:

> "Jonathan's love is no reason for his adjuring David. We are compelled therefore to read ו' אל להשבע with *G.*"[1]

This is a fallacious argument, and leads to an unacceptable imposition upon the text. Twentieth century presuppositions, with regard to the nature of Jonathan's love and the nature of the oath, are foisted upon an ancient situation - and there is no reason to assume a common cultural perspective - and certain linguistic conclusions are drawn from it. There should be no doubt, however, that the argument is not a linguistic one, and the conclusions are altogether spurious. Secondly, on the linguistic side, the Masoretic Text is both reasonable and defensible. Verse 16, in the first half, contains an encapsulation, which has been confirmed as genuine by grammarians.[2] Not only is this a well attested feature of Biblical Hebrew, it is comparatively frequent in this particular portion of the biblical corpus.[3] The difficulty that is felt about it, which is caused by the second half of the verse, is not beyond resolution. The syntagm בקש מיד is attested elsewhere with the sense of "requiring, or exacting, (something) from ...."[4] In particular, it occurs

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1. Smith, op.cit., p.189. Cf. Driver, Samuel, pp.166f.

2. Cf. supra, p.135; this particular case is accepted by: GK para.117(g). DS para.73, rem.5.

3. Cf. I Sam 11:2; 22:8; and, also, I Ki 8:9.

4. BDB, pp.134f. Cf. Gen 31:39; 43:9; Ezek 3:18,20; 33:8; etc.

once more in the present composition, at II Samuel 4:11.[1] Syntactically, the consequential use of waw with the 'perfect' form of the verb would fit this second clause in its context, as an alternative to the rendering of the Authorised Version.[2] Thus, the translation would flow:

> "And Jonathan made a covenant with the house of David, that YHWH will require it of David's enemies."

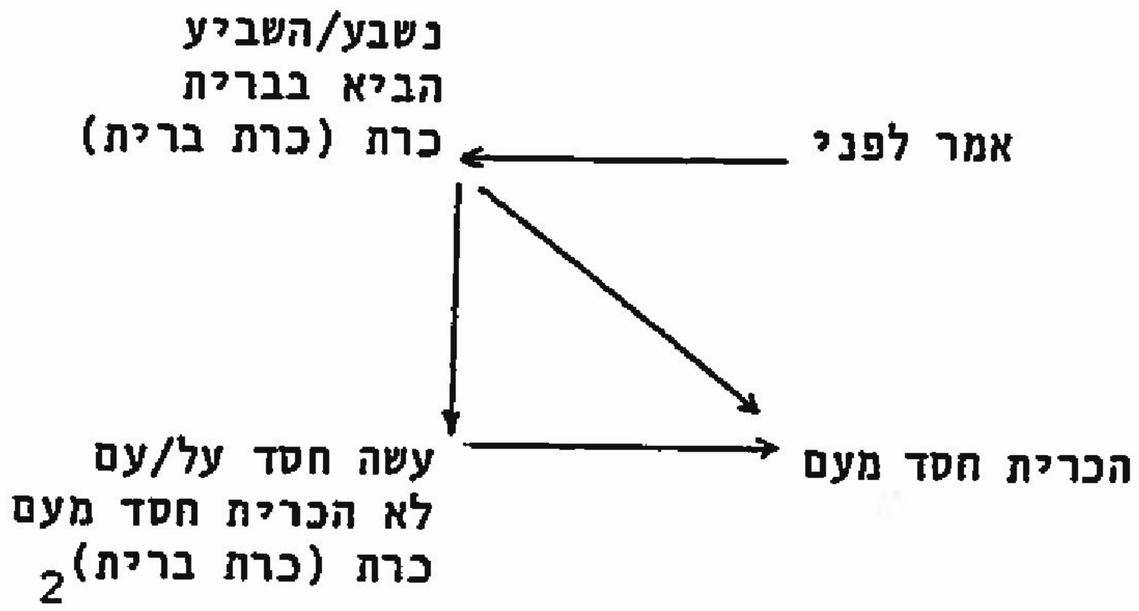
The point is made that, as far as linguistics is concerned, the received Hebrew text is acceptable, and indeed, this is a better solution than attempting to fit the Hebrew text into the Greek framework, necessitating many emendations. It seems to have been missed by commentators, that this covenant was made in a context where the enemies of David - namely Saul - were seeking his life, and each oath or covenant of phase B terminates an episode of danger. Thus, this additional clause to the covenant is eminently suitable in its thematic context. This leads into the third point, that the covenant and oath (of verses 16f.) are appropriate to the structure of the composition; a covenantal termination of the confrontation might be anticipated. However, although worthy of consideration, this point does not substitute for the linguistic grounds of acceptance of the text, which have already been established.

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1. The similarities between this composition and the covenantal narratives of Genesis, in terms of language, have been remarked upon above. Once again, this connection might be relevant, as this syntagm, בקש את־ד, appears in Jacob's words to Laban when they strove, implying thsi as a condition of his life. However, it is tentative, and need not be pressed as an argument. Cf. Gen 31:39.

2. DS para.150.

An absence of differentiation between "making" and "renewing covenant" has been postulated for the syntagm כרת ברית.[1] In the case just studied, the sense of 'renewing' is found, as the covenant is already in existence. This should seem no more strange than the renewal of oath that accompanies it (וירוסף י' להשביע), but the point might be doubted by those who reject the Masoretic Text. Therefore, that the semantic conclusion is irrefragable, can be confirmed by the evidence of I Samuel 23:18, where there is a record of a third covenant between the two friends, which constitutes yet another renewal of their relationship; the syntagm כרת ברית is again employed. The semantic structures which have emerged can be identified in a square of opposition, incorporating this innovation:



[2]

The remaining references to covenants, in the extended unit of I Samuel 16:1-II Samuel 5:3, only confirm this already well established

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1. Cf. supra, pp.5, 191f.

2. The inclusion of the syntagm כרת ברית here, is possible only when the directional sequences of the square operate. Thus, there is a distinction between renewing a covenant (i.e. re-making it) after its fracture, and confirming a covenant without any intervening fracture, made by the directional component.

linguistic patterns.[1] However, two further points arise, which merit brief mention. The first concerns Abner's covenant with David, related at II Samuel 3:12-21. These few verses contain a subordinate compositional structure:

(1)	(2)	(3)
Abner desires a covenant with David. David asks for Michal to be returned.	Abner fulfils the demands of David.	David makes his covenant with Abner, who departs in peace, to gain the throne for David.

There is no explicit statement that David made a covenant with Abner. Two things only are stated: first, David made a feast for Abner and the men that were with him, (עשה משתה); then, Abner was sent away, and he went in peace, (הלך בשלום and, by implication, שלח בשלום).[2] These syntagms are structurally associated with כרת ברית in terms of functional equivalence. Therefore, there is no reason to doubt that a covenant was made, and that the semantic relationships previously registered are operative here. This is consistent with the biblical narrators' style, which, although characterised by frequent repetition, often alludes to a fact, but does not state it.

Secondly, the relationship of opposition between כרת ברית and היתה/עשה מלחמה is seen to exist in the general structures of I Samuel 16:1-II Samuel 5:3. The last stages of the second movement's conflict

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1. E.g. encapsulation in Saul's words, I Sam 22:8; cf. supra, pp.140f.

2. II Sam 3:20-22.

contain repeated references to war between the house of Saul and the house of David.[1] This is finally resolved by the covenant between the elders of Israel and David. This narrative structure bears out the corresponding linguistic relationship.

At every turn, the fundamental semantic structures, derived from the Genesis covenant narratives, are substantiated as authentic by the narration of the Deuteronomistic History.

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1. II Sam 2:17; 3:1,6.

(d) A Brief Examination of the Four Remaining Covenant Passages of the Deuteronomistic History: I Kings 5:15-26 (AV:1-12); I Kings 15:9-24 (with II Chronicles 16:1-14); I Kings 20:1-43; II Kings 11:1-20 (with II Chronicles 22:10-23:21).

In view of the accumulation of a consistent witness to the principal structures of the semantic field of ברית, a very brief treatment of the remaining Deuteronomistic texts, with their parallel passages in the Chronicles, is in order.

(i) I Kings 15:9-24 (with II Chronicles 16:1-14) and I Kings 20:1-43. The History of Covenantal Relationships between Syria and Israel and Judah.

I Kings 15:9-24 contains the Deuteronomistic account of the reign of Asa. Its brevity, though consistent with the character of the 'historiographical' style of narration, is startling. Apart from a mention of Asa's reforms (verses 9-15), one political act is recorded; by means of lavish gifts of silver and gold, Asa enticed Benhadad, King of Syria, to break a covenant with the king of Israel, and lend him military support from the rear. The Chronicler relates the same event with equal brevity, but he places a prophetic interpretation upon the act. Where the covenantal words are found, the language of the text is quite basic, and adds nothing of significance to the ברית-field:

ברית ביני ובינך בין אבי ובין אביך הנה שלחתי לך שחד
כסף וזהב לך הפרה את בריתך את בעשא מלך ישראל ... :[1]

This event and its consequences form the background to the subsequent dealings of Ahab and Benhadad.

The covenant between Ahab and Benhadad is recorded in the second passage, I Kings 20:1-43. Benhadad, after provoking Ahab to fight, and challenging the power of YHWH, was defeated on two occasions of battle, but, instead of destroying him, Ahab granted him a covenant, and sent him away. As a result, he himself was appointed to destruction in Benhadad's place. Scholars have experienced great difficulties with the verse in which the covenant making occurs, verse 34; it reads thus:

ויאמר אליו הערים אשר לקח אבי מאת אביך אשיב וחוצות
תשים לך בדמשק כאשר שם אבי בשמרון ואני בברית אשלחך
ויכרת לו ברית וישלחהו :

The text is ambiguous with respect to the identity of the speaker, or speakers, of these words. As it would not seem fitting for Benhadad to be sending Ahab away with a covenant, the English versions have supplied the words, "And Ahab said ...," but not every commentator has received this as a satisfactory end to the problem.[2] Van der Woude seeks a philological explanation for the difficulty.[3] On the basis of a comparison with the

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1. I Ki 15:19. Cf. II Chron 16:3.

2. RSV and AV, but LXX is true to MT, and offers no support to the English versions.

3. Van der Woude, op.cit.. Cf. supra, p.159.

Ugaritic verb $\underset{\cdot}{\text{šlh}}$, which can mean "to give," as well as "to send," - a sense that is known to exist for the Qal of the cognate Hebrew verb - he concludes that the Pi'el verbal form, in this verse, also has the value "to give."[1] Consequently, interpreting ברית to mean "promise," it is to be understood that Benhadad is speaking throughout, and he 'gives his promise' to Ahab.[2] For a number of reasons, however, van der Woude's interpretation is unacceptable. It places an awkward construction upon the Deuteronomistic historian's Hebrew, being incompatible with the existence of the preposition ב (שלח בברית), and failing to satisfy the full extent of the use of the verb שלח. Furthermore, not only does it rest upon a weak comparative argument, but also, it conflicts with the structural evidence gathered so far for the function of שלח (Pi'el) within the ברית-field. There is, here, a typical case of the isolated use of comparative data without due regard for intra-hebraic structures. שלח בברית is closely linked with כרת ברית and שלח בשלום. Indeed, שלח is so firmly rooted in the soil of these connections, that the narrator can lapse into an encapsulated abbreviation of the syntagm שלח בברית at the end of the narrative:

יען שלחת את איש חרמי מיד ...[3]

In the light of the structural role of שלח, observed at several

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1. For this sense of the Qal form of the Hebrew verb, cf. Gen 38:16f.; Joel 2:19; Job 5:10, where there is a parallelism with נתן, but not necessarily an equivalence.

2. Van der Woude, op.cit., p.191.

3. I Ki 20:42.

points above,[1] and in view of the structure of the composition to be noted below, this encapsulation should not be doubted. The historian was well aware of the subtleties of covenantal connotation entailed in the language of his narration, as is evident in the initial conference between Ahab and Benhadad's ambassadors, at verses 32-33, where the significance of the terms עלה and חיה is remarked on, as a key factor:

> "So they girded sackcloth on their loins, and put ropes on their heads, and went to the king of Israel and said, "Your servant Ben-Ha'dad says, 'Pray, let me live.' ' And he said, 'Does he still live? He is my brother.' Now the men were watching for an omen, and they quickly took it up from him, and said, 'Yes, your brother Ben-ha'dad.' Then he said, 'Go and bring him.' Then Ben-ha'dad came forth to him; and he caused him to come up into the chariot."[2]

If van der Woude's suggestion is to be rejected, a better approach, which recognises the general character of Hebrew compositional style, is adopted by Montgomery and Gehman:

> "The respective subjects of the colloquy, Ben-Hadad and Ahab, are parenthetically supplied in the EVV; Semitic composition was not careful in this respect; cf. the dialogue in II.10[15], in Hos. 14, especially v.[2], and frequently in the Pss., as also in the Gospels."[3]

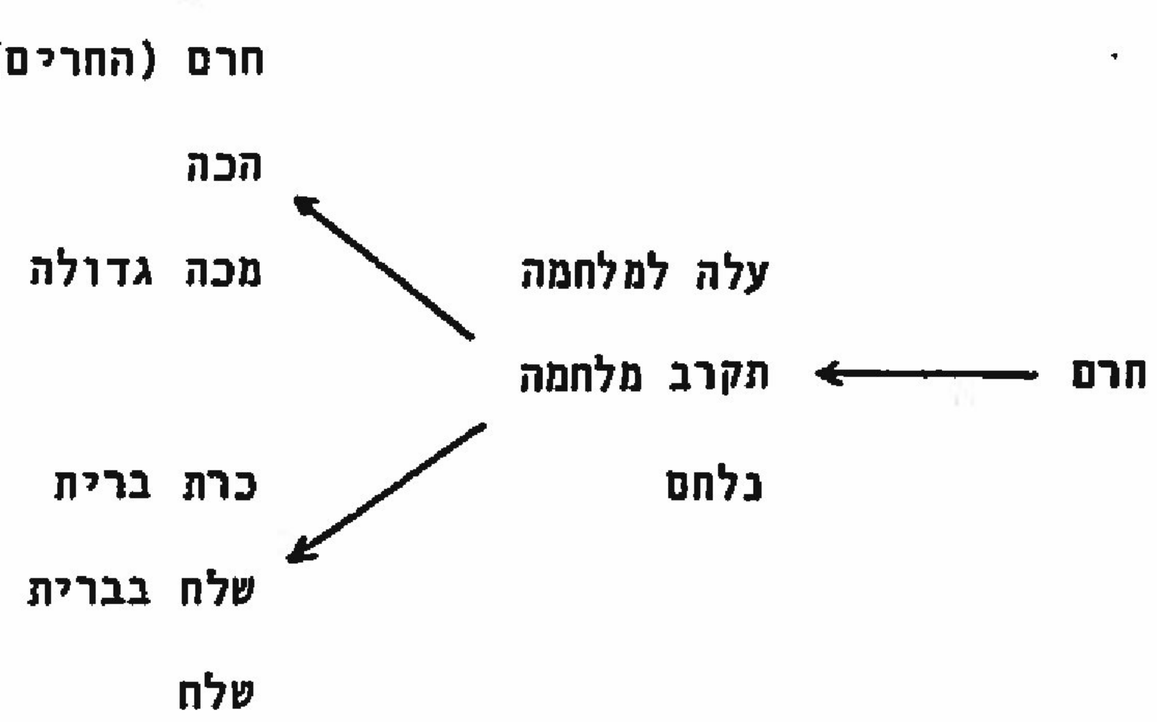
By this means, the standard semantic values of the terms, שלח and ברית, are preserved.

This position receives structural confirmation. Apart from

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1. Cf. supra, p.251 ('FUNCTION 30'), pp.267ff. etc.
2. RSV I Ki 20:32f.
3. Montgomery and Gehman, op.cit., pp.324f.

exposing the significance of the role of שלח, however, analysis of the general structure of narration confirms several semantic associations defined previously. A threefold organisation of the linearity of the material, where, on two occasions, Benhadad fights against Israel and is defeated, but in a third confrontation, despite the prophetic word given at each previous clash, Ahab befriends him, by a covenant, and hence, the prophetic anathema is re-directed against him, as Benhadad's covenanted substitute, conceals a functional ordering which commends the following series:



This gives expression to what are becoming well-established opposition- and sequence-associations of syntagmatic units.

(ii) II Kings 11:1-20 (with II Chronicles 22:10-23:21). The Covenants of Jehoiada, the Priest.

The account of the way in which Jehoiada, the priest, preserved the Davidic line of kings in Judah is full of covenantal reference. Two points only will be made, however, First of all, a number of

differences will be observed between the two histories, (Chronicles and Kings). Probably the most significant difference lies in the fact that the Chronicler has recorded three covenants, whereas the Deuteronomistic historian mentions only two. In the case of the former writing, the first covenant, at II Chronicles 23:1, is thought perhaps to be somewhat dubious; where the Masoretic Text reads, ויקח ... ועמו בברית, the Septuagint has, καὶ ἔλαβε ... μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς οἶκον Κυρίου. This resembles the wording of Kings:

ויקח ... ויבא אתם אליו בית יהוה ויכרת להם
ברית וישבע אתם בבית יהוה ... :[1]

The evidence seems to imply the possibility of a corruption at this point in the text of the Chronicles, some words being omitted. This might seem to be made more probable, since, as can be seen from the 'Undifferentiated List of Syntagms of ברית,' this is the only occurrence of לקח בברית.[2] However, there are several close parallels, עמד בברית, עבר בברית, הביא/בוא בברית, etc., and, on reflection, the rarity of the collocation improves the likelihood of its authenticity.[3] Further, the employment of the Kings' text to prove the point is a suspect procedure, since it manifests a considerable number of differences from the Chronicles, in the passage in question. It is far more probable that the comparison of these two documents, with regard to this matter, provides an

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1. II Ki 11:4.

2. Cf. supra, p.126, (number 11).

3. Cf. supra, pp.159f., for the relationship of these syntagms.

excellent example of the selectiveness of the historiographical procedures of the Hebrew historians who contributed to them. This favours the position taken by scholars like Curtis, who was inclined to accept the Masoretic reading as original.[1] Secondly, therefore, by their contribution of certain syntagmatic associations, of נשבע/השביע, כרת ברית, and לקח בברית, these texts offer a general confirmation of the position reached by the techniques of structural semantics.[2]

(iii) I Kings 5:15-26 (AV:1-12). The Covenant of Solomon with Hiram, King of Tyre.

Finally, in this connection, the text, to which reference was made at the very commencement of the inquiry being pursued, is to be considered.[3] In answer to the questions raised in that introduction, the relevant conclusions of structural analysis can be stated in summary fashion, and applied.

I Kings 5:26b (AV:12b) reads:

ויהי שלם בין חירם ובין שלמה ויכרתו ברית שניהם :

This gives expression to the sequence of syntagms:

היה שלם - כרת ברית

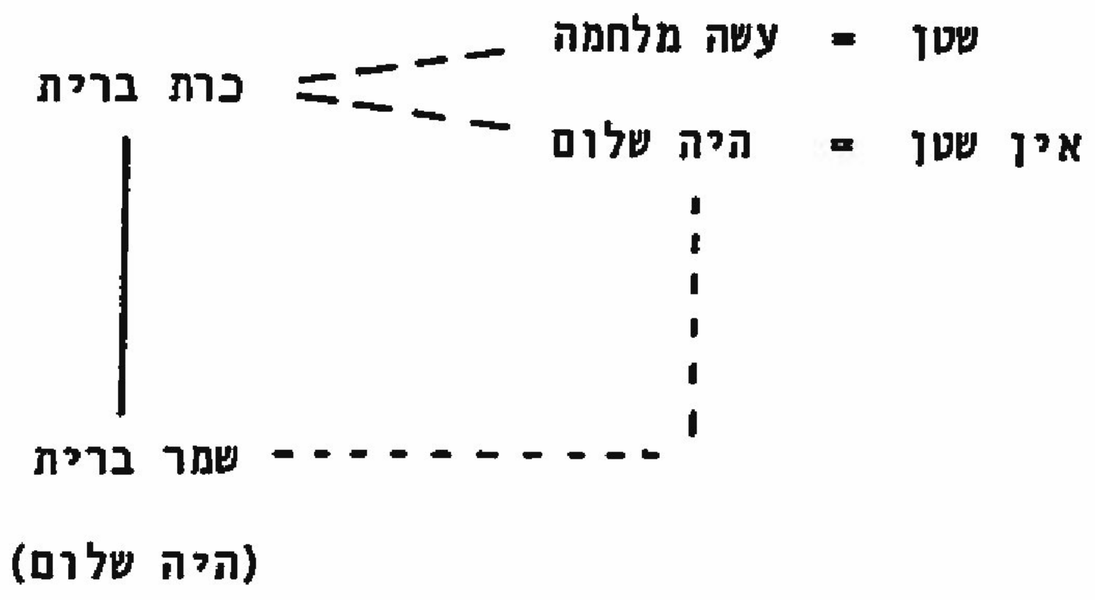
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1. Curtis and Madsen, op.cit., p.429.

2. E.g. the fluidity of Hebrew usage regarding the subject of the action of covenant making is demonstrated, comparing II Ki 11:4 with II Chron 23:3; in the former, Jehoiada officiates, while, in the latter, the assembly of priests conduct the event.

3. Cf. supra, 'Introduction,' pp.3ff.

By comparison with the square of opposition, as it has been developed, a relationship of opposition is suggested between עשה/היתה מלחמה and היה שלום:



In functional terms, it will be noted, this relationship is augmented by the structure of narration, in consistency with previous structures, when the assertion is made that there was no adversary to Solomon: אין שטן.[1] Previous analyses have shown שלום following, or accompanying, ברית, whereas here it precedes it. However, the possibility exists that היה־שלום follows a prior covenant between Hiram and David, since there is no differentiation between covenant making and covenant renewal, in the syntagm כרת ברית.[2] Verse 15 (AV v.1) of this chapter, reads:

כי אהב היה חירם לדוד כל הימים

This statement, in the descriptive mode of narration, may contain a cryptic allusion to a prior covenant, perhaps hinted at, in II Samuel 5:11-12.[3] The modern European concept of love in terms

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1. I Ki 5:18 (AV:4).

2. Cf. supra, p.363.

3. John Priest, "The Covenant of Brothers," JBL, LXXXIV (1965). 404.

of emotional involvement constitutes an obstruction to perception, and must be jettisoned in any attempt to discover the semantic relations of sense holding for אהב. It is true that interpersonal emotional commitment is sometimes intended in the Old Testament, as at I Samuel 18:1-4, - and one may think of the love songs of Solomon, where אהב is drawn into the semantic field of דודים[1] - but the range of the term is far wider; just as its antonym, שנא, "to hate," can signify the fracture of covenant relationships, so אהב can signify their continued existence. If this be true, then Burney's translation, "a friend of David," dilutes the strength of the Hebrew proposition.[2] Indeed, any translation, it would seem, must fall at the same hurdle, as the English equivalent does not carry the same connotations as the Hebrew. However, this is only a possibility, since the covenantal sense is not ubiquitous. The decisive factor must be the narrative structure, which can be outlined as follows:

(1)	(2)	(3)
There is a prior relationship: אהב.	They negotiate, and there is peace: ... היה שלם.	
Hiram sends to Solomon because of it.	There is no adversary to Solomon: אין שטן.	They conclude a covenant: ... ויכרתו ברית (ברית אחים *)

Comparison of this with formerly constructed models of narration

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1. Cf. Sol 1:2-4, etc. BDB, p.187.

2. Burney, op.cit., pp.26,53.

promotes the theory of a similarity of function for אהב and כרת/שמר ברית (ב'י).

Finally, the Solomonic-Davidic (?) covenant with Hiram forms the backcloth of the exchange of cities for gold, at a later point in the Deuteronomistic narration, when Hiram addresses Solomon as a 'brother,' אח.[1] The covenantal connotation of אח is incontrovertible. The analogy between covenant and kinship was widely recognised by the peoples of the ancient Near East, and of the Fertile Crescent in particular,[2] and it appears that 'brotherhood' applied to parties of unequal status, as well as to equals.[3] The general connection is confirmed by the prophecy of Amos, where Tyre is condemned for its failure to remember the brotherly covenant: ולא זכרו ברית אחים.[4] Thus, each question raised at the beginning receives a positive answer, when studied in the light of the techniques and results of structural analysis.

A perfect consistency has been discovered throughout the full

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1. I Ki 9:13.

2. O.R.Gurney, The Hittites, (2nd ed.; Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1972), p.77. Pedersen, Israel. Its Life and Culture, I-II, 263ff., esp. 284. J.Priest, "Horkia in the Iliad," JNES, XXXIII (1964): ὅρκια = ברית, is often associated with φιλοτητα, which contains the notion of brotherhood sometimes.

3. E.Gerstenberger, "Covenant and Commandment," JBL, LXXXIV (1965), 40: aḫḫūtu is prominent , not only among equals, but also between a greater and a lesser.

4. Am 1:9. Priest, "The Covenant of Brothers," 402, 406.

range of texts analysed; the Deuteronomistic History is consonant with the Genesis paradigm, and both concur with the fundamental structures of lexical analysis. The foundations of the semantic field of ברית have been laid. It remains to consider elements of the superstructure which is to be erected thereupon.

PART IV.

Reconstruction.

An Application of the Structures of the Semantic Field of ברית to Certain Biblical Texts.

A. The Resolution of a Long-Standing Difficulty with the Language of the Isaianic Collection, by the Reconstruction of the Semantic Field of ברית.

The analytical extrapolation of semantic data leads on to the task of reconstruction. The core of the semantic field of ברית has been discovered from its first dimensional application, principally in narrative contexts of Genesis and the histories of Joshua-Kings and the Chronicles. However, the field extends to four dimensions, manifest in a variety of literary contexts. The projection of the core structures into the prophetic and poetic literature exposes subtleties of expression and linguistic innovations which are absent from the plainer narrative prose, and consequently, involves an encounter with certain linguistic problems that occur only there. This contrast can be illustrated. The account of the battle of Israel with the Ammonites and the Syrians, recorded at II Samuel 10, contains certain quite straightforward connections between למלחמה (נגש), הכה, השלים, and עבד.[1] Although the isolated occurrence of any of these words or syntagms in no way implies a covenantal event, the structural combination of all four, in this case, strongly favours the reconstruction of the ברית-field here, consolidating those structures, and entailing a functional equivalence for השלים with כרת ברית.[2] The

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1. II Sam 10:13, 15, 19.

2. Cf. supra, p.54. LXX Codex Vindobonensis departs from the mainstream tradition of Greek MSS, which omits all reference to the Hebrew, וישלמו, translating this by the phrase, διατιθέναι διαθήκην.

characteristic employment of a richer vocabulary and extensive figurative speech means that covenantal connotations of semantic structure are less easily perceived in prophetic writing. Isaiah, whose use of ברית-language contains some of the most obscure phrases of all, serves as an example. The opening oracles, of chapter 1, display a wide range of analogies: the ox knowing his master's crib; the lodge in a garden of cucumbers; the body of sores; impure silver; a dying oak; a dried up garden. Within the midst of this medley, the summons is issued:

לכו נא ונוכחה יאמר יהוה[1]

Their scarlet sins are deeds of rebellion:

ואם תמאנו ומריתם

והם פשעו בי

שריך סוררים'[2]

The poetic enrichment of language, which is so evident throughout, clouds the transparency of the semantic structures of the ברית-field, so that even though a connection between נוכח (הוכיח) and מרה (מרד, supplemented by פשע and סרר) is observable, the case for a link with ברית is open to challenge.

The language of Isaiah merits closer study, especially in the light of this contrast.[3] Here, the much disputed phrase,

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1. Is 1:18a.

2. Is 1:20, 2, 23, respectively; it should be noted that the connection between מרד and פשע can be established indirectly from prosaic narrative, comparing this with II Ki 1:1: Moab rebelled.

3. I.e. here, Isaiah in all its parts.

וְכֻפַּר בריתכם את מות (Is 28:18), occurs; here, the opaque parallelism between חָזוּת/חָזֶה and ברית is found (Is 28:15, 18); here. the obscure syntagm, נתן לברית, is used (Is 42:6; 49:8). The last of these cases will now be investigated, and a solution to the difficulty which it creates will be prepared inductively, on the basis of the reconstruction of the semantic field of ברית.

Isaiah 42:6 reads as follows:

אני יהוה קראתיך בצדק ואחזק בידך
ואצרך ואתנך לברית עם לאור גוים :

The matter for consideration is the meaning of the phrase: ואתנך לברית עם (ואצרך). The same construction is repeated at Isaiah 49:8, but the immediate context is different, (There is no reference to "a light for the nations"). That these words are not easily understood, is testified to by many scholars; Skinner, for example, describes them as "difficult to analyse" and talks about "tentative and approximate exegesis."[1] There are several facets to the problem. Disagreement over the identity of the servant, who is being addressed, whether an individual or the nation, Israel, is coupled with a division of opinion with regard to whether the noun עם refers to Israel or to the nations of the world, being parallel with the plural noun גוים. Added to this, various positions have been advanced regarding the logical relationship of the two nouns of the phrase ברית עם.

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1. J.Skinner, The Book of the Prophet Isaiah: Chapters XL-LXVI. The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges, (Revised Version; Cambridge, CUP, 1917), p.32.

Based upon the assumption that ברית means "covenant," three major interpretations have been propounded.[1]

(1) עם ברית means "the covenant people." Although the usual expression would be *עם ברית, this explanation has drawn from an analogy with phrases like "a wonderful counsellor," פלא יועץ, literally, "a wonder of a counsellor."[2] However, if the expression is to be given this sense, it leaves a poor parallel with the next phrase, אור גוים. Accordingly, most scholars have been disinclined to receive this as the best interpretation.

(2) עם ברית(ל) means "(the mediator of my) covenant with the people (Israel)," where the mediator, who is the servant, is ascribed an individual identity.[3] However, it has been felt that this interpretation of עם is inconsistent with its sense in the preceding verse, verse 5, where it signifies humanity in general.

(3) עם ברית(ל) means "(the mediator of my) covenant with the people (nations of the world)," where the mediator is either the nation Israel, or a personal figure.[4]

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1. These are summarised and reviewed in: J.J.Stamm, "Berit ʿam bei Deuterojesaja," Probleme biblischer Theologie, ed. H.W. Wolff, (München, 1971), 510-524, and C.R.North, The Second Isaiah, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1964), p.112; cf. C.R.North, The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah, (London, OUP, 1948), pp.132f., and other commentaries.

2. Is 9:5; cf. Gen 16:12, etc. The cases cited do not represent regular syntax, and are capable of reinterpretation.

3. C.F.Keil and F.Delitzsch, Commentary on the Old Testament in Ten Volumes, VII, Isaiah, (reprint; Michigan, Eerdmans, 1976), pp.179f.

4. H.C.Leupold, Exposition of Isaiah, (London, Evangelical Press, 1968), II, 64f.

Unanimity of mind regarding these interpretations has proved to be beyond reach. It has been thought that the options presented, while reasonable, still leave the meaning of the passage somewhat obscure. Westermann, writing in 1966, puts it in this way: "until now the interpretation of the clause has been no more than conjecture."[1] As a result, some, in their search for a solution, have supposed that ברית does not mean "covenant." Kutsch's definition of ברית as 'obligation,' has been conscripted to support a new rendering, "Verpflichtung für das Volk," (obligation on the people), but this has been heavily criticised for its one-sided-ness, and for its apparent contravention of the semantic-syntactic norm.[2] Torczyner, drawing from a connection with the Akkadian verb barû "to see," and the related noun birûtu "vision," takes the meaning of the latter for ברית, which he considers to supply a better parallel with אור ("light" - of the nations).[3] Several objections have been levelled against this hypothesis. North points out that ברית occurs approximately 300 times with the sense of "covenant," making a divergence unlikely, although

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1. C.Westermann, Isaiah 40-66. A Commentary, OTL, tr. David M.G.Stalker, (London, SCM, 1969), p.100.

2. On Kutsch's view, cf. supra, pp.34ff., esp. p.42. Cf. E.Kutsch, "Gesetz und Gnade. Probleme des alttestamentlichen Bundesbegriff," ZAW, LXXIX (1967), 18-35, and E.Kutsch, Verheissung und Gesetz. Untersuchungen zum sogenannten 'Bund' im Alten Testament, BZAW, CXXXI (Berlin, W. de Gruyter, 1973). This is opposed by M.Weinfeld, "Berit - Covenant vs. Obligation," Biblica, LVI (1975), 124f. D.R.Hillers, "Berît ʿām: 'Emancipation of the People'," JBL, LXXXXVII (1978), 176, notes the syntactic problem.

3. H.Torczyner, "Presidential Address," JPOS, XVI (1936), 7. Cf. D.Winton Thomas, "The Language of the Old Testament," Record and Revelation, ed. H.Wheeler Robinson, (Oxford, 1938), 395.

he concedes the point that Deutero-Isaiah does display a conscious employment of homonyms, and a double entendre might have been intended.[1] Hillers casts suspicion upon the authenticity of the Akkadian evidence.[2] He goes on to give yet another interpretation, resorting to comparative evidence, which merits attention in closer detail.

Starting with the phrase ברה כחמה, "bright as the sun," (Sol 6:10, RSV), he derives ברית*(II) from the root בר (ברר), "to be bright, pure."[3] The Hebrew ברה כחמה has an Ugaritic parallel in a document discovered at Ras Shamra: ... km $\overset{V}{s}\overset{V}{p}\overset{V}{s}$ dbrt ....[4] The same text gives evidence of the related noun, tbrrt, "emancipation," ("clearness, brightness"). This development, from "brightness" to "clearness," and then to "freedom" or "emancipation," finds several parallels. In Akkadian, the verb zakû, "to be clean, bright, free," has the sense "to cleanse, set free from obligation," in the D theme, zukkû.[5] The same kind of semantic evolution can be detected for the two verbs ebēbu and elēlu.[6] The Aramaic Elephantine

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1. North, The Second Isaiah, p.112.

2. Hillers, "Berit ʿām: 'Emancipation of the People'," 175. Stamm, op.cit., dismisses this as the least probable explanation.

3. BDB, pp.140f.

4. Cf. infra, Appendix 2.

5. CAD, XXI, 23-32.

6. AHw, I, 180f., 197f. CAD, IV, 4-8, 80-83.

papyri supply another interesting comparison, in the phrase: ואנתי שביקה מן טלא לשמשא, "and thou art freed before (?) the Sun."[1] Further, the Talmud, certain Aramaic and Hebrew documents from Qumran and Murrabba^{c}at, plus a Syriac deed from Dura Europos, together substantiate the same course of change for the Aramaic-Hebrew root מרק, and, alongside it, נקה.[2] Within the biblical literature, נקה "to be clean," and the derived adjective נקי, both develop the sense of 'innocency.'[3] Again, זך, meaning "pure," has this sense (of 'innocency'), at Job 15:15, among a number of references.[4] The word בר is used in parallelism with נקי (Ps 24:4), and with זך (Job 11:4); in both instances, the reference is moral. Against this backcloth of amassed details, Hillers wishes to establish the same evolution of sense for ברית*(II), (as it stands, a consonantal homograph for ברית, "covenant"). However, the phonological derivation is unlikely from a geminate root such as ברר. Therefore, he is forced to consider a possible haplography of ברירות*, a noun

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1. Kraeling's translation: cf. Emil G.Kraeling, The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri. New Documents from the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine, (New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1953; also, London, OUP, 1969), pp.180f., 185: Papyrus no.5, lines 8-9. Cf. H.L.Ginsberg, "The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri," JAOS, LXXIV (1954), 158.

2. Hillers draws significantly from the definitive study: E.Y.Kutscher, "On the Terminology of Documents in Talmudic and Gaonic Literature," Tarbiz, XIX (1947-48), 53-59 (in Hebrew).

3. BDB, p.667. Cf. Nu 32:22; Deu 24:5; I Ki 25:22; etc.

4. BDB, p.269. Aramaic has זכי, and Biblical Aramaic, זכו, cf. BDB, p.1091.

encountered in Modern Hebrew. However, to assume the same error on two separate occasions, is entirely unsatisfactory. The alternatives are equally speculative: בְּרִית* (by analogy with חִתִּית (חתת), "terror"); בֶּרֶת*(II) (comparing Mishnaic Hebrew תֶּמֶת (תמם)); a homonym for בֹּרִית, "soap." Thus, the parallelism of Isaiah 42:6, Hillers finds perfect, citing a similar collocation, at Psalm 19:9:

מצות יהוה ברה מאירת עינים

In a context where the emphasis is placed upon the comparative Semitic foundation, especially for the less common words of biblical language, Hillers' case gains the appearance of a well-constructed hypothesis, deserving of a fair degree of confidence. It is not. Whilst the erudite amassment of comparative semantic data commands respect, the employment of those data leaves something to be desired. It takes the diligent application of structural principle and technique to expose the fundamental weaknesses of the position. On the surface, the need to reconstruct the morphology of the noun is slightly unsettling; not only does it constitute an emendation to the text, and that, in two separate locations, but also, it introduces a hypothetical noun form, which is both unknown to Biblical Hebrew and redundant. Beneath the surface, other faults become evident. First of all, as hinted at already, Biblical Hebrew langue has within its structures the capacity to express the sense of emancipation; the concept is found principally in the verb

נקה, exhibited in the syntagms נקה מאלה and נקה משבועה.[1]

Secondly, the heavily distinguished idiolectal character of Isaianic Hebrew is witnessed in the generally 'eccentric' usage of ברית ("covenant"). Thus, the unusual nature of the expression נתן לברית עם is not discordant with the immediate stylistic context. Thirdly, there is reason to doubt that a perfectly synonymous parallelism was intended at this point; the verbs employed in the verse denote a progression of ideas. This is reinforced by the repetition of the syntagm in question in a different context, at Isaiah 49:8:

כה אמר יהוה

בעת רצון עניתיך וביום ישועה עזרתיך

ואצרך ואתנך לברית עם

להקים ארץ להנחיל נחלות שממות :

Apart from such points of detail, there is a need to expose a fundamental, but fallacious, presupposition in Hillers' approach. He proceeds on the assumption, which is axiomatic to much of traditional linguistics, that the word is the basic unit of meaning. It was noted previously, how disruptive of progress this misconception has been.[2] A lack of awareness of the existence, and implications, of this 'medieval philosophical tenet,' has resulted in a discussion of the linguistic problem in these verses founded upon a wrong semantic division of the substance of the text.[3] Once this is perceived, progress

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1. Cf. BDB, p.667: נקיון; BDB, p.345: חפשית.
2. Cf. supra, pp.86f.
3. Pelc, op.cit., p.58.

becomes possible. Instead of dealing with the sense of the word ברית, and then considering its syntactic relation to כי, and its parallelism with אור, a better perspective is gained by studying the syntagm נתן לברית in its entirety, as a distinct unit of meaning. This can only be undertaken successfully within the field of structural associations of ברית. Thus, it is a longer exercise, but it is indispensible.

The inductive process must begin with the noun אלה, which is usually understood to mean "oath, curse, (conditional curse as a religious sanction,)" appearing 36 times in the Old Testament.[1] A Phoenician incantation text, published in 1939, calls into question, again, the sense of אלה.[2] Apart from the theological interest of this inscription, in that it presupposes that the god Ashur, with various other deities, had granted to the religious community a covenant, it is important because it contains the noun אלת, cognate with Hebrew אלה, in the phrase כרת.לן.אלת.עלם, which is directly paralleled by Jeremiah 32:40:

וכרתי להם ברית עולם [3]

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1. BDB, p.46. TDOT, I, 261ff. The secondary noun, תאלה, (1X) Lam 3:65, and the cognate verb, אלה "to swear, curse," must also be noted.

2. Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, "Une tablet magique de la région du Moyen Euphrate," Mélanges syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud, I, (Paris, 1939), 421-434. Cf. infra, Appendix II, 2.

3. Cf. Ziony Zevit, "A Phoenician Inscription and Biblical Covenant Theology," IEJ, XXVII (1977), 110-118, esp. his commentary on the phrase: כרת באלת (Beth instrumenti, GK para 119 (o)-(q)).

The great hindrance to any discussion of the implications of this comparative connection is the ingrained tendency to talk about lexical relationships of sense. Concern is always with the possibility of a semantic equivalence of the word אלה with the word ברית, as suggested by the Phoenician evidence. Brichto is representative of the majority opinion on the matter, in his judgment that אלת, though etymologically cognate with אלה, is rather to be associated semantically with ברית,[1] but this conclusion has regard to אלת (Phoen), rather than אלה (BH), and is a petitio principii as far as the meaning of the latter is concerned. Indeed, the general hypothetical assertion, made previously, that אלה and ברית are contrastive lexemes, bows somewhat to the pressure of inherited linguistic convention.[2] That there is more to the relationship in which these two terms are involved, is indicated by a number of factors, which must now be examined.

In the first place, אלה and ברית have a close connection in usage. The construct chain, אלות הברית, observed once, finds an echo in Hosea's expression: אלות שוא כָּרֹת ברית, "with empty oaths they make covenants;" (RSV, Hos 10:4).[3] In addition to this

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1. H.C.Brichto, The Problem of "Curse" in the Hebrew Bible. JBL Monograph Series, 13, (Philadelphia, 1963), pp.25ff. Cf. Gaster, op.cit.

2. Cf. supra, p.200.

3. For the construct chain, cf. Deu 29:9, and supra, p.127, syntagm no.51, and p.130, note ϰ.

construct chain, Deuteronomy contains the hendiadys of אלה and ברית, in the words:

לעברך בברית יהוה אלהיך ובאלתו אשר ... כרת ... (Deu 29:11)

אנכי כרת את הברית הזאת ואת האלה הזאת (Deu 29:13)

Although this is confined to Deuteronomy, the prophecy of Ezekiel reveals another, similar, link, by the repeated synonymous parallelism:

הפר ברית : בזה אלה [1]

However, this exposes a functional identification for the syntagms which might not be applicable to the nouns alone. Finally, on this point, Genesis 26:28, it was noted above, utilises the same kind of association, placing היתה אלה and כרת ברית together, in the same functional role.[2]

Secondly, the projected syntagm *כרת אלה, in Biblical Hebrew, seems perhaps to hint at a partial equivalence for אלה with ברית, but on the only occasions when this structure is actualised, it exists in a combination with the hendiadys just noted.[3] This hendiadys has been compared with the Akkadian phrase, riksu u māmītu (plural, riksāte u māmītē), common in the Hittie treaty texts as the regular label for "treaty," although its constituent

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1. Ezek 16:59; 17:16,18,19.

2. Cf. supra, pp.251ff.

3. Deu 29:13, and also, indirectly, at verse 11. M.Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School, (Oxford, 1972), pp.62f.

elements had distinct values.[1] Despite flexibility in the Hebrew usage, this factor only emphasises the necessity of a consideration of syntagms of אלה, over and above an isolated lexical analysis. Furthermore, it indicates the truth that there is no simple answer to questions about the meaning of אלה; its sense fluctuates according to its structural placement. Indeed, idiolectal differences are marked in this case, as between Ezekiel and Deuteronomy, or Ezekiel and the Pentateuchal law concerning a woman suspected of adultery, at Numbers 5.

Returning to the Genesis narrative, in the third place, the account of Abraham's quest for a wife for Isaac, his son, may be considered. Structural analysis of the Genesis narration yielded the basic compositional paradigm of the ברית-field. Now, structural analysis of Genesis 24:1-67, provides a suitable compositional analogy. The briefest structural outline can be offered, recognising once again, the characteristic use of repetition throughout the narration:

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1. Korošec, op.cit., pp.26ff. Cf. M.Weinfeld, "Covenant Terminology in the Ancient Near East and its Influence on the West," JAOS, LXXXXIII (1973), 190ff. N.B. ādê replaced riksāte (riksu) in the 1st millennium B.C., under the influence of Aramaic.

COMPOSITION: GENESIS 24:1-67 (NARRATIVE).

FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS.

MOVEMENT ONE: CONTRACT.

(1) Abraham had been blessed by YHWH (vv.1,35-36).

(2) He commissions his servant to secure a wife for Isaac, with an oath of commitment (vv.2-8,37-41).

ואשביעך (v.3)

וישבע לו (v.9)

וישבעני (v.37)

MOVEMENT TWO: CONFLICT.

(3) The journey to Mesopotamia (vv.10-11).

(4) The sign to discover the chosen woman (vv.12-14, 42-44).

(5) The fulfilment of the sign by Rebekàh (vv.15-21, 45-48).

(6) Negotiations with the family (vv.22-33,49-59).

MOVEMENT THREE: RESOLUTION.

(7) Rebekah receives the family's blessing (v.60).

(8) She is brought back to Isaac (vv.61-67).

(9) The servant has fulfilled his commission, and is free from the oath (vv.8,41).

ונקית משבעתי זאת (v.8)

אז תנקה מאלתי (v.41)

והיית נקי מאלתי (v.41)

Two semantic points are to be drawn from the framework of this analysis.[1] First, the nouns אלה and שבועה are used interchangeably. Secondly, the proposed structural analogy with the compositional paradigm of the previously considered Genesis narratives substantiates a functional commutativity for ברית and אלה (and שבועה).[2] The connection of כרת ברית with נשבע שבועה has been examined previously; but now, a new component has been introduced into the sphere of semantic commutativity, אלה (נשבע). This reinforces the structural proximity of the terms in question, as it has been argued from the earlier premises.

Finally, it will be observed that, within the field in question, there is a significant area of syntagmatic intersection between ברית and אלה. Although there is a small group of collocations, into which the former term does not enter with the latter, such as נקה מאלה, ספר אלה, שאל באלה, (Sub) אכלה אלה, (Sub) רבצה אלה, נתן אלה, some of which are very general in their distribution, there is a considerable tract of common ground, semantically speaking. This common ground is defined by the following list of syntagmatic sharing:

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1. Many other matters could be discussed in this connection, such as the place of עשה חסד ואמת, but this would detract from the main point.

2. For the paradigm, cf. supra, p.284. N.B. the distinction between 'commutativity' - of parallel compositional function, but without any implication of intersubstitutability - and 'equivalence' - of partial bilateral implication within one narrative structure.

Shared Syntagms.

זאת/היתה ברית	:	זאת/היתה אלה
בוא/הביא בברית	:	בוא/הביא באלה
נשבע ברית	:	נשבע אלה
נתן בריה	:	נתן אלה
נתן לברית	:	נתן לאלה
כתב ברית	:	כתב אלה
הגיד ברית	:	הגיד אלה
שמע את דברי הברית	:	שמע את דברי האלה

These four areas of contact, that is, collocation, idiomatic overlap, functional commutativity, and syntagmatic intersection, demonstrate the strikingly distinctive semantic proximity of the two terms ברית and אלה, the third term, שבועה, also having an integral part to play in the structure, and by this proximity, the framework is created, within which the language of Isaiah 42:6 and 49:8 can be explained; the conjecture, or guesswork, can be eliminated without recourse to insecure comparative argumentation. The Hebrew idiom contains, within one field of semantic association, the identical sytagmatic structures: נתן לברית, נתן לאלה, (and נתן לשבועה).[1] In each case, the explanation is the same. This is metonymy. It is emphatic. In seeking to understand this metonymy, Isaiah 42:6 and 49:8 has to be compared with a verse like Numbers 5:21:

והשביע הכהן את האשה כשבעת האלה ואמר הכהן לאשה

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1. Cf. supra, p.294, for the connection with שבועה.

יתן יהוה אותך לאלה ולשבעה בתוך עמך בתת יהוה
את ירכך נפלת ואת בטנך צבה :[1]

This, the Revised Standard Version translates:

> "then' (let the priest make the woman take an oath of the curse, and say to the woman) 'the LORD make you an execration and an oath among your people, when the LORD makes your thigh to fall away and your body swell;"

This is an emphatic way of stating that the curse would come upon the woman, and would be fulfilled in her. Similarly, in the language of Isaiah, the servant of YHWH, whoever he should be, was to be given, or made, to be the covenant with the people and nations. He constitutes the embodiment, and personal existentialisation, of all that the covenant entailed. (At this point, the transition is made from semantics to interpretation.) Accordingly, the Revised Standard Version rendering preserves the sense of the idiom, but one word of it might be changed:

> I have given you <u>for</u> a covenant of (the) people.

An objection to this line of reasoning might be anticipated, in that the force of נתן ל(ברית עם) is carried over to לאור גוים, so that the figure of speech is mixed. This possible objection can be countered by two inescapable facts of observation. First, the figure of speech is actually continued by duplication; the metonymy exists for נתן לברית and נתן לאור*. Secondly, this 'mixedness' is consistent with Hebrew construction, and is

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1. Cf. Nu 5:28; Jer 42:18; 44:12, etc.

attested in the use made of the compared phrase, נתן לאלה, at Jeremiah 42:18 and 44:12:

כי כה אמר יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל כאשר נתך אפי
וחמתי על ישבי ירושלם כן תתך חמתי עליכם בבאכם
מצרים והייתם לאלה ולשמה ולקללה ולחרפה ולא
תראו עוד את המקום הזה :[1]

Thus, the objection is answered.

This case duly recognises the priority of intra-hebraic structures over other categories of evidence. By means of the long task of field analysis, a remarkable consistency is discerned, yielding a sound linguistic basis for exposition of the sense of biblical parole. The contention is that, in this particular case, the doubt of uncertain conjecture is removed, being replaced by an authentic insight into the semantic motivation of Biblical Hebrew langue.

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1. It is interesting that Jeremiah repeats the idiom twice, in different, but related, passages, as does Isaiah. This improves the security of the reading, and its explanation.

B. Some Remarks on Further Applications of the Structures of the Semantic Field of ברית to Certain Questions of Biblical Study.

The necessity of liberating semantics from the theological presuppositions and interests, which have both dominated the issues of meaning that have been examined, and decided the way in which those issues are to be dealt with, has been recognised previously.[1] Nevertheless, the importance of a correctly structured connection between the two disciplines cannot be ignored. Thus, the principles of the transition procedure, from structural semantics (langue/parole) to interpretation (hermeneutica sacra), and then to theological reconstruction, have been outlined.[2] Whereas these steps have not been taken in the preceding discussion, which has been confined to purely semantic analysis, for the most part, it is appropriate that certain linguistic questions now be considered, which entail also, a consideration of the methodological intercourse between semantics and theological interpretation.

Exodus 6:2-3 and the Verb yT'.

The locus classicus of the Documentary Hypothesis is to be

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1. Cf. supra, pp.30f., 43-46.

2. Cf. supra, p.48. Cf. Nida, op.cit., and Barr, "Semantics and Biblical Theology - a Contribution to the Discussion."

found, according to Martin, at Exodus 6:2-3, which is translated by the Revised Standard Version as follows:

> "And God said to Moses, 'I am the LORD. I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, as God Almighty, but by my name the LORD I did not make myself known to them."[1]

The view often held of the conflict between this and certain Genesis passages, ascribed to J, where the name of YHWH is unquestionably known to the patriarchs, as a crystallization of the evidence for the composite character of the Pentateuch, has been resisted by opponents of the theory.[2] In the exchange, several linguistic arguments have been advanced, one example of which can be noted. The Hebrew text of Exodus 6:2-3 reads as follows:

וידבר אלהים אל משה ויאמר אליו אני יהוה :

וארא אל אברהם אל יצחק ואל יעקב באל שדי

ושמי יהוה לא נודעתי להם :

The contention is that לֹא should be read as לָא, as is the case on a few occasions, such as at I Samuel 20:14f.; this is required by the succession of positive assertions, using גם to emphasise the continuity, in the immediate context (vv.4-5).[3] By this change, the difficulty of a contradiction is circumvented without

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1. Similarly, AV. Cf. Martin, Stylistic Criteria and the Analysis of the Pentateuch, p.16.

2. Cf. Gen 15:2,7, etc. for conflicting passages. Cf. H.H. Rowley, The Growth of the Old Testament, (3rd ed.; London, Hutchinson, 1967), p.22. The debate is summarised by J.A.Motyer, The Revelation of the Divine Name, (Leicester, TSF, 1959).

3. For this emendation elsewhere, cf. BDB, p.520b, on Ju 21:22; I Sam 13:13; 20:14,14; Job 9:33. On Ex 6:2-3, cf. Martin, Stylistic Criteria and the Analysis of the Pentateuch, p.17.

recourse to the documents. However, it would seem that this means of evading the problem is not as satisfactory as might seem to be suggested, since advocates of the same general position, regarding the Pentateuch, have argued for an alternative. This uncertainty is revealed by Martin, when he writes thus:

> "There is, however, another possible translation which would eliminate all conflict with the remote context. The phrase, 'but by my name the LORD I did not make myself known to them' could be taken in Hebrew as an elliptical interrogative."[1]

Yet again, a third explanation has been proposed, in terms of a retranslation, amplifying the supposed sense of the text:

> "And God spoke to Moses, and said to him: I am Yahweh. And I showed myself to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob in the character of El Shaddai, but in the character expressed by my name Yahweh I did not make myself known to them."[2]

Each of these lines of reasoning takes up a feature of Old Testament language or thought, and applies it to this context, but it should be clear that, although propounded by scholars who adhere to the same standpoint on the Pentateuchal problem (in their rejection of source analysis), these 'solutions' are contradictory one of another. The aim has been predetermined, and the search is for a semantic (or conceptual) basis to justify that aim, as a conclusion; but an element of subjectivity

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1. Martin, Stylistic Criteria and the Analysis of the Pentateuch, p.18, citing Paul Joüon, Grammaire de l'Hebreu Biblique, (Rome, 1923), p.495, for a list of examples of this phenomenon.

2. Motyer, op.cit., p.12.

is discernible in the process. As far as the present discourse is concerned, a critique of such argumentation is not intended: what is intended, is an illustration of the dangers attendant upon this kind of exegesis, where semantics yields to the pressure of theological concerns without due reason for doing so. One effect of this situation, of theological predetermination, upon the semanticist, has been a corresponding neglect of other aspects of meaning. This has detracted from the quality of linguistic analysis. In contradistinction to this, it is the semanticist's task to stand aside from the theological arena, and to settle the relevant issues within his own discipline. In the case of Exodus 6:2-3, this aim is facilitated by two factors: on one hand, the composite character of the Pentateuchal literature is open to discussion on many premises other than this one; on the other hand, the majority of scholars regard the matter as settled in favour of the Documentary Hypothesis.[1] Hence, an attempt is to be made, in the following paragraphs, to return to the text of Exodus 6:2-3, in a framework of reference that is entirely separate from the popular forum.

A beginning is made with the verb יָדַע. It has various shades of meaning;[2] one, of interest to the present study, has been researched by Huffmon, whose conclusions have been published

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1. These scholars differ over details of the case; cf. C.R. North, "Pentateuchal Criticism," The Old Testament and Modern Study, ed. H.H.Rowley, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1961), 48-83.

2. BDB, pp.393-396.

in an article, "The Treaty Background of Hebrew Yada^{c}."[1] The discovery of a covenantal connotation for the Hittite verb $\overset{v}{\text{šak-}}$ ("know") in certain literary contexts, though matched on only a few rare occasions by a similar use of idû in Akkadian,[2] does find a number of parallels in the use of ידע in Biblical Hebrew. Consequently, a technical sense for ידע can be postulated, to be defined in terms of 'covenantal recognition': (i) of (mutual) legal recognition between the covenanted parties; (ii) of the recognition of contractual stipulations as binding. This connotation can be detected in a considerable number of biblical references, for example, at Hosea 13:4-5, (Hosea being a book in which a covenantal orientation of thought - with reference to the divine covenant with Israel - is frequently discernible);

ואנכי יהוה אלהיך מארץ מצרים
ואלהים זולתי לא תדע ומושיע אין בלתי :
אני ידעתיך במדבר בארץ תלאבות :[3]

At such places, the usual translation does not bring out the covenantal character of the language. Even the recognition of an allusion to the election theme, perhaps translating

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1. H.B.Huffmon, "The Treaty Background of Hebrew Yada^{c}," BASOR, CLXXXI (1966), 31-37, which was followed by a second: H.B.Huffmon and S.B.Parker, "A Further Note on the Treaty Background of Hebrew Yada^{c}," BASOR, CLXXXIV (1966), 36-38.

2. CAD, I/J Vol., does not identify this; cf. Huffmon, "The Treaty Background ...," 32f.

3. Huffmon's references are as follows: Gen 18:19; Ex 33:12; (33:17); Deu 9:24; 34:10; I Sam 2:12; 3:17; II Sam 7:20; I Chron 28:9; Is 19:21; Jer 1:5; 2:8; 22:15f.; 24:7; 31:34; (12:3); Hos 2:22; 4:1,6; 5:4; 8:2; Am 3:2; Dan 11:32; Ps 14:4; cf.53:5; 36:11.

"to choose," falls short of the true sense of ידע.[1] The point is concluded by Huffmon in the following statement:

> "In summary, it seems clear that the evidence does justify a claim that 'know' may be used as a technical term for (legal) recognition in international treaties and related texts. Furthermore, while some of the biblical evidence might be explained otherwise, it also seems clear that most of the passages cited above do come into sharper focus when understood in the light of technical treaty usage of words for 'know,' such as 'acknowledge, recognise (authority, claims)' in the usual legal sense."[2]

The articulation of certain fundamental structures of the semantic field of ברית, although incomplete as yet, has prepared the ground for a development of Huffmon's case, offering further confirmation of his view of ידע in many of the texts discussed. Beginning with his citation of Daniel 11:32, where a contrast is observed between מרשיעי ברית (those who act wickedly against the covenant) and עם ידעי אלהיו (the people who know their God), it is possible to find, in the immediate context, an important linguistic connection. The passage in question reads as follows:

30 ובאו בו ציים כתים ונכאה ושב וזעם על ברית קדש
ועשה ושב ויבן על עזבי ברית קדש : 31 וזרעים ממנו
יעמדו וחללו המקדש המעוז והסירו התמיד ונתנו השקוץ
משומם : 32 ומרשיעי ברית יחניף בחלקות ועם ידעי

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1. E. Baumann, "YDᶜ und seine Derivate. Eine Sprachlich-exegetische Studie," ZAW, XXVIII (1908), 22-41, 110-143, who gives a sense "durch Erwählung aufnehmen und sich zu eigen machen." According to Huffmon, " 'election' is subsidiary to the covenant." Cf. Huffmon, "The Treaty Background ...," 35.

2. Ibid. 37.

אלהיו ויחזקו ועשו :[1]

The essential link between verses 30 and 32, though interesting for other reasons, such as the emphatic use of עשה in both, is primarily of importance because it suggests a synonymy of ידע with בין, and hence, by implication, a relationship of opposition between ידע (בין) and על שעה. This sense for בין, which is not preserved in the Revised Standard Version's translation, "give heed," although perhaps the Authorised Version's rendering, "have intelligence with," is nearer the mark, is not at all improbable.[2] A tendency for ידע to impart its own connotations to similar collocated verbs has been noticed elsewhere, for example, at Jeremiah 12:3, where ראה is combined with ידע.[3] Further, the resultant opposition between ידע and (על) שעה is far from being a fanciful reconstruction: it is a fact, demonstrated by Isaiah 66:14:

ונודעה יד יהוה את עבדיו

ושעם את איביו :

The entire oppositional pair enters the semantic field of ברית. In this Isaianic context, the possibility of a direct covenantal association is enhanced by the accompanying use of עבד, opposed to אויב. That this has been overlooked by the principal English translations of the Daniel passage cannot be surprising, since the translators had consistently failed to perceive the precise

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1. Dan 11:30-32.
2. BDB, pp.106f.
3. Huffmon, "The Treaty Background of Hebrew Yada^{c}," 35.

significance of ידע throughout the Old Testament, as mentioned previously.[1] Indeed, the whole context of these verses is hallmarked by the structures of covenantal language: גלוה of verse 34; ידע again, in verse 36; and in verse 38, ידה appears with the same sense as at verse 32, but of 'knowing foreign gods.' (The case for the existence of covenants between men and their gods outside Israel is irrefragable: so witness the covenant of Urukagina with Ningirsu, the covenant with Baal at Shechem, and the covenant with many gods at Arslan Tash.)[2] Hence, a connection between ידה (בין) and על ידע is operative here, which is not superficially obvious, but nevertheless is representative of an authentic semantic role of ידה. Numerous texts could be summoned to incorporate the point more fully, (for example, Exodus 1:8, of Pharaoh's not knowing Joseph,) - the case being established with varying degrees of certainty in each reference - but the final corroboration, in this discussion, will be taken from the prophecy of Ezekiel. The twentieth chapter contains the manifold repetition of statements that God had sworn to the nation (= נשא ידי) and that they had rebelled (וימרו בי). The essence of this polarity is summarised at verse 5:

ואמרת אליהם כה אמר אדני יהוה
ביום בחרי בישראל ואשא ידי לזרע בית יעקב
ואודע להם בארץ מצרים ואשא ידי להם לאמר

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1. Cf. supra, p.163.

2. For the covenant of Urukagina with Ningirsu, cf. supra, p.56; for that at Arslan Tash, cf. Appendix II, the Phoenician Incantation text; for the covenant of Baal at Shechem, cf. Ju 9: 4,46; (and 8:33).

אני יהוה אלהיכם :

The association of נשא יד and ידע is undeniable, as is their common opposition to מרה ב'. Previous indications of the equivalent function of נשבע/הרים יד/נשא יד with כרת ברית are relevant here, since the historical reference point of these words is unmistakably that of the covenant revelation of God at Sinai.[1] This fact helps to draw together the strands of evidence. Indeed, one of the dialogical encounters between God and Moses at Sinai, recorded at Exodus 33:12-17, provides an excellent example of the equivocal usage of the verb ידע; in six occurrences, the sense varies considerably, and of particular significance is the phrase, "to know by name." On three occasions, it is coupled with a statement to the effect that Moses had found, or would find, favour in God's sight. Whereas it cannot be claimed that the combination of ידע בשם with מצא חן בעיני guarantees a covenantal connotation, it can be pointed out that this conclusion is consistent with the recognised association of מצא חן with אהב that can be observed in the Deuteronomistic History.[2] These considerations - Huffmon's biblical textual analysis (prompted by the sense of the Hittite verb šak-), and its structural substantiation - establish the langue framework for a study of Exodus 6:2-3.

ידע (distinct from, and of wider ranging significance than, נכר and בין, though synonymous with בין at Daniel 11:30-32) is

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1. Cf. supra, pp.293ff.

2. Cf. I Sam 20:3. This is confirmed by several random instances, e.g. Gen 6:8,18, etc.

functionally equivalent to כרת ברית, נשא יד, (and נשבע), and stands opposed to (על) זעם and (ב') מרה; it signifies 'knowing in covenant.' Against this backcloth, Exodus 6:2-3 must be viewed in its context, that is, verses 2-9 in particular. There covenantal interest abounds: "I also established my covenant with them," "I have remembered my covenant," "the land which I swore to give...." Even the assertion, "I am the LORD," would seem to be more than a mere statement of identity.[1] Verse 7,

> "and I will take you for my people,
> and I will be your God,"

has also been understood as a statement of the essential covenantal relationship.[2] In the light of these facts, it is perfectly consistent to regard the words of Exodus 6:3 as having covenantal import. ידע and ראה, both in the Niph'al, have the sense of 'being known (or revealed) in covenantal terms.'

In bringing this matter to a conclusion, it may be re-asserted that, contrary to the assumptions inherent in popular practice, the relevant issue for the semanticist is the meaning of the utterance, understood according to the framework of Biblical Hebrew langue. The biblical exegete, who is concerned

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1. M.H.Segal, The Pentateuch: its Composition and its Authorship, and other Biblical Studies, (Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1967), pp.6f.

2. Clines, op.cit., pp.33ff.

with theological interpretation, may relate the thought of this passage to that of others, in an attempt to discover contradictions, common motifs, and so on, but that is not the business of semantics. The preservation of this distinction is indispensible to the maintenance of scientific integrity for linguistic analysis. No compromise can be accepted. Once the semantic questions have been decided, theological issues can be raised. In this case, the use of this text by the Documentary Hypothesis may need to come under review. It can be demonstrated, however, that the new semantic basis still allows full consistency within the material currently ascribed to P, comparing, for example, Genesis 17:11, "I am El Shaddai," as contrasted with Genesis 28:13 (attributed to J), "I am YHWH."[1] Furthermore, there can be little question that such an hypothesis does not rest upon one text: it has a broad foundation, comprising arguments from the duplication of material, divergent use of the divine names, and various linguistic separations, to name but a few. Indeed, genuine semantic reconstruction is not to be resisted: on the contrary, its results can only be of immense benefit, in their application.

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1. McEvenue, op.cit., p.189, (differing slightly from other specifications of sources, such as G.W.Anderson, A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, (London, Duckworth, 1959), pp. 31 and 46.) Cf. Clines, op.cit., p.37.

Excursus 3.

An Examination of the Question of Theological Use and Abuse of Semantic Evidence on Terms for "Knowing," Related to the Recognition of Biblical Hebrew ידע as the Background to New Testament Greek γινώσκειν, οἶδα (εἰδέναι).

The writers of the New Testament were Hebrews, and this coloured both their understanding and their use of κοινη Greek to a significant extent.[1] Consequently, classical scholarship must come to terms with the necessity for a dialogue with Semitic scholarship. The Hebrew-Greek connection raises the issue of a correct methodology when approaching questions of meaning in the Bible. This is exemplified in the study of words for "knowing." Bultmann has written:

> "A further presupposition of NT usage, however, is the LXX use of γινώσκειν and εἰδέναι, or the OT concept of knowledge. This comes out most clearly in the use of ידע, for which γινώσκειν and εἰδέναι are the normal renderings in the LXX."[2]

As a result of a certain integration of Old and New Testaments, lexical analysis of γινώσκειν and οἶδα (εἰδέναι) must turn to Biblical Hebrew, and the verb ידע. There is a wide area of agreement in usage between ידע and the corresponding

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1. This fact is generally recognised, and is a presupposition in the present discussion; witness the NT text itself, II Cor 11:22; witness also, both Hebrew/Aramaic insertions in the text, and, more particularly, the 'grammatical semitisms': cf. M.Zerwick, Biblical Greek, Illustrated by Examples, (Rome, PBI, 1963), pp.163f., para 494.

2. TDNT, I, 696f.

Greek verbs; both יָדַע and γινώσκειν are used of carnal knowledge, of the knowledge of facts, of personal acquaintance, etc., and οἶδα, though slightly more limited, in particular, never being used of carnal knowledge between a man and a woman, occupies much the same range of applications.[1] However, the relationship between יָדַע and γινώσκειν/οἶδα is far from simple. This can be illustrated by reference to the position of Bultmann, reported above, which, although stating an authentic historical causal connection, is open to challenge, point for point. No equation is possible between the Old Testament concept of knowledge and the Septuagint's use of γινώσκειν and εἰδέναι. The very existence of a single concept in the Old Testament is doubtful. So too, the clearest indication of the conceptual link is not to be derived from an analysis of the use of יָדַע. Nevertheless, the principle of a connection between these two corpora (Old and New) holds good, but it requires more precise definition. In order to introduce maximal clarity into the discussion, certain fundamental propositions of principle and fact must be observed. In the first place, a distinction, which has become formative during the course of the foregoing analysis, between linguistic sense and concept, must be preserved.[2] There is a vital distinction between the sense of יָדַע and the concept(s) of knowledge operating in the minds

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1. Cf. the Greek lexicons: Arndt and Gingrich, op.cit., pp.159ff., 585f., and Thayer, op.cit., pp.117ff., (and οἶδα under εἴδω) p.174.

2. Cf. supra, pp.44-47, (and summarised on pp.48f.).

of Old Testament writers. Whereas an interaction of the two was inevitable, any attempt to base conclusions about thought-structures upon purely semantic premises constitutes a hazzardous manoeuvre. It is even more precarious to seek to determine the concepts of the New Testament writers by means of a study of Hebrew meanings. Secondly, the Hebrew and Greek terms in question must be studied in their native linguistic environments before any connections can be drawn.[1] A commencement has been made with the term ידע: a similar process must be executed for γινώσκειν and οἶδα. Thayer, for example, distinguished γινώσκειν from εἰδέναι, ἐπίστασθαι, and συνείναι, but Bultmann included other terms, such as αἰσθάνεσθαι and a number of related nouns.[2] However, it will be observed how discord, and not harmony, has characterised this area of lexical research. Nevertheless, this does not detract from the point; it is the importance of independent analysis (Hebrew from Greek) which should be stressed, especially as it has been noticed that "γινώσκειν, though the nearest term in Greek corresponding to the Hebrew ידע, is not an exact equivalent."[3] Hellenism was not expurgated from the Palestinian context of life, in New Testament times.

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1. Cf. supra, pp.78f.

2. Thayer, op.cit., p.118. TDNT, I, 690.

3. C.H.Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, (Cambridge, CUP, 1970), p.152.

Historically speaking, Christian epistemology, especially with respect to the knowledge of God, has always been deeply controversial. Gnosticism stands out as an early instance of this fact.[1] In more recent times, the epistemological problem, which has given rise to various positions, has been intimately bound up with the interpretation of the significance of 'knowing God' in the New Testament, and this has almost inevitably been based upon a corresponding linguistic explanation of the Greek terms. The discussion has crystallized in connection with the Johannine literature, where, so prominent is the 'gnosis factor,' that Turner has renamed the Apostle of Love, the "exponent of Enlightenment."[2] Classical Greek is said to have distinguished between intuitive knowledge of direct mental perception (οἶδα) and knowledge by experience (γινώσκειν).[3] Turner, however, challenging the existence of the classical distinction in the biblical writings, has redefined these terms; οἶδα is "cognizance of simple Christian dogmas, credal knowledge": γινώσκειν has a more mystical connotation, particularly when used of man's knowing God and Christ.[4] Bultmann related the language to the conceptual structures of Greek and Hebrew ways of thinking, stressing the similarity of the Greek terms and their contrast with ידע. Dodd summarises the distinction:

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1. Ibid., pp.97-114.

2. N.Turner, Grammatical Insights into the New Testament, (Edinburgh, T.&T.Clark, 1965), p.151.

3. Ibid., p.153. Cf. A.E.Brooke, The Johannine Epistles, ICC, (Edinburgh, T.&T.Clark, 1912), p.68.

4. Turner, op.cit., pp.152f.

"Accordingly, for the Greek, to know means to contemplate the ultimate reality, το ὄντως ὄν, in its changeless essence. For the Hebrew, to know God is to acknowledge Him in His works and to respond to His claims. While for the Greek knowledge of God is the most highly abstract form of pure contemplation, for the Hebrew it is essentially intercourse with God; it is to experience His dealings with men in time, and to hear and obey His commands."[1]

The New Testament is thought to have drawn from both, and to have related the result to the person of the Messiah. Thus, for Dodd, in John's Gospel in particular, knowledge of God is to be connected with union with God and Christ.[2] One extension of this exposition into theology is represented by Packer, in his book, "Knowing God."[3] The analysis of what it is to know God in biblical terms, includes several components, one being a personal encounter with the Divine Being.[4] This theological construct is then imputed to various biblical passages, as the true sense of the text. Returning to Daniel 11:32, Packer identifies 'the knowing of God' with 'the demonstration of great energy for God.'[5] Consequently, from the standpoint of this 'subjectivist' view, a very different construction is placed upon the text from that stated above.[6] The contention of the present excursus is that theological reasoning which follows

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1. Dodd, op.cit., p.152.

2. Ibid., pp.169, 187ff.

3. J.I.Packer, Knowing God, (London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1973).

4. Ibid., pp.312f.

5. Ibid. p.25.

6. Cf. supra, pp.401ff.

such a tortuous path has gone astray. Certain propositions can be advanced to clarify the basis for an understanding of the knowledge of God, from the perspective of semantics.

In the first place, the covenantal sense of יָדַע, which is discernible in many parts of the Hebrew literature, constitutes an essential element in the discussion, since a very similar connotation seems to have been appropriated by the Greek verbs γινώσκειν and οἶδα. This can be seen at Hebrew 8:11:

> καὶ οὐ μὴ διδάξωσιν ἕκαστος τὸν πολίτην
> αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕκαστος τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, λέγων,
> Γνῶθι τὸν Κύριον, ὅτι πάντες εἰδήδουσίν με ...

This semantic connection is potentially of value in elucidating the sense of several utterances in the Greek Testament, with greater precision.[1] This is true of Johannine language also, as at John 17:3, for example:

> "And this is eternal life, that they know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent."[2]

Secondly, it is possible to detect a thematic harmony between Old Testament writings and New Testament writings, with regard to the nature of knowledge of God, but this is determined by evidence quite apart from semantics. Thus, for example, the association of life with knowing God in John's Gospel finds a parallel in Hosea's prophecy:

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1. Cf. Matt 7:13; Lk 24:35; I Cor 1:21; 8:3; Gal 4:9; etc.

2. Cf. also, Jo 16:3; 17:25; etc.

"... that we may live before him.
Let us know, let us press on to know the LORD;"[1]

The conceptual relationship between John's writings and the prophecy of Hosea does not depend upon the proof of one linguistic point. Hosea's conception of the knowledge of God is defined by statements that relate it to faithfulness and kindness (ידע and אמת וחסד) (Hos 4:1), steadfast love (ידע = חסד in parallelism) (Hos 6:6), repentance (Hos 6:1ff.), betrothal in love (Hos 3:1), and so on. Similarly, John's conception of knowledge of God is defined in terms of obedience to the commandments of God (I Jo 2:4 and elsewhere), loving God and having fellowship with him (I Jo 4:8; 1:3), abiding in him (I Jo 2:6), confessing the Son (I Jo 3:23), listening to the Spirit of Truth (I Jo 4:6), and so on. Nevertheless, an appreciation of the covenantal connotations of ידע and γινώσκειν, in the use of these writers, does illuminate the connection. The point is, that the many biblical authors can be operating with differing concepts of what is entailed in knowing God, and yet give expression to their ideas using the relevant verb, "to know," with the same semantic value.[2] Further, this semantic point does influence attempts to expound theological positions. Mystic communion with the Deity can be argued from propositional premises, according to theological principles of method, but, where the covenantal connotation for ידע or γινώσκειν (οἶδα) is established, then those

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1. Hos 6:2-3.

2. An obvious difference lies in the coming of the Messiah, which radically influenced NT teachings on knowing God.

statements in which this appears, cannot be conscripted in support of the case; more emphatically, neither can the sense of ידע or γινώσκειν/οἶδα be used <u>directly</u> to argue a theological case.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

The problem posed was the definition of covenant language. In searching for a solution, the traditional areas of discussion, theological, form-critical, and philological, have been set aside, not as an exercise in iconoclasm, but with the intention of developing an explicitly semantic methodology. One of the most fundamental realisations which prompted this course of action was that of the fact that conceptual categories and semantic structures are not isomorphic. Even if, as would seem to be the case, these two spheres impinge upon each other, effecting mutual interaction, an independent appreciation of the semantic structures of Biblical Hebrew will enhance any attempt to discuss covenantal concepts in the Old Testament writings. With the need to preserve an appropriate distinction between linguistic analysis of sense and theological analysis of meaning in mind, a methodological basis for investigation was laid in the fundamental axioms of Ferdinand de Saussure's system. The embryonic Saussurean definition of a language, in this case applied to Biblical Hebrew, as a unique synchronic relational langue-structural system of signs, existing in a diachronic continuum, manifested in parole, had been given methodological form and substance by a number of linguists - Trier, Porzig, Greimas, Barthes, and others - in terms of syntagmatic and paradigmatic lexical association, and functional and actantial compositional-grammatical relation. The synthesis and harmonisation of these historically disparate elements of structural method has given fuller definition to the concept of the semantic field. This could be achieved only by abandoning

the imposed limitations of traditional linguistics, which has regarded the word as the basic unit of signification, and which has failed to differentiate among sense (signifié), concept, and reference, as aspects of 'meaning.' The development of this linguistic apparatus, although at an elementary stage, constitutes a significant innovation. Its application to the Biblical Hebrew corpus, where stylistic and analogical degrees have been recognised, has produced certain distinctive propositions of definition.

These propositions constitute the semantic field of ברית, which can be outlined according to the following structures:

(1) The principal term, ברית, enters eighty-two syntagms, which can be sub-divided into two categories: substantival and verbal.

(2) Substantival syntagms of ברית can be grouped under certain paradigms:

ברית 'שם' : party of the covenant

ברית 'שם' : covenant of party

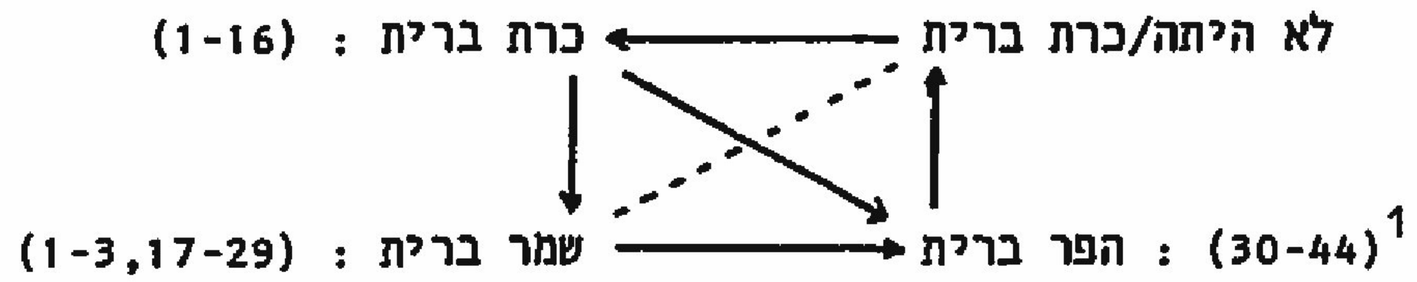
One exception to this is ברית יהוה, which is sometimes equivalent to ברית לפני יהוה.

ברית עולם : descriptive modification of covenant

אות ברית : association with covenant.

These are structurally subordinate to verbal syntagms of ברית.

(3) Verbal syntagms have been organised according to a square of directional opposition, which is summarised by the paradigm:



The paradigm is supplemented through the derived dimensions of usage, in each stylistic context.

(4) Compositional analysis, exercised upon four narratives of Genesis, has yielded a functional-actantial paradigm of the same verbal syntagms. Again, this can be represented in the following series:

עשה מלחמה - חבר - עבד - מרד - עשה מלחמה

Pursuit of the details of this analysis reveals many vital relations of sense. These have been drawn together in a table.[2] The authenticity of the paradigm extracted from Genesis is confirmed time and time again in the narratives of the Deuteronomistic History and the Chronicles.

(5) By the introduction of a new sequential-directional component into the square of opposition, the compositional modes of description can be incorporated within its format. The effect of this is to achieve a remarkably rich and consistent articulation of one part of the Biblical Hebrew vocabulary. Further, it is discovered that verbal syntagms that are explicit only in the derived dimensions, are implicitly present in the first dimension; שקר בברית (Ps 44:18) is matched by שקר (Gen 21:23), for example, which is particularly significant in this case, since שקר occurs six times in total.

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1. Numbers refer to syntagms, cf. supra, pp.126f.

2. Cf. supra, p.284.

(6) A set of approximately thirty nouns are paradigmatically associated with ברית, in terms of synonymy, contrast, and hyponymy. Thus, for example, אמנה and אחוה occur on single occasions as synonyms; עוד and עדות are partially synonymous within certain specific, and restricted, contexts.[1] However, one distinctive characteristic of this semantic thesis is the position of the syntagm as a distinct unit of sense. Not only does this reduce the importance of lexical relations, but also, it has led to the discovery of many connections that could not be anticipated for the traditional modes of description: הכה is opposed to כרת ברית; a complex association exists between חרם (noun and verb) and כרת ברית; a most significant link is exposed between performative expressions of the scenic mode, such as ... ארור, ... ברוך, אשבע, and their indicative straight-modal counterparts, thus drawing them into the field in general. These basic structures organise the semantic field of ברית; the details of this field are recorded through the course of the investigation.[2]

During this process, the question of differentiation has been raised in terms of idiolect, diachrony, and style. It became clear at an early stage that style is a dominant causal factor. There is no clearly discernible chronological watershed. Idiolect too is extremely vague. For example, אלה has an explicit collocation (hendiadys) with ברית in Deuteronomy alone, but as

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1. Cf. supra, p.200.

2. Cf. supra, The list of principal tables and diagrams, which identifes the data wich are important for the semantic field.

the full range of the semantic field is explored, their association becomes evident in many places: Ezekiel's parallelism; functional commutativity in Genesis; syntagmatic imitation in Isaiah. This cautions hasty arguments for distinctive vocabulary. These observations are exceedingly relevant for a valid treatment of certain commonly held opinions on covenant language. Thus, the distinctiveness of P's vocabulary is shown to reside, not in his langue-competence structures, as was supposed, but in the way that he uses those structures to his own end. Similarly, it has been demonstrated that traditional distinctions between parity and disparity, conditionality and absoluteness, which pertain to theology, have no linguistic basis. Rather, other categories of differentiation have been expounded. Vital to a proper conception of the thesis is the understanding that the field-structures are not rigid, but flexible - there is the intersection of several lexical sets - and the covenantal connotations are not ubiquitous. It is undeniable that the writers were capable of a high degree of sophistication in their manipulation of the subtleties of ambiguous connotation. This increases the vitality of their utterance.[1]

The authenticity of the results of this analysis is set in powerful relief when the more unexpected associations are found elsewhere. Functional identification of ריב with עשה מלחמה, נלחם, within the orbit of ברית, is confirmed throughout the corpus, as at Psalm 35:1 and Judges 11:25. This feature of confirmation

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1. Cf. supra, p.333.

encourages confidence in the application of these structures, a confidence that is justified by the successful elimination of problems of meaning. Thus, the obscurity of Isaiah 42:6 and 49:8, the interpretation of which "has been no more than conjecture,"[1] causing every commentator great difficulty, is removed by the structural technique of semantic reconstruction, thereby forcefully elucidating the sense of the utterance. Some such reconstructions are relatively straightforward, for example, the covenant of Abner, expressed by עשה משתה and הלך בשלום, but others are far more elaborate, though no less valid. Thus, in considering ידע (particularly at Exodus 6:3), the semantic field is alone a substantial basis to explicate the covenantal connotation of the verb in certain contexts, and hence to clarify the meanings of several statements concerned with 'knowing God.' By this means, the search for a contrived semantic platform of support for preconceived theological notions, which is sometimes witnessed, is strongly resisted; semantics influences, but does not determine, nor prove, theological propositions.

The whole thesis on covenant language, propounded in these pages, sets a new course, the result of which is an increasingly profound synthesis of Biblical Hebrew langue, and the presentation of the equipment for taking one more step from langue-analysis to competence. As for detail, it sheds light on the significance of many biblical utterances. Therefore, in this way, the tedious

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1. Cf. supra, p.382, Westermann, Isaiah 40-66, p.100.

labour of semantic analysis commends itself to Biblical Studies. The heart of the semantic field of ברית has been set out; covenant language in Biblical Hebrew has been defined.

The matter will now be concluded with an abstract from the prophecy of Malachi, without any comment, but which, when read from the perspective of this dissertation, will be seen to contain abundant evidence of language orientated to covenant.

An Abstract from the Prophecy of Malachi.

אהבתי אתכם אמר יהוה ... ואהב את יעקב ואת עשו שנאתי :
ועתה אליכם המצוה הזאת הכהנים
אם לא תשמעו ואם לא תשימו על לב לתת כבוד לשמי אמר יהוה
צבאות ושלחתי בכם את המארה וארותי את ברכותיכם :
הנני גער לכם את הזרע
וידעתם כי שלחתי אליכם את המצוה הזאת להיות בריתי את
לוי אמר יהוה צבאות : בריתי היתה אתו החיים והשלום
תורת אמת היתה בפיהו ...
בשלום ובמישור הלך אתי ...
כי שפתי כהן ישמרו דעת :
ואתם סרתם מן הדרך
שחתם ברית הלוי אמר יהוה צבאות : מדוע בגד איש באחיו
לחלל ברית אבתינו : בגדה יהודה ... חלל יהודה קדש יהוה
אשר אהב ובעל בת אל נכר : כי יהוה העיד בינך ובין אשת
נעוריך אשר אתה בגדת בה והיא חברתך ואשת בריתך :
הנני שלח מלאכי ... ומלאך הברית ... וקרבתי אליכם למשפט
והייתי עד ... : למימי אבתיכם סרתם מחקי ולא שמרתם :
שובו אלי ואשיבה אליכם ... : במארה אתם נארים
הביאו את כל המעשר אל בית האוצר והריקתי לכם ברכה
אמרתם שוא עבד אלהים ... ושבתם וראיתם בין צדיק לרשע
בין עבד אלהים לאשר לא עבדו :
זכרו תורת משה עבדי אשר ציותי אתו ....חקים ומשפטים
פן אבוא והכיתי את הארץ חרם :

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APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

Analytical List of Compositional Units and Textual References where ברית Appears in the Corpus of the Hebrew Scriptures.

1. The Pentateuch.

The First Dimension of ברית: Narrative Context.

Gen 14	Gen 14:13	Four narrative units involving covenants of the patriarchs with their neighbours.
Gen 21:22-34	Gen 21:27,32	
Gen 26:1-33	Gen 26:28	
Gen 31:1-55	Gen 31:44	

The First Dimension of ברית: Legislative Context.

Ex 23:20-33	Ex 23:32	Three statements of one command-ment (the "exclusiveness clause" of the Covenant of YHWH with Israel), forbidding the conclusion of a covenant with the pre-Israel-ite inhabitants of the land of Canaan.
Ex 34:10-17	Ex 34:12,15	
Deu 7:1-11	Deu 7:2	

The Third Dimension of ברית: Narrative Context.

Gen 6:1-9:29	Gen 6:18; 9:9, 11,12,13,15,16, 17	The Flood Narrative, (one of the narratives of antiquity).
Gen 12:1-24:67	Gen 15:18; 17:2, 4,7(2X),9,10,11, 13(2X),14,19(2X), 21	The narrative exposition of the Abrahamic Covenant, as part of the patriarchal narratives that speak of Abraham.

Three references to the Abrahamic Covenant in the Exodus Narrative (Ex 1:1-19:25):

Ex 2:23-25	Ex 2:24	
Ex 6:2-8	Ex 6:4,5	A covenantal revelation of the God of the Fathers to Moses.

Ex 19:1-6	Ex 19:5	
Nu 25:1-15	Nu 25:12,13	The Phinehas Narrative.

The Third Dimension of ברית: Legislative Context.

Ex 24:1-11	Ex 24:7,8	A narrative interlude: the ratification of the Mosaic Covenant. (ספר הברית and דם הברית.)
Ex 34:1-28	Ex 34:10,27,28	Replacement of the Tablets of the Covenant. (This overlaps the "exclusiveness clause" noted above as belonging to the smaller unit: Ex 34:10-17.)

Four references that impart specific significance to ברית, defined as a single commandment:

Ex 31:13-17	Ex 31:16	The Sabbath is a covenant.
Lev 2:12-16	Lev 2:13	The Salt of the Covenant.
Lev 24:5-9	Lev 24:8	Provision of the shewbread is a covenant.
Nu 18:1-19	Nu 18:19	The portion of the Priests includes a covenant of salt.
Lev 26:3-46	Lev 26:9,15,25, 42(3X),44,45	The pragmatic clauses of the Mosaic Covenant: blessing and curse.

References to ברית in Deuteronomy:

Deu 4:1-40	Deu 4:13,23,31	Introductory exhortation to obedience: ... ועזה.
Deu 5:1-11:32	Deu 5:2,3; 7:9, 12; 8:18	General Stipulations of the Mosaic Law.
	Deu 9:9,11,15	The Tablets of the Covenant.
Deu 12:1-26:19	Deu 17:2	The Laws of Israel.
Deu 27-30	Deu 28:69(2X) (AV 29:1)	Subscription to the foregoing laws, immediately preceding the curses and blessings attached to that law.

	Deu 29:8,11,13, 20,24 (AV:9,12, 14,21,25)	Exhortation to obedience.
Deu 31:1-21	Deu 31:16,20	The final injunction of Moses.
Deu 33:1-29	Deu 33:9	The Blessings of Moses.

The Fourth Dimension of ברית: Legislative Context.

Ex 23:20-33	Ex 23:32	Prohibition against covenants with other gods.

2. The Deuteronomistic History.

The First Dimension of ברית.

Jos 9:1-27	Jos 9:6,7,11, 15,16	The Gibeonite Covenant.
Ju 2:1-5	Ju 2:2	Reference to the exclusiveness clause of the Covenant of YHWH.
I Sam 11:1-11	I Sam 11:1	The Covenant of Nahash.
I Sam 13:1- II Sam 5:3	I Sam 18:3; 20:8; 23:18; II Sam 3: 12,13,21; 5:3	Covenants involved in David's rise to the throne of Israel.
I Ki 5:15-26 (AV:1-12)	I Ki 5:26(AV:12)	Solomon's covenant with Hiram, King of Tyre.
I Ki 15:9-24	I Ki 15:19(2X)	Asa's covenant with Benhadad.
I Ki 20:1-43	I Ki 20:34(2X)	Ahab's covenant with Benhadad.
II Ki 11:1-20	II Ki 11:4,17	Jehoiada's covenant on behalf of Jehoash, the king's son.

The Third Dimension of ברית.

Jos 7:1-26	Jos 7:11,15	The covenant of annihilation upon Jericho, and the defiance of Achan. (This is set in the wider context of Jos 6:1-7:26.)

Jos 23:1-24:28	Jos 23:16	Joshua's final exhortation.
	Jos 24:25	The covenant renewal at Shechem.
Ju 2:1-23	Ju 2:1,20	Historical Explanation of the Judges' Period. (The Fourth Mode of Narration is prominent.)
II Sam 23:1-7	II Sam 23:5	The last words of David.
I Ki 8:23-54	I Ki 8:23	The prayer of Solomon at the Dedication of the Temple.
I Ki 11:1-13	I Ki 11:11	Solomon's transgression.
I Ki 19:1-21	I Ki 19:10,14	Elijah's repetitive accusation against Israel with respect to covenant fracture. (Part of the longer Elijah-narratives.)
II Ki 13:22-25	II Ki 13:23	Historical Comment.
II Ki 17:1-41 and 18:9-12	II Ki 17:15, 35,38; 18:12	The Fall of Samaria and the syncretistic Samaritan cult.
II Ki 22:1-23:28	II Ki 23:2, 3(2X),21	The Reform of Josiah's reign.

The Fourth Dimension of ברית.

The only evidence for the fourth dimensional usage of ברית within the text is non-functional, in the form of cultic designations:

Ju 8:33-9:57	Ju 8:33; 9:4, 46	The narrative treats of Abimelech's succession of Gideon. אל ברית or בעל ברית was the deity worshipped at Shechem.

3. The Chronicles.

The First Dimension of ברית.

I Chron 11:1-3	I Chron 11:3	David's covenant of kingship with the elders of Israel. (The wider context, I Chron 10: 1-11:3, is parallel with the longer I Sam 13:1-II Sam 5:3.)

II Chron 16:1-14	II Chron 16:3	Asa's covenant with Benhadad.
II Chron 22:10-23:21	II Chron 23:1,3, 16	Jehoiada's covenant for the king's son.

The Third Dimension of ברית.

I Chron 16:7-36	I Chron 16:15, 17	The Davidic psalm of thanksgiving, at the bringing in of the Sacred Ark into Jerusalem. (This is parallel with Ps 105: 1-15, and Ps 96:1-13, and Ps 106:47,48.)
II Chron 6:4-11	II Chron 6:11	Solomon's blessing of Israel.
II Chron 6:12-42	II Chron 6:14	The prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the Temple.
II Chron 13:1-22(esp.:4-12)	II Chron 13:5	The battle challenge of Abijah, referring to the Davidic covenant of salt.
II Chron 15:1-19	II Chron 15:12	The covenant of Asa's reform.
II Chron 21:1-20	II Chron 21:7	Jehoram's reign, with a fourth mode reference to the Davidic Covenant.
II Chron 29:1-36	II Chron 29:10	Hezekiah's covenant renewal.
II Chron 34:1-33	II Chron 34:30, 31(2X),32	Josiah's covenant renewal.

4. The Ezra-Nehemiah Record.

The Third Dimension of ברית.

Ezra 10:1-44	Ezra 10:3	The covenant of divorce.
Neh 1:4-11	Neh 1:5	The prayer of Nehemiah. (Compare Ex 34; Deu 7:9; Dan 9:4.)

Neh 9:1-10:40 (AV 9:1-10:39)	Neh 9:8,32	The historical review of the Levites on an occasion of covenant renewal.
Neh 13:23-31	Neh 13:29	Memorial curse upon those who defiled the priestly covenant.

6. The Books of the Prophets and Daniel 7:1-12:13.

The First Dimension of ברית.

Is 33:1-16	Is 33:8	Oracle of lamentation over the condition of Judah.
Jer 34:8-22	Jer 34:8,10, 15,18	Historical allusion to the covenant of liberty made by Zedekiah.
Ezek 17:1-24	Ezek 17:13,14, 15,16,18	An oracle (חידה/משל) concerning Judah's covenant with Babylon.
Ezek 30:1-19	Ezek 30:5	Prophecy of judgment upon Egypt and her covenanted allies.
Hos 12:1-15 (AV 11:12-12:14)	Hos 12:2(AV:1)	Prophecy of judgment, mentioning Ephraim's covenant with Assyria.
Am 1:9-10	Am 1:9	The judgment of Tyre for breaking covenant.
Ob :1-16	Ob :7	Judgment on Edom, including the fracture of covenant by her allies.
Mal 2:1-17	Mal 2:14	Marriage covenants.

The Second Dimension of ברית.

Is 28:1-29	Is 28:15,18	A covenant with death, mentioned in an oracle of judgment upon Ephraim.
Jer 33:1-26	Jer 33:20(2X), 25	The second "prison oracle" of Jeremiah, which speaks of a covenant with the day and the night.

Hos 2:3-25 (AV:1-23)	Hos 2:20(AV:18)	A covenant with the creatures is associated with Israel's reconciliation.

The Third Dimension of ברית.

Is 24:1-23	Is 24:5	Judgment of the land (or, perhaps the earth), for breaking the everlasting covenant.
Is 42:5-9	Is 42:6	The call of YHWH.
Is 49:7-12	Is 49:8	The choice of YHWH. (A structural-contextual parallel of Is 42:5-9.)
Is 54:1-10	Is 54:10	A Hymn of covenant faithfulness.
Is 55:1-5	Is 55:3	The everlasting Davidic covenant.
Is 56:1-8	Is 56:4,6	The promise of an abiding name for those who keep the Sabbath and the Covenant of YHWH.
Is 59:1-21	Is 59:21	The Covenant of YHWH will be maintained.
Is 61:1-11	Is 61:8	An oracle of restoration and salvation.
Jer 11:1-17	Jer 11:2,3, 6,8,10	Jeremiah covenantal proclamation.
Jer 14:17-22	Jer 14:21	Jeremiah's prayer.
Jer 22:1-30	Jer 22:9	Jeremiah's oracle to the king concerning judgment for the breach of covenant.
Jer 31:1-40	Jer 31:31,31 (2X),33	Prophecy of restoration and comfort in the days that are coming.
Jer 32:26-44	Jer 32:40	Restoration and covenant renewal.
Jer 33:1-26	Jer 33:21	An analogy between the Davidic Covenant and natural order of creation, (described as covenantal).

Jer 34:8-22	Jer 34:13,18	The Covenant, made at Sinai, is linked with the Covenant of Zedekiah, for the liberation of Hebrew slaves, according to the Law.
Jer 50:1-32	Jer 50:5	Oracles against Babylon, and the perpetuation of covenant.
Ezek 16:1-63	Ezek 16:8,59, 60(2X),61,62	Oracle of condemnation upon the abominations of Jerusalem.
Ezek 17:1-24	Ezek 17:19	The Covenant of YHWH compared with the covenant of Judah with Babylon.
Ezek 20:33-38	Ezek 20:37	An oath, assuring Judah of God's intention to remedy her covenant breaking.
Ezek 34:1-31	Ezek 34:25	The address to Israel as a flock, and to her shepherds.
Ezek 37:15-28	Ezek 37:26(2X)	The parable of two sticks, and the renewal of covenant.
Ezek 44:4-31	Ezek 44:7	Instructions for the priests. (The general context is the vision of Jerusalem and the Temple.)
Hos 6:4-7:16	Hos 6:7	The sins of Ephraim.
Hos 8:1-14	Hos 8:1	The covenant transgression of the House of YHWH.
Hos 10:1-15	Hos 10:4	Falsehood in the Covenant is exposed.
Zech 9:1-17	Zech 9:11	Utterance of mercy towards Zion.
Zech 11:3-17	Zech 11:10	Address to the flock , and symbols of the broken covenant.
Mal 2:1-17	Mal 2:4,5,8, 10	The accusations against the priests.

Dan 9:4-19	Dan 9:4	The prayer of Daniel.
Dan 9:24-27	Dan 9:27	A vision of the future of the Holy City.
Dan 11:2-12:13	Dan 11:22,28, 30,32	A vision of the future.

7. The Psalms.

The First Dimension of ברית.

Ps 55	Ps 55:21(AV:20)	A prayer from the distress caused by enemies. (An Individual Lament.)
Ps 83	Ps 83:6(AV:5)	A prayer against the enemies of Israel, who are in covenant together in their opposition.

The Third Dimension of ברית.

Ps 25	Ps 25:10,14	Prayer for deliverance.
Ps 44	Ps 44:18(AV:17)	Prayer for deliverance.
Ps 74	Ps 74:20	Prayer for vindication in the face of the enemy.
Ps 50	Ps 50:5,16	A Psalm of Judgment. (A Prophetic Liturgy.)
Ps 78	Ps 78:10,37	Three psalms that review the mighty acts of God in history, and express praise on that account. (These resemble Descriptive Psalms of Praise.)
Ps 105	Ps 105:8,10	
Ps 106	Ps 106:45	
Ps 89	Ps 89:4,29,35, 40 (AV:3,28,34, 39)	Praise for YHWH's covenant faithfulness to David, and request for the restoration of the kingdom.
Ps 103	Ps 103:18	A psalm of blessing.
Ps 111	Ps 111:5,9	A hymn of praise.
Ps 132	Ps 132:12	A psalm expressing confidence.

8. The Proverbs and Job.

The Second Dimension of ברית.

Job 4:1-5:27	Job 5:23	The words of Eliphaz, the Temanite; a covenant with the stones of the field, and with nature generally.
Job 26:1-31:40	Job 31:1	Job's protestation of his personal uprightness; a covenant with the eyes, to avoid lust.
Job 40:6-41:26 AV 40:6-41:34	Job 40:28 (AV 41:4)	The divine challenge to Job; the covenant with Leviathan.

The Third Dimension of ברית.

Prov 2:10-22	Prov 2:17	The deliverance of wisdom from evil persons, notably, from the harlot who has abandoned the Covenant of YHWH.

APPENDIX IA.

Supplementary List of References to "the Ark of the Covenant" (ארון הבריה) Omitted from the Preceding Analytical List.

1. The Pentateuch.

Nu 10:33; 14:44;

Deu 10:8; 31:9,25,26.

2. The Deuteronomistic History.

Jos 3:3,6(2X),8,11,14,17; 4:7,9,18; 6:6,8; 8:33;

Ju 20:27;

I Sam 4:3,4(2X),5;

II Sam 15:24;

I Ki 3:15; 8:1,6,21.

3. The Chronicles.

I Chron 15:25,26,28,29; 16:6,37; 17:1; 22:19; 28:2,18;

II Chron 5:2,7; 6:11.

6. The Books of the Prophets and Daniel 7:1-12:13.

Jer 3:16.

APPENDIX IB.

Supplementary Analytical List of Compositional Units and Textual References where the Sense of ברית Appears, by Encapsulation, in the Corpus of the Hebrew Scriptures.

2. The Deuteronomistic History.

The First Dimension of ברית.

I Sam 11:1-11	I Sam 11:2	The Covenant of Nahash.
I Sam 13:1- II Sam 5:3	I Sam 20:16; 22:8	Davidic covenants.

The Third Dimension of ברית.

I Ki 8:1-11	I Ki 8:9	(Descriptive Mode of narration.)

3. The Chronicles.

The Third Dimension of ברית.

II Chron 5:2-14	II Chron 5:10	(Descriptive Mode.)
II Chron 7:12-22	II Chron 7:18	Solomon's vision of covenant affirmation.

4. The Ezra-Nehemiah Record.

The Third Dimension of ברית.

Neh 9:1-10:40 (AV 9:1-10:39)	Neh 10:1 (AV 9:38)	Covenant renewal.

6. The Books of the Prophets and Daniel 7:1-12:13.

The First Dimension of ברית.

Is 57:1-21	Is 57:8	The sin of Judah described by reference to their alien associations.

The Third Dimension of ברית.

Hag 2:1-9	Hag 2:5	Oracle concerning the glory of the Temple.

APPENDIX II.

A Transcription and Translation of Two Inscriptions, One Ugaritic, One Phoenician, which Contain Material Relevant to the Investigation of the Semantic Field of ברית.

1. The Epistle of Nqmd, emancipating his slave. An Ugaritic Text.*

1. l.yi( )m( )
2. bunṯ.km.špš
3. dbrt.kmt.
4. br.ṣṭqšlm
5. bunṯ.ᶜd ᶜlm
6. mišmn.nqmd
7. mlk ugrt
8. nqmd.mlk.ugrt
9. ktb.spr hnd
10. dtbrrt.ṣṭqšlm
11. ᶜbdh.hnd
12. wmnkm.lyqh

(edge) spr.mlk.hnd

14. byd.ṣṭqšlm
15. ᶜd ᶜlm

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* Originally published by C.Virolleaud, Palais royal d' Ugarit, II (Paris, 1957), no.5. Cf. C.H.Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook, (Rome, Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1965), p.216, no. 1005. This is reproduced by Hillers, "Berit ᶜam: 'Emancipation of the People'," 176.

Translation.*

"..... of feudal dues. As the sun is bright, so is Sitqi-shalim free from feudal dues for ever.

The Seal of Niqmaddu, King of Ugarit.

Niqmaddu, King of Ugarit, wrote this document of emancipation for this his servant, Sitqi-shalim; and let no-one take this royal document from the hand of Sitqi-shalim for ever."

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* This translation is based upon that provided by Hillers, "Berit ʿām: 'Emancipation of the People'," 176; underlining the rendering of words derived from the root br.

2. A Phoenician Incantation Text.*

(1) לחשת לעתה.אלת

(2) ססם.בן פדרש

(3) שא.לא(ו)

(4) ול.חנקת.א

(5) מר.בת אבא

(6) בל תבאן

(7) וחצר.אדרך

(8) בל.תדרכן.כ

(9) רת.לן.אלת.

(10) עלם אשר.כרת

(11) לן.וכל בן אלם.

(12) ורב.דר כל קדשן

(13) בלאת.שמם.וארץ ע

(14) ד עלם באלת.בעל

(15) (א)דן ארץ בא(ל)

(16) ( )ת חורן.אש (ר)תם.פי.

(17) ושבע צרתי ושם

(18) נה.אשת.בעל קדש.

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* Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, "Une tablet magique de la région du Moyen Euphrate," Mélanges syriens offerts à M.René Dussaud, I (Paris, 1939), 421-434. F.M.Cross and R.J.Saley, "Phoenician Incantations on a Plaque of the Seventh Century B.C. from Arslan Tash in Upper Syria," BASOR, CLXXXVII (1970), 42-49. A.Caquot, "Observations sur la première tablette magique d'Arslan Tash," Journal of the American Near Eastern Society, V (1973), 45-52. The present transcription follows closely that of Ziony Zevit, "A Phoenician Inscription and Biblical Covenant Theology," IEJ, XXVII (1977), 110-118, but the differences of the reading of Donner and Röllig, op.cit., I, 6 (no.27), should be noted.

Translation.*

"1. An Incantation for ᶜAtta, the goddess,
2. Ssm, son of Pidrisiṿṿa, the god,
3. And for the Strangler of lambs.
4. The house I enter, do not enter,
5. And the court I tread, do not tread.
6. Aṿṿssur has established an eternal covenant with us.
7. All the sons of the gods have established with us
8. And the leader of the council of the holy ones
(has established with us)
9. A covenant of heaven and earth, forever,
10. A covenant of Baal, lord of the earth,
11. A covenant of Horon, whose mouth is bound,
and his seven mates,
12. and the eight wives of Bᶜl qdṿš."

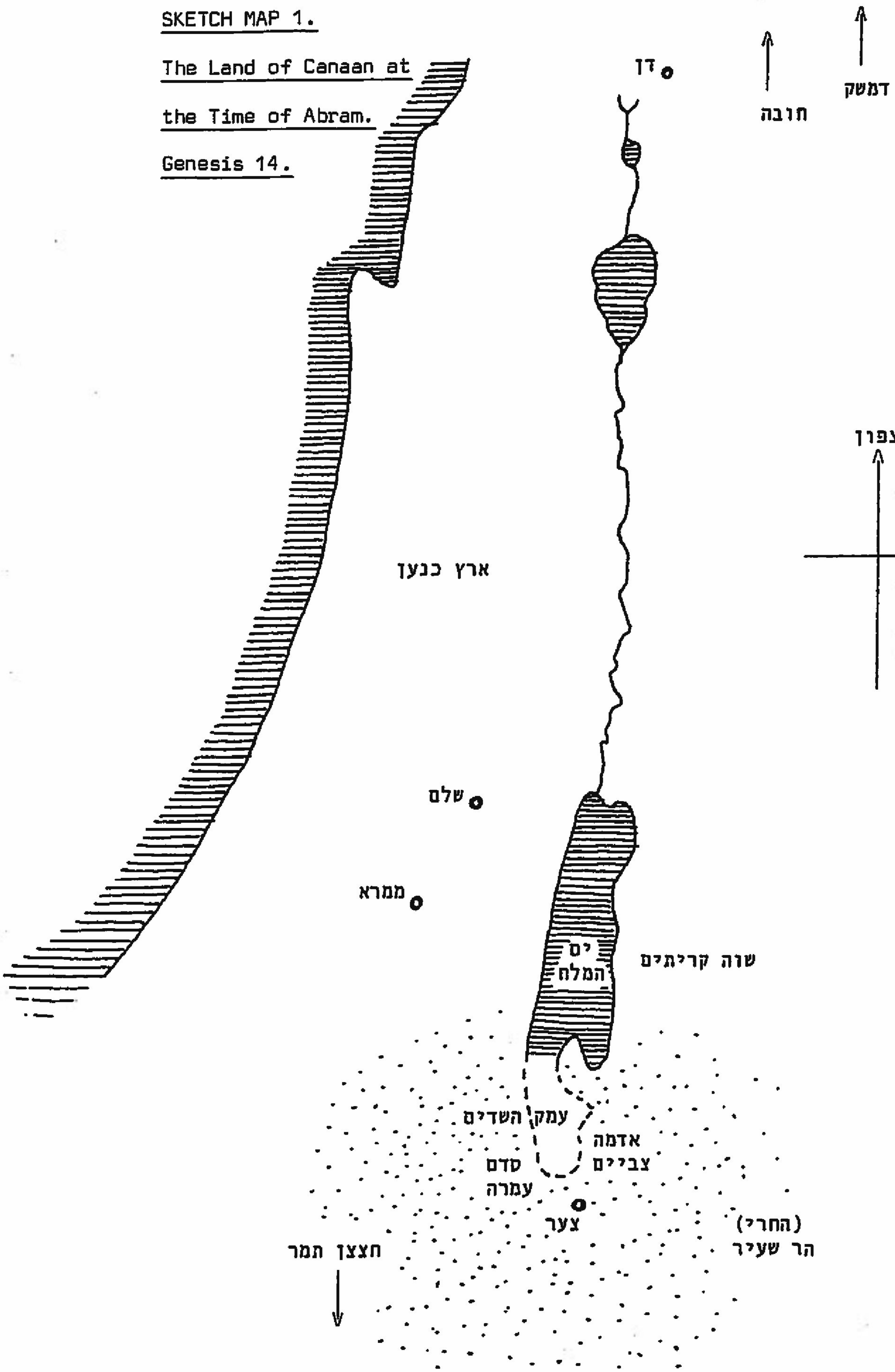
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* Cf. the translation of Zevit, op.cit., 11, which is different from that of Donner and Röllig, according to the variations in their readings; N.B. the rendering of אלת as "Bann," (spell, ban, excommunication, etc.), Donner and Röllig, op.cit., II, 44.

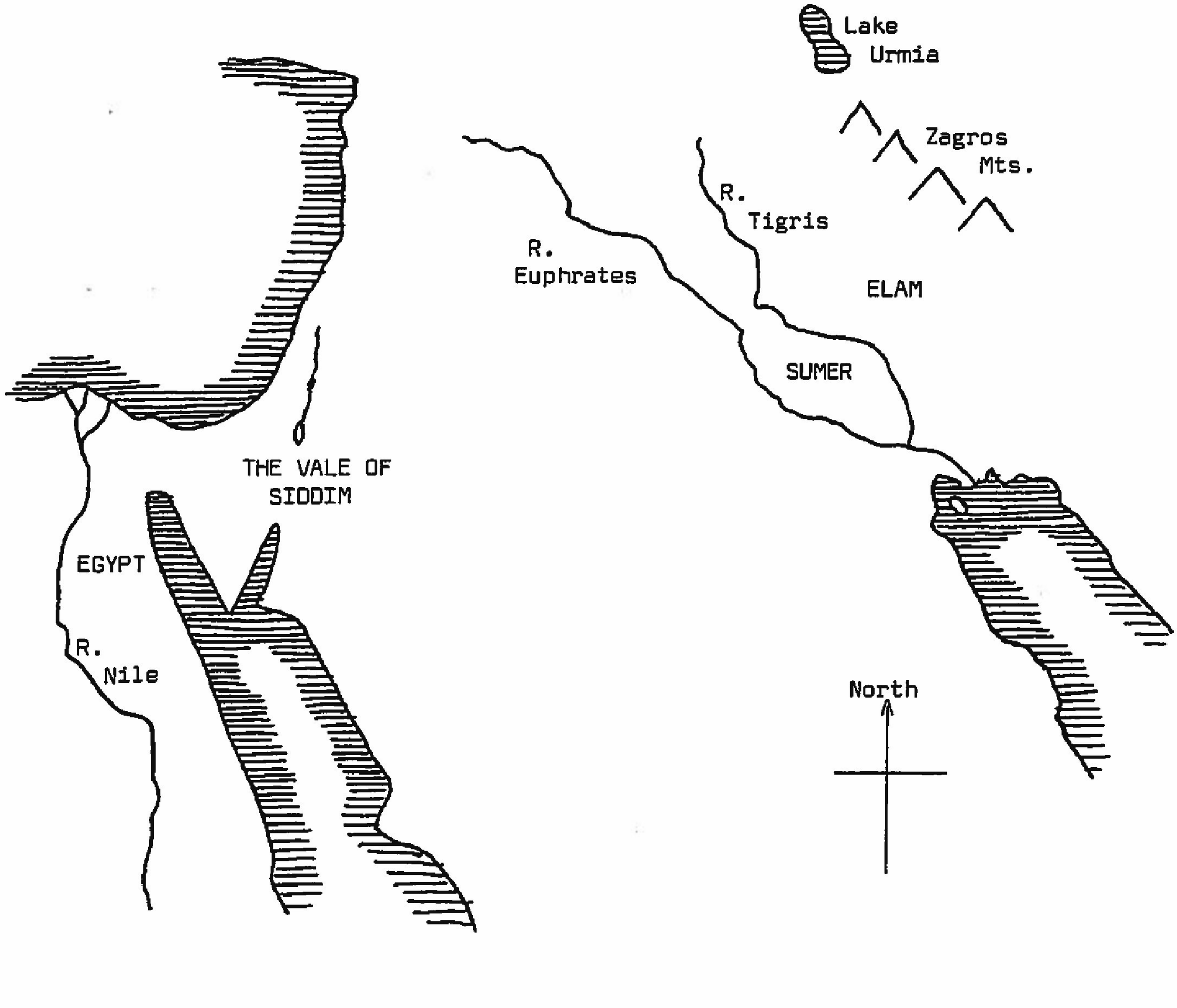
MAPS.

SKETCH MAP 1.

The Land of Canaan at the Time of Abram. Genesis 14.

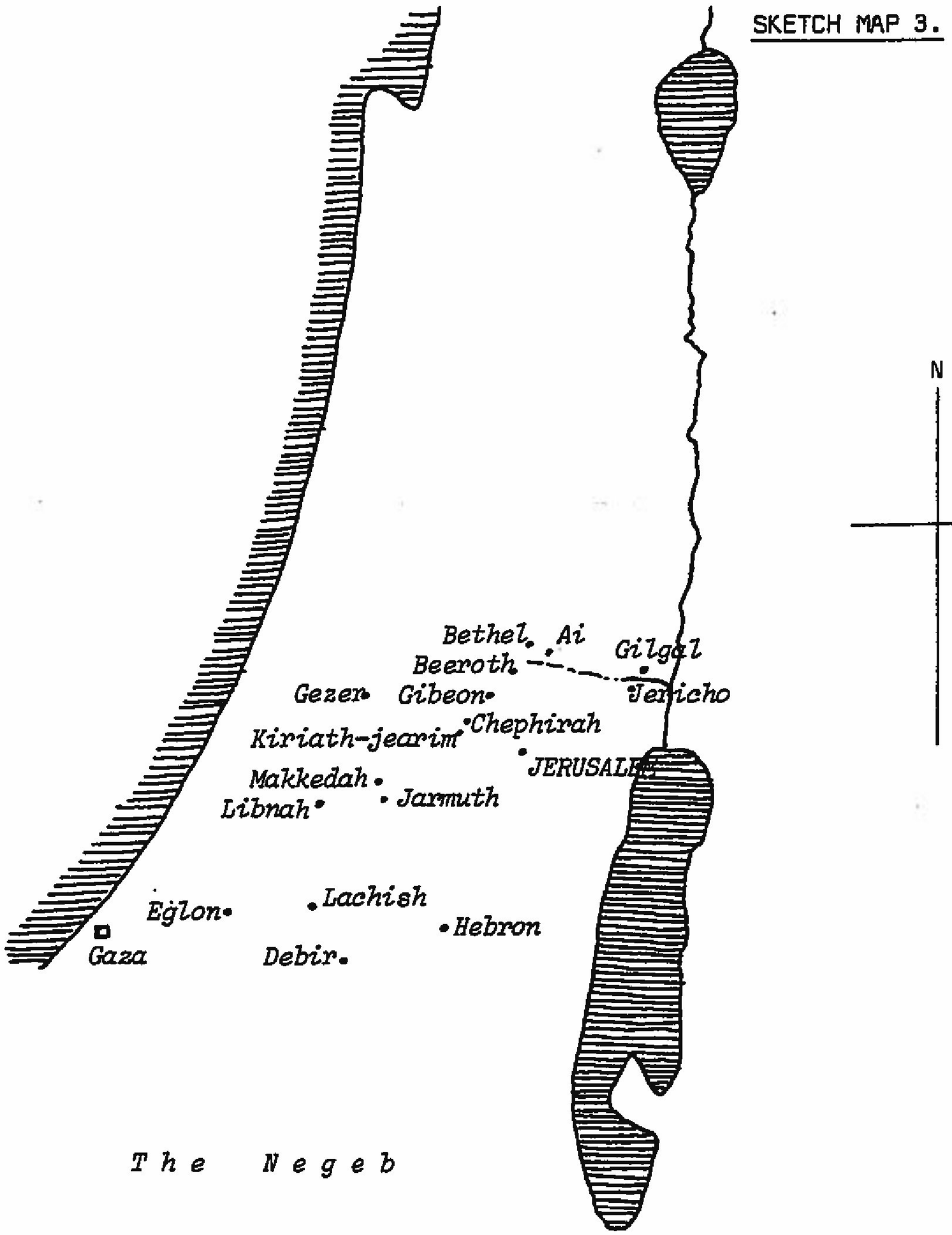


SKETCH MAP 2.



The Near East at the Time of Abram, the Hebrew, and the Events Related to the Battle of the Kings, at Genesis 14.

SKETCH MAP 3.



The Land of Canaan at the Time of the Conquest; Joshua 9:1-10:43.

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ABSTRACT.

THE LANGUAGE OF COVENANT.

A Structural Analysis of the Semantic Field of ברית, with Particular Reference to the Book of Genesis.

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The subject for research is the nature of covenant language in the Old Testament. Since traditional methods of studying this subject - theological, form-critical, and philological - are inadequate (because they are secondary), the primary approach is by means of an analysis of the semantic field of ברית.

This semantic field is defined according to the principles of structural linguistics, where Biblical Hebrew is conceived of as a unique synchronic relational langue-structural system of signs, existing in a diachronic continuum, manifested in parole. Consequently, words and syntagms derive their semantic motivation, not from a conceptual link, nor from a comparative or etymological source, but from intra-hebraic relations of contrast. These are discovered by lexical and compositional analysis. Nominal paradigms and syntagms of ברית are registered, but the emphasis rests on verbal syntagms, which are defined in their associations, by new categories of description; the square of opposition, and deep structure actantial and functional analysis, are drawn into

a methodological synthesis, within which, functional equivalence, opposition, and commutativity, operate.

The Biblical Hebrew corpus is classified according to major stylistic divisions, and, on this basis, a compositional paradigm is extracted from four narratives of Genesis, which refer to human covenants (called the first dimension of usage). This paradigm is adapted in three legal texts, and confirmed throughout the Deuteronomistic History and the Chronicles, in all their references to covenants among men.

The result of this systematic analysis is the intrinsically ordered presentation of the semantic field of ברית, the application of which to further questions of biblical study supplies a timely corrective to certain fallacies of philological and theological method (clarifying some common category mistakes), and provides the means for an authentic solution of certain vexing problems of understanding in the Old Testament. Thus, covenant language is defined.

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