"AND YAHWEH APPEARED ...": A STUDY OF THE MOTIFS OF "SEEING GOD" AND OF "GOD'S APPEARING" IN OLD TESTAMENT NARRATIVES

A Thesis
Presented to

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Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by
Cecil P. Staton, Jr.
Regent's Park College
Trinity Term, 1988

Abstract

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This thesis examines the use of the motifs of "seeing God" and of "God's appearing" in Old Testament narratives. The frequency, distribution, and form of such references are presented in Chapter One which examines the semantic field of words for "see" in the Old Testament with special reference to "seeing with reference to God." An examination of works on Old Testament theophany suggests that these motifs have not been fully appreciated. They are generally considered only as they might be related to earlier forms of texts, e. g. cultic etiology; or divine appearing is equated with divine speaking. The significance they have for the narratives in which they are found is thus ignored. In Chapter Two the ancient Near Eastern backgrounds of these motifs are considered. An examination of the see vocabularies of extant Ugaritic and Akkadian literature reveals that, although rare, the motif of "seeing God" is found. However, the motif of God's appearing is not found.
The significance of these motifs for Old Testament narratives is then examined in Chapters Three to Five which are devoted to: 1) the Patriarchal Traditions of Genesis; 2) the Moses, Sinai, and Wilderness Traditions of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers; and 3) the Historical Writing of the Old Testament. Where possible attention is given to the use of these motifs at two levels: the level of the story as inherited material; and the level of the larger narratives in which the stories are found. Previous scholarly work on these texts is also discussed where relevant. Each chapter concludes with a summary of the variety of usages to which the motifs were put. Chapter Six presents a summary and conclusion and suggests areas where further research may prove fruitful.

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This thesis examines the use of the motifs of "seeing God" and of "God's appearing" in Old Testament narratives. In Chapter One the semantic field of Old Testament words for "see" is examined with special reference to the context "seeing with reference to God." A variety of contexts are discovered in which "God" is collocated with the "see" vocabulary. This examination reveals both areas of semantic overlap and distinctiveness where certain words have nuances in different contexts. Perhaps the most important distinction so far as this study is concerned is the Niphal of Hid which alone is used for God's appearing.
Although some 64 references to "seeing" God are discovered, not all refer
to physical seeing. In some contexts the nuances "have regard for," or "experience" are more appropriate. In other cases "seeing" Yahweh's glory seems to refer to seeing divine activity rather than the deity. There are 46 references to "God's appearing." However, apart from several references to appearing in the Psalms and Prophets and references to seeing in first-person prophetic reports and in Job and Psalms, these motifs are limited to the narrative materials of the Tetrateuch and of the history writing of the Deuteronomist and Chronicler. These narrative texts are singled out for further examination.

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relate to earlier forms of teits, e. g. cultic etiology; or divine appearing is simply equated with divine speaking. The significance of these motifs for the narratives in which they are found is thus ignored. This suggests the need for the study carried out in Chapters Three to Five.
Before this Chapter Two presents an examination of the "see" vocabularies of Ugaritic and Akkadian literature in order to gain possible clues into the ancient Near Eastern backgrounds of these motifs. The context "a person sees a god," though rare, is attested in both. Akkadian texts may be compared with psalm texts which refer to seeing Yahweh in the context of the temple. In Mesopotamian temples the worshiper "saw" the god or his face in the form of images. Although certain Psalm texts may have their origin in the older usage suggested by Akkadian texts, it has been suggested that "seeing God" came to be an idiom for "worship in the temple." Though something like this is probably correct, there remains some question as to the usage of nj^QH in Ps 17:15 and the directness of Ps 63:3 (E. trs. 2).
In Old Testament narratives both seeing and appearing motifs are found
in very different contexts. In contrast to Akkadian texts which reflect the urban setting of Mesopotamian cities and their shrines, the majority of Old Testament references to seeing God and the appearing of God reflect a location other than a temple. This is also true of the one Ugaritic "seeing" text which may be compared with the patriarchal traditions. There are, however, no references to God's "appearing" in Ugaritic and Akkadian literature such as are found in Old Testament narratives. Such differences may lie partially in the contrast between Akkadian and Ugaritic texts which are the accidents of archaeological discovery and the Old Testament which is the product of careful preservation. Yet the value of this argument is limited given the many Ugaritic and Akkadian stories in which the gods play major roles and in which much of the see vocabulary is found collocated with "god" in other ways.
In Old Testament narratives Yahweh "appears" or is "seen" and speaks, commands, promises, commissions, or even offers judgment. Frequently the

unusual nature of the encounter is emphasized. It is suggested that the Old Testament usage plays an important role in the highly developed theology of God's transcendence in Old Testament religion which prohibited images.
Jn Chapters Three to Five the motifs of "seeing God" and of "God's appearing" are examined at two levels where possible: the level of the story as inherited material and the level of the larger narrative of which the story is a part. Chapter Three examines the use of the motifs in the patriarchal traditions of Genesis. The recurring motif of God's appearances to the patriarchal fathers in order to affirm the promises of Gen 12:1-3 is prominent. The appearance report is generally given by the narrator in the third person, but on rare occasions the appearance is recalled by the deity or is reported by the patriarch in the first person. In addition Hagar, Lot, and Jacob are vouchsafed to see Elohim or the messengers of Elohim. The "seeing" motif is found in statements which come at the conclusion of stories when the point of view of the protagonist with regard to the encounter is revealed. This communicates the unusual nature of the experience and surprise that such a direct encounter with God does not lead to death. On other occasions the reference to seeing the messengers does not seem to have any other significance than to give the reason for the response which follows.
The significance of these motifs for their present contexts is overlooked
by those scholars who focus their attention on earlier hypothetical forms. The view that appearing simply means speaking is rejected. God's appearing is in addition to God's speaking. On other occasions God simply speaks, but on certain occasions he appears to affirm the promises to the patriarchs. The fact that Yahweh appeared to the patriarchs apparently communicated something of the importance of the event. Divine appearing should not be reduced to divine speaking.
The relationship between appearing and promise is found in both J (JE) and P traditions at moments of tension in the larger narrative with regard to the unfulfilled promises or when the patriarchal family is threatened. The use

of the seeing motif is limited to J or JE texts. Both JE and P stories are familiar with all of the promises and at some point both collocate them in narratives with the appearing of God. While in some cases the promises were probably secondary additions to earlier forms of the narratives, the reading of these texts presented in this chapter suggests that the relationship between appearing and promise is central to the narratives in their present form. These stories have been adopted into the tension-resolution pattern of the larger narrative with all its conflicts and threats to the fulfillment of the promises. Such stories may have spoken to later generations who faced the loss of land and the apparent reversal of the promises and who may have found some hope in such stories of God's direct involvement in the lives of their fathers. Such stories address the issue of faithlessness.

Chapter Four examines the use of these motifs in the Moses, Sinai, and wilderness traditions. In the JE traditions of Exod 3-4 the motif of appearing is combined with the commissioning of a deliverer who is to mediate Yahweh's intentions to the people. In contrast to previous appearance stories visual features are accentuated. In the P version of Moses 1 call which now serves as its sequel (Exod 6) the appearing motif refers to past events surrounding the patriarchs. Both the JE and P stories concerning Moses refer to appearing and promise and thus bind the the events of the Exodus to the events of the patriarchal period.
The seeing motif is also found in the context of the JE depiction of the theophany and covenant at Sinai in Exod 19-24 and the subsequent breaking and renewal of the covenant in chs. 32-34. These highly reflective stories illustrate the paradox of Israel's relationship with God. The seeing motif is found in statements which prohibit seeing God as well as in descriptions of encounters during which God is seen. Barriers exist lest humans break through to gaze upon God and die (19:12-13, 21; cf. 3:6). Yet God himself may set aside the usual consequences and allow humans full access to his presence (24:9-11). Other texts emphasize Moses' special relationship to God as one who can

mediate directly with God for Israel. Yet even Moses' request for direct access to God's presence is denied: "Man shall not see me and live" (33:20, 23).
The appearing motif is found in the introduction of the sacrificial system
and the prescriptions for the cultus which are embedded in the P narrative of Israel's sojourn at Sinai (Lev 9 and 16). Yahweh appears and the fire from his presence consumes the offerings. Yet the divine presence must not be abused. Aaron is warned not to enter the holy place within the tent "at just any time" on pain of death, for this is where Yahweh will appear.
The appearing motif is found in the wilderness traditions (cf. Exod 16; Num 12; 14; 16; 17; 20 - all J and P) at moments of crisis in the life of the people. With the appearing the tension which is introduced by the conflict is met and brought to its resolution. These stories witness within the larger narrative to Yahweh's continuing guidance, aid, and judgment during the period of the wilderness wanderings. Yahweh meets the material needs of the community and he judges the community when, by their lack of faith, they rebel against Moses' authority and, therefore, against God himself. Seeing texts are also found in wilderness traditions which affirm either Yahweh's special relationship with Moses (Num 12:8) or the people (Num 14:14).
The seeing motif is also found in the highly reflective story of Balaam (Num 22:21-35 J). The diviner may not see God unless his eyes are opened by the deity. This is set into the larger narrative of Num 22-24, the concern of which is that God's will and his blessing may not be manipulated by a King who can bestow honor. Rather the prophet must do and say only what he "sees" that Yahweh wants him to do. The narrative makes witness to Yahweh's direct involvement in the wilderness to preserve and aid the people on their journey towards the land. The plans of an enemy king are thwarted when by God's intervention a foreign diviner's eyes are opened and he becomes the servant of Yahweh's word.
Again the appearing motif is found in both JE and P narratives. The seeing motif is limited to JE teits. Seeing texts are found in both prohibitions

against seeing God and in direct statements that God was seen, and in statements which affirm special relationship. In contrast to Genesis, JE now associates appearing with commissioning as well as promises. For P appearing is an event in the patriarchal period associated with divine promise, though now the motif is also used in Israel's worship where it has become a recurring event, and with J P associates appearing with crisis in the wilderness when God came to aid or judge his people. This study indicates that these motifs were not repeated slavishly, but were used in very different ways by the various sources throughout the narratives of the Tetrateuch.
In Chapter Five the use of these themes in the Deuteronomistic and Chronicler's Histories is examined. In the case of Joshua and Gideon appearing and commissioning are also combined (Deut 31:15, 23; Judg 6). In Judg 13 the appearing motif introduces the announcement of the birth of a hero to a barren couple. "Appearing" is also associated with "revealing the word of Yahweh" in 1 Sam 3 where Yahweh appears at a specific sanctuary and to one person on a recurring basis (3:21).
Following the period of the judges references to "seeing" and "appearing" become even more rare. In 2 Sam 24 the site upon which the temple will be built is the place where David saw the messenger of Yahweh, repented, and offered sacrifices. In 1 Chr 21 the connection with the future temple is made even more explicit. The story shows how the threshing floor of Ornan became the site for Israel's worship and sacrifice. The site of the temple in Jerusalem was the result of nothing less than the theophany of the messenger of Yahweh who was seen by David and others (cf. 2 Chr 3:1).
In both 1 Kgs 3 and 2 Chr 1 Solomon's reign begins with his journey to Gibeon and his encounter with Yahweh who appears. Solomon is legitimated by an appearance of Yahweh who grants the king's request for discernment and in addition gives wealth and long life. Solomon is vouchsafed a second appearance following the dedication of the newly built temple. Yahweh appears and answers Solomon's dedicatory prayer and the temple is

consecrated by the presence of Yahweh (1 Kgs 9:3 // 2 Chr 7.16). The Chronicler adds the report that all the people saw the glory of Yahweh upon the temple (2 Chr 7:3). Although both histories include the connection between the appearance stories and the call to obedience (1 Kgs 3:14; 9:4f.; cf. 2 Chr 7:12fj, it is most clear in the Deuteronomist's interpretation of these two stories in 1 Kgs 11:9 where they are called upon as witness to the warnings Solomon received concerning the results of disobedience.
The final reference to "seeing" Yahweh in the history writing may be found in the vision of the prophet Micaiah (1 Kgs 22//2 Chr 18). Here, for the first time, is introduced the prophetic first person report of seeing Yahweh. The prophet is now portrayed, in contrast to Ahab's prophets, as the one who has access to Yahweh's presence to receive the divine word. The Deuteronomist portrays Yahweh's direct influence in the demise of the wicked king and contrasts the visionary prophet of Yahweh with those who simply respond as the king wishes. To this the Chronicler adds a more positive evaluation of the role of Jehoshaphat.
Thus the use of these motifs becomes more rare outside the Tetrateuch.
This is not surprising given the statements of Deut 4-5 that God was not seen, but only heard. For the most part the motifs belong to the material which was inherited by the historians and which was usually adopted with little or no change. On rare occasions, however, both the Deuteronomist and Chronicler break into the narrative and reveal their interpretation of these motifs and events (cf. 1 Kgs 11:9; 2 Chr 3:1; 7:3).
Chapter Six presents a summary and conclusion and presents possible avenues where further research may prove fruitful. It is suggested that the significance of these motifs for Old Testament theology has been given very little attention and has yet to be worked out in any systematic way. This would be a worthwhile task for further research, particularly when contrasted with Ugaritic and Akkadian usage. In addition those seeing and appearing texts in the prophetic corpus and Job remain for consideration.

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Anyone who writes a thesis is certainly aware at the completion of that work of the great debt that is owed to others. For such a work cannot proceed without the prior work of those who have gone before, or without the aid and help of many others in the present. The present writer is all too aware of his indebtedness and with these limited words desires to acknowledge a gratitude which cannot be adequately expressed with words. First of all, 1 am particularly grateful to my supervisor, the Reverend Professor Ernest W. Nicholson, who has guided my study from my arrival in Oxford. His encouragement from the beginning, his helpful criticism along the way, and his willingness to be a friend have helped my stay in Oxford to be more meaningful and memorable than I can here express.
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never have been possible. And above all, to Catherine, my wife, to whom this thesis is dedicated, I express my gratitude and love for her sacrifice and hard work to support our stay in England, and for her love and encouragement expressed in so many ways.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB

AfO
AHw

ANEP

ANET

AOAT
ATD
BASOR
BBB
BBC
BDB

BHS
BJRL
BKAT
BZ
BZAW
CAD

CAT
CB
CBC
CBQ
Chr
CRB
CTA

Dir
ETL
FOTL
FRLANT

HAT
HSAT
IB

The Anchor BibJe
Archivfur Orientforschung
W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handworterbuch, Wiesbaden, 1965-1981.
J. B. Pritchard, ed., Ancient Near Eastern Pictures Relating to the Old Testament, Prince ton, 1969.
J. B. Pritchard, ed., Ancient Near Eastern Tens Relating to the Old Testament, third edition with Supplement, Princeton, 1969.
Alter Orient und Altes Testament
Das Alte Testament Deutsch

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
Bonner Biblische Beitrage
Broad man Bible Commentary
F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, eds., A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, Oxford, 1907.
R. Kittel, ed., Biblia Hebraica Sluttgartensia
Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament

Biblische Zeitschrift
Beihefte sur Zeitschrift fur die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago, 1964 -.
Commentaire del'Ancien Testament
Cambridge Bible
Cambridge Bible Commentary
Catholic Biblical Quarterly
Chronicler, Chronicler's history
Cahiers de la Revue Biblique
A. Herdner, Corpus des tablettes en cuneiformes alphabetiques, 2 vols., Paris, 1963.
Deuteronomist, Deuteronomistic History
Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
Forms of Old Testament Literature
Forschungen zur Religion und Literature des Alien und Neuen Testaments
Handbuch zum Alten Testament
Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments
Interpreter s Bible

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ICC The International Critical Commentary
IDS Interpreter's Dictionary of the BlbJe
Inl Interpretation
JAQS Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL Journal of Biblical Literature
JBR Journal of Bible and Religion
JJS Journal of Jewish Studies
JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JPOS Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
JRA S Journal of the Royal A si ailc Society
JSOT Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSS Journal of Semitic Studies
KA T Kommentar zum Alien Testament
KHA T Kurzer Hand-Cornmeniar zum Alien Testament
KTU M. Dietrich, 0. Loretz, J. Sanmartin, Die kellalphabetlschen Teite
ausUgarlt. Tie! l:Transkription. AOAT24t Neukrichen, 1976.
MT Masoretic Text

NCB New Century Bible
NEB New English Bible
N1COT New International Commentary on the Old Testament
OBT Overtures to Biblical Theology
OTL Old'TestamentLibrary
OTM Old Testament Message
OTS Oudtestamentlsche Studlen
RA Revue d'Assyrlologle et d'ArcheoIogle Oriental?
RB Revue Blbllque
RQ Revue de Qumran
RSV Revised Standard Version

SBT Studies In Biblical Theology
SOTS The Society for Old Testament Study
SVT Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
TBC Torch Bible Commentary
ThLZ Theologlsche LJteraturzeilung
ThViai Theologla Viatorum
ThZ Theologlsche Zeltschrlft
UAA Uppsala Unlversltets Arsskrlft
UT C. H. Gordon, UgariticTeitbook, Rome, 1965-
VT Vetus Testamentum
WBC Word Biblical Commentary
WC Westminster Commentary

IV

CHAPTER ONE

AN EXAMINATION OF THE WORDS FOR "SEE"
IN THE OLD TESTAMENT WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
THE CONTEXTS "SEEING GOD" AND "GOD APPEARS"

This chapter will introduce the examination of the motifs of "seeing God"
and of "God's appearing" which is the primary aim of this thesis. To this end the chapter will present examinations of 1) the general "semantic field" 1 of words for "see" in the Old Testament; 2) the use of "see" vocabulary with reference to God; and 3) the use of the "see" vocabulary in the specific contexts of "a person sees God" and "God appears." This will serve to focus attention on the specific texts which will be considered in the remainder of the thesis. Following this, the various semantic expressions which suggest "seeing God" and the "appearing of God" will be examined more closely: 4) a statistical analysis of their distribution will be presented; and 5) an analysis of the sentences, or the specific contexts in which the expressions occur will be carried out. 6) The results of this examination will then be set into the framework of the study of Old Testament theophany and the need for further examination of the motifs of "seeing God" and "God appears" will be introduced. Finally, the study proposed for the subsequent chapters of this thesis will be presented.

1 For a discussion of this approach and its difficulties cf. J. F. A. Sawyer, Semantics in Biblical Research, Studies in Biblical Theology, Second Series No. 24 (London, 1972), pp. 3, 29ff; J. Barr, "The Image of God in the Book of Genesis
- A Study of Terminology," BJRL 51 (1968-1969): 11-26; and Comparative Philology and the Teit of the Old Testament (Oxford, 1968), pp. 170ff;. For examples see also S. E. Balentine, The Hidden God (Oxford, 1983), ch. 1; T. Donald, "The Semantic Field of 'Folly' in Proverbs, Job, Psalms, and Ecclesiastes," VT 13 (1963): 285-292; and S. Ullmann, The Principles of Semantics (Oxford, 1957), pp. 152-170.

1

I. THE GENERAL SEMANTIC FIELD FOR WORDS FOR "SEE"

The major Hebrew verbal roots which constitute the semantic field of the
Old Testament vocabulary for "seeing" are rf?3, HtTl, CD3, rttH, Tltf, *]t{tf f HlXtf, and *pttj 2 Although these roots have a variety of nuances, they all are obviously related to seeing in one way or another. For example, rhl is usually translated "reveal or uncover," thus suggesting that someone or something becomes visible, ^ti has the nuance of the eye catching sight of someone or something. Fjptt} seems to have the meaning to look out or down. In some contexts H^., DD3, flfcn, and 11$ may be translated "behold" or "regard," thus suggesting more than the seeing of the eye or rather the perceiving or considering of what is seen. More frequently, however, the roots are translated with more subtle nuances: Htn, "see, behold"; CDD, "look"; Hfcn, "see"; or HW), "gaze." But what are the meanings of these words in their various contexts and what, if any, are the semantic distinctions or areas of semantic overlap between them? In what follows an attempt will be made to define and distinguish these closely related words by an examination of their use within their various contexts. First, however, some of the obvious similarities and differences between these words may be pointed out.
Statistically flfcH occurs more frequently than all the others combined. In
fact, the root in all its derivations occurs approximately 1,400 times in the Old Testament. While Htn in all its derivations occurs as many as 129 times,

2 The choice of words has been limited to the narrower lexical group of closely related words for "see" and my observations will primarily concern verbal usage. 7H has not been included. R. Gordis, however, has suggested that the use of this root in the Song of Songs (2:4; 5:10; 6:4) is distinct from that of the noun bn ("banner") found 14X in Numbers and IX in Psalm 20:6. He calls attention to the Akkadian cognate tfagaJu which, he suggests, carries the specific nuance "look with astonishment," and he thus translates the occurrences in Song of Songs "awe-inspiring" or "great sights." Cf. "The Root in the Song of Songs," JBL 88 (1969): 203-204.

occurs as few as three times.3 The overwhelming predominance of HHI is striking. Indeed, the size of the sample would suggest this to be no accident but a distinctive characteristic of the word over the rest of the field.
nK"l is found in every book of the Old Testament with the exception of Zephaniah. It is used extensively in every division of the canon, though more predominantly in the Pentateuch (Pentateuch 30%, Former Prophets 20%, Prophets 24%, Writings 26%). nbl, HTH, CD3, iltttf, and *ptf are also used in all four divisions of the Hebrew Bible.4 An examination of this usage, however, reveals that certain words are used more predominantly in one or more of the divisions. For example, both HtH and CQD3 are found predominantly in the Prophets and Writings, or approximately 89% and 77% of their occurrences respectively. ntf$ is found predominantly in the Prophets, while *jp$ is found predominantly in the Pentateuch and Former Prophets. Ti$ occurs in every division except the Former Prophets, though predominantly in the Writings. (3X) is limited to the Writings and occurs only once in Song of Solomon and twice in Job.
The root HtH takes the form of nominalizations in over half its occurrences.5 Approximately one-fourth of the occurrences of Tl$ are nominalizations. Approximately nine percent of the occurrences of Hfcn are

3 Statistical work throughout this study is based on the concordance of S. Mandelkern, Veteris Testament! concordantiae hebraicae atque chaJdaicae (originally published, Leipzig, 1896; 9th ed., Jerusalem, 1971).
4 The usage is as follows: if?) - Pent. 30%, FP 16%, P 30%, W 24%; HF! - Pent. 5%, FP 6%, P 42%, W 47%; CD3 - Pent. 11%, FP 11%, P 35%, W 42%; Pent. 20%, FP 6%, P 47%, W 27%; and *tf - Pent. 30%, FP 39%, P 4%, 26%.
5 Cf. A. Jepsen, "TiTH," Theologisches W&rterbuch zum Alien Testament Band II, Lieferungen 4-9 (Stuttgart, 1975-1977), pp. 822-835- (E. trs. TneoJogical Dictionary of the Old Testament, vol. IV. Grand Rapids, 1950. pp. 280-290), who considers Htn an Aramaic loanword which in Israel became "predominantly a technical term for a specific type of divine revelation to the nabis.'

nominalizations. CO3 (72X) and *jp$ (25X) each take the form of nomi-nalizations only 3X, and tf?l (112X) only 2X. *]t$ and H^ti are not found in nominal forms in the Old Testament.

To facilitate an understanding of the use of these roots it will be helpful
to set forth the frequency of the roots in relation to the various semantic categories in which they occur. An examination reveals that these roots may be classified on the basis of 1) seeing with reference to God; 2) seeing with reference to persons; and 3) seeing with reference to inanimate objects.
The uses of these roots with reference to God may be further classified
on the basis of whether 1) God is the subject of the verb, e.g. God sees/reveals, sees someone, sees something, is implored to see (imperative), God implores a person to see (imperative), or causes to see (Hiphil); 2) a person or object sees God, or God is seen, appears or reveals himself (Niphai); or 3) something of God, or an activity of God is seen. The uses of these roots with reference to a person may be further classified on the basis of whether 1) a person sees, sees someone or something, is implored to see (imperative), causes to see (Hiphil); or
2) a person is seen or reveals himself (Niphai).
Although these categories by no means exhaust the possibilities, they may serve as a guide to the major contexts in which these roots occur in the Old Testament. Obviously some texts could have been assigned to more than one category. For example, a text which reads "and they beheld God" could be assigned to either "with reference to God" or to "with reference to persons." However, for the purposes of this study a firm distinction will be made between the use of these roots with reference to God and their use in other contexts. Table I (next page) reveals the proportions of the uses of these roots according to these qualifications.
Table I reveals that all but Tltf, *|ttf, and HJXtf occur at least once in all three categories. However, the frequency of such occurrences within the stated categories varies considerably from word to word. For example, HIF! is used

(72X)

GD3

(I29X)

rrrn

(II2X)

TABLE I - CLASSIFICATION OF OLD TESTAMENT "SEE" VOCABULARY
WITH REFERENCE
WITH REFERENCE TO GOD WITH REFERENCE TO PERSONS TO OBJECTS

GOD SEES/
REVEALS

GOD IS SEEN/
APPEARS

THINGS OR ACTIVITY
OF GOD SEEN

PERSON SEES/
REVEALS

PERSON IS SEEN/
REVEALS

OBJECT

I I. reveals himself

(Niphal)5X

person SX
2. things 6X
3. object 3X
4. God implored (impv.) to
open eyes of persons IX
5. God implores (impv.)
person to appear IX

1. person IX I. by person 7X
2. implored (iaipv.) IX

I. things by person 7X 1. Abstract 2X
2. person 9X
3. object 39X

I . activity of person I . abstract 1 6X
by person IX 2. person
2. reveals himself 3. object 3
(Niphal) 5X

1. things by person 6X
2. activity by person 2X

1. abstract -iX I. by person 4X
2. person 4X
3. object 6X
4. implored (impv.) to see IOX
5. God implores (impv.)
person to see 2X

I. things by person 6X

1. person 6X
2. object IIX
3. of prophets 2OX:
stars IX, lies IX,
vanity IX, oracle 2X,
word 3X, vision I2X
4. S£fir_("one who sees") I7X

1. abstractSX

2. person 8X
3. object 9X
4. implored (impv.) to see 7X

I. abstract 2IX

(HOOX) 2. person 20X
3. object. 67X

1. byperson23X I. things by earth IX I. abstract 124X
2. manifestation 2. activity by person 37X 2. person 2S3X bypersonSOX 3. tilings by person 2IX 3. object 346X

1. by person 12 X
(Niphal)
2. by animal IX

tablet 2X

1. object IX
2. vision (noun) 57X

1. by animal IX
2. hooq 3X

1. object see objects 7X
2. objects appear
(Niphal)

TABLE I (continued)

WITH REFERENCE TO GOD WITH REFERENCE TO PERSONS

WITH REFERENCE
TO OBJECTS

GOD SEES/
REVEALS

GOD IS SEEN/
APPEARS

THINGS OR ACTIVITY
OF GOD SEEN

PERSON SEES/
REVEALS

PERSON IS SEEN/
REVEALS

OBJECT

(23X)

TIE

(cent.)

mn 4. causes to see 3.

(HiphilH3X
5. implored to 4.
see(impv.)2IX 5-
6. God implores

by

manifestation
animal 3X
by object 2X
appears j
(Niphal)

appearance of God
by person 16X

person to see (impv.)35X
7. Person appears (Niphal) before God 9X

1. abstract IX

2. person IX
3. object IX

I. by person 2X 1. things by person IX
2. activity by person IX

*- 1- appearance of
person 31X
5. seer I OX

("one who sees")
6. person implores (impv.) person 36X

2,

abstract 2X

person 6X
enemies 6X

object IX
person inplored IX

3. appearance of object
42X
•*. vision 28X
5 mirror IX

(25X)

IP*

(I5X)

(310

1. person 2x I, by person 2X I. things by person IX
2. object IX
3. implored (impv.) not to see 2X

1. abstract 2X

2. person 3X
3. implored (impv.) IX

I. person IX

1. Abstract

2. person IX
3. object 2X

1. abstract 6X

2. person 3X
3. object 2X

1. person IX
2. object IX

1. object 5X
2. window and doors 3X

Nominalizations are underlined.

with reference to God in only 17% of its occurrences, while 53* of the occurrences of Hift} fall into this category. Yet the same two roots are used in over 40% of their occurrences with reference to persons. While Hiftf is never used with reference to an object, HTH occurs most frequently in this category, or in 45% of its occurrences.

With the exception of Pjttf all of the roots are used in contexts involving God. While HfrH occurs in this context as many as 395X, HtH occurs as few as 17X. Usage ranges from 14% of the occurrences of HTTI to 53% of the occurrences of Htt$.

Each of the roots under consideration is found in the category "seeing with reference to a person." 11$ and HK1 are used in this context in approxi-mately two-thirds of their occurrences, rf72 f GD3, and *p$ in approximately one-half, and MtTI, *|ttt}, and HiXtf in approximately one-third.
All of the roots with the exceptions of 11$ and Hift} are found in the context of "seeing with reference to objects." Only Htn and *]t$ fall in this category in a majority of their occurrences, 45% and 66% respectively. Table II (next page) illustrates these frequencies more clearly.
Statistically it is obvious that some words function in one category more than another. Thus HUttf appears in the context of "seeing with reference to God" in 53% of its total occurrences, while 11$ is used in 70% of its occurrences in the "seeing with reference to persons" context.
Despite the obvious preference of some of the roots for certain contexts,
an examination of usage in various contexts reveals that it would be ill-judged to make this the sole factor for distinguishing the semantic differences of these words. Though some may appear more or less frequently in certain contexts than others, this is in itself no reason to assume that they are any less semanlically appropriate.
In fact, the evidence of semantic overlap between certain of these words
is very clear. Although HKIis used most frequently in the context of "a person

TABLE II - FREQUENCIES OF OCCURRENCE

TPti

raw

TTW

"TO

rrtn

DUD

mn

r^:

VERBS

NUMBER OF
OCCURRENCES

129

112

72

1400

23

3

25

15

WITH
TO

REFERENCE
COD

36

17

31

395

6

8

7

« § 04

53

30

2$

50

13

2$

»

WITH REFERENCE
TO PERSONS

34

54

56

S93

16

7

1

If

42

50

X

44

47

33

70

64

44

WITH REFERENCES
TO OBJECTS

56

25

4

112

&

2

45

22

*

8

6

32

66

CO

sees a person," each of the additional roots is also found in this context and in many instances there seems to be little semantic difference in their usage (cf. mn, Cant 7:1; ODD, Isa 38:11; mCi, Cant 6:9; Ttttf, Job 24:15; *|tti, Cant 1:6; mfltf, Isa 22:4; fjptt}, 2 Sam 24:20). For example, nfcTl is found with the force of the imperative in Cant 1:6: "Do not look at me." Htfttf is found in the imperatives of Isa 22:4 and Ps 39:14: "Look away from me." ODD is used with the force of the imperative in 1 Sam 16:7: "Do not look on his appearance." It is doubtful if the meaning would be substantially changed if either of the verbs in this context were exchanged. Even the few examples cited reveal that the semantic overlap of several words may be found within the same book or from approximately the same period of time.
The evidence for such overlap may also be found in texts in which the roots are used in parallelism,6 or in other contexts where two or more verbs are used together. Here examples may be found of both semantic overlap and distinctiveness. For example, In Ps 102:20 both fjptf and ODD are found in parallel usage with reference to Yahweh's looking down from heaven for the benefit of his people: "For he has looked down (frjpttf) from his holy height, Yahweh from heaven has looked (ODD) at the earth." Here "he" and Tahweh" refer to the same reality. The qualifiers "from his holy height" and "from heaven" likewise refer to the same reality. In the first half of the line suggests "looking down" but takes no object, whereas in the second half ODD takes the object "earth" (with btt). Here the major difference between the words is obviously the nuance of looking down with *ptt}. This does not seem to be significant, however, because each half of the line has the qualifier which suggests looking "down" either "from God's holy height" or "from heaven."

6 ParaJJehsmus membrorum was so designated by Bishop R. Lowth in
the 18th century in De sacra poesi Hebraeorurn (Oxonii: 1753) (E. trs. Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, 2 vols. London, 1787). Cf. R. G. Doling, "'Synonymous' Parallelism in the Psalms," JSS 5 (1960): 221-225; and Sawyer, pp. 74ff.

J, *YlttJ, and Hfcn are found together in Job 20:7-9 which speaks of the
fate of the wicked. His fate will leave those who have seen (Hfcn) him asking, "Where is he?" "The eye which saw (*]ttf) him will not again, neither shall his place behold Hltf) him again" (cf. Num 23:9; Job 7:8). Here there appears to be very little difference between these three verbs which are piled on top of each other for emphasis.
With the exception of HTTl all of the roots may be found in various contexts with Hfcn, the most common of the "see" words.7 Both (DD3 and HKH are found in an imperative form in Hab 1:5: "See the nations and look!"8 Here there is no reason to suspect that the two words have any substantial difference in meaning, but rather they are simply two roughly synonymous words used in parallel for emphasis.
rfal, usually translated "reveal, uncover, open," is found in parallel with Hfcn in Isa 47:3: 'Tour nakedness will be revealed, moreover your shame will be seen" (cf. Isa 3:1). In 2 Sam 22:16 (cf. Ps 18:16) the results of Yahweh's theophany include: "the channels of water were seen, and the foundations of the world were revealed." In both contexts both verbs take the Niphal form and seem to be synonymous.
and Hin are used together in a number of texts. In Ps 14:2 and 53:3
God is said to look down from heaven upon the sons of men "to see if there are any who seek after God." Here the purpose of looking out or down is to see. As before *ptti seems to emphasize "looking down" whereas the second verb, Hfcn, points to the object.9 In Lam 3:50 the concern of the prophet is that "until Yahweh looks down and sees from heaven" there will be no hope. Here again

7 The nominalization Jftn occurs with HiTl in Dan 8:1, 1; 9:21; p^Hm Joel
3:1 (E. ITS. 2:28).
& Cf. Num 23:21;1 Sam 16:7; 17:42; 2 Kgs 3:14; Isa 5:12; 38:11; 42:18; 63:15; Hab 1:13; Ps 22:18; 80:15; 142:5; Job 28:24; Lam 1:11, 12:2:20; 1 Chr 21:21.
9 Cf 2 Sam 6:16; 24:20; and 1 Chr 15:29.

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the major difference between the words is obviously the nuance of looking down with *pttS. On other occasions, however, *pttf stands alone and takes an object either with *7K "look down upon" (cf. Exod 14:24; 2 Kgs 9:32), or *7tf, "look down toward" (Gen 18:16; 19:28; Num 21:20; 1 Sam 13:18).
nift) and Hfcn occur together in Isa 17:7: "In that day man shall gaze (Htttf) upon his maker and his eyes shall see (HK1) the holy one of Israel." Here "maker" and "holy one of Israel" refer to the same reality. The same is true for "man" and "his eyes." nttttf almost always refers to more than the visual perception, or to "gazing, considering, having regard for" the object (cf. Gen 4:5; Exod 5:9; Ps 119:117). Hfcn, however, may also be used in this sense (cf. Isa 17:8; 32:3). Here again is an example of parallel usage with roughly the same meaning.
In conclusion, it would appear that in a given context and time a number
of "see" words could function with little semantic difference between them. In some instances the choice of a certain word might be based on a particular nuance such as with *p$, but in other cases the choice would seem to be quite arbitrary. It is, of course, possible that choices were made for stylistic reasons. Clearly, frequency alone is not a sufficient guide for determining semantic differences between words in the same semantic field. Rather words must be examined in relation to the use of the additional words which make up the semantic field.
There are some instances, however, in which the semantic distinction between the function of the "see" words is readily apparent. For example, nift} when used with the preposition]ft seems to have the meaning "turn away to gaze" (cf. Isa 22:4; Job 7:19; 10:20). As noted above fpttJ has the nuance of "looking down or out." Both rbl and HfcTl are used in the Niphal form to mean "reveal oneself" or "be seen" or "appear." For example, 1 Sam 14:8-11 describes Jonathan and his armor-bearer "showing or revealing themselves" (nbl) to the garrison of the Philistines from whom they had hid themselves in holes. In 1 Kgs 18:2 Elijah "shows himself or appears" (HKT) before Ahab (cf. Isa 14.11, 18;

11

Lev 13:7, 57; 1 Kgs 18:1, 15; Jer 13:26; Ps 90:16; Dan 1:15; with reference to God see below).
rfa, DDJ, rifcH, and Tltf at times seem to move beyond the description of the seeing of the eye. rf?3, for example, is usually translated "to reveal or uncover" meaning to make someone or something visible. The root is used in some contexts, however, where hearing is meant, or it is the ear which is "opened." Isaiah reports: "Yahweh of hosts revealed himself in my ears" (22:14). In Job God is said "to open their ears" (33:16; 36:10; and 36:15). In each case the expression has the meaning that God reveals himself or something to the individuals involved. The phrase Tahweh revealed to the prophet" occurs several times in contexts which suggest the meaning 'Tahweh told the prophet" or gave the prophet his message (cf. 1 Sam 2:27; 3:1; 9:15; Am 3:7; 1 Chr 17:25).
ntn, 033, and Hfcn occur in contexts which seem to mean "experience, regard, pay attention to, consider," thus moving beyond the seeing of the eyes (DD3 f cf. Isa 5:12; 22:11; Eccl 7:13; 14; mn, cf. Exod 33:13; 1 Kgs 20:22; Ps 6:6; 45:11; 1 Chr 19:6; 21:12; 28:10). Htn describes the ecstatic state of the seer, or in usage similar to that of CDD2, has the meaning "to perceive, consider" (cf. Exod 18:21; Isa 30:10; Ezek 12:27; 13:8; Job 34:32; Lam 2:14).
Tltf is found six times in the psalms in a Poel participle form which would seem to suggest, "watchers" or "enemies" who watch continuously for the opportunity to do harm: "My enemies trample upon me all the day long" (Ps 56:3; cf. 5:9; 27:11; 54:7; 59:11; 92:11).
Thus far attention has been focused on the general semantic field of the "see" vocabulary of the Old Testament and on the major semantic categories which may serve as a guide to the major contexts in which these roots occur. In many instances there are areas of semantic overlap in the choice between two or more of the "see" words which are semantically insignificant. There also exist some areas where the semantic distinctiveness in this vocabulary is prominent. Areas of distinctiveness are usually related to the particular

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nuances of the individual words in certain contexts and collocations. There remain for consideration, however, those examples of semantic overlap and distinctiveness which are of most importance for the study at hand. These occur in the semantic category "seeing with reference to God" and it is to this category that attention is now turned.

II. THE USE OF THE "SEE" VOCABULARY WITH REFERENCE TO GOD

The frequency of the usage of the "see" vocabulary in the category "with reference to God" is presented in Table II. This table reveals that all of the roots except *]t$, used only three times, are found in this context. Usage ranges from 13% of the occurrences of HtTl to 50% and 53% respectively for CDD and

Eight contexts may be distinguished which represent the major semantic classifications within this category. The root may have reference to 1) God as subject of the verb, i.e. God sees, sees someone, or something; 2) a person appears before God (Niphal); 3) God is implored "to see", or with rfei "to open" (imperative); 4) God implores a person to see (imperative); 5) God causes to see (Hiphil); 6) thing or activity of God is seen; 7) God is the direct object, i.e. a person or object sees God; or 8) God appears (Niphal). Table III (next page) presents the distributions of the "see" vocabulary within these classifications. From these tabulations the relative proportions of the "see" words within
the contexts of this category can be examined more carefully. The total number of occurrences of the vocabulary which fall under this category is approximately 525- Of these 151 occur in contexts with God as subject of the verb, i.e. God sees/reveals, sees someone or something, thus making this the most frequent context.
Just as this is the most frequent context, so fttn is the most frequent "see" word both generally and in this context where it occurs 108X. As stated above, however, statistics alone are not enough for determining semantic

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boundaries between words. Indeed there is evidence for semantic overlap in the category "seeing with reference to God" similar to that discovered in the examination of other categories above. For example, with the exception of rf?3 (and *]TC}) all of the roots in question are used in the context of "God sees a person." Job 7:19 speaks of God "gazing" (HM) at Job (cf. Gen 4:4; Ps 39:14). In Hos 14:9 God "beholds" Hlttft Ephraim. In Isa 66:2 God will only "look" (003) upon the person who is "humble and contrite in spirit." Ps 14:2 speaks of Yahweh "looking down" (*]ptf) from heaven upon the sons of men (cf. Ps 53:2). In Ps 11:14 his eye "beholds" (fltTI) the sons of men. In Ps 33:13 Yahweh "sees" (nfcH) all the sons of men. Here, apart from subtle nuances such as looking down (*p$), there seems to be little difference in the function of these verbs, and little if any difference in the meanings intended. In each case God is said to see the individuals involved.

Both n&H and flttl are unique in that they are both used in personal and place names which, literally translated, refer to the deity seeing (flfcn 9X, HtH 3IX). For example Hfcn is used in the name of an officer of Jeremiah's time, iTK*V, or 'Yah sees." 10 HfcH is also used in Gen 22:14 in a place name, though with a different meaning: "So Abraham called the name of that place 'Yahweh provides' (Hltr

• •

riKV

• *

)."H Httt is used in various names including that of the
the King of Aram in 2 Kgs 8:8, 13, 15, 29 and 2 Chr 22:6, ^KHtn, or "El sees."l2 seems to be semantically distinct in the context of "a person appears

1° See BOB, p. 909. Cf. also rp *n. Tan has seen," in 1 Chr 4:2; 5:5; Ezr 2:47; Neh 7:50.

T T I'

11 Cf. Gen 22:8 where it is DTl^K rather than HI rP, and 22:14b where VJ T
the Niphal of rttHis found, though also with a different meaning.
12 BDB, p. 303. Cf. *7HTT n, "El sees" in 1 Kgs 19:15, 17; 2 Kgs 8:9, 12, 28; 9:14, 15; 10:32; 12:18, 19; 13:2,' 22, 24, 25; 2 Chr 22:5; Am 1:4; ^TH, 'vision of El" in 1 Chr 23:9; ITtq, "Yah sees" in Neh 1 1:5; ^^D!, "El sees" in'l Chr 16:6; 20:14; 23:19; 24:23; Ezra 8:5; and HMrp, "Yah sees" in Ezra 10:15-

15

before God." There are 9 occurrences where HKH takes the Niphal form with a person as subject. In each case "appearing before God" is related to a cultic function such as worship or service at the sanctuary. For example, in Exodus and Deuteronomy there are references to the requirements of the cultic calendar for pilgrimages to the central sanctuary: "Three times in the year shall all your males appear before the presence (face) of the Lord, Yahweh Elohim, the God of Israel" (Exod 34:23; cf. 34:24; 23:17; Deut 16:16; 31:1 1).13 Isa 1:12 refers to God's judgment of Judah's religious superficiality: "When you come to appear before me, who requires of you this trampling of my courts?" 1 Sam 1:22 speaks of Hannah bringing Samuel to Shiloh so that "he may appear in the presence of Yahweh, and abide there for ever." Ps 42 speaks of love and longing for the temple where God's presence is to be found: "As a heart longs for channels of water, so my being longs for thee, 0 God. My being thirsts for God, for the living God. When shall I come and appear in the presence of God?"

Six of the roots may be found in the 36 occurrences of the context of "a person implores God to see," "to show" or "reveal," or "to open" (imperative). With two exceptions, the imperative form is used to implore God himself to see. In Ps 1 19:18, however, the supplicant cries out "Open (rfal) my eyes that I may behold (tDD3) wondrous things out of thy law." In Exod 33:18 Moses implores God, "Show (reveal nfcTl) me thy glory." The request is indicative of Moses' special relationship with God and follows Yahweh's affirmative answer to Moses' prior request for God's abiding presence with his people (33:17).

*3 Some have suggested that originally such texts were "to see the face of Yahweh," but that this was changed at a later time to the less offensive "appear before the presence of Yahweh." See, for example, F. Notscher, "Das Angesicht Gottes schauen" nacb bibJischer und babyJomscher AufTassung (Wurzburg, 1924), pp. 89, 92-95; and M. Noth, Das zweite Buch Mose, Exodus, ATD 5 (Gottingen, 1959), p. 155 (E. trs. Exodus, OTL. Philadelphia, 1962, p. 192).
14 Cf. BHS. Both S and C presuppose rifcn

16

I V 1

There are many more texts, however, where God himself is implored to see. For example, "Look down (Pp$) from your holy habitation, from heaven, and bless your people Israel and the land which you have given us, as you did swear to our fathers, a land flowing with milk and honey" (Deut 26:15). In this context the deity is called upon to witness the presentation of the tithe at the central sanctuary. The result of God's looking or attention is the possibility of blessing. Moses implores God to consider his people and his relationship with them when he requests an abiding presence: "Consider too that this nation is thy people" (Exod 33:13; cf. 33:12).
In many other texts, however, the situation is far more severe. In Job 14:1-22, Job implores God "Look away (Hifltf) from him" (4:6). Job asks for relief from the glance of God which lies heavy upon humans. More frequently the request is for the attention of God. Imperative forms are frequently called upon in the laments of the Old Testament where God's lack of attention is thought to be responsible for the trouble, or its lack of remedy. For example, the psalmist protests his innocence before false accusers by crying out to God: "Let your eyes see (ntfi) the right!" (Ps 17:2). £D3is used 10X in various lament contexts in the books of Isaiah, Psalms, and Lamentations (cf. Isa 63:15; 64:8; Ps 13:4; 74:20; 80:15; 84:10; Lam 1:11; 2:20; 3:63; 5:1). It is found in parallel with nin in Psalm 80:15: "Turn Yahweh of Hosts! Look from heaven and see; and visit this vine." HK1 is used in this context 2IX in Exodus, 2 Kings, Isaiah, Psalms, Lamentations, and Daniel (cf. Exod 33:12,13; 2 Kgs 19:16; Isa 59:5; 63:15; Ps 9:14; 25:18, 19; 59:5; 80:15; 84:10; 119:53, 159; 139:24; Lam 1:9, 11, 20; 2:20; 5:1; Dan 9:18). Both words appear to be used in similar ways to call the deity's attention to the situation which has otherwise been ignored. Thus CDDDand run would appear to be semantically interchangeable in contexts which describe the imploring of God to see or to pay attention to a given person or
situation.

There are 38 occurrences of rfa (IX), DDJ (2X), and mn (35X) in the context of "God implores a person to see or appear" (imperative) In Isa 49.7-

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12 Yahweh is the one who frees the exiles and provides for them, "saying to the prisoners, 'Come forth1 (KiF) and to those in darkness, 'Appear'" (49:9, H^-l Niphal). Here "prisoners" and "those in darkness" refer to the same reality while "come forth" and "appear or reveal yourself" refer to the same desired

action.

With ODD and Hfcn God's imperative is that a person see or look. Thus God commands Abraham, "Look toward heaven" (Gen 15:5, CDS; or "Lift up your eyes, and look from the place where you are, northward and southward and eastward and westward" (Gen 13:14, HK*1). Both DD3 and Pftn are found in this context in Hab 1:5: "Look among the nations, and see; wonder and be astonished. For I am doing a work in your day that you would not believe if told." Although r&n is used predominantly in this context, these examples may serve to show the possible semantic overlap between 023 and HK"1 (cf. also Gen 31:12;Exod. 4:21; 7:1; Num 27:12; Deut 4:5; 11:26; Josh 8:1; Jer 1:10; Ezek 4:15; Am 6:2; Zech 3:4.)
Although several of the roots are found in the Hiphil form, ilfcH appears
to be the only root of the "see" vocabulary used in the sense of "God causing to see."l5 There are 42 occurrences of Hin in the Hiphil form in the context of God causings a person to see or showing a person something. This usage is found 12X in the Pentateuch, 5X in the Former Prophets; 18X in the Prophets, and 7X in the Writings. In 2 Kgs 8:10-13 God causes Elisha to see the death of a king as well as the identity of the new king. God shows the land to Abraham and Moses (Gen 12:1; Deut 34:1, 4); or God shows forth his power (Exod 9:16), his greatness (Deut 3:24), his steadfast love (Ps 85:8), or his glory (Deut 5:24). This expression is used in prophetic writings in reports of what God has shown or revealed. The direct object may be a vision (Cf. Jer 24:1; 38:21), or various symbols or events such as grasshoppers (Am 7:1), a basket of summer fruit

15 Compare the Hiphil forms of CO! HIKD, and PpW which are not used in this way.

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(figs) (Am 8:1), or marvelous things (Mic 7:15). The prophet may also be shown the sins of his people and their need for judgment (Am 7:4; Hab 1:3); or it may be^the arm of Yahweh (Isa 30:30) that the deity causes the prophet to
see.

With the exceptions of *]p$ all of the roots are found in the context of a person or object seeing something of God or an activity of God. Here there are 134 occurrences and again rtfcHhas the largest number in this context with 110 occurrences. Again this examination suggests that within a given context some roots are semantically interchangeable. For example, in Job 36:25 both HtH and £D33 are found in parallel descriptions of a person seeing the work of God. HfcH is found in this same context in Ps 95:9, and *Tl$ in the same context in Job 35:14 (cf. Isa 5:12; 119:5, 15). Here there is no significant semantic difference between the words.

Ps 119:117 speaks of "gazing" (HiXHJ) continually upon "thy statutes." In
Job 33:14 "Yltf is used of the failure "to behold or consider" God's speaking. Both words suggest more than the vision of the eyes, but rather the consideration of that which is seen.

Thus far, the first six contexts in which the "see" vocabulary may be found with reference to God have been examined. With the exception of rfal (and P]t$, never used in this category), each "see" word is used in the context "God sees a person" in ways which suggest that in a given context and time certain words could function with little semantic difference. With the exception of "11$ the same may be said to be true with regard to the context of "a person implores God to see." And with the exception of *p$ the same is true for the context "a person sees things or activity of God." While HIO is predominant in the context of "God implores a person to see or appear," both rhl and CD3 are also used on rare occasions in this context.
There is also evidence of semantic distinctiveness in the contexts of "a person appears before God" and "God causes to see." Here two unique

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collocations for HKl, which is predominant both in the category "with reference to God" and generally throughout the Old Testament, have been found.
There remain for consideration two contexts which are significant because the use of the "see" vocabulary in collocation with "God" seems to suggest that God has been seen by humans, or that God has appeared to humans. These contexts are all the more interesting because of Old Testament texts which say humans may not see God: "For man shall not see me and live" (Exod 33:20; cf. 3:6; 33:23; and Deut 4:12).

III. THE USE OF THE "SEE" VOCABULARY IN THE CONTEXTS
"SEEING GOD" AND "GOD APPEARS"

A. "A PERSON SEES GOD"

Five roots from the "see" vocabulary (HTTI, CDD3, nKl, "Ylti, and T\VV) may
be found in the context "a person sees God." Table IV (next page) illustrates the distribution of the "see" vocabulary with regard to this usage.
Again nfcn is used most frequently in this context, 49 of 64 occurrences,
and in every division of the Old Testament. The use of *YKQ in this context is limited to Job; Hi?ti is limited to Isaiah. D33 is used only once in each of four books, but is represented in three divisions of the Old Testament. With the exception of one occurrence in Exodus, HtH is found only in the Writings. Yet, as one might expect, an examination of the usage of the roots in this context reveals evidence of semantic overlap. For example, in the book of Job Htfl, niT\, and "VR2J are all used in very similar ways. Htfi and Mfcn are used in parallel in Job 23:8-9: "I cannot behold him;" "I cannot see him" (23:9; cf. 9:11; 19:26- 27). 16 "lltf is found in the question of Job 34:29: "Who can behold him?"

16 Although this text is usually emended, the use of HITI and HfcH are not affected. Cf. RSV, and E. Dhorme, LeLivreDe,fob (Paris, 1926), pp. 315-316 (E.

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seem to move beyond the vision of the eyes to the meaning that men will once again consider God. D33 and Hfcn have similar meanings in Isa 22:11: "But you did not look (CD3) to him who did it, or have regard (PIKI) for him who planned it long ago." HK1, however, is found twice in the vision of Isa 6 which emphasizes visual perception: "In the year that King Uzziah died 1 saw (Hfcn) the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up" (6:1; cf. 1 Kgs 22:19; Am 9:1; 2 Chr 18:18). Isaiah's response to this vision includes his confession: "Woe is me! For I am lost; for 1 am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips; for my eyes have seen (nfcH) the King, Yahweh of hosts!" (6:5; cf. 38:11).
Both CD3 and ntTI are used in this context in the Psalms. The usage here, however, appears to be quite different. For example, the one occurrence of CO3 in this context is found in the thanksgiving of Ps 34:6, where the poet implores: "Look unto him and be radiant." 17 Again it is not a visual perception of God which is called for but rather the "seeking" (34:5, 11), "crying" (34:7), "fearing" (34:7), and "tasting" (34:8) of God. HtH, however, is found in this context in the Psalms in contexts which suggest visual perception. Ps 17, a lament for deliverance from enemies, suggests God may visit the supplicant by night for the purpose of testing for wickedness (17:3). In confidence the psalmist, concludes: "As for me, in righteousness I shall see (Htn) thy face; I shall be satisfied upon awaking with thy form" (17:15).ls In Ps 11:7 it is "the upright" who shall "behold (HtH) his face." In Ps 63:2 the poet declares: "So I have seen (Htn) thee in the sanctuary, beholding (HtO) thy power and glory."
There remain, however, a number of passages in Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Judges in which HTH, tODD, and ntn are used in similar ways to

17 Psalm 34 is an acrostic which may point to the choice of 022 for stylistic reasons. The form is a Hiphil imperative, W3il (following BHS and BDB) and the letter called for at 34:6 is 71."
18 For the second half of this verse cf. BHS and <B.

22

refer to the visual perception of God. For example, both HtH and HK1 are found in the bold statements of Exod 24:10-11 that the elders of Israel "saw (rttH) the God of Israel" and that "they beheld (ntfl) God, and ate and drank." Exod 3:6 declares "Moses hid his face for he was afraid to look (CDM at God." In Num 12:8 the deity himself declares that Moses speaks with God "mouth to mouth; and beholds ((DM) the form of God" (cf. Gen 16:13; 32:31; Judg 13:22).
To summarize, evidence of semantic overlap has been found between the
five roots used in the context "a person sees God." Although fitT\ and rf?) are predominant, fiD3,*Tltf, and Htttf are also used in this context on rare occasions. Having examined areas of semantic overlap, a closer examination of the specific contexts in which people are said to see God may be undertaken. At least five such contexts may be identified: 1) contemplating, regarding, considering, experiencing God; 2) prophetic seeing; 3) cultic seeing; 4) fear and prohibition of seeing God; and 5) seeing God.l 9
As has been already observed in examples given above, there are a number of texts where some "see" words move beyond visual perception to a meaning closer to "consider, have regard for, perceive." For example, Isaiah's judgment against Judah's reliance upon Egyptian military might includes: "Woe to those who go down to Egypt for help and rely (]tf$) on horses, who trust (HDD) in chariots because they are many and in horsemen because they are very strong, but do not look (HUtf) to the Holy One of Israel or seek (ttfTl) the Lord" (Isa 31:1; cf. Ps 34:6 [E. trs. v. 51). Here that which stands in opposition to Israel's "looking to" or "seeking" God is her reliance and trust in Egyptian horses and chariots. Obviously the visual perception of God is not suggested in this context, but rather the contrast is between trust in Egypt and the lack of trust in God. CD33 is used similarly in Isa 22:10-11. Again the contrast is between

19 Although some of these contexts are obviously related it has seemed wise to make these distinctions in order to facilitate an understanding of this usage.

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military preparedness and trust in or proper consideration for God. In Isaiah 17:7 both Hfcn and H1X2} are used when the prophet reflects upon a future day when humans will consider God once again rather than continue in idolatry. There are several first person reports of prophets as to their call or reception of the divine message. These reports are often quite bold in their statement that God was seen. Although they may give some details of what was seen, the emphasis usually remains upon the word or message given by God. For example, Amos reports, "I saw (fftn) Yahweh standing upon the altar and he said . . ." (Am 9:1; cf. 7:7); or Micaiah reports, "I saw (rftTl) Yahweh sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing beside him . . . and Yahweh said ..." (1 Kgs 22:19; cf. 2 Chr 18:18). Perhaps even bolder is Isaiah's report: "In the year King Uzziah died I saw (Hfcn) Yahweh sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up; and his train filled the temple;" and "for my eyes have seen (Hfcn) the king, Yahweh of hosts!" (Isa 6:1, 5). Ezekiel declares that he saw "visions of God" and "the likeness of the glory of Yahweh" and even goes so far as to describe a throne and the "likeness of a human form" seated upon it (1:1; 27-28; cf. 3:23; 8:4; 44:4).
In addition there are prophetic texts in Deutero and Trito Isaiah, or texts attributed to later redactors, which suggest that Yahweh or his glory may be seen in the future. These are found in visions of the future restoration of Jerusalem or Israel, and the people. In Isa 35 the vision of restoration includes the statement that the people "shall see the glory of Yahweh, the majesty of our God" (35:2). Similarly, Isa 40:5 promises, "the glory of Yahweh shall be revealed (rfa), and all flesh shall see (rttTl) it together" (cf. Isa 66:16). Interestingly, these references to Yahweh's glory seem to refer to Yahweh's activity rather than to Yahweh himself. Thus Yahweh's glory is seen in his work of restoration. This will be seen by all the people or "all flesh." In Isa 66:1-20 seeing Yahweh's glory is paralleled with "hearing my fame." Now Yahweh's glory becomes something which can be "proclaimed" (66:19). These teits do not seem to suggest visual perception, but rather reflect what is

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apparently a later development of this motif. In Deutero and Trito Isaiah, it is the divine work of restoration which will be seen by all flesh and finally proclaimed to the nations along with Yahweh's fame or reputation (cf. Ps 102:17 [E. trs. v. 16] where Yahweh "will be seen in his glory").
It is interesting that Amos' vision is of Yahweh upon the altar and Isaiah's vision is of Yahweh in the temple. There are several psalm and hymn texts which suggest a connection between the visual perception of God, or manifestations of God, and worship in the sanctuary or temple. For example, Ps 63:3 states, "So I have looked upon (fittl) thee in the sanctuary, beholding (HK^) thy strength and glory."20 F. NOtscher suggests that although in Babylonian religion the phrase "to see God" may have referred to seeing the image of the god in the temple, in these contexts it is a Hebrew idiom which simply means "to visit the temple."21 There are also references to "seeing the face of God," or even God's "form" (H^Drft in Ps 11:7 and 17:15 which may also suggest the context of worship in the temple (cf. also 34:6; 97:6; Isa 38:11). If these suggestions are correct, then references to "seeing God" or his "face" in the temple do not mean that God was literally seen, but rather that he was worshiped in the temple where his presence was thought to dwell (see below Chapter Two).
There are two further contexts which are all the more interesting when contrasted with one other. Here the conflict is encountered between those texts which say God cannot be seen and other texts which boldly declare God is seen by humans. Even in those texts which declare that God was seen, the unusual nature of the experience is often expressed.
For example, fear is a common response when God is seen. David and the elders fall on their faces in reverence before the divine

20 Cf. G. H. Davies. "The Ark in the Psalms," Festschrift S. H. Hooke: Promise andFulftiment (Edinburgh, 1963), p. 55, n. 21.
21 Notscher, pp. 88f., 128.

25

messenger (1 Chr 21:16; cf. Gen 17:3; 18:2; 19:1). The response may be more explicit as with Moses who hides his face, "for he was afraid to look (DM at God" (Exod 3:6); or Manoah who declares to his wife, "We shall surely die, for we have seen (rtfcTl) God" (Judg 13:22; cf. Gideon in 6:22). No doubt such fear was based upon the idea that a person is forbidden to see God upon penalty of death. There are three such prohibitions concerning seeing the deity which are attributed to God himself. When Yahweh comes down upon Mount Sinai Moses is called up to the top of the mountain and commanded: "Go down and warn the people lest they break through to Yahweh to gaze (HR*"!) and many of them perish" (Exod 19:21). In Exod 33:18-23 Moses requests to see the nirPTDS. Yahweh agrees to cause his goodness to pass before Moses and to proclaim his name, but the deity stops short of a full revelation of himself: 'You cannot see (HfrO) my face; for man shall not see (HKI) me and live" (33:20). This limitation is set forth once again as Yahweh describes what he will do: "Then I will take away my hand, and you shall see (ffen) my back; but my face shall not be seen (Niphal n*Tl)" (cf. Exod 20:22; Lev 16:2; Deut 4:12, 15; Jer 18:17).
In contrast to these forceful prohibitions there are a number of texts where it is explicitly stated that a person sees God. So following Hagar's encounter with the filfP"^1^ she "called the name of Yahweh who spoke to her You are a God of seeing;' for she said, 'Have I also seen after him that saw me? 1 " (Gen 16:13). In spite of the difficulties of this text (cf. below, Chapter Three), one can recognize what is apparently a play on words with HK1 Hagar's exclamation reveals that she perceives that she has seen God. Following Jacob's eventful night at the ford of the Jabbok he "called the name of the place 'Face of God,' saying, 'For I have seen God face to face, and yet my life is preserved'" (Gen 32:30). In both cases amazement is expressed at such a close encounter with God. The fact that God is seen is not presented as normal occurrence, but rather as highly unusual and beyond the expectations of the individuals involved (cf. Exod 20:19; Deut 5:24 where hearing God is also feared).

26

As already noted, in Exod 3 Moses hides his face for fear of looking at God, and in Exod 33 Moses is allowed to see God's back, but not his face. There is an even stronger statement of Moses' special relationship to God in Numbers 12:8 where God himself responds to the challenge to Moses' authority from Miriam and Aaron: "With him I speak mouth to mouth, clearly, and not in dark speech, and he beholds (CDS the form 0131ft8) of Yahweh." There is one additional text, however, which goes perhaps even further in its statement that a person has seen God. Exod 24:9-11 states: "Moses and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel went up, and they saw (n^TT) the God of Israel; and there was under his feet as it were a pavement of sapphire stone, like the very heaven for its clearness. And he did not lay his hand on the chief men of the people of Israel; they beheld (ntH) God, and ate and drank." Here again the unusual nature of the experience is indicated by "he did not lay his hand on the chief men of the people of Israel." In other words, that which might be expected to take place under these circumstances did not. Instead they beheld God and ate and drank without harm coming to them.22
Micaiah (1 Kgs 22:19) and Amos (9:1) do not express fear after "seeing Yahweh." Isaiah's response is more reflective. In the presence of Yahweh he becomes aware of his "unclean lips" (6:5; cf. David's response in 2 Sam 24:17). Ezekiel's response is like that of others; he bows his face to the ground (1:28; cf. 44:4). A further development may be found in the book of Job. On the one hand Job looks to a time when he shall see God: "I shall (Htn) see God, whom I shall see (HtH) for myself, and my eyes shall behold (rttTl), and not another" (Job 19:26-27; cf. Ps 11:7; 17:15; Isa 38:11). But he also laments the fact that

22 Cf. E. W. Nicholson, God and His People: Covenant and Theology in the Old Testament (Oxford, 1986), pp. 121-133, who considers this text a theophany tradition rather than a reference to a covenant meal. The reference to eating and drinking may be understood as parallel to the statement "but he did not stretch forth his hands against the leaders of Israel." Rather, those who experienced this remarkable manifestation of God "lived" (p. 132). Cf. also Nicholson's "The Interpretation of Exodus XXIV 9-11," VT 24 (1974): 77-97.

27

God may not be seen. For example, "When he hides his face, who can behold CTtf) him?" (Job 34:14); or "On the left hand I seek him, but I cannot behold (ntn) him; I turn to the right hand, but I cannot see (HKH) him" (Job 23:9; cf. Job 13:24; 34:29; Ps 10:11; 13:2; 27:9; 30:8; 44:25; 69:18; 88:15; 102:3; 143:7). Elihu takes up this thought and challenges Job's expectations. When God hides his face from man who can see him (34:5)? He taunts Job for expecting that he shall see God and set his case before him (35:14). In the end, however, Job is vouchsafed to see Yahweh. His response, like that of Isaiah, is more reflective: "now my eye sees thee; therefore I despise myself and repent in dust and ashes" (42:5).
To summarize, with the exception of first person prophetic reports which
use Hfcn, there is clear evidence of semantic overlap between the "see" vocabulary in these contexts. A closer examination of these texts, however, leads one to the conclusion that reports of the visual perception of the deity in the Old Testament are more rare than the 64 occurrences of Table IV might suggest. Until now the word "see" has been used to refer to all of the nuances of the "see" vocabulary which may be found in these texts. However, on closer examination a number of the texts do not seem to suggest literal seeing. For example, in late texts in Isaiah the meaning is "experience, consider, have regard for" God (Isa 17:7 12X1; 22:11 [2X]; 31:1; 64:3; cf. Deut 5:24; Ps 34:6 [E. trs. v. 51). Other texts in Isaiah refer to seeing Yahweh's glory in the future restoration, but the context suggests that that which is to be seen or experienced is Yahweh's restoration which is eventually paralleled with Yahweh's "fame" and becomes something which may be proclaimed (Isa 35-2; 40:5; 66:18, 19; cf. Ps 102:17 [E. trs. v. 16]). Still other texts seem to refer to "seeing" God in the context of the cult or worship in the temple. It has been suggested that in this context "seeing" God may simply refer to worship in the temple. Although the origin of the phrase may have been the possibility of seeing images in the sanctuary, in their present context they do not seem to report occasions when God was literally seen (cf. below Chapter Two). This

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usage is probably metaphorical or it may reflect cultic theophany (cf. Ps 11:7; 17:15; 34:6 [E. trs. 51; 633 [E. trs. 21; 97:6; cf. Isa 38:11).
Prophet's such as Micaiah, Isaiah, and Amos are explicit in their statements, "I saw Yahweh" (1 Kgs 22:19; Isa 6:1, 5; Am 9:1). Although something of which they saw may be included in the description, the emphasis of their reports remains on the deity's spoken word. Ezekiel goes further in his description of his vision and the likeness upon the throne (cf. Ezek 1:1, 27-28). Others, such as Hagar, Lot, Jacob, Moses, the elders of Israel, Gideon, Manoah and his wife, David, and Job are also reported to have had encounters with God or the messenger which involve "seeing." These reports seem to include within them elements which suggest the unusual nature of the experience. In contrast to these there are direct prohibitions against seeing God, some of which come from the deity himself.
There remains for examination a number of texts which offer equally explicit descriptions of a direct encounter with God. There are some 51 texts where God is said "to appear" or "to reveal himself" to a person or persons and these must now be considered.

B. "GOD REVEALS HIMSELF" AND "GOD APPEARS"

Although ffal occurs in the Niphal form 3IX, only 5 of these have God as subject. In each case the meaning appears to be "God revealed himself." These texts are found only in Genesis, 1 Samuel, and Isaiah. As with its usage in the Qal form with God as subject, the contexts of these occurrences suggest hearing rather than seeing as the emphasis of the word. For example, Isaiah says, "Yahweh of hosts has revealed himself in my ears" (22:14). Following this the message is revealed to the prophet.
Three of the five occurrences are in 1 Samuel. In 1 Sam 2:27 a man of

29

God brings God's word to Eli: "Did I not indeed reveal myself PTPJ rjtfH), to

* * *

the house of your father when they were in Egypt in the house of Pharaoh?" In this case God's revealing is further explained by God's choosing (TO) and giving (]H3) and there is no indication that a visual perception is suggested. In 1 Sam 3:21, however, the Niphal of Tbl is found with the Niphal of fflH: "And Yahweh was appearing (Hfcn) again in Shiloh, for Yahweh revealed (rf?3) himself to Samuel in Shiloh by the word of Yahweh." Here Yahweh's revelation of himself is by "the word of Yahweh," and this is said to reinstate the "appearing" of Yahweh at Shiloh. In this context Yahweh's appearing corresponds to Yahweh's revealing by the word of Yahweh, but again no visual appearance seems to be suggested.
In Gen 35:7 Jacob is said to build an altar and name the location of the
altar 'b*m3 b&" because "there God revealed (ffat) himself to him when he »» •» >• fled from his brother." A fuller account of this event is found in Gen 28:10-22 where visual features are acceniuated.23 The theophany takes place in a dream (28:12) and the vision is described in great detail (28:12-13) including the fact that Yahweh was standing beside him. Yet Yahweh's theophany also includes his speech in which he identifies himself and promises land, progeny, and presence to the patriarch (28:13-15)- Although the visual aspects of the encounter are evident, that which is accentuated is the divine message.
To summarize, the Niphal form of rfal with the deity as subject may be translated "God revealed himself." It is used primarily for the revealing of God's message or word and seems nearly always to suggest hearing rather than seeing. Even in 1 Sam 3:21, where Tbl and HiTl are used together, and in Gen 35:7 and its referent 28:10-22, where other visual features are accented, the emphasis still seems to be upon the spoken message rather than the visual

23 M. Noth attributes both 35:7 and elements of 28:10-22 to the E source.
Cf. Uberlieferungsgeschichte desPentateuch (Stuttgart, 1948), pp. 37, 92 (E. trs. A History of PentateucbaJ Traditions. Englewood Cliffs, 1972, pp. 34, 85).

30

perception of God.
fftn is found in the Niphal form 10IX in the Old Testament. Forty-sii of these refer to the appearing of God or manifestations of God such as the TD2 or the **$Lfa- With regard to persons or objects the Niphal of Hfcn always seems to suggest that the subject appears or is seen. For example Lev 13 and 14 speak of leprosy and the proper response when evidence of the disease appears or is seen (13:19, 57; 14:35). In Lev 13:7 a person with leprosy must be seen or appear before the priest. In the story of the flood first the tops of the mountains appear (Gen 8:5), and later the bow appears in the sky (9:14; cf. 1:9). In Gen 46:29 Joseph appears before or is seen by his father Israel.
The Niphal of HfcH is used similarly with God as subject. Exod 13:7 prohibits leaven from even being seen among Israel during the feast of unleavened bread; males must appear before Yahweh three times each year (13:7, 2X; cf. 34:3). Yet the same word is used of God, "I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob as God Almighty" (Exod 6:3; cf. 3:16; 4:1, 5; 16:10). Table V (next page) illustrates the Old Testament usage of the Niphal form of Hfcn with God as subject.
From this table it may be observed that this collocation is found in every division of the Old Testament. Although found in 15 books, it is predominant in the narrative portions of the Old Testament which are found in the Pentateuch and history writing.24
A number of different contexts may be identified in which God is said to appear: 1) prophetic report or anticipation; 2) cultic report: narrative and psalms; 3) God (first-per son) reports; 4) individual reports; and 5) narrator reports. Although some of these contexts are obviously related to one another, their individuality has been stressed in order to facilitate the understanding of this usage.

24 The occurrences in the Chr essentially parallel those in the Dtr.

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TABLE V - NIPHAL ?*H WITH DEITY AS SUBJECT

BOOK

Genesis
Exodus
Leviticus
Numbers

Deuteronomy

Judges
1 Samuel
2 Samuel
1 Kings

Isaiah
Jeremiah
Zechariah
Malachi

Psalms
2 Chronicles

NO. OF OCCURRENCES

10X
7X
4X
5X
IX

4X
IX
IX
4X

IX
IX
IX
IX

2X
3X

TOTAL 46X

TOTAL

Pentateuch 27X

Former Prophets 10X

Prophets 4X

Writings 5X

46X

The rare and explicit statements of Micaiah, Amos, and Isaiah, who report, "I saw (HK1) Yahweh," have already been examined. The use of the collocation of God and the Niphal form of HK1 is equally rare in the prophetic writings. There are three prophetic texts where a future appearing of God is anticipated. This usage is limited to the later prophetic writings of Isa 60, Jer 31, Zech 9, and Mal 3. For example, Isaiah anticipates a glorious restoration for Jerusalem when "Yahweh will come forth OTTO upon you, and his glory will appear upon you" (Isa 60:2). Here Yahweh's coming forth or rising is paralleled by his glory's appearing. The image suggested is that of the rising of the sun.

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Similarly Zech 9:14 is part of what appears to be an oracle concerning the salvation of Jerusalem and the hope of a return of the exiles (9:11-17). To the "prisoners of hope" who are to return to the "stronghold" of Jerusalem the prophet promises a future appearing of Yahweh: "And Yahweh will appear above them; and his arrow will shoot out like lightning. And the Lord, Yahweh, will blast the shofar, and come in the whirlwinds of the south." Here the prophet draws upon the ancient tradition of the storm theophany for his portrait of restoration and hope. Thus Yahweh is presented as coming to the aid of his people bringing protection and salvation. The images in this case are borrowed from the ancient Near Eastern "Divine Warrior" motif and do not necessarily refer to visual perception.
For Malachi the future appearing of the messenger, whose identity in this case is more obviously separated from that of Yahweh, will bring judgment: "But who can endure the day of his coming, and who can stand it when he appears?" (3:2). Now the messenger appears for judgment before Yahweh himself "draws near" (3:5).25 There is one further reference Jer 31:3: 1 Yahweh appeared to him from afar" (with ©). However, it is difficult to determine whether this is a reference to Yahweh s appearing in the wilderness in the Exodus as indicative of Yahweh's future action, or perhaps to Yahweh's appearing from Zion (or Sinai?) to release and restore the captives (cf. 30:10). In any case, the setting is Jeremiah's vision of the return and restoration of Israel. The usage is probably not very different from the other prophetic visions of a future restoration (cf. the image of future restoration in Ps 102:17 [E. trs. 16] found in the context of a lament).

25 Curiously, some commentators seem to suggest that 'Yahweh" appears
for judgment. Cf., for example, F. Schnutenhaus, Das Kommen und Erschemen Gottesim AJten Testament, ZA W 10 (1964), p. 11, n. 44. However, the present form of the text seems to suggest that the messenger appears before Yahweh "draws near" (3:2-5).

33

To summarize, in these teits the motif of appearing is transformed into a future context. This rare usage seems to suggest that these prophets drew upon the ancient motif of Yahweh's appearing to describe Yahweh's future work of restoration, salvation, and judgment. Yet the emphasis is upon the divine work that will be carried out or the results of the divine activity of restoration and judgment, rather than upon the visual perception of God. There are two texts in the narrative sections of Leviticus which concern God's appearing in the cult, or in worship. In Lev 9 Moses instructs Aaron and his sons concerning the proper sacrifices to be offered, "for today Yahweh will appear to you .... And Moses said, This is the thing which Yahweh has commanded you to do; and the glory of Yahweh will appear to you'" (Lev 9:4, 6). At the climax of their worship "the glory of Yahweh appeared to all the people" (9:23). That which was seen is further elaborated: "And fire came forth from before Yahweh and consumed the burnt offering . . . and when all the people saw it they shouted, and fell on their faces" (9:24). With this the priesthood is instituted and the sacrificial worship of the people is consecrated by Yahweh. These events are seen by all the people. In Lev 16:2 Yahweh gives Moses instructions for Aaron concerning the day of atonement. Yahweh declares, "Tell Aaron your brother not to come at just any time into the holy place within the veil, before the mercy seat which is upon the ark, lest he die; for I will appear in the cloud upon the mercy seat." Here the fear is that Yahweh may be seen when he appears, or at least that Aaron might cross the boundary and come too near to Yahweh.
As noted above, references to seeing God in the Psalms are rare. In their present contexts most of these seem to refer to "worship in the temple." There are two references to the appearing of God in the Psalms in connection with "Zion." For example, the pilgrim who makes a journey to the temple in Jerusalem for worship is promised "the God of god's will be seen in Zion" (Ps

84:8 [E. trs. 7]; cf. 63:2-3).26 Here Yahweh's appearing or being seen is something which is anticipated in connection with Zion, the residence of God's presence. In this conteit the motif of God's appearing is used by the cult. The promise is that Yahweh will appear in Zion for the benefit of those pilgrims who come for worship (cf. below Chapter Two).27
There are three additional contexts for the appearing of God, all of which report that Yahweh has appeared or will appear. On rare occasions the report is given by God himself. For example, God tells Moses, "I am Yahweh. And I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob as El Shaddai, but by my name Yahweh I was not known to them" (Exod 6:2-3; cf. Gen 35:1; Exod 4:5; 6:3; Exod 33:23). On other occasions the report is from the individual to whom God has appeared. Jacob reports to Joseph, "El Shaddai appeared to me at Luz in Canaan and blessed me" (Gen 48:3; cf. Exod 4:1). Such firsthand reports are also rare (cf. the use of "I saw God"). More common, however, is the final context, or the various texts scattered throughout the narrative of the Old Testament where a narrator reports the appearing of God at significant moments in the lives of individuals or of the people. The Niphal form of HKHwith God as subject occurs 28X in these narrator reports, making it by far the most frequent context for

26 In Psalm 84:8 I have translated btt rather than "^K. Cf. BHS note b~b which points to translations «S d S) where either OTibK or "^K are deleted for metrical reasons.

27 The Niphal Form of HKI is also present in the MT of 2 Sam 22:11, but absent in the parallel verse, Ps 18:11. The RSV translates each text as it stands without giving reference to this difference. P. K. McCarter, reading KT1 with the S, D, and £, and Ps 18:11, rather than the MT NT1, translates 2 Sam 22:11, "Mounting a cherub he flew, he swooped on the wings of the wind." Cf. // Samuel, ^(Garden City, 1984), p.457. Cf. also J. Barr, ComparativePhiloJogy\ pp. 192-193, who ascribes the difference to scribal error and asserts the predominance of the uncommon verb fittl. I accept this view and will therefore not deal with this text.

35

divine appearing.28
For example, the narrator reports God's appearance to each of the patriarchs in the book of Genesis: "Then Yahweh appeared to Abram, and said, "To your descendants I will give this Jand" (12:7; cf. 17:1; 18:1; 22:14); or to Isaac, "And Yahweh appeared to him in that very night and said, 'I am the God of Abraham your father" (26:24; cf. 26:2); or to Jacob, "God appeared again to Jacob when he came from Paddan-aram, and he blessed him" (35:9). With the theophanies of the patriarchal cycles the norm is brevity and conciseness of speech. God appears, the divine communication is given, the patriarch responds, and there is usually no mention of the deity's departure. One important element, common to the patriarchal theophanies is the communication of the promises of relationship, land and progeny. In fact, the theophanies often seem to take place at times of tension with regard to the promises or at a time when the patriarchal family is threatened.
Similar accounts of God's appearing continue throughout the narratives
of the Old Testament. So the messenger of Yahweh appears to Moses (Exod 3:2); the glory of Yahweh to Moses and Aaron (Mum 20:6); Yahweh to Moses and Joshua (Deut 31:15); the glory of Yahweh to the whole congregation (Exod 16:10; cf. Lev 9:23; Num 16:19; 17:7;); the messenger of Yahweh to Gideon (Judg 6:12); the messenger of Yahweh to Manoah and his wife (Judg 13:3, 10, 21); Yahweh at Shiloh (1 Sam 3:21); and Yahweh to Solomon (1 Kgs 3:5; 9:2; 2 Chr 1:7; 3:1; 7:12). God's appearing almost always involves verbal communi-cation. That which was seen is only rarely hinted at. For example, Deut 31:15 stales, "And Yahweh appeared in the tent in a pillar of cloud; and the pillar of cloud stood by the door of the tent" (cf. Exod 3:2; 16:10; 33:23; Lev 9:4, 23; 16:2; Num 14:14; 16:19; 17:7; 1 Kgs 3:5).

2S a. Gen 12:7 (2X); 17:1; 18:1; 22:14; 26:2; 26:24; 35:9; Exod 3:2; 16:10; Lev 9:23; Num 14:10; 16:19; 17:17 (E. trs. 16:42); 20:6; Deut 31:15; Judg 6:12; 13:3; 13:10; 13:21; 1 Sam 3:21; 1 Kgs 3:5; 9:2 (2X); 11:9; 2 Chr 1:7; 3:1; 7:12.

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To summarize, the contexts of Niphal if?} texts always reflect hearing rather than seeing. These texts will thus receive no further attention in this thesis. The Niphal form of HH1 with God as subject seems to be used in a unique way throughout the Old Testament in the context of God's appearing. Although five words from our "see" vocabulary are used in various contexts to suggest "a person sees God," only the Niphal of HK"! is used of the "appearing of God." Although there are reports of God's appearing from individuals who encounter the deity in this way, more frequently the report of God's appearing is presented by the narrator. Often the appearing includes a divine message for the object of the encounter and occurs at a moment of tension within the narrative. Some response to the encounter may be reported Although the visual aspects may be described, this is never the only intention of the appearing report.

IV. A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SEMANTIC EXPRESSIONS "SEEING GOD" AND "GOD APPEARS"

Thus far the semantic field of words for see in the Old Testament has been examined and special attention has been given to the context "seeing with reference to God" and particularly to texts which suggest that God is seen or appears. There is evidence of semantic overlap in the use of the see vocabulary in seeing God texts, but only the Niphal of HK*1 is used for the appearing of God.
Tables IV and V list 64 "seeing" and 46 "appearing" references. Yet a closer examination has revealed that some of these texts do not suggest that God was "seen." Some reflect the nuances of particular words which may move beyond literal seeing to "experience, consider, or have regard for" God. The contexts of other texts may also suggest that "seeing" is not intended. For example, seeing Yahweh's glory may, in certain contexts, simply refer to seeing Yahweh's activity or his work and not the deity himself. As interesting as

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these texts are, they will be given no further consideration in this thesis. In addition, the collocations "seeing God" and "appearing of God" are found in several psalm texts in which they may simply be an idiom for "worship in the temple," or cultic theophany. Although I shall have occasion to refer to certain psalm texts in Chapter Two in connection with similar Akkadian texts, beyond this these texts will not be given further consideration.
This delimitation reduces the number of texts considerably. However, given the limitations of this study, it has seemed wise to limit the number of texts even further. Interestingly, with the exception of prophetic first-person reports29 and those in the book of Job,30 the remainder of the "seeing" and appearing texts are limited to narrative portions of the Old Testament which are found in the Pentateuch and the Deuteronomistic (hereafter Dtr) and Chronciler's histories (hereafter Chr). These narrative texts are all the more interesting because they have been virtually ignored in previous discussions of theophany; or when they have been considered, it is only in so far as they provide information for what are thought to be more significant themes such as etiology, cull, or storm theophany. Therefore, those texts which refer to "seeing God" and the "appearing of God" in the Pentateuch and history writing will be the primary focus of Chapters Three to Five of this thesis. As interesting as

29 Much attention has been given to prophetic call stories which include
the statement, "I saw Yahweh." The limitations of this study prohibit an thorough study of these texts. Cf. N. C. Habel, "The Form and Significance of the Call Narratives," ZAW 77 (1965), pp. 297-323; and W. Zimmerli, Ezekiel I, BKAT XIII/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1955), pp. 16-21 (E. trs. Ezefrel /, Hermenela. Philadelphia, 1979, pp. 97-100).
3° References to seeing have an interesting function within the book of
Job. In at least one case the reference seems to foreshadow the final theophany (cf. 19:26-27 and 42:5). In others Job laments the fact that he cannot see God (9:11; 23:9), or he is taunted by Elihu for expecting to see Yahweh (34:29; 35:14). Unfortunately, these too are deserving of a study which goes beyond the limits of this thesis and must therefore be reserved for a later time. Cf. Dhorme, p. 259 (E. trs. pp. 285D; and N. C. Habel, Job, OTL (London, 1985), p. 490.

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they are, a study of prophetic first person reports and the references to seeing God in Job must be reserved for a later time. Attention may now be turned to the distribution of the texts which will be considered and to a closer examination of the sentences and contexts in which the motifs occur.

A. "A PERSON SEES GOD"

Following the delimitations set forth above there remain 27 references in
the Old Testament to seeing either Yahweh, Elohim, the Elohim of Israel, the face or back (literally "backside" or "behind," only Exodus) of Yahweh, the glory (7Q3) of Yahweh, or the messenger C^pft) of Yahweh.31 The distribution of these occurrences throughout the Tetrateuch and history writing may be illustrated by Table VI (next page).
This table reveals that references to seeing God are more frequent in the Tetrateuch (17X/63%) than in the history writing. They are found only 6X or 22% in the Dtr and 4X or 15% in the Chr. The rarity of the motif is indicated by its limited use in Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers in the Tetrateuch, Judges, 1 Samuel, and 2 Kings in the Dtr, and 1 and 2 Chronicles.
Three words from the Hebrew vocabulary for "see" are used in these contexts: tlTH, CQ3, and Hfcn. HK1, however, is predominant as it is used in 24 of the 27, or in 89% of the texts. fttn occurs only once, while ODD occurs twice.
In 5 of the 27 texts it is 'Yahweh" who is seen. This rare collocation is attested in the Tetrateuch and both histories. With one exception, EDD in

31 For the purposes of this study references are included which involve
the seeing or appearing of the theologoumena, the presentations of the deity (glory, messenger, or face) which are used in various texts rather than Yahweh or Elohim. The identity of the presentation and the deity are often confused. Cf. Gen 18:1-15; 32:24-32; Judg 6:11-24; 13:20-21 (cf. 22:15-19). See J. Barr, "Theophany and Anthropomorphism in the Old Testament" SVT 1 (1960), pp. 32-38, who warns against the hasty judgment that the use of these mitigates the directness of the deity's appearance.

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Numbers 12:8, HfcHis always used in collocation with mrpin this context. Somewhat more frequently, 6X or 22%, "Elohim" is found. Though attested in the Tetrateuch and both histories, the collocations with Elohim are predominant in the Tetrateuch. Generally, HfcO is used more frequently in collocation with tPff^, though both HtH and 033 are attested in Exodus. Collocations with the "glory of Yahweh" (HliT'TCD) and the "messenger
of Yahweh" (nWTf^D)

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are found 4X and 9X respectively.32 The usage of the
7D2 in this conteit is found only in the Tetrateuch and Chr. The use of the ^R^D in this collocation is found in all three. Both expressions are collocated only with HfcH.
Used much less frequently in this context are the expressions D"5] Q, "face"
or "YiK, "back" of Yahweh. The "face" and "back" of Yahweh are found only in Exod 33 where they are collocated with HK1.

The Tetrateuch makes use of every appellation for God found in seeing God texts. The "messenger" seems to be preferred in the Dtr, though Yahweh and Elohim are attested. The Chr employs Yahweh, Elohim, glory and messenger. Eleven texts, or 41 % of the occurrences, state directly that either "Yahweh" or "Elohim" were seen. Sixteen texts, or 59%, employ "face" and "back," "glory," or "messenger."

B. "GOD APPEARS"

Following the delimitations outlined above, there remain 38 texts in the narratives of the Tetrateuch and history writing in which either Yahweh, Elohim,

'
Yahweh Elohim,

J

El Shaddai,

'

or the TtD,

T '

Iftte,

I T -

or CP3B are said "to ' ' T

32 The "messenger (1]K*7D) of Yahweh," or "messenger of Elohim," found over sixty times in the Old Testament, was apparently the most popular of the theoJogoutoens. Generally, the use of the TD-Dis more frequent in the Prophets and Writings. ^H^D, however, is more common in the Pentateuch and Former Prophets. Cf. Num 22:23, 25, 27 where an animal sees the

appear" to an individual or individuals. Only the Niphal of HK*1 is used of God's appearing. The distribution of these texts may be illustrated by Table VII (next page).
From this table it can be seen that the deity is most frequently identified
as "Yahweh" (20 of 38 occurrences). The TD3 and *7]Kl?D occur less frequently, 7 and 5 times respectively, but more frequently than the rare collocations of the Niphal of HK1 with "Elohim," Tahweh Elohim," "El Shaddai;1 or "face." "Elohim" is limited to two occurrences in Gen 35:1, 9 and one in 2 Chr 1:7. 'Yahweh Elohim" is found only once in 1 Kgs 3:5. "El Shaddai" is found only once in Gen 48:3. The "face of Yahweh" occurs in this context only once in Exod 33:23. 1123 in this collocation is limited to the Tetrateuch. With one exception ^Hl'pD is found in this collocation only in the book of Judges. These collocations are primarily found in the Tetrateuch and in the Dtr where 35 of the 38 occurrences are found.

V. AN ANALYSIS OF THE SENTENCES IN WHICH THE COLLOCATIONS OCCUR

Having examined the distribution of the various semantic expressions used throughout the Old Testament which suggest that God is seen and appears, an examination of their immediate contexts, or the sentences in which these expressions occur, may be carried out. This examination will be concerned with any consistencies that may be found as well as the distinctive uses of these expressions, and will seek to point out where certain expressions are used more often in one setting than in another.

A. "A PERSON SEES GOD"

An examination of the immediate contexts in which these 27 texts occur reveals very few patterns. On the whole it may be said that there was no slavish attempt to declare that God was seen with any one pattern or consistent

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form. Having said this, there are a number of texts which share certain common features.

For example, one is struck by the fact that so many of these texts express
the unusual nature of "seeing God." Such references may include statements of surprise or fear. This often takes the form of first person reports which are presented as the statements of those involved. These may be illustrated by the following:
Genesis 16:13 •S

^ . nn» ____.__..„

ITCH tfTTT __.____.,; Din mDK T >3.
Genesis 32:31 w w HZSB •:- ^3 .1 t FIT . - CTCS"^ - T 7 ms . T CPif?»....
Judges 6:22 (cf. 23) TOT) P"^? n> >m FTH^ JUT]*

Judges 13:22 WJ [fl?K »? fM n» W'1 ITDD
These texts share in common the idea that it was not normal to see the deity t and yet they all confess that God or his messenger was seen. In each text the particle >? begins the phrase which includes a first person singular or plural perfect form of rfoTI, plus the identification of the one seen. Each also includes a phrase or word which suggests the unusual nature of the encounter. For example, in Gen 16:13 the expression takes the form of a question, "For she said, "Have I indeed really

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here seen?'" (. . . TNTI cftn DJH mQK '?). In Gen t *~«T*T
32:31 Jacob is surprised that he has seen God face to face and yet "my life is delivered." Judg 6:22 reports the surprise of Gideon as he exclaims, "Alas Lord Yahweh! For I have seen the messenger of Yahweh face to face."
Both texts in Judges reflect the idea that to see God is punishable by death. Following Gideon's expression of surprise at seeing the messenger, Yahweh tells him, "Peace to you; do not be afraid, you shall not die" (6:23). Manoah tells his wife, "We shall surely die for we have seen God!" (Judg 13-22). A variation of this may be found in third person descriptions, or those encounters and reactions described by the narrator. These include the following:
Exodus 3:6 Dvf^rr^ erarra *m ^ ns na?b "inon

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"

~ T

Exodus 24:10-11 'jjnftp

*"
>?3 ^^"^i . . . *?tn6p

~ •

vfttt

~ 7:

ra

~

arm
;••

WTM 7:7 -

IT t n*xtf tf? - i
•'•»-' judges 13:20 (mnr^*6&) I • : ~ ns-iK

T:T am

v-:

9"^

-

ten

:•-

crcn

•

ttztei

:-;-Tnto
1 Chronicles 2 1:16 (cf. 20) TO^zmK jn»i W'jrnK T1 "^ Kfen I - : - ~ : - - T- T • T T • -
pto TOM D>3j>]m TT] *?&n . . . -raft mrp
2 Chronicles 7:3^371^ mn'TO^I Bten mi3 CWH ^niZPIS ^D1 *TT ~ Tt : ** T vvc * **Tr"**: :
With one exception, Exod J:6 (033), run is always used, though the form varies. Again the unusual nature of the encounter is highlighted. In Exod 3:6 the narrator states that Moses hides his face because of the fear ftn J) of seeing
(033) Elohim. In Judg 13^20 Manoah and his wife "fall upon their faces to the ground" when they see the nin'^^D. David and the elders do likewise (1 Chr 2 1:16). When Ornan sees the messenger, his four sons hide themselves (1 Chr 21:20). When the glory of Yahweh appears upon the temple before all the children of Israel, they bow their faces to the ground and worship (2 Chr 7:3); the priests can not enter the house of Yahweh because of the presence of the glory of Yahweh (7:2).
In Exod 24:9- 1 1 both ntfl and n&Tl are used in parallel in the description
of Moses and the elders of Israel seeing God on Mount Sinai. The second half of the parallel phrases speaks to the unusual nature of this encounter. The first statement is that God "did not stretch out his hand upon them" (24:1 1). The second is that "they ate and drank," i.e. they lived.
There are three texts in which the deity warns Moses that he may not be seen. These include:
Exodus 19:21 »1iPT9 DU3 1UH 11

:7T|V TT "T ~

31 ti&a *?D3i t v • - T : : •
Exodus 33:20 TO DISH 'ifirp~tf? ^ wm n&n*? *?ys\ ^^ TT TTT--:- -TT 7 ! ' ~
Exodus 33:23 *TP tf> '3D-1 nflRTTK H^TI ^3~m TfTOHl +r*s *s T _ __ T-: 7T-TI • " T ' * ~ ~
These texts also present the view that humans can not see the deity without disastrous consequences. The subject of the verb HK1, which is always used, is either implied by the verb, "you" or "they/ or more directly identified,

i.e. "man." The deity that is not to be seen is designated by either Yahweh, "my face/ or the first common singular suffix "me." Exod 19:21 and 33:20 also include the results of seeing God, perishing or death. Interestingly such texts are limited to the books of Genesis, Exodus, Judges, and Chronicles, and to the experiences of Hagar, Jacob, Gideon, Manoah and his wife, Moses, the elders of Israel, David, Ornan, and the children of Israel (cf. Job 42:5).
There are several additional features which are less frequent than those already mentioned as well as a number of unique contexts. Among these are sentences that use the expression "and when he saw the deity." For example Gen 19:1 reads: "And when Lot saw (the messengers) he rose up to meet them" Opn ITT--T:-- [roBftBrT) erfnrm).

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Sometimes the expression *

is "and he

lifted up his eyes and saw" (cf. 16:2; 32:3; Num 22:23). These phrases are found in narrative and seem to function to focus the reader's attention on the object of the encounter, i. e. the one who sees, what is seen, and the response. There are other texts which are unique. For example, in Num 12:6 Tahweh tells Aaron and Miriam, "mouth to mouth I speak with him (Moses), by appearance and not in obscure speech; and he beholds the form of Yahweh" (n>?! mrp T •

raorn

• rnpro

• 161

• • •

naim [nsfa]

»

iri3i£

• ns"^ n§). Here Moses 1 • • • •
special relationship to Yahweh is emphasized. Unique to Dtr and Chr is the first person report of Micaiah ben Imlah in 1 Kings 22:19 (= 2 Chr Id: 16): as* mrrra TOH mrp-rn wai - t : v • • t t : - : -:
taiZHM irOTjpy TQSJ (cf. Isa 6:1; Am 9:i;Ezek 1:26).
Thus an examination of the sentences in which the various semantic expression which suggest "a person sees God" are found reveals that this motif was used in a variety of ways. Though not always found, the most obvious common feature of such texts is the suggestion that such an encounter is unusual or beyond ordinary experience. Surprise or even the fear of death may be expressed by the person who sees or by the narrator who tells the story. More unusual is the reflective response in which the person expresses an awareness of their guilt before God (2 Sam 24:17; cf. Isa 6:5; J°t> 42:5).

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There is some further similarity in texts which report prohibitions against seeing from the deity. In addition there are some unique texts.

B. "GOD APPEARS"

An examination of the sentences which employ the semantic expression "God appears" reveals several recurring patterns, as well as a number of unique

sentences.

There are at least twenty sentences in which the narrator reports the deity's appearing to various individuals in the third person. These include the following:
Genesis 12:7 ..
Genesis 17:1 ..

7

Genesis 16:1 ... KlCfi
Genesis 26:2
Genesis 26:24
Genesis V

35:9 W
Exodus u' 3:2

Leviticus 9:6
Leviticus 9:23 •^ ^
Numbers 14:10
Numbers 16:19
Numbers 17:7
Niunbers 20:6
Deuteronomy 31:15
Judges 6:12
Judges 13:3
i Kings 35 ...
1 Kings 9:2
2 Chronicles 1:7

mm t: KV1T--
mm KV1
mmT:

mm
t:

mm T-

mm

KV1 T - -
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arm

TT

TO3
mm "TOD

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M

~ -
... HTO7 T
mm TQD=I . . T:' T: :
mrP~TOD T: :
mm T :

"TDD: T - -
mmito »"l»1 ...: T - -
nri
. TOS* mm
Hi

106? Df? n»"

RVTTT

47

T - -

2 Chronicles 7: 12 ... nfczFTK m iT: T T :
A high level of consistency may be observed in these texts. Each includes the third masculine singular Niphal perfect form of nan, or the imperfect form with the special wstw. The deity is always identified. In 10 of the 20 texts it is "Yahweh" who appears, 2X it is "Elohim," 3X it is the "messenger/ and 5X it is the "glory." The person or persons the deity appears to are identified in the sentence, i. e. Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Solomon, and all the children of Israel. In 6 of the texts the appearing of the deity is followed immediately by a message or promise OD&*1).
Responses to the appearing, such as were noted in seeing God texts, are more rare as are direct prohibitions concerning Yah wen's appearing. Yet it may be implied from a number of texts that Yah wen's appearing was unusual or even dangerous. The patriarchs respond by building an altar to commemorate Yahweh's appearing (Gen 12:7b; 26:25; 35:14); or the patriarchs and others "fall upon" or hide their faces (Gen 17:3; 16:2; 19:1; Exod 3:6; Lev 9:6; Hum 16:22; 20:6); offer hospitality to the strange visitor (16:3f.; 19:2f.); shout (Lev 9:24); or simply obey Yahweh's command (Gen l$:22f.; 26:6).
There are several references to the deity's appearing during conversations between the deity and others. An appearance is not described, but reference is made to a past or a future experience. The following texts may serve as examples:
Genesis

v

35:1 ^ ... ^7&

-

ronan

: • ~

*ysh

-

n-KD

- ~ : • ozrnton t - T
Exodus 3:16 (cf. 4:1)
pmr

Exodus 4:5 ^ - - - QTQK t~i~r:T:|7~T:' fl*?K m.T T^ iNni"^

- IPDK* ~.~
Leviticus 9:4 D?^?§ rRTjJ miP QPH '? ... Numbers 14:14 ... m.T .10$ .1^1? {'V? J?¥nw ...
With the exception of Gen 35:1, where a participle form is used, the third masculine singular Niphal perfect form of HK1 is found. The preposition ^, plus either the first common singular or second masculine singular

pronominal suffix, is used with the exception of Num 14:14 where the masculine singular pronoun nF& is found. In each case the deity is conversing with the individual involved. Thus God tells Jacob, "make there an altar to the God who appeared to you" (Gen 35:1); or to Moses, "And you shall say to them, Tahweh, the God of your fathers, appeared to me saying . . ." (Exod 3:11). In Num 14:14, however, Moses appeals to Yahweh's graciousness on the basis that Israel's enemies have heard that "you 0 Yahweh appear face to face" in the midst of Israel.
More rare are sentences that present first person reports from the deity's appearing to various individuals. These include:
Genesis 46:3 TV® rf?3 ^~nan J "IB» *7K ROl^ 3DLP v ITT: :-- t : • -- ~J~ ~ \ ~'.~

TT:-

j Judges _> 13:10 v T ~ D . *&—m T T ~: '&! . T - ..

ilKI] T . . H3H_.
In each case the third masculine singular perfect form of run is used with either the preposition *?& or *?, plus the first common singular pronominal suffix. The deity is either explicitly named, i. e. ^ *7£ or referred to as "the man" (2JWO, though the reader of Judg 13:2-25 is fully aware that it is the mm TJ^D that appears.
There are several sentences in which the narrator mentions, almost in passing, that the deity has appeared. The appearance is not described; only a statement that it took place is given. These may be illustrated by the following: i Samuel 3:2 1 ... ;f?0? rftnif? mrp c|$*l
i Kings O 1 1:9 i^ rflnjiT *?»i JZP nf?» mm CMD to*? nra^s . . . ' T - T:._ _ T.. -••: t: •- t: TT

Both the infinitive and participle forms of the Niphal of H&n are used in these summary statements by which the reader is reminded of Yahweh's appearing in the past at a given place or to the specific individuals involved. In addition there are several other sentences in which these semantic expressions occur, but no pattern seems to emerge. For example, Exod 6:3 presents the only first person report of appearing given by the deity himself.

49

T T : - 7 T - T
T T

"and I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob as El Shaddai; but by my name Yah wen I was not known to them" (pTEP"^

I * : ' 7

Dm

win *6 mrr wi >12> 'aa npy^i).: - t : • : T - - : | -:- - :
In Exod 33-23 and Lev 16:2 prohibitions are given by the deity concerning his appearing. Thus Yah wen tells Moses, ^£n >"jn*rn$ fPirn ^"P fcft (Exod 33:23); or Yahweh tells Moses to warn Aaron not to enter the holy place within the veil at just any time, ntflK fliQ >j rw fcfrl ' * ' ' ' T T - |T T v • T: rrjlDrrty (Lev 16:2).
In conclusion, there are a few recurring patterns. For example, a high level of consistency has been observed in the 20 or so references to appearing which are reported by the narrator with the form rniT &"]*] (whatever manifestation). Yet, for the most part the forms the sentences take are not rigid, but are diverse according to the needs of a given context. More rare, mere are reports from the individuals involved, or even from the deity. These too share some common features. As with the seeing God texts, there are a number of unique texts where no pattern emerges. Also common to both seeing and appearing texts is the report of the response of those involved. Generally this is negative, thus expressing surprise or even fear of death. In other cases this is absent, or the response does not indicate a threat to the person involved. The most frequent response is bowing or hiding of the face which may show reverence or respect for the one who is seen or appears, or in some cases fear.

VI. THEOPHANY AND THE MOTIFS OF "SEEING GOD" AND OF "GOD'S APPEARING"

Having presented the frequency and distribution of the texts which declare that hurnans "see God" and that "God appears," and having analyzed the sentences and immediate contexts in which these expressions occur, attention

may now be turned to the relationship of these motifs to the study of theophany in the Old Testament.
The word "theophany" is Greek in origin, a compound of the noun Qt6a, "God," and the verb ttxrfvu, which, according to Liddell and Scott, in the active means "bring to light, cause to appear, make known, reveal, disclose, show forth," and in the passive "come to light, appear, appearing, or shine brightly."33 Thus 8 o<j>dv ia is translated as the "appearing, revealing, or shining forth" or simply "vision of God."34 "Theophany" certainly includes the motifs of "seeing God" and the "appearing of God." Given that these texts suggest that God is seen, one might assume that they have had a prominent place in the study of Old Testament theophany. However, a review of scholarly literature reveals that surprisingly little attention has been given to these motifs. In fact, there is no systematic study of these motifs. Some studies of theophany ignore them altogether. When attention is given to them, they are usually viewed only as they might relate to what are thought to be more important concerns.
This can be seen very clearly in the work of J. Jeremias. The motifs of "seeing God" and the "appearing of God" are ignored altogether in his 1965 monograph, Theophanie: Die Geschichte einer aJttestamentJichen Gattung. Jeremias' thesis, as the subtitle suggests, is first and foremost an attempt to determine the theophanic Gattung and then to trace its history. He begins his study, however, with a definition of theophany which affects everything which follows: "Theophanies speak about the coming of Yahweh in storm, tempest,

33 H. G. Liddeil and R. Scott, A Greek-English Leiicon, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1940): 11:1912.
34 Ibid., 1:792. The word was used by Herodotus (1:51) to refer to the climax of the festival at Delphi when the statues of Apollo and other gods were shown to the worshipers. Similarly "epiphany" is used by Plutarch (Themistocles, 30) and Diodorus of Sicily (1:25) to designate the manifestation or appearance of the deity.

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fire, etc., for judgment and for destruction."35 jeremias makes it clear at the beginning of his study that by "theophany" he does not mean those Old Testament texts which suggest that God is seen; nor are those manifestations in which God is perceived by hearing, such as in visions, dreams, and revelations of Yahweh's glory, considered. Jeremias' attention is focused very narrowly on those Old Testament manifestations of Yahweh which are attended by certain natural phenomena. For Jeremias the original Gattungti theophany consists of two components. The first, peculiar to Israel, describes Yahweh's coming from a specific location; and the second, borrowed from Israel's neighbors, describes the reaction of nature to the coming. He finds the clearest example of such a text in Judg 5:4-5 which reflects the original Sitz im Leben, the victory celebration (hymn) following the Tahweh-war."36 His study is therefore limited to poetic or hymnic theophany texts which are found primarily in the psalms and late prophetic literature.
For Jeremias' view of seeing and appearing texts one must turn to his article, "Theophany," in the JDB Supplementary Volume. There he makes a distinction between 1) texts which represent a special divine favor for an individual and 2) those which represent "a manifestation of God through the powers of nature that causes alarm among his enemies," that is theophanies of Yahweh as warrior.^7 Whereas the first of these is related to either the legitimation of an individual or a cultic center, or to an experience which can be repeated in the cult (cultic theophanies), the second has nothing whatsoever to do with the cult. Among the first Jeremias includes references to seeing and appearing as well as other kinds of theophany. He writes, "Such appearance

35 j. jeremias, Theophanie: Die Geschichie einer altiestamenttichen Gattung, WMANT 10 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1965), p. 1.
36 ibid., pp. 136-150.
37 "Theophany," WB, Supplementary Volume (New York, 1976), pp. 896f.

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stories originally served to legitimate a particular cult center."38 This represents the common view which goes back at least as far as the work of A. Dillmann and continues almost without interruption until today (cf. below Chapter Three). Thus the "original" purpose of the story in an earlier hypothetical form is accentuated. Little attention is given to the significance of seeing God or God's appearing for the narratives in which these motifs occur. In a monograph published two years later more attention is given to references to seeing and appearing. In The Self-ReveJation of God, J. K. Kuntz defines theophany as:

a temporal, partial, and intentionally allusive self-disclosure initiated
by the sovereign deity at a particular place, and the reality of which
evokes the convulsion of nature and the fear and dread of man, and
whose unfolding emphasizes visual and audible aspects generally according to a recognized literary form.39

In contrast to Jeremias, Kuntz finds the clearest example of the Gattung
of theophany in a narrative text, Gen 26:23-25, which incorporates all the "formal elements dominant within the Old Testament theophany at large."40 The theophanic Gatlung includes: 1) an introductory description; 2) divine self-asseveration; 3) quelling of human fear; 4) assertion of gracious divine presence; 5) "AJeros logos''; and 6) concluding description. For Kuntz, who follows G. von Rad at this point, it is the speech of God which is central for theophany and not the natural phenomena which accompany it.41 References to seeing and appearing are thus unimportant. Kuntz adopts the phrase

38 ibid., p. 896. Some seeing texts are also thought to serve as legitimation stories.
39 J. K. Kuntz, The Self-Revelation of God (Philadelphia, 1967), p. 45.
40 Ibid., pp. 58-59.
41 G. von Rad, TheoJogie des AJten Testament, 2 vols. (Munchen, 19578- 1960), 11:33 (E. trs. Old Testament Theology, 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1962-1965, 11:19).

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"foundation theophanies" for many such stories in the patriarchal traditions and thereby gives ascent to the view which emphasizes their possible earlier forms rather than their present contexts/^ in addition, Kuntz's form-critical study does not make a sharp distinction between prose and poetic forms of theophany. One may surely want to question whether one "recognized literary form" is sufficient for the diverse texts he examines. By concentrating on the theophanic Gattung he often overlooks the uniqueness of texts and the great variety of functions they have in their contexts.
H. M6lle's recent study gives attention to a number of the appearing texts which are found in the Pentateuch. He examines appearing texts according to their literary sources. He begins with an analysis of "die Formalstruktur" of each reference to appearing and them moves on to literary critical, form critical, and structural analysis before suggesting the Site jm Leben of the text. On the whole, however, he seems to follow previous work on these texts and accepts the etiological background of many.43 I shall have reason to refer to his study again in the discussion below.
Several scholars suggest that the old setting of in the appearance stories,
i. e. the legitimation of the cult, has been set aside in their present contexts. C. Westermann, for example, adopts this view and suggests that the references to appearing are secondary and are used to introduce God's speech.44 In fact he goes so far as to say, "There is no essential difference between this introduction

42 Kuntz, pp. 114f.; 117, 124f., 127.
43 H. Molle, Das "Erscheinen"Gottes im Pentateuch:Bin Jlteraturwissen-schalWcher Beitrag zur alttestamenWcben Eiegese (Bern, 1973).
44 C. Westermann, Genesis J2-36, MAT\I2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1981),
p. 180 (E. trs. Genesis 12-36. Minneapolis, 1985, P- 155). Cf. R. Rendtorff, "Offenbarung im Alien Testament," ThLZ\\ (1960) pp. 834-838, who calls attention to the connection between HH13 and divine promise speech and suggests that in these texts the cuitic etiology pattern is abandoned. See also his "Die Offenbarungsvorsteilungen im Alten Israel," GesammeJte StudJen zum AJten Testament 57 (Munchen, 1975), pp. 39-59; and Schnutenhaus, p. 2.

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and the simple 'TftfcPV'O I have found this view unsatisfactory and will examine it more fully in Chapter Three. In my view, little progress is made when divine "appearing" is simply equated with divine "speaking."
Limited discussions of seeing and appearing teits may also be found in various dictionary articles, journal articles, commentaries, and monographs.46 However, it has seemed best to dialogue with these when appropriate in the discussion which follows.
Although it will become clearer in Chapters Three to Five, suffice it to
say at this point that insufficient attention has been given to these motifs and especially to their significance within the stories and narratives in which they are found. When attention has been given to them it has usually been limited to a discussion of how they are related to what are considered more important issues, such the theophanic form, the Sinai theophany, storm theophany, cult, or even a particular theological view. In fact, the majority of attention given to theophany in the recent past has focused on either the relationship between theophany and the cult, or the relationship between storm theophany and theophany in the literature of Israel's neighbors in the ancient Near East.47

45 Westermann, Genesisl2-36, p. 180 (E. trs. p. 155). Cf. W. H. Schmidt, "Auspragungen des Bilderverbots? Zur Sichtbarkeit und Vorstellbarkeit Gottes im Alten Testatt&K\." Festschrift Gerhard Friedrich: Das Wort und die Wdrter. (Stuttgart, 1973), pp. 26-27. who suggests that the old Sitz im Leben (etiology) has been replaced in this and other such texts where the intention is to introduce the speech. This view goes back to Schnutenhaus, pp. lOf.
46 Cf., for example, S. Terrien, The Elusive Presence: Towards a New Biblical TneolQgy($u& Francisco, 1972), who distinguishes between patriarchal epiphanic visitations, the Sinai-Horeb theophanies, the visions of the prophets, the "whirlwind theophany" in Job, the theophanic pictures of the Psalms and other victory hymns, and the prophetic oracles on the final epiphany of history. In contrast to Kuntz, he recognizes different "forms" or Gattungen for these texts. Like Kuntz, however, Terrien does not give attention to the narrative contexts in which these motifs are found. Rather, the texts are treated are evidence for his greater concern, the theology of God's presence.
47 Cf., for example, H. Gunkel, Sc/Mpftwg //j0rf£&jfcw(Goitingen, 1895); A. Weiser, "Zur Frage nach den Beziehungen der Psalmen zum Kult. Die

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More often than not, attention is given to hypothetical earlier forms of the stories as ancient foundation theophanies or etiologies. On the whole little attention has been given to these motifs and their significance for the narrative material of the Old Testament has not been considered.
This suggests the need for the study which follows in Chapters Three to Five. In this chapter attention has already been given to references to seeing and appearing on the semantic level and on the level of the sentences in which they are found. Chapters Three to Five will present an examination of these motifs in their present contexts. Broadly speaking, the motifs of seeing God and the appearing of God which are to be considered in this study are limited to three contexts: 1) the patriarchal traditions of Genesis, 2) the Moses, Sinai, and wilderness traditions of Exodus through Leviticus, and 3) the history writings of the Dtr and Chr. A chapter will be devoted to each of these.
Previous work has been largely concerned with the pre-Old Testament history of these texts. Although the study of the pre-history of these texts will not be ignored in the following discussion, the primary emphasis will be upon the significance of these motifs for the literature in which they are found. My examination will focus upon two additional levels; 1) the level of the immediate story in which the motif occurs, and 2) the larger narratives of which the stories are apart. The study will thus consider the significance of these themes for the story as inherited material as well as for their present contexts. For example, the stories of Yahweh's appearing to Solomon on two different occasions can be examined individually as inherited material which was used by Dtr to form the historical narrative. The narrator may have taken up the individual stories which originally contained references to Yahweh's appearing with little or no alteration. Yet these stories can, in some instances, also be

Darstellung der Theophanie in den Psalmen und im Festkult," Festschrift. Alfred Bertholel (Tubingen, 1950), pp. 513-531; W. Beyerlin, Hertunft und Geschichte der SJtesten Sinaitraditionen (Tubingen, 1961) (E. trs. Origins and History of'theOldestSinaiucTrad/boos'(Oxford, 1965); Jeremias, passJnj\ and F. M. Cross, CanaanJte Mytti and Hebrew Epic (Cambridge, 1973), esp. pp. H7ff. 56

examined in relationship to the narrator's purpose. In 1 Kgs 11:9 the Dtr breaks into the narrative to interpret Yahweh's appearing to Solomon. This may reveal how these stories fit into the purpose of the larger historical
narrative.

Following this examination, Chapter Six will present a summary and conclusion and offer some tentative suggestions for further study.
Before these avenues are explored it may be helpful to turn to an examination of the these themes in the context of the ancient Near Eastern literature of Ras Shamra and Mesopotamia. In Chapter Two an investigation of the "see" vocabularies of Ugaritic and Akkadian literature will be carried out in order to determine, if possible, whether or not Israel's confession that God is seen and appears is part of the common background of the religious thought of the Semitic cultures of the ancient Near East and, if so, whether or not there is similarity in structure and content.

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CHAPTER TWO

AN EXAMINATION OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN BACKGROUNDS

OF THE OLD TESTAMENT MOTIFS OF "SEEING GOD" AND OF "GOD'S APPEARING"

In this chapter an analysis of the vocabularies of the Semitic languages
of Ugaritic and Akkadian will be presented, particularly with regard to the function of semantic expressions which may be similar to "a person sees God" and "God appears." 1
In 1951 U. Cassuto observed that the Ugaritic writings are "Canaanite literary works pertaining to a period anterior to the burgeoning of Israel's literature, and in them we actually find numerous features that are identical with those that characterize the Bible."2 Indeed, almost immediately following the discovery of this new type of writing in 1929, and its decipherment in 1930, scholars began to offer comparisons with the Old Testament.3 Cuneiform texts have been of interest to Old Testament scholars since the first records were unearthed in the middle of the last century.

1 By undertaking this research the writer makes no claims to proficiency
in Ugaritic or Akkadian cuneiform texts. Rather, my examination has been limited to translations and/or transliterations of these texts. My thanks are due to Dr. John Day and Dr. Stephanie Dalley who supervised this part of my work. Their supervision and suggestions have certainly strengthened this chapter, though, of course, the flaws that remain are entirely my own.
2 U. Cassuto, JYOKn HSlpnft CT^D rf^l? Ttf HJ JJ rf^H (Jerusalem, 1953), p. 20 (E. trs. The Goddess Anath: Canaanite Epics of the Patriarchal Age. Jerusalem, 1971, p. 20).
3 For example, see the early work of H. L. Ginsberg, "A Phoenician Hymn
in the Psalter" in XIXCongresso Internationale degli Orientatisti(Rome, 1935), pp. 472-476; and "Notes on 'The Birth of the Gracious and Beautiful Gods,'" JRAS (1935), pp. 45-72. On such early work see J. Gray, The Legacy of Canaan: The Ras Shamra Teits and their Relevance to the Old Testament, second edition, SVT 5 (1965); J. C. L. Gibson, Canaanite Myths and Legends (Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 1-2 (first edition edited by G. R. Driver, Edinburgh, 1956); Cassuto, pp. 9ff. (E. trs. pp. 5ff.); and A. Curtis, Ugarit, RasShamra (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 3If.

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Yet the use of such sources as comparative material for the Old Testament is not without problems. For example, in contrast to the relatively fixed and ordered corpus of Hebrew texts from an also relatively brief period, Akkadian was written over a 2,000 year timespan during which various dialects were used.4 In addition, there are many different types of texts and many incomplete or damaged texts which do not always clearly suggest context or offer sufficient background information 5 Nevertheless, it has seemed useful to undertake a study, based on dictionary and lexical entries, of major words for "see" in Ugaritic and Akkadian. On the basis of this study, I have attempted to isolate the contexts in which the "see" vocabularies of these languages are collocated with "god."
Because both Ugaritic, Akkadian, and Hebrew share the common heritage
of the ancient Near East an examination of the "see" vocabulary of the Ugaritic and Akkadian literature, along with the contexts and collocations in which such words occur, may reveal whether there is similarity in structure and content, and whether Israel's confession that God is seen and appears is part of the larger religious heritage of the ancient Near East.

I. UGARITIC TEXTS&

The major words for "see" in Ugaritic are phy and 'yn . Less common are
'mr and hdy.7 R. E. Whitaker's Concordance lists 33 references for phy, 31 for c yn,

4 Cf. S. Moscati, et. #/, An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of Semitic Languages (Wiesbaden, 1964), pp. 6-7.
5 Cf. Curtis, p. 66.
6 The system of citation of texts used in this section includes references
to both A. Herdner, Corpus des TabJettesen Cuneiformes Alphabetiques, 2 vols. (Paris, 1963), hereafter CTA\ and M. Dietrich, 0. Loretz, and J. Sanmartin, Die keiJaJphabetischen Teite aus Ugarit. TeiJ J: Transcription, A OAT 24 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1976), hereafter KTU
7 One further possibility is r>y , found only once in CTA 3.1.12 (= KTU 1.3.1.12). Although Gibson lists this words in the glossary as "appearance" (p.

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20 for »mr, and 14 for hdy.8 While each of the words has been translated with

various nuances in different contexts, each is obviously related to seeing in one way or another.

A general survey of the translations of Gordon, Ginsberg, and Gibson

reveals that phy may be translated either "to see," "to perceive," "to behold," "to

descry," or with nuances which move beyond the seeing of the eye such as "to recognize" and "to experience." The root is found in various contexts which

involve humans and the gods. <yn may be translated "to see," "to look," "to

sight," "to perceive," or as a noun "eye." <yn, like phy, is also found in various

contexts that involve humans and the gods.

The root 'mr may be translated "to see," "to catch sight of," "to appear," or

"to regard."9 Over one-half of its occurrences take the form of personal and

divine names.10 hdy may be translated "to see," to look," "to behold," or "to

157), he translates "huge to see." Cf. Gibson, p. 46. Ginsberg translates "conspicuous." Cf. H. L. Ginsberg, "Ugaritic Myths, Epics, and Legends" in Andent Near Eastern Texts (Princeton, 1955), p. 136 (hereafter ANET}, Cassuto translates "Dl^ifl HKHD1?" or "great to look upon." Cf. Cassuto, p. 63 (E. trs. pp. 84-85). De Moor*translates "of tremendous appearance." Cf. J. C. de Moor, The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Balu, AOATlb (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), p. 67. Questions have also been raised concerning the division of words in the line. Cf. H. F. Fuhs, Sehen und Schauen: Die WurzeJ hzh iw Alten Orient undim AJten Testament. Bin Beitrag zum prophelischen Offenbarungsempfang (Echter, 1978), pp. 50-51, n. 232.

& R. E. Whitaker, A Concordance of the Ugaritic Literature (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 23, 256, 482-483, 522-523. Cf. also C. H. Gordon who only lists four: phy, 'yn, Jmr, and hdy. UgariticTextbook, Orient&lia 38 (1965), P- 535 (hereafter UT]\ and Fuhs, pp. 50f.

9 Other words may also be designated by the root »mr. Cf. Gordon, UT, p.
361. Gibson, p. 141, calls attention to the connection with the Hebrew "V2K and cites references where the translation "said" is appropriate. Cf. CTA 2.1.15, 31 (-£72/1.2.1.15,31).

10 Cf. the divine name amrr in CTA 3.6.11 (= £72/1.3.6.11); Cft! 4.4. 3, 8,
13, 17 (- £77/1.4.4.3, 8, 13, 17). Gordon, UT, p. 361, suggests a probable connection with mrr "to bless." Other names include amril, £7,42118.12 (= £72/ 4.419);amrb>l, CTA 1058.16 (= £77/4.219); and amry , CTA 136.8 (= £72/4.41.8) and CTA 137.15 (= £72/4.44.15).

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survey." 11 Fuhs suggests a connection between hdy and HtTl and suggests hdy

may mean "to see - close seeing - to recognize."^

An examination of the "see" vocabulary of the extant Ugaritic literature

reveals six major contexts in which phy, <yn, >mr, and hdy may be found: 1) one

person sees another; 2) a person sees an object; 3) a person sees a god; 4) a god

sees a god; 5) a god implores a god to see a person; and 6) a god sees an object.

The most common of these contexts are "a god sees a god" and "a god sees an

object." This is not surprising given the form and content of Ugaritic

literature.!3 The least common contexts are "a person sees a god" and "a god

sees a person." The first of these is of particular importance because of its

similarity to the Old Testament theme "a person sees God," and will thus be

considered following a brief review of the other contexts. The following table illustrates the distributions of the "see" words within these contexts.

11 rim and hdy may be regarded as cognate. This is suggested by the fact
that the Ugaritic d can equal the Hebrew t. Cf. Moscati, p. 43. A. Jepson, who considers HTH an Aramaic loanword, overlooks this possibility. Cf. "TltH" in TAeoIogisches W6rterbuch\\, pp. 822-835 (E. trs. pp. 280-290). Clear examples of the pre-exilic use of HtH in the Old Testament can be cited, e.g. Ps 46:9 (presupposes the inviolability of Zion); Prov 22:29; 24:32; 29:20 (generally considered early wisdom). For other pre-exilic examples of Htn, see M. Wagner, Die lexikalischen und grammatikaJischen Aramalsmen im aJttestamentlichen Hebraiscbe, BZAW 96 (1966), p. 53, though he also seems to regard it as an Aramaisim. While its later usage in the Old Testament may reflect the influence of Aramaic, this may not be true of its origin.

12 Fuhs, p. 55 (writer's translation).

*3 Cassuto, p. 15 (E. trs. p. 14), has offered the following classifications: mythological stories concerning the gods, i. e. the Epic of Baal; legends of which some of the heroes are gods and some human beings, i .e. the Epic of Daniel and Aqhat; and stories in which the deities play an important role, nevertheless the events recounted occur to people, i. e. the Epic of Keret. It is not surprising, therefore, that in such stories the gods and their activities play major roles and that much of the "see" vocabulary is found collocated with "god." Cf. Gray, pp. 73ff., and 0. Eissfeldt, "Mythus und Sage in den Ras-Schamra - Texten," Kleine Scrtftenll (Tubingen, 1963), pp. 495-496, 498.

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Only phy and <yn are found in the context "one person sees another" (2X each). For example, Gibson translates CTA 16.1.53 (= KTU 1.16.1.53) "she recognized (phy) her brother" (Elhu/Thitmanat).14 Both Gordon and Ginsberg translate "she sees her brother.15 <yn is found twice in CTA H.I.21 and 22 (= ^72/1.14.1.21-22): "He sees his offspring, doth Keret; he sees his offspring
ruined."!6

Only phy and hdy are found in the context "a person sees an object." With one exception these occurrences are found only in the story of Aqhat (CTA 19 = /7Zn.l9).l7 For example, CTA 19.2.62 (= KTU 1.19.2.62) reads: "a ripening stalk he descried in a parched land."l& In this context phy seems to be used with the nuance "perceive" or "catch sight of." Frequently Gibson translates phy with the world "descry." Ginsberg and Gordon prefer simply "see." All of the occurrences of hdy in this context are found in the description of Daniel's search for the remains of his son, Aqhat, in the gizzards of eagles. The statements "he saw eagles (Hargab and Samal)" and "he gazed in their bellies" are found over and over again.19 In CTA 19.2.105; 3.120, 135 (= KTU\. 19.2.105; 3.120, 135) both phy and hdy are used in parallel: "Lifting his eyes he perceived (phy), he saw

14 Gibson, p. 96. Cf. CTA 19.2.76 (= KTU 1.19.2.76).
*5 C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Literature, A Comprehensive Translation of the Poetic and Prose Teits (Rome, 1949), p. 78; and Ginsberg, ANET,$- 147.
16 Ginsberg, ANET,$- 143- Cf. Gibson, p. 82; Gordon, Ugaritic Literature,
pp. 67-68.

17 phy is found once in this context in CTA 3.1.14 (= KTU\ .3.1.14): "a holy
cup which no woman could regard" (Gibson, p. 46).
18 Cf. Gibson, p. 115; Gordon, Ugaritic Literature, p. 95; and Ginsberg, ANET^. 153. Cf. CTA 19.1.29; 2.63, 68, 103; 3-120, 135 (= KTU\. 19.1.29; 2.63, 68, 103; 3.120, 135).
19 Gibson, pp.117f. Cf. CTA 19.2.105; 3:110, 116, 121, 125, 130, 135, 139,
144 (=£72n.19.2.105; 3.110, 116, 121, 125, 130, 135, 139, 144).

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(hdy) eagles/ Hirgab."20
Three roots are found in the context "a god sees a god": phy, <yn , and >mr. For example, CTA 3.3-29 (= £TU 1.3.3.29) reads, "Behold, Anat (goddess - sister of Baal) perceived (phy) the two gods;"2 * or CTA 3.4.83 (= KTU 1.3.4.83) reads, "Baal sighted (<yn) his sister's coming."22 Both phy and >mr are found together in CTA 16.4.2 (= KTU 1.16.4.2): "I see (>mr) that you are percipient (phy) like El" (probably El speaking to Baal).2 3 Both <yn and imr are found in parallel in CTA 3.1-22-23 (- £TU 1.3.1.22-23): "Baal caught sight (>mr) of his daughters, he perceived (<yn) Pidray daughter of mist."24 Gibson translates J mr in CTA 2.1.32 (= KTU 1.2.1.32): "(Like) a fire, two fires they appeared" (the messengers of Yam-Nahar before the assembly of gods).25
phy is found in the one occurrence of the context "a god implores a god to see a person." In CTA 15-3-28 (= KTU 1.15.3-28) Athirat compels El, "Consider (phy), I beseech you: has FCeret then broken or has the king set aside his
VOW?"2&

20 Gibson, pp. 117, 118. Cf. Gordon, Ugarilic Literature, pp. 96, 97; and Ginsberg,
21 Gibson, p. 50.

22 Gibson, p. 52. Cf. Ginsberg, ANET,^. 137, "his sister's approach Baal sees;" and Gordon, Ugaritic Literature, p. 21, "Baal sees the going of his sister."
Cassuto translates both texts with "TKn/saw." Cf. pp. 67, 69 (E. trs. pp. 92-93, 96-97)

23 Gibson, p. 99. Cf. also Gordon, Ugaritic Literature, p. 80, and Ginsberg,

2* Gibson, p. 46. Cf. also the use of phy in CTA 4.2.12 and 4.27 (= ATU 1.4.2.12; 4.27) and <yn in CTA 1.5.7, 20 (= KTU\. 1.5.7, 20); CTA 3-5-21 (= KTLf 1.3.5.21); CTA 4.2.14 (= X7Z/ 1.4.2. 14); CTA 12.2.32, 34 (= KTU\. 12.2.32, 34); CTA 10.2.14, 15 (= ATm. 10.2.14, 15).
Gibson, p. 42. Cf. Gordon, Ugaritic Literature, p. 130, and Ginsberg, ^. 130. 26 Gibson, p. 92. Cf. Gordon, Ugaritic Literature, p. 75, and Ginsberg,,V. H6.

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Three words are found in the context "a god sees an object": phy, 'yn, and
hdy . Both 'yn and hdy are used in parallel in CTA 3.2.23-24 (= £Tlf 1.3.2.23- 24): "Anal fought hard and looked ('yn), she battled and surveyed (hdy) (the scene)."*7 Similarly phy is found in CTA 17.6.10 (= ITt/l. 17.6.10) where the goddess Anat reveals her desire for Aqhat's bow: "Lifting her eyes, she perceives" (the bow in action).28
In general, a survey of these contexts reveals evidence of semantic overlap when two or more words are used in the same context. Perhaps the best examples of this are found in CTA 3 (= 172/1.3) where all four words occur. For example, phy and 'yn are found in parallel in CTA 3.1.14-15 (= KTU 1.3.1.14-15): "a holy cup which no woman could regard, a flagon which no goddess could look upon"; inrand'yn in ££43.1.22-23 (= 172/1.3.22-23): "Baal caught sight of his daughters, he perceived Pidray daughter of showers"; and hdy and <yn in CTA 3.2.23-24 (= 172/1.3.2.23-24): "Anat fought hard and looked, she surveyed and battled."29
In each case there appears to be very little semantic difference between
the two words employed, in every context at least two of the four words may be found. These contexts are not unlike those discovered during the examination of the "see" vocabulary of the Old Testament.30 Yet noticeably

27 Gibson, p. 47. Cf. Gordon, Ugaritic Literature, p. 18; Ginsberg, ANET% p.
136. Cf. ££47.1.6 (= 172/1.7.1.6).
28 Gibson, p. 108. Cf. Gordon, Ugaritic Literature, p. 90. Cf. CTA 4.2.27, 30; 7.53 (= 17ZM.4.2.27, 30; 7.53); CTA 10.2.27-28 (= £T 1.10.2.27-28). Cf. also the recurring usage of this formula in Gen 18:2; 24:63, 64; 37:25; 43:29; and Cassuto, p. 31 (E. trs. p. 36).
Gibson, pp. 46-47. Cf . «yn and phy in CTA 4.2.12, 14 (= 172/1.4.2. 12,
14).
3° Cf . also the use of phy in the context "a god experiences/suffers." This collocation is limited to six occurrences in CTA 6.5.12-18 (- 172/1.6.5.12-18). The context is Mot's complaint to Baal about the treatment he has received at the hands of Anat. Mot demands that Baal surrender one of his own brothers to satisfy his hunger and anger. Gibson, p. 79, translates Mot's complaint,

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missing are any references to the gods seeing persons, the gods causing persons to see, or persons imploring the gods to see.31 Also missing is the collocation "a god appears." One text has been discovered, however, in which phy and hdy are used in the context "a person sees a god," and this text will now be examined. phy and'yn are found in CTA 17.5.9 and 11 respectively (= KTU 1.17.5-9,
11). CTA\1, 18, and 19 (= KTU\M, 1.18,1.19) contain the story of Aqhat, son of Daniel. Although Daniel is given the title king in CTA 19.3.152 (= KTU 1.19.3.152), the description of his manner of life is much simpler that that of Keret.32 in fact, certain aspects of the story recall the atmosphere of the patriarchal narratives of Genesis.33
The story of Aqhat begins in concern for Daniel who, unlike his kinsmen,
is without progeny (CTA 17.1.1-2.47 = /7Z/1.17.1.1-2.47). Daniel, the faithful hero or patriarch, carries out a seven-day rite of incubation in the hope of bringing his plight before the gods. On the seventh day Baal takes up Daniel's case and implores El to grant his request for a son. This results in El's blessing for Daniel who is then informed (in a dream?) that he will indeed have a son to fulfill the proper duties of offspring.34

"because of you, I have suffered abasement." The complaint is repeated five additional times, each one listing a different aspect of the defeat. Gordon, Ugaritic Literature, p. 47, translates each occurrence, "because of thee, I have experienced."
31 Cf. the incubation ritual of CTA 17.1.1-17 (- KTU\. 17.1. 1-17) where Daniel attempts to bring his lack of progeny to the attention of the gods.
32 a. cm 4.1.1-25; 1.53-2.56; 3.126-140 (- /Ttfl. 14.1. 1-25; 1.53-2.56; 3.126-140).
33 Cf. Gibson, p. 24. For a broader comparison of the Ugaritic texts and
the Patriarchal narratives see Wester mann, Die Verheissungen, pp. 151-168 (E. trs. pp. 165-186).
34 Both the end of column 1 and the beginning of column 2 are missing. Thus one is left to speculate concerning the mode of the message and the identity of the messenger.

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CTA 17.2.1-15 (= KTU 1.17.2.1 -15) records the promise given to Daniel
and his response to it. Gibson translates:

Daniel's face lit up with joy and (his) brow above gleamed; he parted
(his) throat and laughed; he placed (his) feet on the footstool, he lifted
his voice and cried: 'Even I may sit down and be at ease, and my soul within me may take its ease; for a son's to be born to me like my brothers and offspring like my kinsmen (2.9-15).35

As the story continues Daniel holds a seven day feast for the Kotharat ("skillfur), goddesses associated with conception and the birth of children.36 Following the departure of the Kotharat, Daniel awaits the months till the child is born. The story continues in section 5 where Aqhat is now grown to manhood. Daniel is sitting at the city gale "judging the cause of the widow, adjudicating the case of the fatherless" (5.8).3? It is at this point in the story that the context "a person sees a god" is found.
Gibson translates the text (CTA 17.5.9-11 = KTU\. 17.5.9-11): "Lifting his eyes, he saw (phy),... the coming of Kothar surely he sighted (4 yn), he sighted (c yn) the swift approach of Khasis."3* Gordon translates phy "he perceives" and <yn "he spies."39 Ginsberg translates "he beholds" and "he espies."40
The context is Daniel seeing the coming of Kothar-and-Khasis, the god of

35 Gib son, p. 105-
36 ibid., p. 24.
37 Ginsberg, ANET% p. 151.
38 Gibson, p. 107.
39 Gordon, Ugaritic Literature, pp. 88-89.
40 Ginsberg, ANET,^. 151.

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craftsmanship, who brings a bow and arrows for Aqhat.41 Daniel responds to the divine visit by summoning his wife Danatay to prepare a feast. Following the meal and departure of the god, Daniel presents Aqhat with the bow and arrows with the reminder that the choicest of the game he kills must be presented to the gods (CTA 17.5-37-39 = KTU\. 17.5.37-39).
An examination of the story of Aqhat, where the single occurrence of the context "a person sees a god" is found, reveals several points of contact with the patriarchal traditions of Genesis and particularly with the Abraham cycle.42 These may be summarized briefly by Table II (next page).
The motif of barrenness, or lack of progeny, is central to both the story
of Aqhat and the patriarchal cycles. Both stories share the belief that the deity is responsible for granting or withholding progeny. Yet there are differences. Daniel brings his plight to the attention of the gods by an incubation ritual, at the end of which Baal intercedes with El on his behalf.43 Abraham, however, voices his complaint directly to Yahweh who appears to him in a vision: "And Abram said, 'Now look! You have not given me offspring; and a slave born in my house will be my heir 1 " (Gen 15:3).44
At other limes the request for progeny is brought to God through prayer:

41 The vocalization "Kothar" is disputed; some suggest "Kathir." Cf. W. G. Lambert, "Old Testament Mythology in its ancient Near Eastern Context," Congress Volume, Jerusalem 1986, SVT '40 (1988), pp. HI-143.
42 Cf. E. M. Good, "Two Notes on Aqhat," JBL 77 (1958): pp. 72-73; J-Obermann, How Daniel was Blessed with a Son: An Incubation Scene in Ugaritic, JAQS Supplement 6 (1946), p. 28.
Curiously, Wester mann, p. 165 (E.trs. p. 182), interprets CTA 17.1.17-
18 (- /Tffl. 17.1. 17-18) to mean that Baal approached Daniel (cf. CTA 14.1.35- 36 = KTU 1.14.1.35-36), rather than that Baal approached El on Daniel's behalf (as does Gordon's translation and interpretation, Ugaritic Literature, pp. 84, 86). The translations of Gibson and Ginsberg, however, suggest that Baal makes

supplication to El (cf. Gibson, pp. 24, 103; Ginsberg, ANET. p. 150), and this would seem to fit the context belter.
44 Cf. Judg 13:1; 1 Sam 1; and 2 Kgs 4:8-17.

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TABLE II - POINTS OF CONTACT BETWEEN

PATRIARCHAL NARRATIVES AND AQHAT

Points of Contact Patriarchal Cycles Aqhat

1) Complaint: Lack of Progeny

2) Sacrifice/Incubation

3) Divine Message:
Promise of Son/Children

4) Response of laughter

5) Feast for divine visitor(s)

6) Seeing a god/God appears

7) Loss of progeny?

Abraham and Sarah:
Gen 15:3; 16:1-4.
Isaac/Rebekah: 25:21.
Jacob/Rachel/Leah:
29:31-30:24 (cf. 1 Sam
1:10-11,19-20)

Abraham. 15:7-16

Abraham. 12:2.7;
15:4-5; 17:2,6-8.9f.,
16.19; 18:10.14.
Isaac: 26:3.24.
Jacob: 28:13-14
(dream)

Abraham. 17:16-17;
Sarah: 18:9-15

Abraham. 18.4-8

Abraham: 12:7; 17:1;
IS.lf. Isaac: 26:2.24.
Jacob: 35:9; 48:3

Abraham/Isaac. Gen 22

££417.1.18-20
- 1727 1.17.1.
18-20

17.1.1-16-
17^1.17.1.1-16

CTA 17.2.1-23 -
KTU 1.17.2.1-23

(dream?)

£71417.2.9-15-
/7Z/1.17.2.9-15

CTA 17.2.25-42;
5.37-39-17ZH.
17.2.25-42:5-37-
39

CTA 17.5.9-11 -
177/1.17.5.9-11

CTA 18.4.29-41
KTU 1.18.4.29-41

"Isaac prayed to Yahweh for his wife, because she was barren; and Yahweh answered him, and Rebekah his wife conceived" (Gen 25:21). Yahweh's direct influence is also prominent in the story of the birth of Samuel. Hannah, deeply distressed about her barrenness, goes to the temple of Shiloh to pray. She vows that if Yahweh will grant her request, the child will be given back to

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Yahweh for his service (1 Sam 1:10-11)45
Whereas Daniel offers his sacrifices in an incubation ritual in order to gain the attention of the gods, Abraham offers his sacrifice following Yahweh's promise of a son and thereby seals the promise (Gen 15:7-16).
Both stories include the deity's promise of a son or children. CTA 17.2 (= X72/1.17.2) picks up in the midst of a message presumably sent by El, though the messenger is unidentified. El's blessing and promise are revealed to Daniel following Baal's intercession on his behalf. Each of the patriarchs, however, receives a promise directly from the deity. Thus God tells Abraham, "I will give you a son by her" (Gen 17:16); or to Isaac, "I will bless you and multiply your descendants" (Gen 26:24); or to Jacob, 'Tour descendants shall be like the dust of the earth" (Gen 28:14). In Genesis 18 three men visit Abraham and Sarah, though the promise is spoken by Yahweh.46
The response to the promise includes laughter. Genesis 17:16-17 and 18:9-15 record the responses of both Abraham and Sarah to the promise of a child. Following the promise of a son, "Abraham fell on his face and laughed, and said to himself, 'Shall a child be born to a man a hundred years old?'" On another occasion Sarah listens to the promise of the Yahweh at the tent door: "I will surely return to you in the spring, and Sarah your wife shall have a son."

45 Cf. also CTA 14.1.36-43 (= KTU\. 14.1.36-43) where El "comes down" (yrd) to Keret in a dream because of his concern for lack of progeny. The Hebrew root TV is also used in the Old Testament of the deity's coming down to man. Cf. Gen 11:5,7; 18:21; Exod 19:11, 18; 33:9; 34:5; Mum 11:25; 12:5.
46 Cf. 0. Eissfeldt, "Der kanaanaische El als Geber der den israelitischen Erzvatern geltenden Nachkommenschafts und Landbesitzverheissungen," Kleine Schrifien^ (Tubingen, 1973), PP. 50-62. In this article Eissfeldt seeks to determine which god originally gave the promises of progeny and land to the patriarchs and concludes that it was El. This would suggest an additional parallel with the Aqhat and Keret texts. However, in the present form of the narratives (cf. Table II) more frequently it is Yahweh who appears and offers the promises. Westermann, pp. 166-167 (E. trs. pp. 183-184), points out that, unlike the patriarchal cycles, the Aqhat and Keret tens do not include the promise of land.

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Her response, like Abraham's, is to laugh: "So Sarah laughed to herself, saying, 'After I have grown old, and my husband is old, shall I have pleasure?'" For Daniel it is the laugh of relief and pleasure. For Abraham and Sarah it is the laugh of amazement and even disbelief.47
Both the Abraham traditions and the story of Aqhat include a feast or meal for the divine visitors. Abraham commands Sarah to prepare a feast for the three men who appear.48 Yet it is Yahweh who promises both the son and to return in the spring so that Sarah might give birth (Gen 18:Iff.). Daniel prepares a feast for the Kotharat. A second feast is prepared by Danatay when Daniel sees the coming of Kothar-and-Khasis.
Both the patriarchal cycles and Aqhat include references either to seeing
the deity or to the deity's appearing.49 Yahweh "appears" (Niphal HfcO) to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and promises progeny. Daniel, however, sees (phy and hdy) the god of craftsmanship, Kothar-and-Khasis, coming with a gift for Aqhat. The bow and arrows are to insure that Aqhat will become a great hunter and therefore will offer sacrifices to the gods.5°

47 This is against Good, p. 72, who suggests that the laughter of Abraham and Sarah is like Daniel's, "an uproarious laugh of joy." That it is a laugh of disbelief is indicated by the response of Abraham to the promise (Gen 17:18); the response of Yahweh to the laugh (Gen 17:19-21; 18:13-14); and Sarah's denial (Gen 18:15).
48 Westermann, p. 154 (E. trs. p. 169), points out that this is a family scene, not a royal court with servants.
49 Westermann, pp. 163-164 (E. trs. pp. 181-182), concentrates on the role of the dream, but fails to take notice of the references to seeing the deity or to the deity's appearing.
5° One may wonder whether the broken end of CTA 17.1 (= KTU\.\1 \) and the broken beginning of CTA 17.2 (= ATI/ 1.17.2) might have included an additional reference to Daniel seeing a god. Good, p. 72, has been suggested that Baal, who made intercession to El, might have brought the promise to Daniel. Gibson, p. 24, has suggested that El tells Daniel in a dream (cf. CTA 14.1.36-43 = KTU 1.14.1.36-43). Cf. Westermann, pp. 158, 164 (E. trs. 174, 18 If.).

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Perhaps one additional point of contact remains between the Abraham cycle and the story of Aqhat. Both include the loss, or threatened loss of progeny. In Genesis 22, the life of Isaac is both threatened by God and finally preserved by God. In the story of Aqhat the goddess Anal is successful in her attempt to have Aqhat killed by her attendant Yatpan. However, her ultimate desire, to acquire the bow and arrows, is thwarted as they are broken and dropped into the sea (CTA 18 = X7#1.18 and CTA 19 = £Ttfl.l9)3l
Although the end of the story is missing, it has been suggested that it would have included an account of the resurrection of Aqhat, the punishment of Yatpan, and the restoration of prosperity to the land.52
Thus an examination of the context of CTA 17, 18, and 19 (= KTU\\1 % 1.18, 1.19) reveals a number of points of contact between the story of Aqhat and the patriarchal narratives, and particularly the Abraham traditions. The elements of the patriarchal narratives - lack of progeny, complaint, seeing the deity, promise from the deity, response of laughter, feast for divine visitor, and potential loss of progeny - are attested in a document of much greater antiquity.53 Although there are important differences between the Abraham cycle and the story of Aqhat, the structure of the two stories is remarkably similar. Because of this Good suggests that the story of Abraham is directly dependent upon the Aqhat story.54 However, there are clear differences between the stories which make Good's view highly improbable. A better explanation would seem to be that both stories are in many ways dependent

51 Cf. Genesis 37:31-35 where the loss of the favorite son is threatened. Westermann, p. 161 (E. trs. pp. 177f.), compares the mourning and lament of both Jacob and Daniel.

52 Cf. Gibson, p. 27. Good, p. 73, also finds a parallel to Aqhat in Gen 21:20, where Ishmael is said to become an "expert with the bow."
53 Cf. Good, p. 73, n. 5; Obermann, p. 28.
5^ Ibid.

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upon the structure and form of the oral and literary traditions common to the
ancient Near East.

Of particular interest to this study is the contrast between the relationship of Daniel to the gods and the relationships of the patriarchs to Yahweh. The differences in the religious content of the stories is perhaps far greater than that of structure and form. Daniel brings his lack of progeny to the attention of the gods through incubation. After seven days Baal intercedes with El on Daniel's behalf. As a result, he receives the promise of a son and rejoices. Following the birth of Aqhat, Daniel "sees" the coming of the god of craftsmanship with a gift of a bow and arrows. Yet Aqhat's life is taken by the capricious Anat who is jealous of his gift. As a result of Aqhat's murder the land dries up. The ending and denouement of the story are missing.
The tension created by the lack of progeny weighs heavily upon the patriarchal narratives. Unlike Aqhat, however, each of the patriarchs receives the promise of progeny directly from Yahweh who "appears" (Niphal HiO) to them. Although the child of promise is threatened by the deity's command, the deity provides a substitute sacrifice and his life is preserved (Gen 22). The promise of progeny is joined to the promises of land, blessing, and relationship with God. From these themes the the patriarchal narratives in their present form move forward with a much broader promise in focus: "by you all the families of the earth shall be blessed" (or "by you all the families of the earth shall bless themselves" Gen 12:3b;cf. 12:1-2; 18:18; 22:18).
Thus, the stories of Daniel and Aqhat, and the patriarchal cycles of Genesis share a remarkably similar structure. In addition, they both share the common view that the deity becomes personally involved in the tragedy of a childless couple. Nevertheless, in other ways their religious content is obviously different. In the story of Aqhat the deities are at work behind the scene and respond to the incubation which is intended to draw attention to the family's childlessness. The deity comes only later to present the bow and arrow so that the young lad may kill and offer sacrifices to the gods. For the

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patriarchs Yahweh himself becomes involved with a couple beyond the age of childbearing. He promises to do what seems impossible to the couple, to provide a son and to bless him. Later Yahweh also appears to the son and to the son's son. The deity continues to be involved in the lives of the patriarchal family, to intervine when they are threatened, and to renew his promises.

II. AKKADIAN TEXTS55

Like Hebrew and Ugaritic, Akkadian has a variety of words meaning "to see." These include amaru, barfi, dagaiu, hatfl, natalu, and paiasu.
amaru is, by far, the most common of these words and is easily recognized
as a cognate of the Ugaritic 'mr and Hebrew HDR56 when used in contexts which suggest "seeing" amaru may be translated "to see, behold, look at," or "to be seen." However, it also may have the nuances of "to experience, find, discover, observe," or even "to meet."57
bare may be translated "to look upon." It is also used with the nuance of looking carefully or intensely and may thus be translated "to keep an eye on, to

33 Both the number and nature of Akkadian teits, as well as the limitations of this study (and the writer), prohibit an exhaustive study of the Akkadian see vocabulary such as was carried out on Hebrew and to a lesser extent on Ugaritic texts. My concern here is to identify the contexts in which the "see" vocabulary is collocated with "god," particularly those that may shed some light on the Near Eastern backgrounds of Old Testament texts which say God "appears" or is "seen." Texts are cited by the location of the translation quoted and then the original location of the text is cited, where available, for the benefit of those who may wish to consult the cuneiform texts.
56 Cf. W. F. Albright, "Northwest-Semitic Names in a List of Egyptian Slaves from the Eighteenth Century B.C.," JAQS14 (1954), p. 229, n. 47, who suggests "see" as the original sense of "TDK as in Akkadian and probably Ugaritic (pp. 222-233).
57 Cf. A. L. Oppenheim, et. £/, The Assyrian Dictionary, Vol. 1 A, Part II (Chicago, 1968), pp. 5-27 (hereafter CAD\ and W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwonerbuch, Vol. 1, A-L (Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 40-42 (hereafter AHw).

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watch over, to observe." It also seems to have been the word reserved for divine revelation in dreams and visions. In this context barQ may be translated "to show," or "to reveal."3&
dagalu may be translated "to look, to look to, to look on with indifference"
or have the meaning "to own, take aim, or wait for."59 The meanings of hatfl seem to be dominated by the concept of watching carefully and thus may also be translated "to watch over, to take care of" or "to explore, examine, or penetrate into," or even "to search, trace, or weigh out."60
natalu may be translated "to see, to have eyesight, to look, look on, to witness, to show, to appear," or may also have meanings which move away from literal "seeing" such as "to be attentive to, to judge, to face, to point, to be
admired."6!

And finally, palasu may be translated "hinsehen, ansehen, erbticken, betrachtetf or even "beschtftigen, ablenken, or gewahrwerden ."62 It is clear that while each word may have its own particular nuances which move beyond literal "seeing," each is used in contexts which suggest "seeing" in one way or
another.

Based on a study of both CAD and AHw entries on these words, I have attempted to isolate the contexts in which the Akkadian "see" vocabulary is collocated with "god."
There are a large number of texts which refer to a god "seeing." Within this broader context, however, the object of this seeing may be undesignated,

5*0ppenheim, CAD 2 B (1965), PP. 115-118; and AHw\ % w. 109.
59 0ppenheim, CADI D(1959), pp. 21-5; and Affw\,w. 149-150. 6<>0ppenheim, £4/76 H (1956), pp. 159-162; and AHw\^. 343.
6 1 E. Reiner, CAD\\ N, Part II B (1980), pp. 121-128; and AHw 2, M-S (1972), pp. 766-767.
62 AHw2, pp. 814-815. The letter "P" has yet to appear in the CAD. The German has been retained in order to suggest the subtle nuances suggested by
AHw.

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or be identified as an object, a person, the activity of a person, or another god. One further possibility is found in "oath" teits where the god is called upon to see or to be witness. All of the "see" words are used in these sub-contexts at one time or another. Related are those texts which take the form of prayers which request a god to look upon a person. The desire behind the request is usually for divine favor or mercy. There are a number of texts in which the god "reveals" something to someone. This usage seems to be reserved for dreams and the word barti is used exclusively in this context.
There are at least two texts which refer to seeing "divine rites." There
are several texts which refer to seeing god in pious formulas, such as commands to come and see the god, or exhortations to speak the truth. There are several texts in which humans requests to see a god, again the aim being to receive divine favor. These texts may take the form of prayers. And finally there are a number texts which refer to a person "seeing" a god.
In general, it may be concluded that the Akkadian "see" vocabulary is collocated with "god" in similar ways to those of both Hebrew and Ugaritic. Noticeably missing, however, is the collocation "a god appears." Nevertheless, the last two of these contexts are of particular importance to this study because of their possible similarity to those Old Testament texts which refer to "seeing God" and they will be examined after a brief review of the other contexts. Table III illustrates the distribution of the Akkadian "see" vocabulary according to these contexts (next page).
Table 111 reveals that by far the most common context in which the Akkadian see vocabulary is collocated with god is "a god sees," occurring at least 39X. All six of the "see" verbs are used in this context. These texts show evidence of semantic overlap. However, there are some obvious distinctions as well.

Within this broader context the most common collocation is "a god sees
an object." For example, F. J. Stephens translates a "Psalm to Marduk" which

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has the request, "Look favorably (pa&su) on thy house; look favorably on the city; '0 Lord, be appeased,'... Look favorably on Babylon and Esagila;63 '0 Lord, be appeased,'... ."64 While every verb is used in this particular collocation, hatfl is the most common with 14X. In these texts hatO seems to have the special nuance of "to penetrate" or to examine, explore, or investigate" intensely.65 For example, Marduk is described as the one "who penetrates into what is in front and behind, right and left, above and below"; and similarly it is said of him, "Marduk, my lord, examines the word, inspects the heart."66
More rare are those texts which refer to a god seeing another god. For example, CAD translates "the gods of heaven and earth look (natalu) with smiles at Marduk, the hero";67 and "the lord (Marduk) calmed down, inspecting (bard) her (Tiamat's corpse)."68 Here bard has the nuance of looking carefully. In the Epic of Anzu, the storm-god Anzu desires to obtain the tablet of the destinies of the gods from Enlil which will make the other gods fear him. As he waits for the opportune moment the story reports, "he beholds (natalu) again and again the father of the gods (Enlil)."69

6 3 Esagila is the name of the chief temple of Marduk.
F. J. Stephens, "Psalm to Marduk," ANET, p. 390. The text is taken
from F. H. Weissbach, Babylonische Miscellen (Leipzig, 1903), P- 38: 13:70, 72. «CT. G*/?6H, pp. 159, 162.
66 a. CAD 6 H, p. 160. The references are to R. F. Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Letters XII (Chicago, 1913), p. 1382, 1240:11; and S. H. Langdon, Die neubabylonische Ktinigsinschriften, Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 4 (Leipzig, 1912), 68:35. With regard to the latter text cf. Jer 17:10, "I Yahweh search the mind and try the heart."
67 CAD\\ N, II, p. 121. The Text is take from H. C. Rawlinson, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia IV (London, 1 89 1), 20, 1 :r34f .
68 CAD 2 B, p. 116. The text is taken from W. G. Lambert, Enuma Ms,
The Babylonian Epic oT Creation (Oxford, 1966), p. 26. IV:135; cf. p. 23, IV:65. 69 The translation is by A. Heidel, The Babylonian Genesis (Chicago, 195 1 2), p. 144. The Text is from L. W. King, Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets XV (London, 1902), 39, 2:8.

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In "a hymn to a god," the deity is described as one who "looks (barQ) into
the mind of man."70 In fact, there are a number of texts which refer to a god seeing a human or a human activity. Of particular interest are the occurrences which suggest that such divine "seeing" brings favor or blessing to the recipient.7* Both amaru and pal&su are used in these texts, though palasu seems to have been the favored word for this context, occurring at least 10X. For example, CAD translates, "(ASsur) looked (amfiru) at me kindly."72 Sennacherib testifies, "ASSur, father of the gods, regarded (pal&su) me with favor."73 S. Langdon records a text which reads, "upon the sick woman Marduk looked (palasu)."74 C. Gadd translates "Sin, king of the gods, looked upon me (palasu)" with the result that Nabonidus became king.75 This relationship can also be seen in a penitential psalm to a goddess which Langdon translates, "If thou (a goddess) beholdest (palasu) a man, that one lives."7^ E. Reiner records an incantation in which "Marduk noticed (palfisu)" a man who was inflicted by a curse. Marduk inquires of his father Ea who gives him the incantation for

70 CAD 2 B, p. 116. The text is taken from J. A. Craig, Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts, Vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1895), P- 35:10.
71 Cf. Notscher, "Das Angesicht Gottes schauen" pp. 119ff., 176ff. He concludes that in Babylonian belief "Gottes Blick bedeutet Gnade" and "Gottes Blick wirkt Leben" (pp. 119, 124).
72 CAD 1 A, II, p. 17. The text is taken from D. J. Wiseman, "A New Stela
of As§ur-nasir-pal II," Iraq\^ (1952), p. 33:20. Wiseman, pp. 29-30, translates, "ASSur the great lord beheld me with favor." The text, from Nimrod, dates to 879 B.C. and attributes the kings good fortune and successes in battle to Amur's beholding with kindness.
73 D. D. Luckenbill, The Annals of Sennacherib, Oriental Institute Publications II (Chicago, 1924), p. 85:4; cf. p. 117:3. Cf. AHw 2, p. 814.
74 S. H. Langdon, "Grammatical Treatises,"^7/a/;yi?£z? 4 (1911), p. 189,
11:2.

73 C. J. Gadd, "The Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus," Anatolian Studies^ (1958), p. 48:39; cf. 50:35-
76 S. H. Langdon, Babylonian Penitential Psalms, Qiford Editions of Cuneiform Texts, Vol. 6 (Paris, 1927), p. 81:7. Cf. AHw 2, p. 814.

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removing the curse.77 There is some archeological and textual evidence which suggests that at least some of these teits may refer to the practice of placing a statue or image of the person who desires the deity's favor in the temple before the image of the god. Thus even when the petitioner was not physically present in the temple, his image would remain constantly before the god.78 Probably related are those tens in which a god is called upon or asked to look at a person or persons, ama , barfl, and hatfl are found in these collocations. Thus in a letter written to a god the following phrase is found, "look (amaru) at my family, young and old, show me mercy because of them."79 In a personal lament to Ishtar the petitioner cries, "look (amaru) mercifully upon me, my lady, accept my prayer."80 Both barQ and hata are found in contexts where divine

adjudication is called for from Saaag. "eiamine (barfl) my heart!" or "investigate (hatu) my case and his!"81 Although the practice of worshiper-statues is not

77 E. Reiner, Surpu, A Collection ofSumerian and Akkadian Incantations, AfOBeiheft 11 (1958), p. 30, V:18.

78 Cf., for example, the discussion of "Die archaischen Ischtar-Tempel" in W. Andrae, Das wiedererstandene Assur (Leipzig, 1938; second edition Munchin, 1977), pp. 103ff. See illustrations 79-87. A. Spycket, Les Statues de Cult dans les Teites Mesopotamiens a Ja Ire Dynastie de Babylone, CRB 9 (Paris, 1968), discusses the archaeological and textual evidence for statues of the gods as well as other cultic statues of humans from the third millenium to the twelveth century B.C.E at a number of cites. See further ANET, pp. 312- 315, esp. V:20-23 for a text ("Verse Account of Nabonidus") which refers to the practice of forming an image of a god and placing it in the temple for the worshipers to see. Images of gods were found in Israel and Judah until at least the times of the reforms of Josiah. Cf. H. W. F. Saggs, The Encounter with the Divine in Mesopotamia and Israel (London, 1978), pp. 22ff.

79 CAD 1 A, II, p. 17. The text is taken from H. F. Lutz, Early Babylonian Letters from Larsa, Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts Vol. II (New Haven, 1917), 141:15. 80 CAD 1 A, II, p. 17. The text is taken from L. W. King, The Seven Tablets of Creation, 2 vols. (London, 1902), pp. 1:228, II:VXXVII:43. 81 CAD 2 B, p. 116 and 6 H, p. 160 respectively. The texts are taken from H. H. Figulla, Business Documents of the New-Babylonian Period, Er
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attested in the Old Testament, these texts are reminiscent of the laments in the Psalter and other books where the petitioner is in need of divine favor and cries out to Yahweh to "look at" or see his plight and respond (cf. 2 Kgs 19:16; Isa 37:17; 63:15; Ps 25:18-29; 59:5; 80:15; 84:10; 119:153; Lam 1:9, 11, 20; 2:20).
barQ is used exclusively in the context "a god reveals." This collocation is reserved for dreams or visions which are the media for divine revelation. So, for example, it is reported, "in a dream during the night she revealed to me (her wish) for the reconstruction of the temple Euimag";82 or "Ishtar made him see a night vision."8^ it should be noted that the combination of dream and the explicit statement that "God revealed" is not found in the Old Testament where the deity usually "comes" to the individual in question "in a dream by night" and speaks (Gen 20:3; 31:10f., 24; Num 12:6; 1 Sam 28:6, 15; 1 Kgs 3:5; cf. 1 Kgs 9:2; Job 33:15-16; 1 Chr 1:7) M The phrase "god revealed (rf^l) to me" is reserved for the prophets (1 Sam 3:21; Isa 22:14; though cf. Gen 35:7 with 28:1 Off.).
There are at least two texts which suggest that "divine rites" may not be seen by humans, amaru is used in both texts. In Assurbanipal VI 32 the phrase "the god Sufinak whose divine rites no one may see" is found.8^ This text reflects the special situation at the shrine of Susa (not Semitic) where the

Excavations Texts IV (London, 1949), 171:13 and E. Ebeling, Keilschriftteite aus Assur religitisen Inhalts, vol. I (Leipzig, 1919), p. 118, 66:25.
82 CAD 2 B, p. 118. The text is take from L. W. King, Cuneiform Tens from Babylonian Tablets 34 (London, 1914), 35:37.
*3 CAD 2 B, p. 118. The text is taken from M. Streck, Assurbanipal II, p. 116,V51.
84 Cf. A. L. Oppenheim, The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 46 (Philadelphia, 1956), pp. 179-255; and R. K. Gnuse, The Dream Theophany of Samuel (Lanham, 1984), pp. llff.
83 CAD I A:II, p. 7. The text is from M. Streck, Assurbanipal\\, p. 52,
VI 32.

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divine rites of the cult were secretive. Generally, however, in Mesopotamia divine rites could be seen by people who were ritually clean. This is clear from a text in which the prohibition is only for the ritually unclean: "an unclean man or woman must not see (the ritual -proceedings)."86 These teits bring to mind those Old Testament prohibitions against the ritually unclean seeing God or coming near the holy. Thus, for example, in Exod 19:9ff. Yahweh tells Moses to consecrate the people and to see to it that they wash their garments for "on the third day Yahweh will come down upon Mount Sinai in the sight of ail the people" (cf. Exod 19:2 If.; 33:20f.; Lev 10:1-3; 16:1-5).
amaru is found in several texts which may be called pious formulas. These collocations include the command to look to, or see a god. Thus the imperative is found: "look up to your god ASSur and to your family's god."87 In addition, the imperative "to look" may be found in an exhortation to speak the truth, "lift your head and look at the Sun (god)."88 Similar are those texts which apparently command a visit to the city ASSur.89 With these one may wish to compare such texts as Ps 34:6 (E. trs. 5): "Look to him and be radiant; so your (imperative with (5, S, and Jerome: MT their) faces shall never be ashamed." There are also texts which report requests to see or experience divine

86 CAD 1 A:ll, p. 8. H. C. Rawlinson, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, 55, 2:24.
87 CAD \ A, II, p. 20. This text is found in S. Smith, Cuneiform Tens from Cappadocian Tablets III (London, 1925), 25:25. Similar are those texts which apparently command a visit to the city AS&ir.
88 CAD 1 A, II, p. 22. The text is from R. C. Thompson, Cuneiform Teits from Babylonian Tablets XXII (London, 1906), p. 40, 222:11 (a letter from the mid-sixth century B.C.).
89 Cf. the use of amaru in: "come here and visit ASSur and your father" and "come here and see A&ur (and me) and save your own life." CAD 1 A:II, p. 120. These texts are found in J. Lewy, Die aJlassyrischen Teite vom Kultepe bei Kaisarije (Konstantinopel, 1926), lb:21 (cf. 15:44); and G. Contenau, Tablettes Cappadodennes, Musee du Louvre - Departement des Antiquites Orientates, Textes Cuneiforms IV (Paris, 1920), 5:15, respectively.

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favor or to see the face or image of a god. Thus, for example, the phrase "may I

see (amfiru) divine favor" is found on several seals which record prayers to

Marduk 9° Or there are the requests, "let me see (amfiru) (the image of) A&ur,"

or "let me always behold (natfilu) your face (A&ur)."91 Such texts may refer to

the desire to see the image of the deity in the temple which was thought to

bring the favor of the god.

The deity's look or consideration may also bring negative consequences,

"A&ur and Istar knew (barfl) the thoughts of Tammaritu, this ruthless rebel, and

punished him (for his breach of the treaty)."92

And finally, there are at least seven texts which refer to "seeing, looking

to, watching," or "meeting" a god or divine "light." Four Akkadian "see" words

90 CAD 1 A, II, p. 9. The text is from S. H. Langdon, "Inscriptions on Cassite Seals," JRevue d'assyriologie et d'archaeologie orientate 16 (1919), p. 85, 36:5. Cf. the more recent work of H. Limet, Les Jegendes des sceaux cassites (Bruxelles, 1971), pp. 109ff., who translates the phrase, "Que j'eprouvre la faveur divine!" In addition to the text cited above (= Limet 9.1), this identical phrase is found on three other seals, Limet 9.1, 9.3, and 9A.

91 CAD 1 A, II, p. 23 and 11 N, II, p. 123- The texts are from J. Lewy, Die Kultepeleite der Sammlung Rudolf Blanckertz (tert\K, 1929), p. 26, 9231:31 (tablets in the collection of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Old Assyrian or roughly 2000-1500 B.C.E.); and T. Bauer, Das Inschriflenwerk AssurbanipaJs II (Leipzig, 1933), p. 83: 21. Bauer, p. 84, translates, "deine Gestalt will ich anschauen."

92 CAD 2 B, p. 116. The text is taken from M. Streck, AssurbanJpaJ II, VorderasjatischeBJbJiotheJc 7 (Leipzig, 1916), p. 44, V 31- Cf. further Balentine, The Hidden God, pp. 30ff., who discusses Akkadian and Hebrew prayers which lament "God's aloofness" in the form of "hiding" or "turning the face." Such texts are concerned with opposite of divine seeing, or God's lack of attention to humans. Whereas Notscher, pp. 13Iff., and others, have interpreted such texts as indications of God's anger or judgment, Balentine, pp. 50ff., 66ff. suggests that there was more involved in the expression "hide the face" than judgment. The phrase has different functions according to its contexts (p. 79), and often concerns the apparent lack of reason for "divine aloofness," or the temporary nature of God's hiddenness which is followed by salvation and restoration.

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are found in this context: amani, bard, natftlu, and palasu.93 For example, CAD translates natalu with paaa ("face") as object as "to be attentive to": "I, your servant, who keep watch for you (Sin and Samas), who am attentive to you every day."** However, the translation "look to" would seem to be just as appropriate since Sin and Samas (moon and sun) are the objects of attention.^ A second text is found in "The Babylonian Theodicy," a poem which takes
the form of a dialogue between a sufferer and a friend: "he who is attentive to his god acquires a guardian angel."96 The friend answers the sufferer, who protests the injustice he endures, with the established views of divine justice which dictate that, "he who waits on his god has a protecting angel. The humble man who fears his goddess accumulates wealth" (Lambert's translation).97 Thus the one who is heedful of god obtains divine protection. In this case "seeing" does not seem to be the intention, but as in certain Old Testament contexts the word for see may also have the nuance "pay attention" or "consider" (cf., for example, Isa 17:7; 22:11; 31:6; 64:3; Ps 34:6 [E. trs. 41).

cf. the use of natalu in the Gilgamesh Epic in which the harlot tells Enkidu, "As 1 look at thee, Enkidu, thou art become like a god." Translation of E. A. Speiser, "The Gilgamesh Epic," ANET^. 77, 2, ii:l 1 (pp. 72-99). Cf. CADI \ N, II, p. 122. This text may be compared with Jacob's statement to Esau in Gen 33:10: "for truly to see your face is like seeing the face of God." CAD 1 1 N, II, p. 123. The Text is from H. F. Lutz, Selected Sumerian and BabyJonian Teits, The University of Pennsylvania, The Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section, Vol. 1, No. II (Philadelphia, 1919), 106, r 18.

93 I am grateful to Dr. S. Dalley for pointing out that the translation "to be attentive to" is more of a paraphrase, peculiar to CAD, and that the translation "look" is just as appropriate in this case. One may wonder if the reference is again to a worshiper-statue in the temple which looks at the god continuously

even though the person is not physically present in the temple.

% CAD 11 N, II, p. 123. The text is from W. G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom Literature (Oxford, I960), P. 70:21. Lambert, p. 63, dates the text to around 1000 B.C.
97 Lambert, p. 71.

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Both barti and nataiu are found in texts which refer to seeing divine "light": "you (deity) are the torch, they look at your light";98 and "all mankind, who see your bright light."99 The second of these is found in a prayer of Nabonidus, the king of Babylon, to SamaS. The king petitions the deity to give into his hand all who see the deity's "bright light," or perhaps literally all who are under the sun, and to cause them to bow down to the king's feet. In the Old Testament there are texts which associate bright light with the deity's presence and blessing (cf. Num 6:25; Ezek 43:2; Mic 7:8; Ps 4:7; 27:1; 31:17; 43:3; 44:4; 67:2; 80:4, 8, 20; 89:16; 118:27; 119:135; Isa 2:5; 10:17; 60:19, 20; Dan 9:17). However, references to "seeing" divine light are rare (cf. Isa 9:1; Ps 36:10; Job 33:28 [?]). Other images of light are found as, for example, at Sinai where the people see lightning and fire which suggest God's immediate presence (cf. Exod 20:18; Deut 18:16), and in the wilderness the people of Israel witness "fire from Yahweh" consume their burnt offering (Lev 9:24; cf. Judg 6, 13).
There remain four texts which state directly that a god is seen. Three employ amaru: "I entered Nineveh and without incident saw (amaru) the god Nabu and the king personally."100 This text probably refers to a visit to the temple after a long absence from the city. Thus upon returning he goes to the temple where he sees the image of the god Nabu followed by a visit with the king (or perhaps the image of the king in the temple?). The context is unclear. The word may simply mean "visit" the temple as in the text, "I came to visit (amaru with pano personally visit, see) you (the deity) because you are graciously inclined (toward the supplicant), here I stand before you because you are

98 CAD 1 1 N, II, p. 123- The text is from L. Cagni, / 'epopea dj £rr% Swdj Semitic! 34 (Rome, 1969), p. 58, 1:10.
99 CAD 2 B, p. 117. The Text is from Langdon, Konigslnschrifien, 242,

100 CAD 1 A, II, p. 21. The text is taken from R. F. Harper, Asssyrian and Babylonian Letters II (Chicago, 1893), 221:10.

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merciful."iOi
amaru is also found in this context in an incantation to speak with one's personal god and goddess and thus to learn one's future: "then you will see your personal god and goddess face to face and they will reveal your future" (cf. Ps 11:7; 17:15; 34:6; 97:6).102 The ritual is described whereby after personal cleansing and the drawing of the figures of Ea and Marduk, the petitioner sees his god and goddess and receives word of the future. Although the text speaks of "seeing" the god and goddess, a description of what is seen is not given, although perhaps this is supplied in advance, to some degree, by the sample drawings which are included as a model for those which are to be made by the petitioner. 10^
And finally, in a dream Nabonidus tells his predecessor, Nebukadnezzar:
"In my dream 1 saw (palasu) with great joy the Great Star, the moon and the planet Jupiter (literally: Marduk) high up in the sky and it (the Great Star) called me by my name [ ]." 104 At this point the text breaks off without any further description of that which was seen. Dream reports in the Old Testament do not include the phrase "I saw Yahweh" (though cf. the prophetic visions of 1 Kgs 22:19; Isa 6:1; Am 9:1), though they may presuppose visual

101 CAD 1 A, 11, p. 21. The Text is taken from L. W. King, Babylonian Myth and Sorcery (London, 1896), 27:17; cf. 2:36.
102 E. Reiner, "For tune -Telling in Mesopotamia, JNES 19 (I960): p. 27.
(pp. 23-35). The text is taken from 0. R. Gurney and J. J. Finkelstein, The Sultantepe TabJets I, Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara No. 3 (London, 1957), 73:59. Cf. CAD, 1 A, II, p. 27.
Cf. Reiner, "For tune -Telling," pp. 24ff.; and Oppenheim, Dreams, pp.
205, 224, and 238.
104 Oppenheim, Dreams, p. 250. The text is taken from L. Messerschmidt, Die Inscbrift der Stele Nabuna'id's, Ktinigs von Babylon, Mitteilungen der Vorderasialischen GeseJJschaft 1 (Berlin, 1896), pp. 76-77, VI: 1-36. (pp. 1-84). Messerschmidt, p. 31, translates, "In meinem Traum sah ich einen grossen Stern, Sin und Marduk inmitten des hohen Himmels
helleuchtend."

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elements, such as in Gen 28:12ff. which describes Yahweh standing above a ladder upon which messengers ascend and descend. Such a phrase is easily understood in the context where the god is identified with the "Great Star" which may be seen in the sky.
There are several additional dream-texts which should be mentioned which imply that a god was seen by the descriptions given, even though they do not explicitly say "a god was seen." 105 For example, Enkidu's description of his dream to Gilgamesh reports, "Anu, Eniil, Ea and the Sun-god of Heaven [were in council]."106 This may be compared with the prophetic reports of the heavenly council which contain the more explicit statment "I saw Yahweh" (cf. 1 Kgs22:19;Isa6:l,5).

The report of a dream which was experienced by an entire army before
the raging river Idid'e states: "(But) the goddess Ishtar who dwells in Arbela let my army have a dream in the midst of the night as follows: 'I shall go in front of Assurbanipal, the king whom I have created myself!' The army relied upon this dream and crossed the river Idid'e."107 H. Winckler records the dream of a priest of Ishtar in which the goddess "made him see a 'nocturnal vision1 ": "The goddess Ishtar who dwells in Arbela entered (the room), quivers hanging at her right and left, holding the bow in her (one) hand, the sharp sword drawn (ready) for battle. She stood before you, speaking to you like a real mother."108 During the first year of his reign, Nabonidus is reported to have

These should be compared with similar Sumerian and Egyptian dreams. Cf. the dream of Thutmose IV in Oppenheim, Dreams, pp. 245ff.
106 The translation is from Oppenheim, Dreams, p. 248. The Text is from
E. F. Weidner, Keilschriflturtunden aus Boghazkdi V\\\ (Berlin, 1924), 48 1:2-

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107 Oppenheim, Dreams, p. 249. The text is taken from Street, Assurbanipal II, p. 49, V.95-104.
108 Oppenheim, Dreams, p. 249. The text is taken from H. Winckler, SammlungKeilschriftteiten III (Leipzig, 1895), p. 73, 3040.r lOff.

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experienced a dream: "they let me see a dream in the very first year of my everlasting rule: Marduk, the Great Lord, and Sin, the luminary of heaven and earth, stood (there) both; Marduk said to me ... "W* In each of these texts a description of the dream is given which implies that the god or gods were seen although it is not directly stated. As stated above this has much in common with such dreams as Gen 28:12ff. (cf. Gen 31:10, 11, 24; Num 12:6).
The question which must now be addressed is what, if any, relationship
do these texts have to Old Testament texts which suggest that God was seen or appeared. Numerous comparisons have already been made and similar Old Testament texts listed. For example, there are some similarities between Old Testament and Akkadian texts which refer to divine seeing which results in blessing or punishment. This is also true of texts which refer to requests for divine attention; texts which speak of the deity "revealing"; those which refer to ritual cleanliness as a prerequisite for cultic "seeing"; pious formulas which involve "looking to" the god; texts which have the nuance "look to, experience, consider"; texts which employ images of brightness; and Old Testament and Akkadian dream reports. This may suggest that such ideas were common in the ancient Near East, or at least that Israel was not unique in employing such themes, even if they were altered to account for Israel's relationship with Yahweh. However, if one sets aside Akkadian texts which probably refer to seeing natural objects, divine light (sun and moon), and incantations, as well as those which have nuances beyond "seeing," there remain several references to seeing a god or divine image in the temple which are worthy of further comparison with Old Testament texts which refer to seeing Yahweh in the temple. For example, the following Akkadian texts are interesting because they probably refer to seeing the image of the deity in the sanctuary:

109 Oppenheim, Dreams, p. 250. The text is taken from H. C. Rawiinson, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia V (London, 1884), 64 1:13-55. (The Cylinder of Nabonidus).

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1) "Let me see (amaru) (the image of)
2) "Let me always behold (natslu) your face (ASSur)." 111
3) "I entered Nineveh and without incident saw (amaru) the god Nabu and the king personally."112
4) "1 came to visit (amaru with pano personally visit, see) you (the deity) because you are graciously inclined (toward the supplicant), here I stand before you because you are merciful." 11 ^
In the Psalter there are three references to "seeing" God (11:7; 17:15;
63:3 IE. trs. 2]) which may be compared with these texts. These are limited to the contexts of psalms of trust, lament, and thanksgiving. In addition there are references to "seeing" God in Hezekiah's psalm of lament and thanksgiving in Isa 38:9-20, and to God "being ceen" (Niphal) in Zion in Ps 84:8 (E. trs. 7). The context or setting of these seems to be related to the cult or worship in the temple.
Ps 11, a psalm of trust or confidence, is assigned a pre-exilic date by some commentators.114 In the face of his enemies the psalmist confesses his faith in Yahweh, even when his friends have advised flight (1 l:lf.). The setting is the temple where the eyes of Yahweh test the righteous and wicked (11:4-6; cf. 17:3). 115 Yahweh is in his temple, though his throne is in heaven. The psalmist is confident that Yahweh looks upon humans and tests them. In contrast to the wicked who receive Yahweh's judgment, the righteous he loves:

110 For reference see n. 90.
nl Cf.n. 90.
112 Cf. n. 99.
f.n. 100.
114 Cf. W. 0. E. Oesterley, The Psalms, 2 vols. (London, 1939), 1:146; and
H. J. Kraus, Psalmen, 2 vols, MAT XV/1-2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn:, 1966), 1:89. A. Weiser, Die Psalmen, ATD 14-15 (Gottingen, 1959), 1.104 (E. trs.
The Psalms, OTL. London, 1962, p. 155), suggests that the setting is the temple in the festival cult when Yahweh's judgment in epiphany was awaited.
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"For Yahweh is righteous, he loves righteousness; the upright shall behold his face" (11:7).
The psalm contrasts the faith of the psalmist with that of his friends who suggest that he should run away from his enemies. It also contrasts Yahweh's love for the righteous with his hate for the wicked. Whereas the wicked receive judgment, the righteous will have the privilege "to behold" Yahweh's face. Although M. Dahood considers this a reference to belief in afterlife, there is little to support this.116 Rather, the psalm concerns the fortunes of the wicked and righteous in the present life.117 The phrase may also be translated, "his face beholdeth the upright," though this would be a repetition of v. 4 and seems unlikely.118
More likely these phrases belong to the cult as is apparently the case with similar Akkadian texts. As already stated in Chapter One, Ntitscher suggests that in this context the phrase "to see God" or "to see the face of God" is a Hebrew idiom for worship in the temple which has its origin in seeing the image of a god in Babylonian religion.119 In its present context the phrase may simply refer to the experience of Yahweh's presence in the temple. 120 The psalmist confesses that the righteous shall "see" Yahweh's face. In this he finds confidence to stay rather than flee from his enemies.
Ps 17 is generally referred to as a prayer for deliverance from enemies (lament), or as a psalm of innocence.121 The superscription identifies the psalm

116 M. Dahood, Psalms, 3 vols., AB (Garden City, 1965), 1:71.

117 A. A. Anderson, The Book of Psalms, 2 vols., CB (London, 1972), 1:123.

118 A. F. Kirkpatrick, Psalms (Cambridge, 1902), p. 92.

119 Notscher, pp. 88f. He, pp. I60f., compares the psalmist's declaration with that of Job (cf. 19:26).
120 Kraus, 1:92.
121 Cf. Dahood, 1:93; Anderson, 1:147.

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as "a prayer of David," and on the basis of this it has been suggested that the psalm may refer to an occasion in David's life (cf. 1 Sam 23:25ff.).122 However this prayer for vindication from false accusers was probably used generally and only later attributed specifically to David (cf. 17:7, 11). The psalm is difficult to date. Pre-eiilic, exilic, and post-exilic dates have been offered. 12 ^ A. Weiser suggests that the psalm reflects the prayer of one persecuted
by adversaries. The setting is the temple where the petitioner asks that he might be vindicated.124 The petitioner calls upon Yahweh to "see" his plight (17:2) and to visit him by night in order to test his case (17:3f.). He calls upon the deity to "incline thine ear" to hear (17:6), to protect him (17:8), and to "arise" to confront his enemies (17:13). The psalm concludes with the petitioner's hope, "But as for me, in righteousness 12^ I shall behold (HtTI) your face; I shall be satisfied upon awaking with your form (nn&Fl)" (17:15; cf. Num 12:8).126 Perhaps the petitioner would spend the night in the temple or temple area in anticipation of a visit from Yahweh.127
When set in the larger ancient Near Eastern context, the references to Yahweh giving attention to the plight of the petitioner and to the petitioner seeing Yahweh's face are similar to Akkadian texts. Here, however, rather than requesting the god to look upon a worshiper-statue in the temple or upon the worshiper himself, the petitioner asks Yahweh to "incline thine ear." He further

122 Kirkpatrick, p. 78; Anderson, 1:147.
123 Ibid.
124 Weiser, 1:121 (E. trs. p. 180).
125 The words "in righteousness" are taken to be a later qualification which destroys the meter. Cf. C. A. Briggs and E. G. Briggs, The Book of Psalms, 2 vols, /^(Edinburgh, 1907), 1:133.
126 <S presupposes "with your glory" which would seem to reflect a later attempt to weaken the directness suggested by the verse while still interpreting the verse as theophanic. Cf. Briggs, 1:133.
127 Cf. Anderson, 1:147.

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asks, "Arise, 0 Yahweh!" This imperative form is used on other occasions of Yahweh's rising up from the ark for battle against Israel's enemies (Num 10:35; Ps 132:8; 2 Chr 6:41 cf. Jer 2:28; Ps 3:8). To these are added references to beholding Yahweh's face and form (rtil&Fl). To see Yahweh's face upon * * awaking is not in itself problematic if one accepts that it refers to worship in the temple where God's presence would have been enough for the pious petitioner. The psalmist anticipates that Yahweh will answer his prayer and that he will be vouchsafed a vision of Yahweh's face or perhaps a cultic theophany. Yet the reference to Yahweh's form is more problematic.
The Old Testament witness to seeing Yahweh's n^ftFlis ambiguous. "f * Moses is said to be special because he alone "beholds the form of Yahweh" (Num 12:8). In Deut 4:11, however, it is made clear that at Sinai the people "heard the sound of words, but saw no form OlHDn); there was only a voice." ^ > Deut 4-5 stresses that at Sinai the deity was not seen, but only heard. In contrast to Exod 19-20, it is now hearing God which is feared because it may result in death. Ps 17:15 was apparently difficult for (5 which paraphrases kv 1$ &4>e?ivai tV B6fav ooi>. This has lead some commentators to suggest that the reference to "awaking" (]"p) means waking from death to behold God's face and form in the afterlife.128 This is generally rejected, however, because the present context suggests that the psalmist prays for deliverance from death. Kraus suggests that the phrase refers to an encounter with Yahweh in theophany similar to that of Isa 6:lff.12^ Weiser, on the basis of w. 7f., 13,

128 Cf. Notscher, pp. I65f., who outlines older attempts to deal with this problematic statement, especially those who take this as a reference to resurrection. More recently Dahood, 1:99, takes the phrase "when I awake" as a reference to afterlife or resurrection. But this hardly seems necessary given the reference to a "visit by night" in v. 3. Kirkpatrick, p. 83, points out that the psalmist does not anticipate death, but rather deliverance, and notes that none of the versions render this meaning. Briggs, 1:133, suggests that perhaps a later scribe inserted the "when I awake" in order to suggest awakening from the sleep of death.
129 Kraus, 1:134.

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and 15, has attempted to place the psalm in the conteit of the celebration of the cult at the Covenant Festival where Yahweh would appear above the ark.^O This is not generally accepted, however, as the psalm seems to reflect a more general usage. Anderson, following von Rad, suggests that the psalm reflects the situation envisaged by Deut 17:8ff. by which the divine answer to the petitioner would be granted by oracle after spending the night in the sanctuary.131 All suggestions concerning the meaning of this difficult verse must be put forward with caution. It is very difficult to know the precise background of v. 15. One can speculate that the background of this text is the practice of seeing the image of the deity in the temple which is suggested by Akkadian texts. Have we here evidence of an image or is it perhaps a phrase which has survived its original usage in the imageless worship of Yahweh? Although the former cannot be ruled out altogether, it is perhaps best to regard this as the pre-Old Testament history of this phrase which now simply means to worship in the sanctuary where God's presence in the cultic theophany was experienced.
Ps 63 may be classified as an individual lament, though it also has the characteristics of a thanksgiving (w. 3ff.).132 The superscription ascribes the song to "David, when he was in the wilderness of Judah." This, along with the reference to the king in v. 12, leads some commentators to assign the psalm to David and to assume that it refers to his flight from Absalom (2 Sam 15ff.).133 Others assign the psalm to the early exile and interpret it as the longing of one

1 30 weiser, 1:121 (E. trs. p. 180).
Anderson, p. 147; cf. G. von Rad, Das funfte Buch Mose, DeuteroDomwm, ATDK (Gottingen, 1964), pp. 84f. (E. trs. Deuteronomy, OTL. London, 1966, pp. 117f.).
Anderson, 1:455.
*33 so Kirkpatrick, p. 353; and Dahood, 11:96.

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exiled from Yahweh and temple. 1 ^ Weiser assigns it to the pre-exilic "festival of Yahweh" cult which was celebrated in the temple.^ A safe assumption, based on the contents of the psalm, is that it is pre-exilic, but the reference to David is a secondary interpretation. 1 ^ v. 11 may then be taken as a prayer for the king.
The poet begins by confessing his great longing for God which he compares to a dry and weary land without water (63:2). The next verse may be translated, "Therefore I have looked (mil) upon thee in the sanctuary, beholding (HK1) thy power and thy glory" (v. 3). This presents a clear example of the association of seeing God and the sanctuary.
Dahood translates, "So in your sanctuary may I gaze on you, beholding your power and glory," and suggests that rTCTI is here a technical term for "gazing on the face of God in the future life." 1 37 However, there is no reason for assigning these texts, as he regularly does, to a future context in the afterlife. V. 5 refers to blessing God "all my life."
Davies suggests that the word "thy strength" p|* ti] points to the ark.!38
If this is the case then it may offer some help for identifying the meaning of the earlier phrase, "I have looked upon thee in the sanctuary." ti? is used in Ps 132:8 in the phrase "the ark of thy strength" (// 2 Chr 6:41); and in Ps 78:60- 61 which refers to the events described in 1 Sam 4: Iff.: "He forsook his

Cf. Briggs, 11:72. Oesterley, 1:305, for example, associates it with Jehoiachin in the Babylonian exile.
Weiser, 11:309 (E. trs. pp. 454f.). According to this view the poet is probably in the sanctuary. The reference to the king in v. 12 presents no problem as the ritual would have been performed in the presence of the king and cult.
So Anderson, 11:455.
Dahood, 11:95, 97. He interprets tthf? as a reference to Yahweh's heavenly abode rather than the temple.
See Davies. "The Ark in the Psalms," p. 55, n. 21. Cf. fcrkpatrick, p.
354.

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dwelling at Shiloh, the tent in which he dwelt among men, and surrendered his strength (1^)139 ^o captivity, his glory to the hand of the enemy." Yet on other occasions the word seems simply to refer to strength as an attribute of Yahweh (cf. Hab 3:4; Job 12:6; Ps 62:12; 68:35; 91:1; 96:6 // 1 Chr 16:28), or even as a name for Yahweh, "Mighty King" (Ps 99:4).
The question arises whether the ark could be seen, except perhaps on special cultic occasions, by anyone other than the High Priest (cf. Exod 26:31- 35; Lev 16:1-34; 1 Kgs 6:23-28). The first part of Ps 63:3 seems to suggest that the petitioner has seen God, "I have looked at thee." Although rtm is often used for receiving prophetic visions, there is no suggestion of this here, mn is also used in other texts, such as Exod 24:9-11, which refer to seeing God. Although ti? may on occasions refer to the ark, this does not seem to be the case here where it is more likely simply an attribute of God. This is further suggested by its use with 703 which is clearly an attribute of Yahweh in this context. Rather, the psalm seems to refer to "seeing" God which satisfies the petitioner's desire and longing for God. To this he adds, "seeing thy strength and glory," the two attributes of Yahweh which he "sees" (HiTO or "expereinces" as a result of beholding God. Although one may wish to view this reference to "seeing God" as a reference to the worship of God in the temple, it provides another example in which one is tempted to find a reference to seeing an image. Even if this is not the case in the present usage, this is the likely background of the phrase. Seeing God in the context of the sanctuary belongs to the older cultic language of seeing the image of the deity in the sanctuary which later, when images were consistently prohibited, may have been used simply to describe the experience of God's presence in the temple.140

^9 This is weakened by <5 which presupposes "their strength" and by S which presupposes "his people."
H0 Cf. Anderson, 11:446.

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Hezekiah's psalm is found in Isa 38:8-20. The larger context is the story
of Hezekiah's sickness and recovery (Isa 38:1-21) which, with the exception of this psalm, is also found in 2 Kgs 20. The psalm was probably added after this material was inserted into Isaiah. 141
The song, complete with superscription (v. 9), is recognized as an individual psalm of thanksgiving in which Hezekiah looks back upon his sickness and distress and then give thanks for his recovery. The bulk of the psalm (w. 10-19) is given over to a description of the seriousness of the illness which brought the king very near to death. During this description he confesses that unless God intervenes, "I shall not see Yahweh142 in the land of the living; I shall not look upon man again with the inhabitants of the grave" 14^ (38:11). The psalmist argues that only the living can praise God, not those in Sheol. Yahweh can only "be seen" in the land of the living. He therefore pleads for restored health (w. I6ff.).144 He concludes that Yahweh will deliver him and looks forward to praising God in the temple for the duration of life (v. 20). The psalm reflects the view that Yahweh has a vested interest in delivering the pious petitioner who laments that death would rob him of the opportunity "to see" Yahweh and praise him (v. 11). The reference to seeing may be taken in two ways. It may simply refer to "experiencing" Yahweh or encountering Yahweh. Death would rob him of this, the opportunity to praise Yahweh. Perhaps more likely, however, given the reference to the house of

141 Cf. 0. Kaiser, Der Prophet Jesaja, Kaptiel 13-39, ATD*> (Gattingen, 1973), p. 318 (E. trs. Isaiah 13-39, OTL. London, 1974, p. 400); and R. E. Dements, Isaiah 1-39, NCB (Grand Rapids, 1980), p. 288.
142 Reading with some Hebrew mss and d and S rather than MT rP. Cf BOB.

143 Though C and il presuppose T^TJ "world" rather than 171 n "grave." Cf. BDB.

144 Kaiser, Jesaja 13-39, pp. 320f. (E. trs. pp. 404f.), regards the psalm as
late and intentionally composed for this context because there is no awareness of sin or guilt as the cause of the illness.

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Yahweh in v. 20, this reference to seeing should be taken as referring to worshiping in the temple. If this is the case, then this would provide another example of "seeing God" in the context of the temple.
Ps 84 is a song praising Jerusalem as the goal of the pilgrim. The prayer
for the "anointed" in w. 9-10 (E. trs. 8-9) suggests a pre-exilic dating for the psalm. This is also indicated by the presupposition that a pilgrimage could be made to the temple (w. 4-5, E. trs. 3-4). 145 The psalm resembles Ps 42-43 which some commentators assign to the same author.146
The psalm begins with praise and desire for the dwelling place of Yahweh of hosts: "Happy are those who dwell in thy house, ever singing thy praise!" (84:5, E. trs. 4). Next the psalmist refers to those who long for Zion (w. 6-8, E. trs. 5-7). In their hearts are the highways to Zion. They make their way through the Baca valley, "they go from strength to strength147; the God of gods 148 will be seen (appear) in Zion" (v. 8, E. trs. 7). The psalmist concludes that service in the temple is far better than any other possibility (vv. 11-13, E. trs. 10-12).
The MT of v. 8 (E. trs. 7) can be rendered "he will appear before God in Zion," thus referring to the pilgrim. However, the (D and S support the translation above. The MT is regarded by some as a later attempt to blunt the

143 Though cf. R. de Vaux, "Jerusalem et les prophetes," ^?73 (1966), 481-509, who suggests a post-exilic date when the sanctity of the temple was extended to all Jerusalem; and Dahood, 11:279. Weiser, 11:385 (E. trs. p. 566), suggests that the author lived in a pagan country in pre-exilic days.
146 So, Kirkpatrick, p. 504; and Anderson, 11:601.
147 This phrase is translated "from battlement to battlement" by Briggs, 11:228. Dahood, 11:281, translates "from village to village." The best meaning is perhaps that the strength of the pilgrims increases as their journey progresses towards Zion. Cf. Kirkpatrick, p. 507; Weiser, 11:386 (E. trs. p. 567); and Anderson, 11:605.
148 Reading with © and S "God of gods" rather than MT "unto God." Cf. BDB.

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statement that the pilgrims actually see God. 149 If the original text actually referred to "seeing God" then there would be considerable similarity to Akkadian texts which refer to seeing the god or the image of the god in a shrine. In this context the pilgrim looks with great anticipation to the conclusion of the journey when the pilgrim may hope to encounter the God of gods in Zion.
Thus references to seeing Yahweh or Yahweh being seen in the context of
the temple are unusual in the Old Testament and are generally limited to psalm or hymn texts. To these may be added several Old Testament texts which refer to "appearing before Yahweh" in the cult, which may have originally referred to "seeing the face of Yahweh." Ps 42:3b, for example, records the questions, "When shall I came and appear before the presence of God?" The psalm apparently refers to the psalmists love for the temple where God's presence is found. There is some textual evidence, however, which might suggest that the request was originally, "When shall I come and see the face of God?" 1 50 This may have been replaced at a later time by those who found offensive the idea that God can be seen. Similar questions arise when one considers such texts as Exod 23:17; 34:23; Deut 16:16; 31:11; 1 Sam 1:22 where the Masoretes may have been responsible for the change from "see" to "appear before." 1 ^! Concerning Exod 23:17 Noth writes, "It was at one time originally meant literally with reference to an image of the god in the sanctuary. In Israel it has been taken over without prejudice and with no respect to its literal meaning; the Massoretic text has in fact subsequently altered it slightly because the wording was objectionable to Israel."^

Cf. Kirkpatrick, p. 507; Dahood, 11:281; and Anderson, 11:605.
150 Cf. the S and C which presuppose "see the face of God," Hip
151 Cf. BDB, p. 908.
Noth, Exodus, p. 155 (E. trs. p. 192).

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The Old Testament does not directly refer to images of Yahweh in the temple. R. E. Clements expresses the common view clearly:

One of the strongest features of Israel's faith was its deep antipathy
to any representation of the deity in image form. There is no valid evidence to prove that Israel ever did permit or value images of Yahweh, and so no reason eiists for doubting that the prohibition of
images of Yahweh goes back to the Mosaic origins of Yahwism. 1 ^

However true this may be, there are certainly numerous texts which suggest that foreign cuitic practices, including idols and images, were present in Israel and Judah from early times until at least the time of josiah's reforms (cf., for example, Gen 35; Exod 32; Num 25; Judg 6:25-27; 17:1-18:31; 1 Kgs 11:6-8; 12:26-33; 14:9; 2 Kgs 10:26-28; 17:16-18, 29-33; 22:17; 23:4-20; Isa 2:18; 17:7- 8; Jer 2:28; Hos 2:13, 16-17; 3:1; 4:12-13, 17; 6:10; 8:4-6; 9:10; 10:5-6; 11:2; 13:1-3; 14:8; Am 3:14; 5:25-27; Mic 1:7). With the possible exceptions of the golden calf of Exod 32, the graven image of Judg 17-18, and the calf images in Bethel and Dan (1 Kgs 12:26ffj, each of the texts where idols or images are mentioned clearly refer to foreign gods and not Yahweh. Such practices are always viewed negatively as the cause of the downfall of the people, a king, or Israel, or as that which threatens Judah's existence. W. H. Schmidt concludes,

Israel must have regarded the second commandment as fundamental already at an early date.... Probably the prohibition of images is of
great antiquity, although no more precise statement of its date can be
given. It was probably not developed only in oppostion to the Canaanite cult, though it did come to show its force here.... Perhaps
the worship of Yahweh was from the beginning without images, but

153 R. E. Clements, God and Temple (Oxford, 1965), p. 28; cf. p. 64. J. Morgenstern, The Ark', the Ephod and 'the Tent of Meeting' (Cincinnati, 1945), pp. 4, 107, suggests that there was a golden image of Yahweh in the TD"I of the temple until the reform of Asa (ca. 899 B.C.E.; cf. 1 Kgs 15:9-15), but has subsequently modified this view. In "The King-God among the Western Semites and the Meaning of Epiphanes," VT 10 (1960), p. 185, he argues that only an empty throne stood in the inner sanctuary.

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this distinctive feature only assumed the character of a commandment in the dispute with the religion of Canaan.W

Schmidt is surely correct in stating the difficulty of determining precisely the antiquity of the prohibition of images. The evidence is unclear. In Gen 35 Jacob tells his household to put away foreign gods, but this change seems to take place because of Jacob's special relationship with one God, "the God who answered me in the day of my distress and has been with me wherever I have gone" (35:3b). Here putting away foreign gods seems to be a necessity only because of the devotion to one particular God. One may wonder whether this is not the general background for the Old Testament prohibition of images of other gods. Allegiance to one "god" leads to the prohibition of the relics of the influence of other gods. There is certainly no polemic in the story of Micah's graven image in Judg 17-18 which was later set up at Laish (Dan). Other texts suggest the seriousness of graven images. Israel thereby "corrupt themselves" (Exod 32:7) and bring on the anger of Yahweh (Num 25:1-5). Even the wording of the parallel version of the second commandment is somewhat ambiguous. Exod 20:23 states, 'You shall not make gods of silver to be with me .. ." which may refer to foreign deities rather than images of Yahweh (cf. Lev 19:4; 26:1; Hos 11:2). It may, however, also be taken to refer to the prohibition of all images (cf. Exod 20:4). Certainly the strong prohibition of images indicates that this was indeed a serious problem for those who viewed true Yahwism as imageless.
References to seeing God in the sanctuary are rare in Akkadian texts and equally rare in the Old Testament. As a result attempts to draw any conclusions must be undertaken with caution. Yet perhaps the Akkadian texts can help to identify the pre-Old Testament history of these statements. While

W. H. Schmidt, The Faith of the Old Testament. Oxford, 1983), p. 78 Translated from AJltestamentlicher GJaube in seiner Geschichte (Neukirchen-Vluyn, fourth edition, 1982) which is unavailable to me.

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archaeological evidence of images of Yahweh has not been forthcoming, 1 ^ there is evidence to suggest that images of the deity were set up in Mesopotamian sanctuaries over a long period of time. Furthermore, Akkadian "seeing" tens seem to refer to this practice. Texts like Ps 17:15 which refer to seeing Yahweh's TO IQIjl as well as Ps 63:2 (E. trs. 3) and other texts which place "seeing God" in the context of the sanctuary probably have this practice in their background. Although it is perhaps likely that in their present contexts they now simply mean "worship in the temple," as suggested by Notscher, one may be tempted to see in at least some of these texts (Ps 17:15; 63:3 IE. trs. 21) a reference to the use of an image in the worship of Yahweh. One may quote with approval the comment of H. W. F. Saggs, "Distortion arises when synchronous comparisons are made between Mesopotamian religion and Israelite religion, taking the Mesopotamian terminology literally but the Israelite emptied of literal content... ."136 Other texts probably reveal later attempts to blunt the directness of statements which suggest that Yahweh was seen. The Deuteronomist, for example, had a clear picture of what true Yahwism should be, "and this is sometimes projected on to the evidence to give a false - or at least incomplete - picture of what Yahwism in practice really was."!57 in tne en(j the prohibition of images prevailed, though certainly vestiges of an older view remain in the texts examined above. One may certainly wonder whether the use of images in the worship of Yahweh was not more prevalent than the Old Testament now suggests.

135 Though see recent discussions of the inscriptions of Khirbet el-Qom
and Kuntillet cAjrud. Cf. W. G. Dever, "Asherah, Consort of Yahweh? New Evidence from Kuntillet cAjrud," BASOR 255 (1984), pp. 21-37; and J. M. Hadley, The Kirbet el-Qom Inscription," VT 37 (1987), pp. 50-62 (cf. bibliography, p. 62).
saggs, p. 24.
ibid., p. 22.

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III. CONCLUSION

An examination of the see vocabularies of the Semitic languages of Ugaritic and Akkadian has revealed that, with few exceptions, they are collocated with "god" in contexts similar to those discovered in the Old Testament. If anything, the number of contexts are greater in the Old Testament where, for example, the contexts "a person appears before God," "God implores man to see," and "God causes to see" are found; they are not found in Ugaritic and Mesopotamian literature. In addition the contexts "a god sees a person" and "a god reveals" are not found in extant Ugaritic texts; they are both found, however, in Mesopotamian literature and in the Old Testament. Such differences are difficult to explain. They may reflect the differences in the nature of the texts or the religious thought of the people behind them, or they may simply reflect the fact that extant Ugaritic and Mesopotamian texts are due to the random selection which results from archaeological discovery, whereas the Old Testament reflects a more carefully preserved body of religious literature.1 58
An examination of the "see" vocabulary of Ugaritic and Akkadian texts reveals that the context "a person sees a god," although rare, is attested in a text (CTA 17.5.9-11 = KTU\. 17.5.9-11) of greater antiquity^ than any biblical text in which it occurs. This theme, albeit in a different context, is also found in Akkadian texts, some of which are far older than biblical texts. These texts are all the more interesting when compared with the rare psalm texts which refer to seeing Yahweh. Each of these texts is related to the temple in some way. There the faithful worshiper could hope to "see" God or his face.

158 Ibid., pp. 17ff.
The question of dating is obviously difficult. Ugaritic texts, which are thought to have been written during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.E., obviously predate the writing of Old Testament literature, though, of course, many Old Testament traditions are much older than the date when they were written down.

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Although the phrase may have its origin in the older usage suggested by Akkadian teits, it has been suggested that the phrase came to be an idiom for "worship in the temple." Though something like this is probably correct, there remains some question as to the meaning of rttl&nin Ps 17:15 and the directness of the statement in Ps 63:3 (E. trs. 2).
It is therefore very likely that Israel's confession that God is seen belongs to the common heritage of the ancient Near East. In the case of the rare Ugaritic reference, the similarities with the portrayal of Yahweh's coming to the childless couple in the patriarchal traditions are remarkable. The setting of the divine visitation has noting to do with a cultic center. In the case of Akkadian teits, however, references to seeing the deity give some clues into the pre-Old Testament history of references to "seeing God" in the cult of the sanctuary.
But such references are rare in the Old Testament. The majority of the Akkadian texts which have to do with seeing a god, or desiring a god to see, or requesting divine favor seem to reflect the urban setting of Mesopotamian cities and their local shrines. The worshiper could go to the local temple and see the image of the deity. There is evidence to suggest that an image of the worshiper could be placed in the temple so that the person represented could remain in the presence of the deity and thus be seen by the deity continuously. While seeing God in the temple is certainly reflected in the psalm teits examined above, by far the majority of Old Testament references to seeing God and the appearing of God reflect a location other than a temple. Though rare, this is also found in the Ugaritic text in which Daniel sees the coming of Kothar-and-Khasis, the god of craftsmanship. He is not in the temple, but in this instance sitting at the city gate. But one does not find in Ugaritic or Akkadian texts references to a god "appearing" suddenly with a message as in so many Old Testament texts. More frequently the Old Testament presents Yahweh or his manifestation in an active coming. In the seeing and appearing texts of Old Testament narratives Yahweh's presence with his people is not static or fixed to

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any one place. Rather Yahweh appears or is seen by important people at important moments in their lives and in the life and history of the people. Several questions remain. For example, why do Akkadian texts not make use of the motifs of seeing God and the appearing of God in non-cultic settings? And why are there no references to cultic seeing in Ugaritic literature and apparently only the one reference to seeing a god at all? Again, such questions are difficult to answer with certainty. Although the question of the use of a similar mechanism can be answered very clearly by this examination, the more difficult question of why a form was used or not used is not easily
answered.

Perhaps the answer lies partially in the differences between the nature
of texts. With Saggs, one may suggest that the reason has something to do with the contrast between the accidents of archaeological discovery with Akkadian (and Ugaritic) texts and a carefully preserved corpus of Hebrew religious literature. But the value of this argument is limited. The corpus of Ugaritic literature includes not only epics about the gods, i. e. the Epic of Baal, but also stories about different human beings in which the gods figure prominently, i. e. the Epic of Daniel and Aqhat and that of Keret. The gods and, even if more behind the scenes, their activities play major roles in these stories and much of the see vocabulary is found collocated with "god" in other ways. One may wish to argue similarly for Akkadian literature such as the Gilgamesh Epic where the gods are certainly involved in the lives of people and other seeing contexts are found. Many comparisons can be made and similar Old Testament texts produced as suggested above. Yet in the end one must conclude that there are differences in content. Ugaritic, Akkadian, and Hebrew texts are complemen-tary, but they are not equatable.
Unlike Ugaritic and Akkadian texts, the Old Testament portrays Yahweh
as "appearing" at important moments, sometimes of crisis, in the life of the people. Such references are only rarely associated with the cult. Usually references to seeing God in the Old Testament include within them statements

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which suggest the unusual nature of the encounter. As already stated such texts are striking because they are almost always found in narratives about important people or important moments in the life of the people. In conclusion, it may be ventured that the use of these themes in the Old Testament is unique in that they play an important part in the highly developed theology of God's transcendence in Old Testament religion. If Yahwism officially prohibited all images and representations of Yahweh or foreign gods, then how was Yahweh to be present with his people? When one turns to Old Testament narratives one finds that on certain occasions Yahweh "appears" or is "seen" and speaks, commands, promises, commissions, or even offers judgment.
In the remaining chapters references to cullic "seeing" or "theophany" in
the Psalms will be left aside. Attention will be given to the much neglected Old Testament motifs of seeing God and the appearing of God which are predominantly found in narrative material. The use and significance of these motifs in the narratives in which they are found is the subject of the next three chapters.

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CHAPTER THREE

"SEEING GOD' AND "GOD'S APPEARING"
IN THE PATRIARCHAL TRADITIONS OF GENESIS

Tables VI and VII of Chapter One reveal that the patriarchal traditions of Gen 12-50 contain nine references to the "appearing" of God and five references to "seeing" God. 1 In this chapter the use of these motifs in the narratives in which they are found and their significance for them will be examined. As stated in Chapter One, this will involve an examination where possible at two levels: 1) the level of the story as inherited material for the final redaction of the Tetrateuch, i. e. in this case J, JE, or P2; and 2) the level of the final form of the narrative. Attention will be drawn to previous discussions of these occurrences and their contexts where relevant.

I. THE ABRAHAM TRADITIONS

There are four references to the appearing of Yahweh in the Abraham traditions (the names Abraham and Sarah will be used throughout). These are limited to three contexts: Gen 12:6-9 (2X) J; 17:1-22 P; and 18:1-16 J. In addition, there are two references to seeing either God or the "messengers" in 16:1-15 essentially j, and 19:1-29 J.

1 God appeared - Gen 12:7 (2X); 17:1; 18:1; 26:2; 26:24; 35:1, 9; 48:3; and
God was seen - 16:13; 19:1; 32:2, 31; 33:10. For the purposes of this study collocations with the HlIT "K^ are included.

2 It is beyond the scope or present concern of this study to become involved in the questions of recent scholarship concerning the various sources, their dates, and forms. For the purposes of this study I still accept the general consensus that P was a literary source rather than a redaction. E is more problematic, but in the case of many texts discussed here JE seems to be the best once can do. For the purposes of this study I am primarily concerned with the level of the present text and not hypothetical earlier forms.

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A. GENESIS 12:1-9 (7 2X): YAHWEH APPEARS TO ABRAHAM AT SHECHEM

Commentators generally treat Gen 12:4-9 or the larger 12:1-9 (or 11:27
[or 301-12:9) as a unit of material. With the exception of w. 4b-5 (P), 12:1-9 may be attributed to the Yahwist. Gen 12:1-3 reports Yahweh's command to Abraham to leave his country and family. Yahweh's command includes the promises of relationship, blessing, land, and progeny. Following Yahweh's command and the giving of the promises, the narrative reports Abraham's obedience as he sets out on his journey (12:4a). To this is added the report that Abraham was seventy-five when he departed from Haran, and the list of those persons who departed with him for the land of Canaan (4b-5 P). In w. 6-9 the journey of Abraham and his party is described in the briefest of detail. The patriarch passes through the land of Canaan, encounters Yahweh who appears at Shechem, responds by building an altar, journeys on to a location between Bethel and Ai where a second altar is built and Yahweh is worshiped, and finally continues on toward the Negev.
The importance of 12:1-9 for the patriarchal cycles, as well as for the the Pentateuch as a whole, has long been recognized. The emphasis of many scholars, however, is for the most part on w. 1-3. H. Gunkel, G. von Rad, and those who follow them consider 12:1-3 a specially composed link-passage by which the Yahwist sought to unite the pre-patriarchal history with the opening of the redemptive history with its promise of blessing to Israel and through Israel blessing for all.3
Thus 12:1-3 are thought to have an important influence upon everything which follows in the Patriarchal traditions. Von Rad writes, "God's promise to Abraham in vs. 1-3 extends through the patriarchal stories like a red line, for it

3Cf. Cf. H. Gunkel, Genesis Qbersetzt und erkltrt (Gottingen, 1910), pp. 163ff.; and G. von Rad, Das erste Buch Mose, Genesis, ATD 2-4 (Gottingen, 1958), pp. 135,138f. (E. trs. Genesis. OTL. Philadelphia, 1972, pp. 163,165D.

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is renewed for every patriarch."4 However true this may be, this emphasis upon 12:1-3, which largely continues until today, seems to have circumvented a careful consideration of w. 6-9 which are thought to be of only secondary importance.5 For example, A. Dillmann comments, "According to the belief of antiquity, the place where there has been a theophany is a sacred spot."6 References to appearing of God at particular places, as in 12:7, are thus taken to refer to the origin of ancient altars or sanctuaries. Gunkei clarifies this view and classifies such texts as etiological or ceremonial legends which explain the importance of primitive sanctuaries: "Whenever God appears at a definite place, it is based on such a legend."7 Indeed, this explanation of the importance of God's appearing at definite places wins almost uniform acceptance among Old Testament scholars. S. R. Driver writes, "The places where the patriarchs principally visit are those which in later times were regarded as sanctuaries; and the origin of their sanctity is here explained: it is deduced from incidents in the lives of the patriarchs."8 Similarly J. Skinner explains, 'The original motive of this and similar legends is to explain the sacredness of the principal cultic centers by definite manifestations of God to the patriarchs, or definite acts of worship on their part. The rule is that the legitimacy of a sanctuary for Israel is established by a theophany."9 This view continues to influence scholars as is

4 Von Rad, Genesis, p. 138. (E. trs. pp. I65f.).
5 Cf. C. Schedl, "Berufung Abrahams des Vaters der Giaubingen. Logotechnische Analyse von Gen 12, 1-9," BZ2K (1984), pp. 255-259, who calls attention to the fact that the parasha in the Hebrew Bible treats the first nine verses as a unit rather than just 1-3 or 4a.
6 A. Diilmann, Genesis (Leipzig, 1892), p. 225 (E. trs. Genesis, 2 vols. Edinburgh-.il: 15).
7 Gunkei, Genesis, p. XX111 (first ed., 1901) (E. trs. The Legends of Genesis. New York, 1964, pp. 33-34).
8 S. R. Driver, The Book oTGenesis (London, 1904), p. 143-
9 J. Skinner, Genesis, ICC (Edinburgh, 1930), p. 245.

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seen in the more recent work of R. Rendtorff.10 J. Jeremias, 1! J. K. Kuntz, 12 H. Molle, 1 ^ W. H. Schmidt,14 and T. L. Thompson,^ though Some agree that the etiological element is pushed into the background of the present narratives. In the case of Gen 12:7 such a view of Yahweh's appearing is not without difficulties. V. 6b ("the terebinth of Moreh") may suggest that the location of the appearance of Yahweh was already a cultic site. 16 Thus rather than founding a new cultic site, Abraham chooses a pre-eiisting sanctuary. V. 7b reports that Abraham built an altar following his encounter with Yahweh. However, rather than presenting the founding of a new cultic center, this event may more easily be viewed as an act of faith on Abraham's part in response to the appearance. In any case, the founding of a cultic center is certainly not primary to the present story which focuses on the Canaanites as an obstacle to the divine promise of land and the promise of land which is now renewed to

10 R. Rendtorff, "Offenbarung im Alten Testament," ThLZ 57 (1960), p. 834, writes, "Im jahwistischen Teit von Gn 12,7 und 26,24f. findet sich das Schema der Kultatiologie aufs Susserste zusammengedrangt."
11 J. Jeremias, "Theophany," IDB Supplementary Volume (Nashville, 1976), p. 896.
12 J. K. Kuntz, The Self-Revelation of God (Philadelphia, 1967), p. 117, considers this a foundation theophany from the Yahwist. Generally Kuntz looks at theophany texts independently with a concern for form and use by the pentateuchal sources. He gives no attention to their function in the narrative. !3 H. Molle, Das Erscheinen Gottes im Pentateuch: Bin literaturwissens-chaftlicherBeitragzuralttestamentlichenExegese($>&^ 1973), pp. 19-20.
14 a. Schmidt, The Faith of the Old Testament, pp. 22ff., though he acknowledges that the etiological elements are often pushed into the background in the present contexts of such texts.
*3 T. L. Thompson, The Origin Tradition of Ancient Israel: L The Literary Formation of Genesis andEzodus 1-23, ^/Supplement Series 55 (1987), p

85.

16 Cf., for example, C. Westermann, Genesis 12-36, pp. 178f. (E. trs. Genesis 12-36, pp. 153f.). See further the commentaries of Dillmann, Procksch, Gunkel, and Speiser.

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Abraham in the land promised. The land of Canaan, "this land" (v. 7), is now

identified as the land of promise. That the emphasis of these verses is

Yahweh's promise of land is suggested by the fact that there are no less than five references to the land in w. 5-7.

This emphasis upon the land has been recognized by C. Westermann. He

suggests that the dominant element of 12:6-9 is not the founding of a cult or

sacred place, but rather the itinerary and the promise of land: "We are dealing here with the simplest form of itinerary which mentions only a few individual

stopping places as the nomads move on with their herds." 17 This explanation is

in keeping with Westermann's view of the patriarchal traditions as family narratives which concern the relationships of the patriarchs with one another

and with God.ls Westermann considers v. 7 an independent unit whose

structure derives its meaning from the middle piece, the promise which is

introduced in 7a and confirmed by 7b: "The text can then have nothing to do

with the founding of a sanctuary; rather it is the promise of land shaped into a

17 Westermann, Genesisl2-36, pp. 166-168 (E. trs. pp.H5-H6). He, pp. 178-181 (E. trs. p. 153-155), suggests that the sacred places visited by the patriarchs had long since been sacred and lay outside the walls of the settlements. Thus, Abraham comes to the oak of Moreh (iTYlD), a tree which gave prophecies or oracles. The building of the altar is Abraham's response. Cf. "Arten der Erzahlung in der Genesis" Forschung am Alien Testament 7&#24 (1964): 39-47, where Westermann has sought to focus on the marks of etiologicai narrative. His fundamental criterion for a genuine narrative is the dramatic movement from tension to resolution. Thus the etiologicai narrative moves from question to answer (p. 40). The fundamental question is what function it plays in the wider textual unit and what this unit represents exclusive of the etiologicai motif (p. 42). Cf. B. 0. Long, The Problem of Etiologies] Narrative In the Old Testament, JSZA W 108 (1968): p. 3; G. W. Coats, Genesis with an Introduction to Narrative Literature, FOTL 1 (Grand Rapids, 1983), p. 108-109; W.Brueggemann, fiswastff Atlanta, 1982), p. 121-123.

18 Westermann, Genesis 12-36, pp. 168 (E. trs. p. 146); cf. Die Verheissungen an die Vater (Gtittingen, 1976), p. 61 (E. trs. The Promises to the Fathers: Studies in the Patriarchal Narratives. Philadelphia, 1980. p. 59).

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scene, inserted between two parts of the itinerary (v. 6 and v. 8)." 19 Westermann concludes that the promise of land in v. 7 serves to link the patriarchal story with the history of the people. The land which is promised is, in reality, for "Abraham's descendants."
Westermann argues that w. 6-9 and especially v. 7 are significant, in their own right, for the narrative unit as a whole (12:1-9) as well as for the larger patriarchal story. The text, which was long held to be only of secondary importance because it suggested a cultic etiology is now shown to play a more significant role in the narrative as it contributes to the promise theme with which the narrative begins in w. 1-3. The founding of a sanctuary is not the primary concern of this appearance text. In this case the promise of land is repeated to the patriarch during his journey through the land of promise. Westermann is surely correct in pointing out the relationship of the promise given by Yahweh in v. 7 to the promise theme which is introduced in 12:1-3. The promise element is central to 12:6-9. Although the itinerary is important to the brief story it is not for the sake of the itinerary itself, but rather because it identifies the land of Canaan as the land of promise (cf. 12:1, 5b-6). As already stated above, v. 6 may suggest that the location was already a sacred place before Abraham's visit. The present story would then have nothing to do with the founding of a cultic center. Against J. Hoftijzer, who holds that the element of promise is an exilic addition to this J narrative, the promise of land is a vital part of the present J story.20

19 Westermann, Genesis 12-36, p. 180 (E. trs. p. 155).
20 J. Hoftijzer, Die Verheissungen an die Drei Erzva'ter\\&vte&. 1956). pp. 14-17. He holds (pp. 23ff.) that only in Gen 15 and 17 are the promises an original element of the narrative. For a review of his theory cf. Westermann, Die Verheissungen, pp. Iff. (E. trs. pp. 2ff.), who holds that the promises of Gen 16 and 18 are also original (p. 32 E. trs. p. 28); and W. limmerli, "Verheissung und ErfUllung," ProbJeme altestamenllicher Hermeneuiik(\h\±wh&^ 1960), pp. 69-101 (E. trs. "Promise and Fulfillment," Essays in Old Testament Interpretation. London, 1963, pp. 89-122), who considers the promise of land to be original. J. A. Emerton. "The Origin of the Promises to the Patriarchs in

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Yet Wester mann's evaluation of the reference to "appearing" is problematic. For example, he calls attention to the form ^ HIIT KTl, "and Yahweh appeared to," which occurs throughout the patriarchal traditions. He concludes, however, that it is a late arrival in every case and is used to introduce a speech of God.21 In fact, he goes so far as to say, "There is no essential difference between this introduction and the simple IftfcOV'22 This view is expressed by a number of scholars, but probably is ultimately attributable to the influence of G. von Rad, who writes, "With Old Testament theophany ("Gotteserscheinung") everything depends upon the pronouncement: the phenomena which accompany it are always merely accessories."2?
It is certainly true that the form "TbfcHis frequently used as a means of God's communication in the Old Testament.24 It should be noted that Abraham's first encounter with God is not described as an appearance (12:1-3),

the Older Sources of the Book of Genesis," VT 32 (1982), pp. 17ff.} holds that the promise is an original part of Gen 12:6-9.
21 Cf. R. Rendtorff, "Offenbarung im Alten Testament," pp. 834-838, who calls attention to the connection between rUTti and divine promise speech. He suggests, p. 834, that in these texts the cultic etiology pattern is abandoned. See also "Die Offenbarungsvorsteliungen im Alten Israel," Ges&mmelte Studien zum Alien Testament 57 (MGnchen, 1975), pp. 39-59; and F. Schnutenhaus, "Das Kommen und Erscheinen Gottes im Alten Testament" ZAWlb (1964), p. 2. 22 Westermann, Genesis12-36, p. 180 (E. trs. p. 155). Cf. W. H. Schmidt, "Auspragungen des Bilderverbots? Zur Sichtbarkeit und Vorstellbarkeit Gottes im Alten Testamm\." Festschrift Gerhard Friedrich: Das Wort und die Worter. (Stuttgart, 1973), pp. 26-27. who suggests that the old Sitzim Leben (etiology) has been replaced in this and other such texts where the intention is to introduce the speech. This view is also found in the work of Schnutenhaus, pp.
lOf.

23 G. Von Rad, Theologie des Alten Testament, 2 vols. (Munchen, 1957- 1960), 11:33 (E. trs. Old Testament Theology, 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1962-1965, 11:19).
24 Cf. Gen 13:14; 15:1, 5, 7, 9, 13, 18, 16:8; 10; 11; 17:9, 15, 19,22; 18:13,
15, 16f., 19:lf.; 20:3, 6; 21:17; 22:1, 11. It is also frequently used in those texts which say "God appeared."

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but only states that Yahweh "said" Oft^U or spoke to Abraham 23 yet surely the rare occurrences of the form ^ mrp KT1 within the patriarchal narratives, and indeed throughout the Old Testament, suggests that the reader should not pass over these occurrences with such ease. T. E. Fretheim argues that, "those who say that the word is the only important thing about theophany really collapse the distinction between theophany and other divine speech."26 A review of the "appearing" texts in patriarchal traditions reveals that they always include the speech of the God who appears. This suggests, however, that the "appearing" of God is always present in these texts in addition to God's speaking. "The fact that there is always some empirical reference to God's appearances, something concrete and tangible associated with them, has not been sufficiently appreciated."27 Fretheim's interests are more with "the empirical reference" of such theophany descriptions. He concludes, "there are not theophanies which are incompatible with an appearance in human form."28 Although my concern here is not with the form of theophany, assent may certainly be given to his statement, "To say 'a God who appears" is to say something more about God ... than saying 'a God who speaks/"29 In certain circumstances the narrator makes a choice from the many options available whether or not to include the phrase *?# fiW KTl. This usage, in my view, is not arbitrary but rather has an important function in the narratives in which

25 U. Cassuto, A Commentary on the Bool: of Genesis, Vol. 2 (Jerusalem, 1964), pp. 309, 328 (the original is unavailable to me), suggests that "outside the land, it was given to Abraham only to hear the Divine voice (v. 1); but here, in the land ... he was also vouchsafed the privilege of a Divine vision." Cf. also J. K. Kuntz, p. 116, who considers this a "theophanic" text on the basis of v. 7.

26 T. E. Fretheim, The Suffering of God: An Old Testament Perspective, QBT 14 (Philadelphia, 1984), p. 85.
27 Ibid., p. 84.
28 Ibid., p. 93.
29 Ibid., p. 101.

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it is found.

In Gen 12:4 Abraham's response to Yahweh's command is reported by
the narrator: "So Abraham was going, just as Yahweh had commanded him." He sets out on his journey leaving country, clansmen, and his father's house or immediate family. Such a move would have been viewed as a radical event by a culture so tied to clan and family. With only Yahweh's promise he departs and comes to Shechem. Then, having witnessed Yahweh's promise and Abraham's radical obedience, the reader is confronted with the antithesis to all that has preceded. The narrator reports: "At that time the Canaanites were in the land" (12:6b; cf. 13:7b). Westermann attributes this statement to a later narrator who wanted to indicate the remoteness of the patriarchal period.30 However, this overlooks the function of this reference at this important point in the brief story. With this statement the obstacle which stands in the way of the fulfillment of Yahweh's promise of land in 12:1-3 is highlighted. That it is the land which is of central concern to this narrative is suggested by the fact that it is referred to no less than five times in w. 5-7: "They set forth to go to the land of Canaan. When they had come to the land of Canaan Abraham passed through the land .... At that time the Canaanites were in the land .... To your descendants I will give this land." The promise of land now runs into a serious obstacle, an obstacle which remains important throughout the patriarchal period; the Canaanites are in the land (cf. 13:7b; 20:Iff.; 26:12ff.; 34:30-31).
Immediately following this statement, however, Yahweh "appears" (Niphal n*n) and the promise is renewed, "to your descendants I will give this land" (12:7). The land is the focus of Yahweh's brief promise speech. The visitation is simple and brief. Yet Yahweh's appearing and the repetition of the

30 Westermann, Genesis12-36, p. 179 (E. trs. p. 154). Other commen-tators have suggested that the phrase plays a more important role. Cf. von Rad; Dillmann; Cassuto.

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promise are central to the story. The narrative tension which is highlighted by w. 5b-6 is countered by the appearing of Yahweh. The appearance is emphasized by the narrator's report of Abraham's response to the encounter. He builds an altar to Yahweh "who appeared to him" (Niphal flfcn). Although the Canaanites stand in the way of the fulfillment of Yahweh's promise, this tension is met by Yahweh himself who appears and renews the promise of land.31 The patriarch does not possess the land. In fact the promise is focused more carefully as it is stated that Abraham's "descendants" will be given the land.32 With this statement Yahweh's appearance to the patriarchal father is tied to all the history which follows. Abraham now encounters Yahweh in the land of promise which is identified by this event. This appearance is commemorated by the building of an altar and the worship of Yahweh who appeared. This may be viewed as an act of faith and hope by one who now dwells in a land which is promised, if not yet possessed.
Against Westermann who examines w. 6 and 7 independently, this reading suggests that the references to the Canaanites and the appearing of Yahweh are significant for the structure and movement of this brief story. The appearing functions to counter the tension which is introduced by the statement that "the Canaanites were in the land." Yahweh appears and identifies the land which was promised (12:1) and the promise is reaffirmed to Abraham. The relationship between appearing and promise is thus introduced, a relationship which remains important throughout not only the patriarchal traditions, but later traditions too (cf., for example, Exod 3; Deut 31:14, 23).

31 This same element of tension is present throughout the patriarchal narratives. In fact, it is also found in texts which presuppose the theophany of the deity, though the deity does not appear, or is not seen. Cf. Gen 13:1-5, esp. 14-15; 15:l-7;28:10-22.

32 Though compare later promise speeches in which the land is give to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in addition to their descendants (Gen 17:8; 26:3; 35:12).

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One may wish to ask, why is it necessary for Yahweh to appear before
the promise is repeated? After all, at other times Yahweh speaks without any reference to "appearing" (cf. 12:1-3; 13:14; 15:1). Yet the close relationship between appearing and promise in the patriarchal traditions ought not to be ignored. Here it is an important part of the narrator's presentation. Reference is made to the appearing not once, but twice. The narrative would not be the same without it. Yahweh appears to Abraham at the pagan cultic site at Shechem, the terebinth of Moreh, in a land inhabited by the Canaanites. Following Yahweh's appearance and the renewal of the promise of land Abraham builds an altar to Yahweh, "who had appeared to him" (v. 7b). Apparently the appearing communicated something of special importance. Yahweh did not just speak to Abraham, but he appeared to speak.33 The appearance suggests a God who becomes directly involved in the lives of the patriarchal family, who appears and, in the face of threats to fulfillment of the divine promise, reaffirms the promise. Abraham stops at a pagan cultic site, but it is Yahweh who appears to him in the land of the Canaanites. The new altar commemorates the fact that Abraham's God appeared to the patriarch in the land of Canaan. In spite of the obstacles the land will belong to Abraham's descendants.

In this way the brief story is also important for 12:1-9 and the larger patriarchal narrative. The appearing of Yahweh has an important theological function. The land, promised in 12:1-3, is now identified by the deity who appears to Abraham in the land. Gen 12:6-9 is therefore significant to the larger narrative because it introduces the element of expectation. The story is forward looking and sets before the reader expectations in spite of tension. Just as 11:30, which reveals Sarah's barrenness, reveals the paradox of the

33 On other occasions in the patriarchal traditions it is the appearing of
God which is especially remembered (cf. 35:1, 9; 48:3;1 Kgs 11:9-10). Q. Fretheim, pp. 84-85.

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promise of progeny in 12:1-3 and points ahead to the recurring tension of chs 15-21, so 12:6-9 look back to the promise of land and look forward to the recurring tensions which arise because of the inhabitants of the land. Von Rad writes, "the relationship of the patriarchs to the promised land is strangely double-edged."34 they now live in a land which they do not possess, which is still inhabited by the Canaanites. Yet the land will belong to Abraham's descendants in spite of this barrier which is set before the reader. To those of a later age, who faced new obstacles and barriers to Yahweh's promises the story would have communicated the surety of their hope and served as a rebuke to faithlessness. Their hope in the possession of the land was based on nothing less than the promise of Yahweh who appeared to Israel's forefather, Abraham, in the land of promise. There Abraham encountered Yahweh and was assured that his descendants would inherit the land.

B. GENESIS 16:1-15 (13): HAGAR SEES THE MESSENGER OF YAHWEH

Exegetes usually treat ch. 16 as a unit which, with the exception of w.
la, 3 and 15-16 (P), is attributable to J.33 There seems to be general agreement among the commentators that two older narratives (both J) have been welded into one, though in their present contexts they are more like two episodes or scenes in the same story. The first is concerned with Sarah's barrenness and Hagar's expulsion (w.1-6), and the second with Hagar's encounter with the messenger of Yahweh in the wilderness (w. 7-14). Recognizing that Yahweh has prevented her from bearing children, Sarah takes matters into her own hands and presents her Egyptian maid to Abraham in order to obtain children by her (v. 1-3). This plan, however, does not work

34 Von Rad, Theologie, 1:172 (E. trs. 1:169).
33 Cf. von Rad, Genesis, p. 161 (E. trs. p. 191); E. A. Speiser, Genesis, AB (Garden City, 1964), p. 119.

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out as expected when Hagar takes on a new status after conceiving and thus looks with contempt upon barren Sarah (v. 4). Sarah brings her complaint to Abraham who, in turn, gives permission for Sarah to do as she will with Hagar (v. 5). Thus Hagar flees the persecution of her mistress (v. 6).
The second episode begins when the messenger of Yahweh finds Hagar
by a spring of water in the wilderness (v. 7). A dialogue ensues in which the messenger tells Hagar to return to her mistress in submission (v. 8-9). However, the messenger tells Hagar that Yahweh has seen her affliction and promises that she shall have many descendants. The son which she bears shall become an important man in his own right (w. 10-12). The story concludes with Hagar's reaction to the encounter, which includes the reference to seeing God (v. 13), and the editorial explanation of the name of the location which takes on a new importance as a result of the encounter (v. 14). This is followed by the later note that Hagar indeed bore Abraham a son just as the messenger had promised (w. 15-16 P).
In recent time two prominent views with regard to this narrative have been put forward.3& Gunkel considers Gen 16 an etiological tribal history concerned with the ancestor Ishmael and the origin of the Ishmaelites.37 This view has continued to find support in the work of a number of scholars. For example, A. Bentzen includes Gen 16 among those stories which deal with the "history of tribes and nations."3S Commentators often draw parallels between

36 Cf. Westermann's history of exegesis, Genesis 12-36, pp. 279-281 (E.
trs. pp. 234-236).
37 Gunkel, Genesis, W- 184ff.
38 A. Bentzen, Introduction to the Old Testament, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1952), 1:237; cf. 0. Eissfeldt, EinJeitung in das alte Testament (third ed., Tubingen, 1964), pp. 42f. (E. trs. The Old Testament: An Introduction. Oxford, 1966, pp. 40f.); M. Noth, Uberlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch, pp. 118-119 (E. trs. p. 108, nn. 311, 312); Skinner, pp. 284-285; von Rad, "Der Anfang der Geschichtsschreibung im alten Israel," Gesammelte Studien, p. 151 (E. trs. "The Beginnings of Historical Writing in Ancient Israel," p. 169), though also compare commentary.

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Gen 16 and 21.39 jn fact Skinner goes so far as to suggest that in reality 16 (J) and 21:8-21 (E) are variants of one tradition.40 This, however, is based on the assumption that Gen 16 and 21:8-21 are etiologies.
Yet the criticism has been raised that the stories do not seem to be concerned with etiology. Westermann convincingly challenges the etiological orientation of Gen 16. He considers it a "conflict narrative" which portrays a family episode about the rivalry between two women.41 Similarly, J. Van Seters finds in it an "anecdotal folktale" primarily concerned with "the struggle
between two women."42

Of primary importance for this examination is the question what is the significance of v. 13 for the narrative? For Gunkel this is very simple: "Jetzt bekommen Gott und Brunnen ihre Namen."43 Von Rad suggests that the verse consists of the intertwining of two etiologies, one relating to the history of the tribe and one to the history of the cult.44 This view also finds support in the work of Van Seters and Coats who consider vv. 13-14 an etiological appendix to the conflict story.43
The problem is further complicated by the obscurity of v. 13 in the MT.
A literal translation of w. 13-14 would render something like, "So she called the name of Yahweh who spoke to her Thou art a God of seeing'; for she said,

39 Cf. Gunkel, p. 231-232, and more recently Speiser, p. 324, who have argued that 21:8-21 is an independent variant of chapter 16 because it

answers the same etioiogical questions about Ishmael.
40 Skinner, p. 285.
41 Westermann, Genesis12-36, p. 281 (E. trs. p. 236).
42 J. Van Seters, Abraham in History and Tradition (New Haven, 1975),

pp. 192-196; cf. S. E. McEvenue, "A Comparison of Narrative Styles in the Hagar Stories," Semeis'b (1975); 64-80.
4 3 Gunkel, Genesis, p. 189, "Now God and the spring receive their names.'
44 Von Rad, Genesis, p. 165 (E. trs. p. 195).
45 Van Seters, p. 193; Coals, p. 131.

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'Have I indeed here seen after (?) the one who saw me? 1 Therefore the well was called 'Well of the living one who sees me'; it is between Kadesh and Bered." Yet virtually every commentator is suspicious that the MT is corrupt.46 Among the most serious problems is the word tfon in v. 13b which is

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untranslatable in this context unless taken to mean "here."*7 While some translate the word "here," the objection is raised by others that it actually means "hither," which makes no sense in this context.48 HD^. "after, behind," is also confusing. Westermann offers the suggestion that the simplest emendation is to read &Th& for D^n49 Thus 13b would be rendered, "For I have seen God after he saw me." Wellhausen offers an ingenious, if more radical, alteration of the text. He changes Q^TTJ to OTlbK, reads TH as ^ K*J, and sets TIK1 between TPfcH and *nnK50 This produces the reading adopted by the BHS as well as many commentators and translations (cf. RSV, BHS), "Have I really seen God and remained alive after seeing him?" Thus the allusion would be to the Old Testament belief that seeing the deity results in death.
One may well wonder, however, if such a radical emendation is called
for. Although the MT is obviously difficult, the meaning is not altogether unclear. Following her encounter with the "messenger of Yahweh" Hagar called the name of Yahweh who spoke to her "Thou art a God of seeing." Her response

46 Cf. Dillmann, pp. 255-256 (E. trs. p. 73-74); Gunkel, pp. 189-190; Driver, p. 183; Skinner, p. 288; D. 0. Procksch, Die Genesis, tibersetz und erklzrt (Leipzig, 1913), p. 109; vonRad, Genesis, p. 164 (E. trs. p. 194); Speiser, p. 119; Westermann, Genesis 12-36, pp. 295-296 (E. trs. p. 247); Brueggemann, p. 152. 47 Cf. BDB, p. 241, who suggest that tfrn equals "here" in Gen 16:13.
48 Dillmann, Gunkel, Driver, Skinner, and Speiser translate "here." Yet both Speiser, p. 289, and Westermann, Genesis12-36, pp. 296-297 (E. trs. p. 248), have pointed out that the meaning "hither" makes no sense in this context. Cf. also (5.

49 Westermann, Genesis12-36, p. 297 (E. trs. p. 248).
3° J. Wellhausen, Prolegomena zur Geschlchte Israels (Berlin, 1883), P 324 (E. trs. Prolegomena to the History of Israel. Edinburgh, 1885, p. 326).

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to the encounter is presented in her statement, "Have I indeed seen after he saw me?" The statement celebrates the fact that Yahweh has seen her need and expresses surprise that she has seen the messenger. If this is the case, then it would seem that the narrator does not make a clear distinction between the messenger and Yahweh himself: "So she called the name of Yahweh who spoke to her ... " (v. 13a).5l With this statement the narrator presents the encounter from Hagar's point of view. In astonishment she asks, "Have 1 really seen the one who saw me (my situation)?" In v. 14 the narrator tells the reader that the name of the spring continued to speak to this decisive encounter between Hagar and Yahweh.
Westermann suggests that Gen 22:14 provides a closer parallel for understanding 16:13-14.52 There a place is also named and Hfcn is used. As 22:14 clearly describes Abraham's point of view with regard to his encounter and the naming of the mountain which would speak to future generations of the divine intervention, so w. 13-14 performs a similar function for the narrative of Gen 16. In the context of this story the reference to seeing God is employed at the conclusion in order to reveal Hagar's response to the her encounter and to reveal the special nature of the encounter. Her statement may also be compared with those of Gideon and Manoah in Judg 6:22 and
13:22.

Wellhausen is probably correct in perceiving that the purpose of the statement is to express surprise or shock at the fact that God saw her and that she saw God. The narrator reveals to the reader that it was really Yahweh who spoke to her and thus clearly identifies the messenger with Yahweh himself. In v. 13 Hagar perceives that it was God. Such statements are found at the end

31 Cf. J. Barr, Theophany and Anthropomorphism," p. 37. Cf. Gunkel and others who consider the use of the "messenger" to reflect a later time when, after theological reflection, the directness of the divine encounter was lost.
52 Westermann, Genesis12-36, p. 295 (E. trs. p. 247).

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of reports of divine encounters and reveal the point of view of the protagonist and suggest the unusual nature of the experience which would ordinarily mean death (cf. 22:14; 32:30; Judg 6:22; 13:22). The story would have made witness to the intervention of Yahweh into the lives of the larger patriarchal family. In this instance the crisis which leads to the messenger's activity is the barrenness of Sarah and its eventual effects upon a pregnant maidservant. Out of the problem created by the actions of Sarah and Abraham, Yahweh brings the promise of blessing and restoration. Abraham will have a son by Hagar. Perhaps this also provides some clue into the purpose of the story for the larger narrative. Within the Abraham cycle, Gen 16 contributes to the tension surrounding the promise of progeny which is present from chs. 15 to 21 until Isaac is finally born.33 Ch. 16 seems to slow the action of the larger narrative and to increase the suspense and tension with regard to the promise of children for Abraham and barren Sarah. In ch. 16 Abraham and Sarah take matters into their own hands. Sarah, recognizing that Yahweh has not provided a son, takes the only way out available to her. She turns to her handmaid who will provide children for her. Soon, however, it becomes clear that it was a mistake. Hagar looks with contempt upon her mistress who in turn seeks permission to deal harshly with her. Hagar, pregnant with Abraham's child, flees Sarah's persecution.

Hagar sees the "messenger" and indeed God himself and responds in amazement (I6:13a). The encounter with God was life-changing and in this case life-giving for Hagar and her son. She is to return to her mistress in submission, yet not without the promise that her son will become great. Even Abraham's son by his wife's slave will be abundantly blessed by Yahweh. Hagar rejoices in this new revelation. 'Thou art a God of Seeing!" "Have I indeed seen the one who saw me?"

53 Cf. Thompson, p. 87ff.

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To this w. 15-16 (P) are added which reveal that the messenger's promise became reality. Hagar bore Abraham a son. Abraham, age eighty-sii, now has a son, Ishmael. But what of the promise of progeny? Is Ishmael the long-awaited fulfillment? Although it may perhaps be inferred from 16:11-12 and 15:2-4 that Ishmael is not, this is not obvious. Hagar's encounter with the "messenger," indeed with God, plays a role in the ever increasing tension of the Abraham cycle with regard to the fulfillment of the promise of descendants (12:1-3), a role which generally goes unnoticed by commentators. Read in the context of Genesis the story recalls 11:30 where the motif of Sarah's barrenness is first introduced. Ch. 16 serves as a delay in the fulfilment of the promise of son. The story does not reach its climax here, but must go on. Ishmael will not be Abraham's heir.54 Nevertheless Hagar receives the promise from the messenger whom she sees that her son will become great. The unusual nature of her experience and the fact that it was really God is communicated by Hagar's exclamation in v. 13 that God saw her and that she saw God.

C. GENESIS 17:1-22 (1): YAHWEH APPEARS TO ABRAHAM

Gen 17 is generally dealt with as a unit and assigned to P.55 The pattern
and structure of the appearing story in ch. 17 is much more developed than that of 12:6-9 (J). God's lengthy speech to Abraham is set between his "appearing" in v. 1 and his "going up" (rfrtt in v. 22 (cf. 35:13 P). The deity identifies himself as "El Shaddai," P's name for Yahweh in the patriarchal period (17:1). Yet the narrator states very clearly that Yahweh appeared (17:1). Apart from these two references, Elohim is used throughout the chapter. As in 12.7, the speech of God includes divine promise, but in this case three promises,

54 a. Thompson, pp. 89-90.
55 For its relationship to Gen 15 (JE) cf. von Rad, Genesis, p. 167 (E. trs. p. 197-198); Coats, p. 133.

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relationship, progeny (17:2-7), and land are given to Abraham (17:8; cf. 12:1-3) and the promises of a son and blessing to Sarah (17:16). On the basis of these promises a covenant is made of which changed names and circumcision are to be signs, (17:5,9f., 15)56 Initially Abraham does not speak with God, but "falls on his face," or bows in reverence before the presence and speech of God (17:2). Following the promise that ninety year old Sarah will have a child he falls on his face again, but this time in laughter which expresses his unbelief that at their age they will have children (v. 17). Abraham draws God's attention to Ishmael. His plea looks back to 16:15-16 (P). But it is rejected in favor of God's plan. God's covenant is reserved for Isaac who is to be born to Sarah. Abraham responds to the appearing and speech of God by following the prescriptions set forth for circumcision (w. 23-27), which may be taken as a sign of Abraham's faith in Yahweh's promises and covenant.
A review of the commentaries reveals that much attention has been given to the comparison of ch. 17 and the JE parallel material of ch. 15-57 Skinner, for example, proposes that ch. 15 is the basis of P's account of the covenant in ch. 17.58 jn addition to the use of Elohim and El Shaddai (v. Ib), it is suggested that this difference between the two accounts can be seen in P's preference for the promise of progeny and relationship rather than for land, and in P's emphasis upon the mD .59
Others note that Yahweh is used only in 17:1 and Elohim elsewhere in

56 On the role of circumcision in this text cf. Westermann, Genesis12-36,
p. 319-320 (E. trs. pp. 265-266).
57 Gen 15:1 begins "After these things the word of Yahweh came to Abram in a vision

58 Skinner, p. 291.
59 Cf. s. R. Driver, The Boo* of GenesJs (London, 1904), p. 185; Diilmann,
p. 258 (E. trs. p. 77); Skinner, p. 291; Speiser, p. 124; Kuntz, p. 120; Westermann, Genesis J2-36, pp. 306f. (E. trs. pp. 255D.

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the narrative. Dillmann, however, defends the originality of the reference to appearing on the basis of v. 22 and suggests that a redactor replaced Yahweh for Elohim (v. la) in order to connect the narrative with the preceding sections.60 Gunkel referred to the reference to Yahweh as a scribal error.61 This view continues to find acceptance as is evidenced by E. A. Speiser's more recent comment, "this single exception appears to be a slip under the influence of the preceding narrative."62
Westermann notes that the chapter begins and ends with references to
the appearance of God and suggests a possible function for these verses: "the two sentences that frame the story have a literary function. The appearance of God simply renders the speech to Abraham possible."63 Thus for Westermann, the use of this motif in the P story is the same as that of J. Westermann emphasizes the promises which, in his view, are primary. As in the case of 12:7, the reference to appearing is at best only of secondary importance. As stated above, this view is problematic in that God appears in addition to his speaking.
Ch. 17 may at first be considered as an individual unit of material which belongs to P. The literary construction of ch. 17 suggests that P has based the narrative on older Abraham traditions. Although the JE covenant of ch. 15 may have influenced the present account, Westermann is correct in asserting that the central influence is the individual patriarchal promises which are here combined and expanded. Abraham is promised progeny, divine presence, blessing, and land. To this is added the perpetual covenant, and changed

60 Dillmann, p. 259 (E. trs. 11:79).
61 Gunkel, Genesis, p. 264.
62 Speiser, p. 124.
63 Westermann, Genesis]2-36, p. 306 (E. trs. p. 255). Cf. Kuntz, pp. 120
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names and circumcision as signs of the covenant.64 The emphasis upon covenant and circumcision may reflect the attempt to bind these events to contemporary Israel at the time of P.
Other features also stand out. For example, unlike previous JE narratives, Sarah now receives the promises of progeny and blessing. However, the promise of progeny now becomes very specifically the promise of a son by Sarah. This is a new element which may suggest the reason for including the P material at this point in the larger narrative. Until this point only Sarah's barrenness has been stressed (11:30; 15:2; 16:1) and she has not been the focus of the promise of progeny which is given only to Abraham. In fact, Abraham now has a son, though by Sarah's slave (16:15-16 P). This situation is now clarified. The child of promise and the child of the covenant is clearly identified as Isaac who is to be born to Sarah, rather than Ishmael, Hagar's son. It seems likely that 17:1 and the reference to appearing was an original part of the priestly presentation. If this is the case then the connection between appearing and promise is also found in P material. Yet how does one account for the fact that Yahweh appears rather than Elohim, as in the rest of the P story? It may simply be a scribal error as is suggested by many commentators. However, it is also possible that P is passing on the older tradition of appearing and promise and thereby seeks to put the name of Yahweh into perspective.^ Although P stresses the gap between the patriarchal period and that of Moses (Exod 6), the intention of 17:1 may be to declare that the Elohim who appeared to Abraham and promised progeny, relationship, and land as El Shaddai, was in fact Yahweh. The verse is certainly

64 Von Rad, Genesis, p. 169 (E. trs. p. 200), suggests that the phrase, "I will be their God" (17:8b) looks forward to the formula of the covenant at Sinai which includes the phrase, "I will be your God and you shall be my people" (cf. Eiod 6:7; Lev 26:12; Deut 26:17f.; 2 Sam 7:24; Jer 7:23; 11:4; and Hos 1:9).
63 a. Westermann, Genesis 12-36, p. 309 (E. trs. p. 257).

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more than just "further information" as is suggested by Westermann.66
Here one may, with caution, conclude that P has adopted the old tradition from J which associates Yahweh's appearing and divine promises to the patriarchs. In this story P combines the essentials of the Abraham tradition. Included is the fact that the patriarch was vouchsafed an appearance of Yahweh who promised progeny, relationship, and land. With his emphasis upon the covenant and the command for circumcision the priestly writer binds the patriarchal period to his own concerns in the eiile when the patriarchal tradition may have provided hope that Yahweh's promises were still valid and his covenant with Abraham's descendants "everlasting" (17:19). That Yahweh appeared to the patriarch and made covenant would have communicated the authority and authenticity of the promises and relationship between God and his people.
The narrative tension which is present at the end of ch. 16 should not be overlooked (cf. chs. 15-18). The priestly writer provides the connective between chs. 17 and 16 in 16:15-16. Abraham now has a son, Ishmael. As ch. 16 ends the threat to Hagar by a jealous Sarah is averted by the messenger of Yahweh (16:7-14). Ishmael is born to Abraham, now age eighty-six (16:15). With this many questions remain unanswered concerning God's plan and promise (ch. 16) and the long-awaited child of promise (cf. 15).
Ch. 17 begins with another reference to Abraham's age; he is now ninety-nine. Additional time has passed. Sarah is still without child; the couple is beyond the age of childbearing. Immediately following this reference to age which gives further stress to the impossibility of fulfillment, Yahweh appears, identifies himself, and promises to make covenant with both Abraham and Sarah, and to multiply them exceedingly. The promise of increase is repeated and elaborated in w. 5f. and 16. The promise of land is added in v. 8.

>> ibid., p. 306 (E. trs. p. 255).

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Interesting, however, is the fact that the general promise of descendants in w. 2 and 5-9 becomes in v. I6f. the promise of a son for Abraham and Sarah. However, the tension concerning the fulfillment of this promise, or perhaps the impossibility of fulfillment, comes to the surface again in w. IT-
19. Abraham's response to the deity's long speech is finally given. The patriarch finds the promise of a son by Sarah unbelievable. The tension of the still childless ninety-nine year old Abraham and his barren ninety year old wife presses greatly upon the story: "So Abraham fell upon his face and laughed, and said to himself, 'Shall a child be born to a hundred year old? Shall Sarah at ninety years bring forth a child?'" (17:17). With these verses the chapter is further tied to the larger narrative. Abraham reminds God of Ishmael (v. 18), but God replies, "Sarah your wife will bring forth for you a son and you shall call his name Isaac" ("He Laughs" 17:17).67 Ishmael will be blessed, but the covenant will be made with Isaac. The story moves quickly to a close: "When he had finished speaking with him, God went up (ThV} from Abraham" (17:22).
The tension surrounding the lack of a son for Abraham and Sarah is an important part of this P story and as such contributes to the larger narrative of chs. 15-18 which is concerned with the promise of progeny, Sarah's barrenness, and ultimately a son for the childless couple. In the face of such tension Yahweh appears and the promises are renewed to the patriarchal family. But they are also clarified by ch. 17. Following the birth of Ishmael this becomes necessary. The promise now becomes a son by Sarah. Yahweh's appearing, the reassuring promise, and the symbols of new and special relationship, circumcision and changed names are taken up into the larger narrative which certainly has as one of its concerns the issue of faith. Von Rad writes, "The story-teller makes the reader himself live through and suffer through the

67 One possible etymology for the name is pTTS, to laugh. Cf. the
commentators.

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various situations in which the recipient of the promise was tried."6* Vv. 23f. suggest that Abraham, in spite of his laughter in the face of God's promise, in the end accepts God's promise and his commandment and responds to them appropriately (cf. 12:7b-9). He carries out the prescriptions for circumcision thus accepting the covenant relationship between his family and God. The chapter presents the picture of a man of faith, who in spite of the apparent impossibility of fulfilment, responded to Yahweh who appeared and renewed his promise with faith. Such a picture would have been important in the exilic period when faith or lack of faith was an important issue for those who looked back upon the conquest and the loss of land.

D. GENESIS 18:1-19:29 (18:1-2; 19:1): YAHWEH APPEARS AT
BETHEL (MAMRE): ABRAHAM, LOT, AND THE THREE MEN

In its present form the promise story of Gen 18:l-16a is part of a larger narrative complex which includes chs. 18 and 19. These chapters may be attributed to J with the possible exception of 19:29 (P). V. 16 appears to link w. 1-15 with the rest of the narrative which concerns the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah. For the moment, however, 18:l-16a may be considered as a unit. The narrative begins with Yahweh's appearing to Abraham at Mamre (cf. 15:18) as he sat at the entrance to his tent in the heat of the day. Abraham, however, sees three men standing before him. The story unfolds as Abraham's courtesy and hospitality to these strangers are described. In v. 9 attention is turned to Sarah about whom the visitors inquire. In v. 10 it is Yahweh who speaks to Abraham and promises a son by Sarah. Sarah, meanwhile, listening to the conversation, laughs to herself in unbelief that such a thing could happen to a woman of her age (v. 12). The tension mounts as Yahweh confronts

68 Von Rad, Theolozie, 1:174 (E. trs. 1:171).

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Abraham with Sarah's laughter and disbelief (v. 13). The tension is resolved in v. 14 when Yahweh asks, "Is there anything too difficult for Yahweh?" The promise of a son is repeated again. Sarah denies her laughter out of fear, but is rebuked by Yahweh. The story concludes with the statement that the men departed (v. I6a; cf. v. 2).
A survey of the literature reveals that commentators on this text have been preoccupied with the relation of w. 1-2 to the rest of the narrative, and with parallels which may be drawn between this narrative and either classical or ancient Near Eastern texts. In v. 1 Yahweh appears.69 Yet in v. 2 Abraham sees three men. How is this lack of clarity concerning the identity of the visitor or visitors to be explained? Dillmann suggests: "In these three, of whom one has a more distinguished appearance than the others, Jahve is present, as again in the two of ch. 19."70 Gunkel dismisses the problem altogether by suggesting that the chapter heading of v. la was an addition to the story from a later orientation which understood the narrative as an appearance of God.71 Similarly, Skinner finds in v. 1 an introductory clause which simply means that the incident which follows has the value of a theophany.72 There is virtual unanimity that the MT ^IK of v. 3 is a deliberate assimilation to v. 1 and should rather be ^*1K73 Molle finds both a singular and plural story. The appearing belongs to the singular version which consists of w. 1, 3a, 5, 9ap, 10, and 11-15. This version, he suggests, is concerned with the promise of a son

69 Van Seters, p. 203, suggests that the beginning of the narrative is missing as the suffix of \tyk HW KT1 is unidentified. Cf. Coats, p. 137.
70 Dillmann, p. 266 (E. trs. 11:93).
71 Gunkel, Genesis, pp. 193-201.
72 Skinner, pp. 299-303; cf. von Rad, Genesis, pp. 172-174 (E. trs. pp. 203-206).
73 Cf. Gunkel, Genesis, p. 194; Dillmann, p. 266 (E. trs. 11:93); Driver, p. 192; Skinner, p. 299; von Rad, Genesis, p. 175 (E. trs. p. 206); Speiser, p. 129; Westermann, Cf. also Gen 19:18.

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and the Isaac name etymology.?* However, the overall use of Tahweh," "men," and "messengers" in 18:l6b-19:29 may suggest that Yahweh was one of the three, thus rendering any attempt to separate different levels or stories unnecessary.7}
Some have found an explanation in literary parallels from classical and ancient Near Eastern literature. Both Dilimann and Gunkei call attention to comparisons with stories from classical Greek mythology which report the wanderings of the gods among men 76 T. H. Caster also points to parallels in Greek narrative and suggests that chs. 18-19 "are but Hebrew versions of the widespread folktale of Hospitality Rewarded"11 Westermann, however, cautions against explaining 18:1-16 as a parallel to Greek narrative and suggests that assuming a long period of development and an abundance of variants the narrative must be traced back through its Near Eastern prehistory.78
Westermann finds that 18:1-16 was an originally independent narrative which concerned the announcement of the promise of a child to a childless couple.79 Following Gunkei he suggests that v. 1 is a later addition which

74 M6lie, pp. 25, 33-34. Cf. Westermann, Genesis12-36, p. 337 (E. trs. p. 278), who suggests that two variants have been intertwined, "one of which puts the emphasis on the visit of the three, the other on the promise of the child by a messenger of God."
75Cf. Thompson, pp. 9 Iff.
76 Dilimann, p. 266 (E. trs. 11:92); Gunkei, Genesis, pp. 193-194.
77 T. H. Caster, Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament, (New York, 1969), pp. 156-158 (italics are Caster's).
78 Westermann, Genesis 12-36, p. 334 (E. trs. p. 276). a. C. H. Gordon, "The Patriarchal Age," JBK2\ (1953), p. 242. The problem remains that no direct parallels to this narrative have been found, though there are traces in Sumerian myths. Cf. S. N. Kramer, Sumerian Mythology (Philadelphia, 1944), pp. 59-62.
79 Westermann, Die Verheissungen, p. 62 (E. trs. p. 60); Genesis12-36,
pp. 332-333 (E. trs. p. 275).

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understands the narrative as an appearance of God:

"There is no way in which one can consider the present event an appearance of God .... The narrative 18:l-l6b does not belong to
any of the types of divine appearing in the Old Testament... A later orientation has smoothed over the difference between meeting with a
divine messenger and an appearance of God."so

Thus Westermann proposes an earlier form of the narrative which began with the surprising appearance of the three men 81
Westermann is surely correct when he emphasizes the importance of the promise of a son for this narrative. The tension of the barrenness of Sarah, now beyond the age of childbearing, is central to the story (w. 9-15). Westermann and others are also correct in pointing out the similarities between this narrative and other ancient Near Eastern texts which concern the entertaining of divine messengers.82 An "earlier" narrative may have begun with a surprising visit from three men without any reference to Yahweh's appearing.
The fact remains, however, that the present narrative begins with the formula rtK mrp KTl (cf. 12:7; 17:1). That this is a vital part of the present narrative is suggested by Yahweh's role in the story (w. 10-15) and by the subsequent references in the narrative to both Yahweh, men, and the messengers (w. 16, 22, 33; 19:lf.). The references to appearing and seeing in the present form of this J narrative suggest that the narrator of the story in its present form does intend the reader to read the story as an appearance of Yahweh. Although Abraham sees "three men" (v. 2), the reader is made fully aware that it is Yahweh who purposes and speaks through these three: "And Yahweh appeared to him" (v. 1, cf. v. 10). However difficult this may be for the

80 Westermann, Genesis12-36* pp. 332-333 (E. trs. p. 275).
81 Westermann, Die Verbeissungen, p. 61 (E. trs. p. 60).
82 Cf. Westermann's discussion of the Ugaritic Dan'el Epic in Die Verbeissungen, p. 154 (E. trs. p. 169); and the discussion in Chapter Two.

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modern reader, it was obviously not a difficulty for the narrator of the-present narrative or, one may assume, for his audience. Perhaps the verse was meant to inform the reader from the beginning that there is more here than meets the eye, more than the characters who experience the events of the story even perceive. Abraham sees three men (18:2). The reader must then agonize with Abraham who does not yet know whom he meets in these three. In this respect this story begins like other Old Testament delayed-recognition stories in which the protagonists learn the identity of the visitor only at the end (Judg 6,13; cf. Gen 16:13; 32:30).
The difficulty is that unlike other recognition stories there is no obvious moment when Abraham and Sarah learn the identity of their visitors. All three ("and they said," w. 5, 9) converse with Abraham in w. 2-9. In w. 10f., the focus turns to "Yahweh" who speaks and promises to return in the spring in order that Sarah may have a son. Although the point of view of Abraham and Sarah with regard to the visitors is not very clear at this point, the identity of Yahweh is clearly revealed to the reader by the narrator's sudden intrusion, "And Yahweh said" (18:10). Such a moment of identity as is found in other stories may have been a part of an earlier form of this story. If this is the case, however, in the present form of the story it has now given way to the larger concerns of 18:l-l6a and the larger narrative complex (chs. 18-19).
The focus of 18:l-l6a is now very clearly upon the promise of a son which is given by Yahweh and Sarah's response to the promise as she hides herself behind the entrance of the tent. It is Yahweh who promises and this would seem to indicate that 18:1 is a vital part of the narrative. Yahweh appears and promises (cf. 12:7; 17:If.). Like her husband in the P story of ch. 17, Sarah laughs to herself in unbelief: "Now that I have grown old, and my husband is old, will there be for me delight?" (18:12). With this the two stories are bound together. Yahweh then questions Abraham about his wife's laughter. Sarah denies it, but her denial is rebuked. The climax of the story comes in Yahweh's question: "Is there anything too wonderful for Yahweh?" Thus the

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conclusion is unlike that of recognition stories where in a statement by the protagonist the identity of the divine visitor is revealed. Rather, with this question the tension regarding the fulfillment of Yahweh's promise is countered once more within the larger narrative. Despite the delay of the promise, almost to its apparent complete impossibility of fulfillment, Yahweh's promise will most certainly be accomplished. In v. 16 "the men" depart. What begins with the appearance of Yahweh ends with the promise of a son to a barren couple. In its present context the story is clearly related to the tension surrounding the promise of progeny. As in Gen 12:7 and 17:1, the appearance of the deity is related to the divine promises. In this case, as in 17: Iff., the concern is the delay of the promise of progeny.
The role of Tahweh" in w. 10-15 makes it all the more reasonable that
v. 1 is an integral part of the narrative. The appearing of Yahweh plays an important role in the narrative with regard to the suspense surrounding the visitors. Initially the primary question concerns their identity and purpose (w. 1-8). This increases the tension of the narrative for the reader who is allowed to know more at the beginning than the characters themselves. Yet the story is also constructed to present the tension of the barrenness of Sarah. Hopelessness and faithlessness are refuted by the promise of Yahweh who appears and comes to the childless couple with a renewal of the promise of son. Again Yahweh himself comes to the patriarchal family. The promise is reaffirmed as a result of the appearing and speech of Yahweh. The mystery concerning the visitors adds to the overall suspense and tension of the narrative as does the response of Sarah. These features are important to the present form of the story.
Gen 18:1-16 is also important for the larger narrative of chs. 15-18 and
chs 18-19. With regard to the former, the story contributes to the narrative tension concerning the delay of the promise of progeny, and in chs. 17-18 more particularly the promise of a son by Sarah. Once more Yahweh appears and the promise is given. The entertaining story about Abraham and the visitors

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eventually focuses upon Sarah's barrenness and Yahweh's promise of a son. This is the theme which seems to bind chs. 15-18 together. Appearing and the promise of a son is found in both J and P stories. When combined they present the picture of the delay of the promise, the faithlessness of Abraham and Sarah, and yet Yahweh's direct involvement or "appearing" in order to refute faithlessness and renew the promise of progeny and a son.
However, 18:1-I6a is also important for what follows. Following this story the reader is left waiting for the fulfillment of the promise. But it is only in ch. 21, after additional delays in the narrative, that the child of promise is finally born. In the meantime the promise story of 18:1-I6a also serves to introduce the story of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. This rather long narrative, by the standards of the patriarchal traditions, delays even further the fulfillment of the divine promise.
V. 16 clearly binds the stories. Abraham's visitors set out towards Sodom. Abraham goes with them to set them on their way. There follows in 18:l6b-33 two scenes which prepare for the story of the destruction of Sodom in 19:1-29. The present form of chs. 18-19 suggests that 18:l-l6a is intrinsically bound up with this larger narrative. Thus Yahweh's appearing and the reference to three men in 18:1-2 not only introduces the promise story, but also provides the background for the stories which follow concerning the fate of Sodom.

In the first scene the narrator presents Yahweh's inner thoughts (w. 17-
21). Yahweh contemplates whether he should reveal to Abraham his plans concerning Sodom. This J story refers back to 12:2-3 as the reason why Yahweh reveals to Abraham his intentions and thus sets up the dialogue which follows.83 in v. 22 "the men" go on toward Sodom while Abraham remains

83 For a discussion of the complications of w. 17-21 and the possibility
of different sources cf. L. Schmidt, '"De Deo.' Studien zur Literarkrilik und Theologie des Buches Jona, des Gesprachs zwischen Abraham und Jahwe in Gen 18,22ff.undvonHiob 1," BZA W 143 (1976), pp. 131-164.

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behind with Yahweh. This verse seems to suggest that Yahweh was one of the three of 18:2, a fact which is further suggested by 19:1 where "two messengers" come to Sodom. In the meantime Abraham intercedes with Yahweh on behalf of Sodom. Yahweh promises not to destroy Sodom if ten righteous persons are found in the city. Following this Yahweh departs and Abraham returns to his place (18:33) 84
Most commentators consider Gen 19:1-29 an originally independent unit.
Vv. 1-28 are attributed to J and v. 29 to P. Whereas Abraham sees three "men" in 18:2, here Lot sees two "messengers" (tfOK*^. Like Abraham, Lot offers hospitality to the messengers by inviting them to the safety of his house (w. 2- 3). Here, however, Lot's hospitality is contrasted with that of the men of the city who threaten the guests (w. 4-9). When the men of the city press upon Lot's house in order to carry out their wickedness the messengers intercede by striking them with blindness (w. 10-11). The messengers warn Lot of the impending judgment of Sodom (w. 12-15). At their urging, Lot, his wife, and two daughters flee (16-23). Lot and his daughters escape the judgment, though Lot's wife looks back against the advice of the messengers and becomes a pillar of salt (w. 24-26). The story concludes with Abraham looking down upon the scene of the judgment in silence (w. 27-28). V. 29 (P) provides a conclusion to the whole of 18:22-19:28. There the narrator reminds the reader that before destroying the cities of the valley, God remembered Abraham and for his sake rescued Lot.

Earlier emphasis upon the etiological orientation of 19:1-29 with regard
to Zoar and the Dead Sea region is now generally rejected 8} Westermann

84 R. C. Dentan, "The Literary Affinities of Exodus XXXIV 6f.," VT 13 (1963), (pp. 34-51) p. 50, n. 3, considers w. 22b-33a a later insertion by the final redactors of the text because of the theological problem of the justice of
God.

W Cf. Dillmann, p. 273 (E. trs. 1:106); Gunkel, pp. 14f.; Driver, p. 200; Skinner, p. 309; vonRad, Genesis, p. 187 (E. trs. p. 220); and cf. Speiser, p. 142 with Westermann, Genesis 12-36, pp. 36 Iff. (E. trs. pp. 297ff.); Coats, pp. 143ff.

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argues that the narrative is concerned with the experience of a catastrophe. Pointing out that there is no event in the whole of Genesis mentioned more frequently in the Old Testament than the destruction of Sodom, he suggests that the story points to "the well-known proverbial judgment of God in the distant past."86
For the purposes of this study, the relationship of the story to the whole
of chs. 18-19 is of primary concern. The story of Lot's encounter with the messengers may have originally been an independent story. Yet in the story's present form the reference to two angels in 19:1 can only be understood in connection with the whole of chs 18 and 19. An examination of these chapters reveals the following: in 18:1 Yahweh appears to Abraham; in 18:2 Abraham encounters "three men" (cf. w. 3, 5, 9); in w. 10-15 Yahweh speaks to Abraham and Sarah; in v. 16 the men leave and Abraham goes with them; in w. 17f. Yahweh contemplates whether or not to reveal his plans to Abraham; in v. 22 "the men" go on toward Sodom while Yahweh remains with Abraham; in v. 33 Yahweh and Abraham go their separate ways; in 19:1 "two messengers" come to Sodom; in 19:4, 10, 12 they are once again referred to as men; in v. 15 it is the "messengers" who urge Lot to leave; in w. 2 If. one of them addresses Lot; and in v. 24 Yahweh acts in judgment upon Sodom and Gomorrah. No doubt it is this apparent confusion which has led commentators to divide the chapter into independent units and to suggest changes in the narrative by latter hands.
For example, there is virtual unanimity among commentators that "the messengers" (19:1) is an explanation inserted at a later time for the original "two men."87 Von Rad suggests, that here the messengers are more clearly distinguished from Yahweh than in 18:1-2 88 Speiser, however, suggests, "This

86 Westermann, Genesis12-36, pp. 361-363 (E. trs. pp. 297-298).
87 Cf. Dillmann, Gunkel, Skinner, von Rad, and Westermann.
88 Von Rad, Genesis, p. 184 (E. trs. p. 217).

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identification is meant for the reader, who knows that Yahweh stayed behind with Abraham (18:22) in order to tell him of the melancholy mission. The author was equally direct in introducing the other visit (18:1)."*9 Perhaps the confusion with regard to these two chapters may be clarified even more by a careful reading of the two chapters as a whole and with more attention to their present form. Although it is certainly probable that two or more originally independent stories have been combined to form the present narrative, in its present form it is impossible to consider ch. 19 without reference to 18:17-33 or, for that matter, the whole of chapter 18.
The two chapters begin with the heading of 18:1 which states, "And Yahweh appeared to him by the terebinths of Mamre, as he sat at the door of his tent in the heat of the day." This verse has an important effect upon all that follows. Whatever else may be said, Yahweh himself is involved in the events which follow. In 18:2 Abraham lifts up his eyes to see three "men" before him. The only way to take this in the context of these chapters is that Yahweh is one of the "three men" Abraham sees.90 The patriarch apparently does not yet know the real identity of the visitors. All three converse with Abraham. The story finally focuses on Yahweh in w. 9-15 when the narrator identifies Yahweh as the speaker of the promise of a son to Abraham and Sarah. Following Yahweh's monologue in w. 17-21, v. 22 states, "So the men turned from there, and went toward Sodom; but Abraham still stood before Yahweh." This verse should probably be taken to indicate that Yahweh was one of the three "men" Abraham saw (v. 2). Yahweh remains with Abraham and a dialogue follows concerning the fate of Sodom, at the end of which Yahweh goes his way and Abraham returns home.
In 19:1 this process begins again as the narrator directly identifies those whom Lot encounters and sees as "two messengers." Thus the narrator

*9 Speiser,p. 138.
90 Cf. Fretheim, p. 94.
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suggests that the two who visited Abraham with Yahweh were indeed Yahweh's messengers who have now gone on to Sodom. Lot, like Abraham, is at first unaware of the identity of those he entertains. In w. 5, 10, 12 the two are referred to as "men," thus revealing the point of view of both Lot and the men of the city. Only in v. 15, when the urgency and tension of the narrative reach their peak, are the two once again referred to as "messengers." In w. 24f. the narrator intrudes to inform the reader that it was Yahweh who punished Sodom and Gomorrah. This may be compared with w. 21-22 in which Lot's request for safety in Zoar is answered in the first person: "Make haste, escape there; for I can do nothing till you arrive there." Although Lot earlier speaks to "my lords" (19:18), it is clear that the messengers speak and act in behalf of Yahweh who is the source of their mission.
Thus what originally may have been two or more independent stories
are connected by the recurring references to Yahweh, men, and messengers. Rather than a loose connection, these may suggest a more careful attempt to join independent stories to form a larger narrative. References to appearing and seeing are important to this, especially in ch. 18. Ch. 19 begins with the statement, "The two messengers came to Sodom in the evening." It is this statement, rather than the reference to seeing, which seems to tie the events in Sodom with those of ch. 18. Nevertheless, Lot sees the two messengers who come to Sodom not only for destruction, but to save Lot and his family. In this case the reference to "seeing" the messengers provides the reason for Lot rising up to meet them. It is simply a feature of the story. There seems to be no other significance for this reference to seeing.
The connection between Yahweh's visit to Abraham and the events of ch.
19 are further tied together by reference to Yahweh's relationship to Abraham. This is present in both J and the P addition to the story. In 18:16-21 (J) Yahweh decides to inform Abraham of his intentions because "Abraham shall become a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed (bless themselves) in him" (18:18). J's story concludes with Abraham

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looking upon the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah in silence (19.24-28). To this P adds that when God destroyed the cities he remembered Abraham and thus saved Lot from destruction (19:29).
The larger story of 18:17-19:29 has two functions. First it retards even further the fulfillment of the promise of a son which is further stressed by 18:1-16 which is connected to it. Second it suggests the significance of the relationship between Abraham and Yahweh in that Yahweh's activity of destruction and judgment of necessity included concern for the patriarchal family. It is only after still further delay, following the threat to the patriarchal family in Gerar, that Yahweh's promise of a son is finally fulfilled in ch. 21 with the birth of Isaac.

II. GENESIS 26:1-34 (2, 24): THE ISAAC TRADITIONS -
YAHWEH APPEARS TO ISAAC

Within the brief Isaac stories of Gen 26, there are two references to the appearing of Yahweh, 26:2 and 26:24. Gen 26:1-35 is generally treated as a unit by commentators and attributed to J, with the exception of w. 34-35 (P)-91 The narrative introduction informs the reader of a famine in the land, a later famine not to be confused with that of Abraham's day. Isaac goes to Gerar, to Abimelech, king of the Philistines (v. 1). Immediately following this statement Yahweh appears to Isaac with the command not to go down into Egypt (v. 2). Like Abraham before, he is told to dwell in a land that Yahweh will show him. Yet the land is immediately identified as "this land." The promises of relationship, blessing, land, and descendants follow in w. 3-4. These promises are to be fulfilled because of Abraham's prior obedience to

91 Though cf. Westermann, Genesis 12-36, p. 515 (E. trs. p. 423), who considers the whole of ch. 26 a later interpolation and therefore not from J. See further F. V. Winneit, "Re-eiamining the Foundations," JBL 84 (1965), pp. 1-19.
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Yahweh (v. 5). This is immediately followed by the story of the threat to Rebekah who is presented to Abimelech as Isaac's sister (26:6-11; cf. 12:10-20; 20:1-18).
Next the report of Yahweh's blessing and various conflicts over wells is introduced in w. 12-22. Yahweh appears again to Isaac in Beersheba in w. 23-25 and the promises of blessing and descendants are repeated. Isaac responds by building an altar and calling on the name of Yahweh. In w. 26f. Abimelech concedes to Isaac's status of blessing before Yahweh and makes a treaty with him in order that they may live in peace. This is followed by an additional report of the successful digging of a well and the naming of Beersheba (w. 32-33). Vv. 34-35 a later addition (P), report Esau's marriage to two women who are said to make life bitter for Isaac and Rebekah. Commentators offer many comparisons between the Isaac traditions and those concerning Abraham and Jacob. Obviously the Isaac traditions are remarkably few by comparison. Wellhausen and those who follow him conclude that the Isaac traditions are more original than those of the other patriarchs.92 Von Rad, for example, suggests that ch. 26 is not a narrative, but rather a mosaic of Isaac stories which reflects great age and originality.93 Skinner, following Gunkel's earlier view, argues exactly the opposite. Concerning 26:7-11 he writes, "the present passage appears to be the most colourless and least original form of the tradition."94
More recently Van Seters and Westermann, stressing the close parallels

92 This is particularly true of the story of the threat to the ancestress (26:6-11). Following Wellhausen, Noth and von Rad consider the Isaac version the oldest of the three. Cf. Wellhausen, Prolegomena, pp. 317-318 (E. trs. p. 320); Noth, pp. 112ff. (E. trs. pp. 102ff.); von Rad, Genesis, p. 236 (E. trs. p. 271). 93 Von Rad, Genesis, p. 234 (E. trs. p. 269).

94 Skinner, p. 365; cf. Gunkel, Genesis, p. 301; Speiser, pp. 203-204. Gunkel and Skinner are followed by Van Seiers, pp. 167-171; and Westermann,

GenesisJ2-36, p. (E trs. p. 424).

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between ch. 26 and chs. 12 and 20, have argued that 26:1-11 is a literary imitation of 12:10-20 which at the same time takes up various motifs from 20:1-18.^5 Westermann suggests that the purpose of Gen 26 is to gather together the few Isaac traditions that have been preserved. The older material concerning the wells is handed down in the form of an itinerary and linked with the late narrative about Isaac and Abimelech which frames it.96
Vv. 2-5 are generally thought to unite the Isaac tradition with the Abraham tradition by transmitting the promises to Abraham on to Isaac.97 Coats writes, 'They contain an oracle of promise to Isaac, transferring the tradition associated with Abraham to the second generation."98 Westermann calls these verses a "theological clamp" between the two traditions.99 Kuntz suggests that the only new step taken here is to provide the reason for extending such a promise; Abraham was obedient.l°°
There is virtual unanimity among the commentators that w. 23-25 function etiologically as the inaugural theophany for the sanctuary at Beer-sheba.l°l Thus the appearing of Yahweh, the repetition of the promise, and the

95 VanSeters, pp. 167-191; Westermann, Genesis 12-36, pp. 516-517 (E.
trs. p. 424).
% Westermann, Genesis 12-36, pp. 515-516, 524 (E. trs. pp. 423, 429).
97 Cf. Driver, p. 250; Skinner, p. 363; von Rad, Genesis, pp. 235-236 (E.
trs. pp. 270-271); Speiser, pp. 200f.; Westermann, Genesis 12-36, p. 517 (E. trs. p. 424); Coats; p. 189.
98 Coats, p. 189.
99 Westermann, Genesis 12-36, pp. 517-518 (E. trs. pp. 424-425). In addition, he suggests that the simple promise of land in v. 3 has been enlarged to "all these lands"; and v. 5 presupposes the language of Deuteronomy. Cf.
Deut 11:1.

l°°lCuntz,p. 124.
So Dillmann, p. 326 (E. trs. 11:208); Gunkel, p. 303; Driver, p. 253; Skinner, p. p. 366; von Rad, Genesis, p. 237 (E. trs. p. 272); Westermann, Genesis 12-36, pp. 521-522 (E. trs. pp. 427-428); Coats, p. 194.

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building of an altar are judged to be secondary insertions in this context, rooted in the Abraham tradition, which legitimate the sanctuary of Beersheba and give it its name.102

Thus scholarly consensus suggests that the appearing story of w. 2-5 connects the Isaac tradition with the Abraham tradition before it. The appearing story of w. 23-25, however, is related originally to the founding of the sanctuary at Beersheba and thus reflects cultic etiology. This suggests the need for a re-examination of the use of the appearing motif in the Isaac traditions. Scholarly interest has too often focused on the earlier forms of these stories or on comparing the Isaac stories with similar stories in the Abraham traditions rather than on their present context and form.
First it should be noted that in their present context the various stories which make up the chapter are all tied together by references to locations such as Gerar, activities such as digging wells, and the promises. There is considerable evidence to suggest the view that what may have been three or four originally independent stories are now carefully woven together in their present context. For example, w. 1-5 set up the story which follows in w. 6ff by locating the patriarchal family in Gerar and giving reasons for their presence there. This is also important throughout the rest of the chapter because as a result of Yahweh's blessings, Isaac's presence in the land of the Philistines leads to conflicts with the inhabitants of the land. In addition the second appearing story (w, 23-25) is connected to the stories of Isaac's problems with the inhabitants of the land (w. 12-22, 26-33) by the reference to digging a well (cf. w. 25, 15, 18-22), and further by the renewal of the promise of descendants which is threatened because of their disputes over wells (cf. w. 24 and 22). The connection can be seen more clearly when the stories are examined first individually and then compared with the rest of the chapter.

102 Cf. also Long, pp. 21-23.

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As the Isaac narrative of ch. 26 begins the patriarchal family is threatened by famine in the land. This is not elaborated upon, but merely stated as information. A famine would no doubt have been viewed as a serious threat to life. The narrator is careful not to confuse the present famine with that of Abraham's day (cf. 12:10). Although the narrative may presuppose earlier stories concerning Abraham, the present narrator is careful not to confuse his reader. His story is important in its own right.
Immediately Yahweh "appears" (Niphal ilfcH) to Isaac and the promise message is given to Isaac for the first time: "Do not go down to Egypt; dwell in the land which 1 will tell you. Sojourn in this land and I will be with you and I will bless you; for to you and to your descendants I will give all these lands, and I will carry out the oath which I swore to Abraham your father" (26:2-3). To this is added the repetition of the promise of progeny (26:4-5). The brief story of only five verses concludes with the narrator's report: "So Isaac dwelt in Gerar" (26:6). In other words, Isaac did not go to Egypt, but did as Yahweh commanded. This verse sets up the neit scene in the narrative.
When taken individually, this brief Isaac story once again suggests a relationship between the appearing of Yahweh and the patriarchal promises. In this case they are given to Isaac for the first time with the statement that they will be fulfilled because of Abraham's obedience. One of the purposes of this story is to pass the promises on to Isaac and to bind the traditions of the different patriarchs together. Isaac now stands in the line of his father Abraham as the inheritor of the promises which are as yet unfulfilled. Yet the tension present within this brief story should not be overlooked. The story begins with a threat to the patriarchal family. There is famine in the land. This provides the occasion for Yahweh to appear and affirm the promises once more. The threat of the famine is confronted by Yahweh's personal involvement in the life of the patriarchal family. Yahweh appears, gives guidance concerning their movement in the face of famine, and affirms the promises in this instance to Isaac, the son of promise. V. 6 declares that Isaac

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obeyed Yahweh and remained in Gerar. Isaac, like Abraham, responds with obedience. In the face of famine he remains in Gerar, a sign of faith that Yahweh will provide for their needs. This has the further function of binding w. 1-5 with the events which take place in the following story. That the patriarchal family is in Gerar leads to the problem with the Philistines which is central to what follows.

In 26:6-11 the narrative once again turns on tension, though this time it
is in the form of a threat to Rebekah (cf. 12:10f.; 20:lf.). This tension is resolved, however, when Abimelech discovers Isaac's deception before any guilt is incurred. The end result is positive. The king decrees that they are to be free from harm and free to live in the land.
This story leads to the neit scene which introduces the conflict which arises concerning the use of the land and digging wells. Vv. 12-14 report Yahweh's blessings upon Isaac which take the form of wealth and a great household. Yet tension rises again with regard to the land. The increase of Isaac's household becomes a threat to the Philistines (w. 15-16). Out of envy, so the narrator says, the Philistines slop up Isaac's wells. Eventually Abimelech instructs him, "Depart from us; for you are much mightier than we" (26:16).
In w. 17f. the disputes over wells continue. Isaac retreats to the valley
of Gerar and reopens wells from his father's day which had been closed up by the Philistines. Quarrels result between Isaac's herdsmen and the herdsmen of Gerar until finally the Rehoboth well is dug without a resulting quarrel. These stories may have originally referred to the origin and naming of various important locations. Here, however, they are adopted into this larger story in order to increase the tension of the narrative concerning the threat to the patriarchal family. Isaac is still without his own land and must be reduced to quarrels with the local inhabitants over space and wells for his ever increasing family and herds (w. 13-14). In v. 22 the relationship of success in digging wells and peaceful coexistence in the land with progeny is made clear: "For

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now Yahweh has made room for us, and we shall be fruitful in the land." Thus the events of w. 16ff. are interpreted as the work of Yahweh to secure that which is necessary for the patriarchal family to prosper and increase. Yahweh's second "appearing" to Isaac, only three verses long, follows. Isaac goes up to Beersheba (26:23). There Yahweh appears (26:24a) and identifies himself as "the God of Abraham your father" and then repeats the promises of relationship, blessing, and progeny (26:24b). Isaac responds by pitching his tent and digging a well (26:25) The appearing description is brief and concise. With one word OHM) Yahweh's coming is described and this is followed immediately by the divine promise.
It is difficult to see how this brief story is related to the etiology for the sanctuary at Beersheba. Westermann suggests that "the divine manifestation with a promise" was inserted into the story and that originally v. 25b would have followed directly on v. 23-103 If w. 24-25a are secondary then cultic etiology is obviously not the concern of the story. Rather the reference to digging a well in v. 25b seems to tie the brief story to the larger narrative. Following the success of v. 22 and Isaac's statement that 'Yahweh has made room for us, and we shall be fruitful in the land," Yahweh appears once more to renew the promise of progeny. In spite of the tension between Isaac and the Philistines Yahweh was at work to meet the needs and secure the future of the patriarchal family. Although they dwell in a land not their own and live in the land at the pleasure of the Philistines, Yahweh's blessings are evident. When the patriarchal family move to Beersheba there Yahweh appears and promises blessing and progeny for Abraham's sake. Like Abraham before him, Isaac is vouchsafed an appearance of Yahweh, builds an altar and worships. The location of Yahweh's appearing is the place where he pitches his tent and digs a well. The story points to Yahweh's direct involvement and guidance.
Here the narrative tension concerns the land. Although the land is

I.°3 Westermann, Genesis 12-36. p. 520f. (E. trs. pp. 427fl

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promised to Isaac and his descendants, it is inhabited by others. Isaac's presence in the land leads to conflict with its inhabitants over its use, particularly with regard to digging wells. The image presented in the narrative is one of the patriarch blessed abundantly by Yahweh with great possessions and family, so much so that they are a threat to the Philistines of Gerar (w. 14- 16). This tension builds with the conflicts over the wells until finally a well is dug and they are left in peace. Yahweh appears and the promises of relationship, blessing, and progeny are reaffirmed.
The appearing is followed by a visit from Abimelech and his military commander in the next scene (w. 26f.). Although Isaac questions this visit from those who had previously sent him out of the land (cf. 26:16), the king replies, "We clearly see that Yahweh is with you; so we propose, let there be an oath between you and us, and let us make a covenant with you, that you will do us no harm, just as we have not touched you and have done nothing but good and have sent you away in peace. You are now blessed by Yahweh" (w. 28-29). As the story concludes, Yahweh's blessings now result in a peaceful eiistence in the land, if not its possession. This is further symbolized by the story of the successful digging and the naming of Beersheba (26:32-33).
This reading of the Isaac narrative suggests that the "appearing" of Yahweh in w. 2 and 24 are important to the narrative of ch. 26 with regard to the tensions surrounding existence in the land and threat to progeny. As the brief Isaac narrative of Gen 26 ends this tension is still present, if to a lesser degree. Isaac still does not possess the land of promise. But he may now dwell there in peace. The appearing of Yahweh and the repetition of the promises contribute to the tension-resolution scheme which is important to narrative. The fate of the patriarchal family is the concern of Yahweh who appears in time of famine and gives directions and promises. Yahweh's blessing means that the family may live in the land of promise in peace. Thus Yahweh appears and promises progeny. They may now "be fruitful" (26:22). In spite of famine and conflict with the inhabitants of the land the patriarchal family may now

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dwell in the land of promise in peace with its inhabitants because of Yahweh's blessing. Isaac and Abimelech make a covenant in which Yahweh's blessing of Isaac is recognized. The Philistines depart from Isaac "in peace" (v. 29, 3 1). The element of tension which binds these stories together has not been fully appreciated by commentators. The narrator of ch. 26 has employed the motif of Yahweh's appearing and the giving of the divine promises in his story about Yahweh's blessings upon Isaac in the time of famine and in his disputes with the inhabitants of the land. Yahweh's direct involvement to secure the future of the threatened patriarchal family is central to the brief Isaac story.

III. THE JACOB TRADITIONS

There are three references to "appearing" in the Jacob traditions. However, the use of the appearing motif is limited to two contexts, Gen 35:1-29 (2X) E (?) and P; and 48:3-6 P. In addition, there are three references to "seeing" in what is essentially one context, Gen 32-33. Commentators now generally agree that both chs. 32 and 33 have been given their present shape

A. GENESIS 32:1-33:20 (32:3, 31:33:10): JACOB SEES GOD'S MESSENGERS
AND SEES GOD FACE TO FACE.

Gen 32 is assigned to the Yahwist with the possible exception of w. 2-3
(E. trs. 1-2) E (?). 104 The narrative consists of the story of Jacob's preparation to meet his brother Esau (w. 4-22, E. trs. 3-21) surrounded by two strange divine encounters (w. 2-3, 25-33, E. trs. 1-2, 24-32). Ch. 33 is also treated as a unit though it is obviously related to ch. 32. It presents the story of the reunion of Jacob and Esau. It is attributed to J with certain brief exceptions

104 Cf. Driver, p. 291; Speiser, p. 255.
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from E and P.105
Ch. 32 begins with the brief report that after leaving Laban and beginning his journey home, Jacob encounters "messengers of God," or "God's host," along the way (32:2-3, E. trs. 1-2). The report concludes with Jacob's exclamation, "This is God's host," followed by the narrator's conclusion that as a result of this experience he named the place "Hosts."
Commentators have often been at a loss to explain the meaning and significance of this brief narrative. Von Rad points out the difficulty clearly:

The affair is communicated in extreme brevity .... The narrator
gives the reader not the slightest notion of the apparently completely
silent appearance, to say nothing of the fact that he wastes no words
about the significance of the event for Jacob. Here, then, an impassable barrier is placed for the interpreter.106

Nevertheless, von Rad concludes that since Mahanaim was later important (2 Sam 17:24ff.; 1 ICgs 4:14), this report must therefore have been an etiological tradition in an earlier form.107 Gunkel supposes that the original form of the legend, now lost, would have told of a struggle between Jacob and the angels similar to that of Gen 32:23ff. (E. trs. 22ff.)los Other commentators suggest that the encounter functions as a parallel to Gen 28:10-17.109 Although

Many commentators have been preoccupied with the questions of
source criticism with regard to this chapter. For example, the use of Elohim in w. 5, 10, 11 has lead some to assign all or most of 4-11 to E, This is now rejected by most commentators. Cf. Skinner, p. 412; Speiser, pp. 260-261; Westermann, Genesis12-36, p. 638 (E. trs. pp. 523-524).
106 Von Rad, Genesis, p. 273 (E. trs. p. 3!3).
107 Ibid., p. 274 (E. trs. p. 314).
108 Gunkel, Genesis, p. 354; cf. Skinner, p. 405.
109 Cf. Dillmann, p. 358 (E. trs. pp. 269-270); Driver, p. 291; Westermann, Genesis 12-36, p. 615 (E. trs. p. 505); Coats, p. 223. C. Houtman has stressed the fact that the phrase 0*71*78'OK17D occurs only here and in Gen 28:10-22. See "Jacob at Mahanaim. Some Remarks on Genesis XXXII 2-3," KT 28 (1978): 37-44.

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Jacob is never eiplicitiy said to see God or the messengers in Gen 28, he does have a dream, which at least implies seeing, in which the messengers ascend and descend to and from the heavens. In Gen 28 Jacob's dream occurs during the first night following his departure from the land of promise for Haran as he flees from Esau. In 32:2-3 (E. trs. 1-2) Jacob's encounter with the "messengers of God" occurs as he begins his return journey back to the land of promise and back to Esau. Although this comparison is important, the attempts to suggest an earlier form of this brief story are very hypothetical. The evidence is simply not sufficient.
The reader is not told how Jacob saw them, i. e. dream (28:12) or "face to face" (32:31). The verb JttD can indicate a hostile encounter (cf. judg 8:21; 15:12), or an accidental meeting (Exod 23:4; 1 Sam 10:5). The word rtfTOmay * * be used for an army camp or other military terms, though it is not clear from this context if this is the intention (cf. 1 Chr 12:23). Joseph's exclamation probably suggests that a hostile sense is excluded.
Gen 32:2-3 (E. trs. 1-2) is certainly a difficult passage and one must proceed cautiously when attempting to determine the function of such a text. If taken out of its context and attributed to E then once must agree with von Rad that "an impassable barrier is placed for the interpreter." Without recourse to hypothetical earlier and more complete forms of the story there is no way to determine its original significance. Perhaps the best suggestion is that the story originally provided the significance of "Mahanaim," where Jacob "saw" God's messengers, a location no longer of significance so far as the Patriarchal traditions are concerned.!!0
Nevertheless, a consideration of the narrative in its present form reveals right away one very important distinction for this text. The narrative of Jacob's return from Haran begins with this strange encounter. Jacob's return is both a return to the land of promise and a return to his brother. The reader can not

110 Cf. Houtman. p. 40.
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overlook the fact that the story of this return unfolds with this encounter with God's host which Jacob is vouchsafed to see.111
Perhaps then the text has a programmatic function and should be read in conjunction with Jacob's other divine encounters. The story of Jacob's departure from the land of promise also includes a divine encounter or dream about the messengers of God (28:10-17 JE). The earlier story is more localized to a particular place. It concludes with Jacob's exclamation, "Surely Yahweh is in this place; and I did not know it" (28:16). Following Jacob's departure from Laban he once more encounters "God's messengers." Perhaps the brief note suggests divine involvement in Jacob's movements; or that the land of promise is the land in which the patriarchs encounter their God. Or perhaps it is meant to recall the words of the earlier encounter, "Look, I am with you and will keep you wherever you go, and I will return you back to this land; for I will not leave you until I have done that which I spoke to you" (28:15). The most that can be said about this brief note is that Jacob's return to Esau begins with a divine encounter just as his flight from Esau did in ch. 28. The narrator leaves open the meaning of this encounter for Jacob and that which awaits him upon his return. In any case, his exclamation, "This is God's host," and the narrator's report of the naming do not appear to function very differently than those of Gen 16:13; 22:14; and 28:16-17. In each case an exclamation from the lips of the individual is reported which stresses the value of the encounter for the protagonist. This is followed by the giving of a new name to the particular location because of the significance of the encounter. In the case of 32:2-3 (E. trs. 1-2) the messengers are not directly identified with the deity. Rather Jacob's journey back to his brother begins with an encounter with "God's Hosts." In this context his "seeing" them is the reason for the exclamation from which the location received its name according to the popular etymology.
The story also has contacts with what follows in ch. 32. The story of

111 Cf. Von Rad, Genesis, pp. 272-273 (E. trs. p. 315).

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Jacob's preparations for his reunion with Esau follows. In 32:4ff. (E. trs. 3ff.) Jacob uses the same means for contacting Esau as God uses to make contact with earth (cf. 28:1 Iff.; 32:2, E. trs. 1). He sends "messengers" OMtfttMlZ in addition the word camp (H!3fTf3 is used several times in chs. 32-33 to refer to Jacob's "two camps" or companies (32:8f. 11, E. trs. 7f., 10) or the singular camp or company (32:22, E. trs. 21; and 33:8).U3
Jacob's encounter in the night, narrated in 32:25-33 E (E. trs. 24-32), following his preparations to meet his brother Esau on the following day is equally difficult to interpret.il4 Jacob sends messengers ahead to inform Esau of his return and his new wealth (w. 4-6, E. trs. 3-5). When they return Jacob is told only that Esau is coming to meet him with 400 men. He does not know if he comes for war or reconciliation. In fear he devises a plan so that if Esau's intentions are hostile, he may be able to escape (w. 7-9, E. trs. 6-8). He divides his people and flocks into "two companies." Following these preparations Jacob turns to the God of the fathers for assistance. His prayer recalls the words of Yahweh in 28:13-15 and appeals for divine aid on the basis of the promises of blessing and descendants (w. 10-13, E. trs. 9-12; cf. 12:1-3). Then Jacob puts his plan into action. His flocks and servants are sent before him to face Esau (w. 14-22, E. trs. 13-21). During the night he and his family cross the Jabbok

112 Houtman, p. 42, remarks, "Such an abrupt change in meaning is difficult to imagine within a homogeneous tradition." See further, Thompson, pp. 109f.
J. P. Fokkelman, Narrative Art in Genesis: Specimens oT Stylistic and Structural Analysis (Amsterdam, 1975), pp. 197ff., argues that various verses in chs. 32-33 shed light on this brief story. He finds that the two camps (dual form "Mahanaim") refer to God and Israel. Israel strives with God as the proud first-born and God admits defeat and accepts Israel (p. 222f.). Although this may push the connection too far, these recurring words may have provided the reason for connecting these otherwise independent stories.
114 For a brief review of various views and pertinent bibliography cf. S. McKenzie, "You Have Prevailed' The Function of Jacob's Encounter at Peniel in the Jacob Cycle" XQ21 (1980), pp. 225-231.

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and then they are sent on their way (w. 23-24, E. trs. 22-23). After these preparations Jacob is left alone by the Jabbok for the night.
The narrative states that a "man" wrestled with him till the breaking of the day (v. 25, E. trs. 24). The brief story is full of mystery and suspense concerning Jacob's opponent, his identity and his power. Jacob is wounded by his opponent, but does not let him go until he receives a blessing. Jacob receives a new name, Israel, "for you have striven with God and with men, and have prevailed" (v. 29, E. trs. 28). Jacob asks the name of his opponent, but receives a blessing instead. Jacob's response to the encounter is reported in v. 31 (E. trs. 30). He names the place "Face of God" saying "For I have seen God face to face, and yet my life is delivered" (v. 31, E. trs. 30; cf. v. 29, E. trs. 28). The story concludes with the picture of Jacob limping as the sun rose in the morning and with the explanation for the taboo against eating the corresponding part of animals (w. 32-33, E. trs. 31-32).
Many suggestions have been offered with regard to this strange narrative and its significance. Dillmann, for example, on the basis of w. 30 and 32 (E. trs. w. 29 and 31), was satisfied that Jacob wrestled with God. Although the narrator could have replaced "God" with "messenger," he chose not to do so because "he felt a significance in the fact that Jacob had striven with God." 1 ^ Westermann, however, finds no basis for understanding the narrative as an encounter between God and Jacob. Following Gunkel he concludes: "It was neither Yahweh nor the God of his father who attacked Jacob at the ford, but the river demon who wanted to stop him from crossing. . . . Jacob survives, even though limping, and carries from it's power, the "blessing" of the superhuman opponent."116 J. L. McKenzie has also argued that the story was

1J 5 Dillmann, p. 364 (E. trs. 11:280).
116 Westermann, Genesis 12-36, p. 623 (E. trs. p. 521). Cf. Gunkel, p. 361, especially his list of parallels; and Kuntz, p. 128.

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originally a Canaanile myth not associated with Jacob or Peniel.H7
Gunkel suggests an etiological function for the narrative with regard to the names "Jabbok," "Israel" (v. 28, E. trs. 28), 'Peniel" (v. 31, E. trs. 30), and the food taboo concerning the sinew of the hip in v. 33 (E. trs. 32).11 * For Gunkel the story reflects a low level of religion. Skinner comments, "no more bold anthropomorphic narrative is found in Genesis."! 19
Driver offered what may be called a psychological interpretation:

The struggle at Penuel is the turning-point in Jacob's life .... The
story of his wrestling shows how the higher elements in his nature
gained the ascendency over the lower elements .... God is his real antagonist, not Esau; it is God whom his sins have offended, and who

here comes .... These thoughts and fears are ... materialized in his dreamt20

Yet such a view has been criticized for smoothing over the sharp edges of the text which, while offensive to some, are obviously important to the narra-
tive.121

Westermann writes, "in the history of exegesis of the text scholars have been almost entirely preoccupied with solving the problems presented by source division." 122 While some scholars still hold to two sources, more recently attention has been given to the story as a literary unity, or a self-

J. L. McKenzie, "Jacob at Peniel," CBQ 25 (1963), pp. 71-76. Cf. Gunkel
and Von Rad.

Gunkel, Genesis, pp. 359ff.; cf. Speiser, p. 259; Coats, pp. 229ff. For a

critique of Gunkel and a review of pertinent views see F. Van Trigt, "La Signification De La Lutte De Jacob Pr£s Du Yabboq Gen. xxxii 23-33," OfS 12

(1958): 280-309.

119 Skinner, p. 411; See Gunkel, Genesis, p. 364, for a collection of examples from the history of religion of stories in which gods, spirits, or

demons attack persons.
120 Driver, pp. 296-297.
121 Cf. Skinner, p. 411.
122 Westermann, Genesis 12-36, p. 628 (E. trs. p. 515).

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contained narrative which has undergone a number of subsequent additions.123 Fokkelman, for example, suggests that the narrative functions as an answer to Jacob's prayer in 32:1 Off. (E. trs. 9ff.)J24 M. Fishbane suggests that the narrative corresponds to the theophany in 28:10-22 in the chiastic structure of the Jacob cycle.125
The general form and location of the narrative may be attributed to the Yahwist who has positioned the story at this important location prior to Jacob's reunion with Esau. Some suggest that w. 28, 29, 31, and 33 (E. trs. w. 27, 28, 30, and 32) may be secondary. The animistic features certainly suggest that the original narrative is old. The etiological elements are now pushed into the background and are therefore not important for the present form of the narrative. The statement in v. 33 (E. trs. 32) is at best an aside and has little to do with the present location of the narrative.
Important for this discussion is whether or not v. 31 (E. trs. 30) is a later addition to the story. Some scholars understand the phrase "seeing the face of God" as an expression current at a later time which has been incorporated into the story. 126 Westermann suggests that Judg 13:22 may have been used as a model in the course of altering the narrative, though he holds that even if the

12 3 Cf. the history of exegesis in Westermann, Genesis 12-36, pp. 626f. (E.
trs. pp. 5Hf.). For example, see K. Elliger, "Der Jakobskampf am Jabbok Gn 32, 23ff. als hermeneutisches Problem," 27%f 48 (1951), pp. 1-31, who attributes it to J which has been subsequently expanded, rather than to two sources; and L. Schmidt, "Der Kampf Jakobs am Jabbok," ThViat 14 (1979), p. 125, who still holds to two sources. See further the brief review in A. de Pury, "Jakob am Jabbok, Gen 32:23-33 im Licht einer alt-iranischen Erzahlung," ThZ 35 (1979),
PP. 19-22.

124 Fokkelman, p. 220.
125 M. Fishbane, "Composition and Structure in the Jacob Cycle (Gen 25:19-35:22)," JJS 26 (1975), pp. 15-38; cf. G. A. Rendsburg, The Redaction of 6fe0££tf (Winona Lake, 1986), pp. 62-63.
126 Cf., for example, Notscher, pp. 54f.; and W. H. Schmidt, "Auspragungen
des Bilderverbots?", pp. 28f.

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verse is taken as original it is not sufficient grounds for understanding this as an encounter between God and Jacob.127 Although Gen 32:31 (E. trs. 30) and Judg 13:22 share in common the view that seeing God leads to death, Judg 13:22 does not refer to seeing God's "face."
V. 31 (E. trs. 30) is probably a later addition to the original story which may or may not have suggested that Jacob encountered God in these events. The earlier form of the narrative will remain a mystery. However, a reading which seeks to take the present form and location of the narrative seriously leads one beyond the view of Gunkel and Westermann. In its present form v. 31 (E. trs. 30) is an important part of the narrative which places restraints upon any interpretation of it. With this statement Jacob's point of view with regard to the eiperience is presented. V. 31 (E. trs. 30) informs the reader that this encounter was for Jacob nothing less than an encounter with God. Jacob saw God; yet contrary to normal eipectations after such an experience Jacob's life was delivered. He did not die.
Taken individually, the story of Jacob's divine encounter reaches its conclusion with Jacob's statement, Tor I have seen God face to face, and yet my life is delivered." For Jacob the experience was nothing less than a direct encounter with God. Following this the new day begins, the day in which he will be united with his brother. The narrative has much in common with other narratives which speak of seeing God, a fact which goes unnoticed by most commentators. This story may be compared with Gen 18:2f.; 19:lf.; and Judg 13:6f. where what begins as an encounter with a "man," is in the end an encounter with God or his messenger. Often there is suspense and tension within the narrative concerning the identity of the visitor (cf. 18:2ff.). Although the reader may know the identity of the visitor, this may not be revealed to the protagonist until the end (cf. Gen 16:13; Judg 6:22f.; 13:2If.). The climax of the narrative is reached when the narrator reveals Jacob's point

127 Westermann, Genesis12-36, p. 633 (E. trs. p. 519).

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of view at the end of the encounter. Jacob eiclaims, "Face of God," saying, "For I have seen God face to face, and yet my life is delivered." What begins as an encounter with a "man" is in the end an encounter with God (cf. v. 29). Against Westermann, there seems to be no other way to read the narrative in its present form. This would seem to be what the narrator intended the reader to perceive. As in other cases the individuals involved express surprise and perhaps even praise that in spite of their direct encounter with God they did not die (cf. Gen 16:13; Eiod 33:20; Judg 6:22f.; 13:22). That this is an important part of the larger narrative may also be suggested by the use of "seeing the face" in two other verses. In 32:21 (E. trs.
20) Jacob is presented as thinking to himself, 'Perhaps I shall appease him with the gift which goes before me, and afterwards I shall see his face; perhaps he will accept me." The story of the reunion of the two brothers includes Jacob's exclamation, "For truly to see your face is like seeing the face of God, with such favor you have received me" (33:1 Ob). When set in this context perhaps the importance of 32:21 (E. trs. 20) may become clearer.
Gen 33:1-20 functions as the conclusion of the Jacob-Laban-Esau narrative. Jacob, who fled from his brother, after stealing his blessing from their father, now returns to face him again. Jacob has made every preparation to appease his brother because, as yet, he does not know how he will be received. Esau approaches Jacob's party only to encounter many groups of people bearing gifts before he finally comes to Jacob at the end of the caravan (33:1-3). When they finally meet, the reconciliation between the estranged brothers is complete with embracing, kissing, and weeping. Esau refuses Jacob's gifts by calling attention to his own wealth, but Jacob implores his brother, "No, please now, if I have found favor in your sight, then accept my present from my hand; for as much as 1 have seen your face it is like seeing the face of God, for you have received me graciously" (33:10). The story concludes as the brothers separate once more and go their own ways in peace (w. 12- 20).

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That there is some kind of connection between 33:10 and 32:31 (E. trs.
30) was pointed out by Wellhausen as long ago as 1876: 'Tet it is noteworthy that by DTlbtt '3D HKT) (33:10) an etymology of btttlB is obviously intended."128 Dillmann follows Wellhausen and finds lying at the root of both variations the idea of an unfriendly God discovered to be friendly.129 Although commentators unanimously adopt the view that there is an important relationship between these verses, the view that 33:10 provides a second etymology for ^135 does not find wide acceptance.
Driver accepts the allusion of 33:10 to 32:31, but finds in it a usage similar to the phrase used of one admitted to the presence of a monarch or ruler. Thus the expression was used of a superior looking upon someone favorably. Jacob, then, would be paying Esau a great compliment.^o
Von Rad also finds in 33:10 an allusion to Penuel: "There is a mysterious correspondence in the brother's meeting to Jacob's nocturnal encounter with God, both with respect to the mortal threat to Jacob and his anxiety and also with respect to his amazement at the kindness he received/'Bi However, he cautions against making too much of this because "the narrator barely touches on the correspondence of the two events." 1 32 Thus for von Rad the most that can be said is that following his struggle with God Jacob's relationship with Esau
was settled.
Westermann does not refer to the connection between 32:31 and 33:10.
No doubt this is because he does not consider the narrative of 32:23-33 an

128 j Wellhausen, Die Composition des Heiateuchs und der Historischen Bticher des Alten Testaments (Berlin, 1899), p. 45 (writer's translation).
129 Diilmann, p. 366 (E. trs. 11:284); cf. Skinner, p. 413.
BO Driver, p. 298. Cf. Gen 43:3, 5; 2 Sam 14:24, 28; 2 Kgs 25:19; Ps 11:7;
Job 33:26.

Von Rad, Genesis, p. 286 (E. trs. p. 327).
ibid.

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encounter between God and Jacob.^33 However, he does find in 33:10 "a profound and important parallel between what happens between brother and brother and what happens between God and humans... ."134
Nevertheless, it seems obvious that 33:10 is an allusion to 32:31 (E. trs.
30). This is suggested by the fact that the meeting of the brothers is set alongside the meeting with God (33:25-33, E. trs. 24-32). On his journey to Esau Jacob also encounters God. In both cases the seeing collocations have an important function in the narrative Indeed, in many ways the whole of the narrative turns around these important expressions. Jacob, who now returns to the land of promise with his new found wealth and family, encounters God "face to face," and yet against the normative response for such an experience his life is "delivered," that is, he does not die, and in addition he receives a blessing and new status as designated by his change of name. His encounter is life-changing.
Immediately the narrative moves to the next morning when he must encounter his estranged brother who had previously sought to kill him before his departure for Haran. Yet this meeting brings restoration of relationship and the removal of what he perceived to be a threat against his life. Earlier Jacob contemplates, "I shall see his face; perhaps he will accept me" (32:21, E. trs. 20). Later Jacob sees God face to face and yet his life is delivered. Seeing Esau's face the next day was in this respect like seeing God. His experience with Esau was similar to his experience with God. Each brought blessing and deliverance, rather than what otherwise might have been expected.
The stories of Jacob's encounters with God are certainly important for the larger Jacob-Laban-Esau narrative. They are involved in the tension of the narrative which is created by the flight-return pattern for which conflict is

133 cf. Westermann, Genesis 12-36, pp. 633, 640-641 (E. trs. pp. 519, 525-526). CT above.
13< ibid., p. 640 (E. trs. p. 525).
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central. Jacob departs after Rebekah learns of Esau's intention to kill him (27:4Iff.). The first night following his departure he has a dream in which he encounters divine messengers and receives the promises of divine presence, progeny, and land. Jacob leaves the land of promise with Yahweh's blessing and the promise of his guiding presence. Conflict is also central to the story of Jacob and Laban (ch. 29-31). Jacob outwits Laban and returns to the land of promise a rich man in his own right. The story of Jacob's preparation to return to Esau is framed by two strange encounters for the patriarch. As he returns he meets God's messengers once more. Now Jacob must face Esau, or literally "see his face." But he does not know how he will be received by his brother. His prayer to God for blessing in w. 10-13 and his preparations in w. 14-22 are answered by a mysterious encounter before his decisive encounter with his brother Esau in which he is blessed and receives a new name. Afterwards he confesses to have seen God "face to face" and yet lived. The next day seeing Esau is like seeing God in that he is received with favor and his life is delivered. With this the conflict narrative comes to a conclusion and the brothers leave one another in peace.
These stories suggest that God is at work in the life of the patriarch. The encounters of ch. 32 balance the account of his divine encounter as he fled from the land of Canaan in which he received the promises of divine presence, progeny, and land (28:1 Iff.). This flight-return pattern is significant for the tension of the larger Jacob-Lab an-Esau narrative in its present form and probably is to be attributed to J or JE.

B. GENESIS 35:1-15 (1,9): GOD APPEARS TO JACOB AT BETHEL

Gen 35 is the concluding chapter of the Jacob-Lab an-Esau narrative. The Edomite genealogy of ch. 36 is followed by the Joseph narrative (chs. 37ff.). It begins with God's command to Jacob to return to Bethel, dwell there, and build an altar there to "the God who appeared to you when you fled from your

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brother Esau" (v. 1; cf. 28:18-22). Jacob responds by purging his household of foreign gods and ordering the ritual purification of clothing (w. 2-4).l33 The journey to Bethel is reported as well as the fulfillment of Jacob's vow and God's command (w. 5-7). V. 8 tells of the death of Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, at Bethel. Vv. 9ff. describe God's appearance to Jacob, the giving of a new name, and the repetition of the patriarchal promises of descendants and land. V. 13 presents a rare report of God's departure with the verb Hbtt (cf. 17:22 P). Jacob responds by setting up a memorial stone, pouring oil upon it, and naming the location Bethel (v. 14-15). The chapter concludes with the report of the birth of Benjamin and the death of Rachel (w. 16-22), the listing of Jacob's twelve sons (w. 23-26), and the brief report of Isaac's death (w. 27-29).
The many different pieces which make up this chapter are frequently pointed out by commentators, though with very different opinions. Gunkel, for example, refers to it as a "lose zusammengehauftes 'Geroil'" and assigns various parts to J, E, and P.13& Similarly, Skinner writes: "The compiler's interest in the story of Jacob would seem to have flagged after he had brought him safely back to Canaan; and he hurries to a close with a series of fragmentary excerpts from his sources."^? Others have been more generous in their evaluation. Westermann, for example, argues that ch. 35 follows a carefully conceived plan. He suggests that a redactor combined P's conclusion of the Jacob-Esau cycle (w. 6, 9-13, 22b-29) with various J texts (w. 8, 14-15, 16-20, 21-22a) and prefixed to it a distinctive account of the building of an altar at Bethel (w. 1-7), corresponding to ch. 28.138 Itinerary (w. 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 14, 16, 21, 27) and

Cf. G. A. Rendsburg, "Notes on Genesis XXXV," VT 34 (1984): 361-
366, who suggests that washing and changing clothes are common to the ancient Near Eastern homecoming motif.
Gunkel, Genesis, pp. 378ff. (a "loose heap of rubble").
Skinner, p. 422; cf. Gunkel and von Rad.
Westermann, Genesis12-36, p. 668 (E. trs. p. 548-549).

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genealogy (w. 8, 16-20, 22b-26, 28-29) form the framework of the chapter. There are two references to the appearing of God in this chapter (w. 1,
9). The first is found in w. 1-7 which is traditionally attributed to E, though more recently Westermann has suggested a later redactor. In w. If. Jacob is commissioned by God to return to Bethel and fulfill a vow which he made when he encountered God at Bethel as he departed for Haran. Commentators rightly regard this as an allusion to the JE story of Gen 28:18-22. Westermann suggests that the person responsible for this story "can only be the redactor who had at hand the texts to which he makes reference." 1 39 But no such appearing is reported in Gen 28. Rather the JE narrative of Gen 28:1 Off. reports a dream theophany.140 There God's speech includes the promises of land, descendants, and blessing (13-16 J). In response to the dream, Jacob vows that if God will be with him on his journey and bring him back in peace to his father's house, then Yahweh will be his God, Bethel will become God's house, and a tenth of all that God gives him will be given back to God (18-22 E).
At least two alternatives are possible. Perhaps the author knew a different tradition which referred to the events of Gen 28:18-22 as an "appearance" story; or perhaps the present narrator considered "appearing" an appropriate corresponding term for the dream-theophany. In any case, 35:1-4 presents God's command that Jacob's vow should now be fulfilled. In this context the reference to the appearing of God refers to an earlier significant moment at Bethel when "God revealed himself" (Thl) to him (Jacob) when he fled from his brother (35:7).
The story is unique in that it places emphasis upon ritual cleanliness and

139 Westermann, Genesis12-36, p. 670 (E. trs. p. 550).
140 Although the words for see never occur in the context of Gen 28, the dream may imply that Jacob did see God standing above the celestial ladder (v. 13 J).

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purity.141 Vv. 2 and 3 may be compared with the language of pilgrimage in Ps 120:1 and 122:1. Westermann suggests that the requirements presuppose a permanent cult and holy place and thus reflect the concern of the redactor at a later time.142 Yet within the larger narrative the main concern seems to be that as the Jacob traditions conclude the vow of ch. 28:1 If. should be fulfilled. 35:1-7 introduce the story of that fulfillment in w. 9f. and present it as a command from the God "who appeared to you when you fled from your brother Esau." The reference to appearing is found in God's command and in this context simply refers back to Jacob's earlier experience.
Gen 35:9-13, 15 (P) is the only text in the Jacob traditions which actually describes an "appearance" story which involves Jacob. It announces the change of name from Jacob to Israel, and includes the promises of progeny, land, and blessing. Following God's departure (H^i? as in 17:22), Jacob calls the place where God had spoken to him Bethel, "House of God" (v. 15). A review of the commentators reveals a preoccupation with the relationship of these verses to both 28:10f. and 17:lf. Driver, for example, considers w. 9-13, 15 P's parallel to what JE has placed at Jacob's first visit to Bethel when he was leaving for Haran (28:10-22).143 Similarly, Coats suggests that 35:9-15 is a doublet of 28:10-22.144 Von Rad and Westermann, however, do not consider it a doublet, but rather an allusion to 28:1 Of. as a past event.14} This is suggested by the t& "again," inserted by the redactor, who wanted to set these verses in contrast to their counterpart in 28:1 Of. Von Rad and Westermann also call

141 Von Rad, Genesis, p. 293 (E. trs. p. 336), has pointed out that
often means "to go on a pilgrimage" (1 Sam 1:3; Ps 122:4) which must be prepared for by the symbolic acts of washing and changing clothes.
142 Westermann, Genesis12-36, pp. 670f. (E. trs. pp. 550-551).
143 Driver, p. 309.
144 Coats, p. 239.
145 Cf. also Gunkel, Genes/s, p. 387, who considers the P text a parallel to
28:10-22.

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attention to the similarities between 35:9-15 and ch. 17. These include the

conferring of a new name (17:5, 15; 35:10), the repetition of the promises (17:6, 8; 35:12), and the rare report of God's departure (cf. 17:22; 35;13). Von Rad concludes, "Apparently a primary concern of our text is to show that the promise to Abraham was renewed completely to Jacob." 146 Similarly Westermann concludes that the extensive parallelism intends to suggest that the choice of Abraham is continued in Jacob.147 For both scholars the text is also to be understood as the fulfillment of the vow of Gen 28:20ff.148
The question whether 35:9f. is a doublet of 28:1 Of. or only an allusion to
it as a past event is one that cannot be satisfactorily solved because earlier forms of the sources are unavailable. Obviously, in the larger context of this chapter 35:9f. is presented as a second appearing at Bethel. The P material reports Jacob's fulfillment of his vow in 28:1 Of. Now Jacob, like Abraham before him (cf. Gen 17), is vouchsafed an appearance of God, receives a new name and the promises of progeny and land. The land is emphasized by reference at the beginning and end of v. 12: "The land which I gave to Abraham and Isaac I will give to you, and I will give the land to your descendants after you." Following this God "goes up" from him (TbV, cf. 17:22). Yet unlike the P narrative of Gen 17, there is no reference to the covenant or the promise "I will be their God" (17:2,7-8).
The conclusion to the story in v. 14 is usually assigned to E. Westermann, however, attributes it to the later redactor who wishes to liken further the story to Gen 28 by giving it almost the same conclusion.149 Jacob sets up a pillar and pours out a drink offering and oil upon it.

146 Von Rad, Genesis, p. 296 (E. trs. p. 339); cf. Molle, p. 167.
147 Westermann, Genesis 12-36, p. 673 (E. trs. p. 552).
148 Cf. von Rad, Genesis, p. 295 (E. trs. p. 337); Westermann, Genesis 12-
36, pp. 674-675 (E. trs. p. 554).
149 Westermann, Genesis12-36, p. 674 (E. trs. p. 554).

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In its larger context the appearing motif in Gen 35 contributes to the conclusion and founding off of the Jacob and Esau story. The conclusion refers to Jacob's earlier vow which is now fulfilled. It is reported that upon his return to fulfill his vow God appeared again during which the promises of land and progeny were passed along to the patriarchal father. It is difficult to consider either reference to appearing without reference to the larger narrative and particularly ch. 28.
The journey of the patriarchal family is a journey with their God who appeared to them and spoke to them in their distress (35:3) and who made promises which reached beyond them into their future. The element of tension which is present at the times when God appears has not been given sufficient attention. In the larger narrative Gen 35 follows the tension which is emphasized at the end of ch. 34 where Jacob's move would seem to have been necessitated by the actions of Simeon and Levi which have threatened their peaceful coexistence with the inhabitants of the land (the rape of Dinah; cf. 34:21). In 34:30 Jacob says, 'You have brought trouble on me by making me odious to the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites and the Perizzites; my numbers are few, and if they gather themselves against me and attack me, I shall be destroyed, both I and my household."
This tension, or threat to the future of the patriarchal family is present
as chap. 35 begins. Now, however, Jacob's move is presented as the direct command of God. Yet when Jacob moves out at God's command, "a terror from God" falls upon the cities around then and they are not pursued (35:5). God's intervention and command also refers to Jacob's earlier vow to return to Bethel and "make there an altar to the God who appeared to you when you fled from your brother Esau" (35:1). In the context of chap. 35 God appears to Jacob "again" at Bethel after he has fulfilled his vow (w. 9f). The father of twelve sons becomes Israel and is given the promise that he will become a great nation and that the land promised to his fathers will be given (35:11-12). Jacob's response is similar to that of his forefathers. He sets up an altar in the

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land and gives the location a new name, both actions symbolic of faith in God's promises.
Gen 35 would seem then not to be merely a collection of loosely connected stories, but rather an important chapter which was intended to close the story of Jacob. Once more the appearing of God is closely related to the fate of the patriarchal family. Jacob returns to Bethel to fulfill his vow. There Jacob receives the promises which were given to Abraham and Isaac before him, that he will become a great nation and receive the land. Jacob commemorates this event by setting up a pillar in the land where he encountered his God - a land that is not his, but a land that is promised by the God who appears. In the larger narrative tension and threat are met by Yahweh's direct involvement and guidance.

C. GENESIS 47:29-48:22 (48:3): THE TRADITION OF
YAHWEH'S APPEARING IS PASSED ON TO JOSEPH

In Gen 48:3-4 the final report of the appearing of God in the patriarchal traditions is found. It is unusual in that it is the only first person report in Genesis. Here the narrator does not report the appearing (12:7; 17:1; 18:1; 26:2, 24; 35:9) and it is not referred to by God (35:1), but rather it is put into the mouth of the patriarch himself. The report is not of an immediate experience, but of Yahweh's appearing in the distant past in the land of Canaan (48:3). Vv. 3-6(7) are attributed to P.150
The larger narrative of the death of Jacob begins with the report that the
time of the patriarch's death was drawing near (47:29). Israel requests Joseph not to bury him in Egypt, but rather in the burying place of his fathers. This

Cf. the history of exegesis in C. Westermann, Genesis 37-50, MAT
1/3 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1982), especially pp. 8f.; 203f. (E. trs. Genesis 37-50. Minneapolis, 1986, pp. 22f., 18 If.).

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Joseph swears to do (47:29-31). The narrator introduces the neit scene with the words, "After these things Joseph was told, look, your father is ill"' (48:1). Joseph goes to his father with his two sons Manasseh and Ephraim, and his father prepares to see them (48:2). The visit begins with Jacob's report of God's appearing in the land of Canaan at Luz (Bethel; cf. 35:9-15). Jacob recounts the theophany of the deity and the promises he received. The tradition is passed along to the son, long separated in Egypt: "El Shaddai appeared to me at Luz in the land of Canaan and blessed me" (48:3 P). The report includes the repetition of God's promises of progeny and land (48:4-6). Jacob's adoption and blessing of Joseph's two sons follow (48:5-20). The chapter concludes with Israel's promise that God will be with Joseph and will return him again to the land of his fathers (48:21). He therefore gives to Joseph a mountain slope (OD$) which is a play on the name Shechem (48:22). VonRad considers 48:3-6 (P), 47:29-31 (J), and 48:l-2a (E) variants on one and the same tradition which concern the blessing and adoption of Joseph's two sons by the dying Jacob, and his request to be buried in Canaan following his death.*}! Virtually all agree that w. 3-6 are a reference to Jacob's encounter with God in Gen 35:9-15. For von Rad, Jacob's recitation of God's appearing at Bethel was his legal basis for his action regarding Joseph's sons.*52 Thus he granted them the dignity of full sons.
Westermann also considers these texts independent of one another and
of different origin.1 ^ Jacob's death is anticipated throughout the Joseph narrative and these stories reflect the attempt to supply an account of his death. For Westermann, these texts are more properly the conclusion to the Jacob traditions than part of the Joseph narrative. Vv. 3-6 function to call to

Von Rad, Genesis, p. 361 (E. trs. p. 413); cf. Driver, p. 376; Skinner, p.
504.

von Rad, Genesis, p. 362 (E. trs. p. 414).
Westermann, Genesis37-50, p. 203 (E. trs. p. 181).

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mind for Joseph's benefit the promises Jacob received at Bethel. Such a recollection presupposes a long separation between father and son. As a consequence of this Joseph's two sons, born in Egypt, are legitimated as fathers of tribes of Israel and declared to have the status of Jacob's own sons. Westermann writes,

This text then is an example of the way in which P determines sacral
law; the special status of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh is based
on their legitimation by Jacob, the background to which is the revelation and promise made to him. P wants only to legitimate the autonomy of the two tribes.W

Here for the first time the motif of the appearing of God becomes an event in the past which is now passed on to others in the form of the first-person report. The motif is important as it is the form in which the patriarchal promises and blessing are passed on to Joseph, long separated from his father. Once more appearing and divine promises are closely linked. The patriarch reports that Yahweh appeared to him in the land of Canaan, blessed him, and promised many descendants and the land of Canaan as an "everlasting possession" (48:4). Joseph and his two sons are now legitimated as Jacob's own, born in Egypt, yet rightful sons of Jacob and heirs to these promises. However, commentators overlook the role of this text in the larger narrative of which it is a part. There is tension at the end of the patriarchal traditions as the Joseph narrative comes to a close. Jacob and his household are no longer in the land of promise. The family of promise is dependent on a foreign power in a foreign land. This comes into focus again in chs. 46f. Once more the patriarchal promises are repeated as Yahweh tells Jacob, "Do not be afraid to go down to Egypt, for I will there make of you a great nation. 1 myself will go down with you to Egypt, and I myself will bring you back" (46:3- 4). With this promise Jacob sets out for Egypt and the reunion with his son.

Ibid., pp. 206-208 (E. trs. pp. 184-185).

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Later, when Israel is near death, Jacob requests not to be buried in Egypt, but in the land of his fathers and he passes on to his favored son Joseph the tradition of the appearing of God and God's promises of progeny and land are repeated once more. Yahweh does not appear to Joseph. The appearing is simply recalled as a past event. The household of promise may be in Egypt and the promise of land far from fulfillment, but the promises of God to the patriarchs press hard upon the story.
As the patriarchal period ends the fulfilment of the promise of land is no where in view. Yet Yahweh's promise remains. H. Seebass suggests that the story was told to remind the exiles that such divine promises were never idle and ever open to fulfillment.1 ^ Joseph does not receive the promise directly from Yahweh. Here it is passed on to the next generation, even in a distant land, by the patriarchal father who is near death. The tradition is received that Yahweh appeared, blessed, and promised. This would have provided hope for the later readers who continued to live in the light of such promise and who continued to find hope in it.

IV. CONCLUSION

The "appearing" of God is found in traditions associated with all three of
the patriarchal fathers. Yahweh appears to Abraham three times (four references) and to Isaac twice; Elohim appears to Jacob once (35:9). There are two additional references to earlier experiences as appearances in the Jacob traditions (35:1; 48:3). The deity "appears" only to the patriarchs in Genesis and only in the land of promise.
The appearing of God to the patriarchal fathers is not frequent. On other occasions God may speak or come in a dream without reference to appearing.

Cf. H. Seebass, "The Joseph Story, Gen 48 and the Canonical Process," (1986), pp. 29-53

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The majority of the appearing descriptions are brief and characterized by conciseness of speech (cf. 12:7; 26:2, 24; 35:1; 48:3). Where the descriptions are of greater length it is due to the speech of the deity who appears. Usually the patriarchs do not converse with the deity, but rather listen and respond, i.e., by building an altar. The only exceptions to this are found in Gen 17 P, where Abraham responds to Yahweh's promises in disbelief, and in Gen 18 J, where Abraham speaks with the three men, one of whom is Yahweh, and answers their questions.
With two exceptions the appearance report is always given by the narrator in the third person, "and Yahweh appeared to" (btt HW Kfl). In Gen 35:1, however, the appearance is recalled by the deity, and in 48:3-4 the appearance is reported by Jacob to Joseph in the first person.
It has been argued in this chapter that the references to appearing are significant for their present contexts. This is frequently overlooked by those scholars who focus their attention on earlier hypothetical forms of these texts and conclude that the appearing and seeing motifs simply introduce cultic etiologies. The view of some scholars that appearing simply means speaking has also been rejected. God's appearing is always in addition to God's speaking. On other occasions God simply speaks, but on certain occasions he appears to renew the promises to the patriarchs. In Gen 48:3, for example, Jacob recalls to Joseph the fact that Yahweh appeared, blessed, and promised. The fact that Yahweh appeared to the patriarchs must have communicated something of the importance of the event. Divine appearing should not be reduced to divine speaking.
The texts which describe the deity's appearing always include the promises to the patriarchs (cf. 12:1-3). The relationship between appearing and promise is found in both J (JE) and P traditions. Most frequently the appearing occurs at a point of tension in the larger narrative with regard to the unfulfilled promises or a potential threat to the patriarchal family. This is true

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of the use of the motif of appearing in both Abraham and Isaac traditions and occurs in both JE and P narratives.
In the Jacob traditions the appearing has a different function. Elohim himself refers to "the God ('TK) who appeared to you when you fled from your brother Esau" (35:1 E). It is used to refer to a past event which is recalled as a time of distress when God appeared to the patriarchal father (cf. Gen 28:1 Iff.). There is no apparent tension in the narrative except perhaps the need to fulfill the earlier vow. When one looks to the end of ch. 34, however, the patriarchal family is threatened by the inhabitants of the land. In ch. 35, however, the departure of the family is as a result of the direct command of Elohim.
In addition, Hagar, Lot, and Jacob are vouchsafed to see Elohim (16:3) or
the messengers of Elohim (19:1; 32:2-3; 31, E. trs. 32:1-2, 30). These traditions are limited to J or JE texts. I have argued that scholars who frequently find cultic etiologies in these stories or their earlier forms, have overlooked their significance for the narratives in their present form. The motif of "seeing God" is even more rare than "appearing" in the Patriarchal traditions and should not be overlooked. The motif is found in statements which come at the conclusion of the stories where the point of view of the protagonist with regard to the encounter is clearly revealed. Such statements communicate the unusual nature of the experience and surprise that such a direct encounter with God does not lead to death. The reference to seeing the messengers in Gen 19:1 does not seem to have any other significance except to give the reason for Lot's rising up to meet them. The verse however is probably important to the larger narrative in that it may suggest that the two messengers were two of the three visitors in ch. 18 of whom one was Yahweh.

Some further observations may be offered with regard to the occurrences of these texts in the various sources. The consensus of commentators would suggest that six of the appearing texts may be attributed to J (Gen 12:7 (2X); 18:1; 26:2; 26:24; 35:1), and three to P (17:1; 35:9; 48:3). All

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five "seeing" texts are attributed to J or perhaps better JE (16:13; 19:1; 33:10; 32:31; 33:2).
Although attested in P (17:1; 35:9; 48:3), the connection between God's appearing or encounters which involve seeing and the promises to the patriarchs is perhaps most clear in the J texts (12:7; 18:1; 26:2, 24; cf. 16:13; 19:1). Gen 12:7 is concerned exclusively with the promise of land. The context of which Gen 18:1 is a part is concerned with the promise of progeny, and more specifically the promise of a son. Although not the child of promise, Hagar receives the promise that Ishmael will also be greatly multiplied (16:10). The appearing texts from the Isaac traditions, both attributed to J, are more inclusive in their use of the promises. Gen 26:2f., while predominantly concerned with the promise of land, also includes the promises of relationship, blessing, and descendants which are passed on to Isaac. Gen 26:23-25 is concerned with blessing and progeny, though it also functions prominently in the tension of the whole chapter concerning peaceful coexistence in the land. The seeing texts in the Jacob traditions all concern divine involvement and blessing in Jacob's life. The P text of Gen 17:If. combines all the promises and expands them, though it is primarily concerned with progeny. Gen 35:9f and 48:3f., both assigned to P, concern the promises of blessing, progeny, and land. Only 17:22 and 35:13 contain the unusual reference to God's "going up" (TbV) at the end of the encounter. And only 17:Iff. is concerned with the "everlasting" covenant between Abraham and God. One may conclude with some caution that P has borrowed from earlier traditions which associate divine appearing and promise. Only one "seeing" text contains references to divine promises. In Gen 16 even Ishmael, the son of Sarah's maid, will be blessed by God.
It is generally accepted that the promises are not always original parts of
the stories in which they are found. J. Hoftijzer, for example, argues on traditio-historical grounds that the promises were not essential parts of some narratives as can be shown by their absence from parallel passages (cf. Gen

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26:2ff. with 12:10ff; and 20:lff.).l56 Westermann generally follows Hoftijzer's conclusions with the exception that he finds that the promises were added at an earlier stage in the oral transmission of the material.157 More recently, J. A. Emerton has carried out a study which leads him to the conclusion that the promises in Gen 12:7; 15:4-5, 18; 16:11, 18:10, 14; and 28:13, 15 are probably original. The rest are to be regarded as additions to the teit at a later literary stage.1^ He concludes that the simplest hypothesis is that the additions were all made to JE by the same writer in the seventh or eighth century.W
While it may be the case that the promises were secondary additions to earlier forms of the narratives in some cases, the reading of the appearing texts presented above suggests that the relationship between appearing and promise is central to the narratives in their present form. In my view the association of promise and appearing is probably very early. Both JE and P stories are familiar with all of the promises and at some point both collocate them in narratives with the appearing of God. The promises may only be original in some texts, i.e. Gen 12:7. Nevertheless, the whole of the patriarchal narrative would seem to be greater than its individual parts and reflects the conscious association of the appearing of Yahweh to the patriarchs and the tension or threat which surrounds the promises with which the narrative begins in Gen
12:1-3.

Hoftijzer, Die Verheissungen, pp. 14-17. For a review of his theory
cf. Westermann, Die Verheissungen, pp. Iff. (E. trs. pp. 2ff.); and Emerton, "The Origin of the Promises," pp. 1 5ff .
Westermann, Die Verheissungen, p. 32 (E. trs. p. 28.). For Westermann the promises of Gen 16 and 18 are also original. For both Hoftijzer and Westermann, the promise of a son is original. Cf. W. Zimmerli, "Verheissung und Erfullung," ProbJeme aJtestamentlidier Hermeneulik (Munchen, 1960), pp. 69-101 (E. trs. "Promise and Fulfillment," Essays in Old Testament Interpretation. London, 1963, PP- 89-122), who considers the promise of land to be original.
Emerton, p. 17ff.
Ibid., pp. 23, 29ff.

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These motifs, though rare, certainly play a much more important role in the narratives than that suggested by scholars who have only considered their functions for earlier hypothetical texts such as etiology, or have neglected them altogether. Both J and P stories find significance in the fact that God appeared and promised, even in the face of threats and the apparent impossibility of fulfillment. These stories have been adopted into the tension-resolution pattern of the larger narrative with all its conflicts and threats to the fulfillment of the promises. With von Rad, one must wonder if the problem which lies at the back of the larger narrative is not "faith."!60 Here the reader must live through and suffer with the recipients of the promise who were vouchsafed on important occasions an appearance of God who becomes directly involved in their situation. No doubt such stories would have spoken eloquently to later generations who were themselves threatened and who looked to the old stories for encouragement and faith. There they found the stories of Yahweh's direct involvement in their forefather's lives. In their earliest history Yahweh appeared to the patriarchs and in spite of great obstacles renewed his promises and made everlasting covenant with the patriarchs and their descendants. Later "descendants" who faced the loss of land and the apparent reversal of the promises may have found some hope in such stories of God's direct involvement in the lives of their fathers. Such stories address the issues of faith and faithlessness.
These motifs play an important function, hitherto neglected, in the patriarchal narratives as we have them. They provide an interesting and overlooked example of the interfusing of literary art and theological vision.

160 Von Rad, Theologie, 1:174 (E. trs. 1:171).

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CHAPTER FOUR

"SEEING GOD" AND "GOD'S APPEARING"

IN THE MOSES, SINAI, AND WILDERNESS TRADITIONS OF

EXODUS, LEVITICUS, AND NUMBERS

In this chapter the use of the "seeing" and "appearing" motifs within the remainder of the Tetrateuch will be examined. As in the previous chapter, attention will be given where possible to the significance of these themes at the level of the individual story as inherited material as well as at the level of the larger narratives in which they are found. In some cases, however, it has seemed wise not to attempt to go beyond the larger narrative, given the lack of clear evidence or scholarly consensus for source division. The references to seeing and appearing are usually found in more lengthy narratives in the Moses, Sinai, and Wilderness traditions, narratives which are often more reflective than those of the Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob traditions.
Tables VI and VII of Chapter One reveal that Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers contain 12 texts which refer to "seeing" God and 16 texts which refer to the "appearing" of God. 1 However, these 28 occurrences are limited to a much smaller number of contexts and will thus be examined under the following headings: 1. Exod 3-4, 6, The Commissioning of Moses; II. Exod 19-24; 32-24, Israel's New Relationship with God; III. Lev 9; 16, Appearing and Israel's Cult; IV. Exod 16; Num 12, 14, 16, 17, 20, Crisis and Rebellion in the Wilderness; and V. Num 22-24, Balaam the Diviner.

1 As in Chapter Three, collocations with the HTP "|fco are included. In Eiodus and Numbers, however, the TDD is seen and appears and there are reference to seeing the "face" and "back" of Yaliweh. These are also included. 175

I. EXODUS 1:1-7:7 (3:2, 6, 16; 4:1, 5; 6:3): THE COMMISSIONING OF MOSES

The stories relating to the call and commissioning of Moses contain five references to the appearing of God (3:2, 16; 4:1, 5; 6:3) and one reference to seeing God (3:6). Much of the previous scholarly work on these teits has been preoccupied with the division of the sources which make up the material. The question of sources arises immediately because of oddities in the text such as doublets and the use of different names for the deity.2 The use of different names is particularly evident in the texts which are of primary concern for this study. For example, while it is the "messenger of Yahweh" that appears (3:2), it is Yahweh who sees that Moses' attention has been drawn to the bush (3:4a), and it is Elohim who calls out (Kip) to Moses from the bush (3:4b). Although the "messenger of Yahweh" appears, Moses is afraid to look at "Elohim" (3:6b). To this must be added the references in 3:16; 4:1, 5, often overlooked in such discussions, which seem to suggest that it was "Yahweh" who appeared to Moses rather than the messenger. In Exod 6:3 a further name is encountered when God tells Moses, "I appeared ... as El Shaddai." Old Testament scholars have pointed out that this confusion should, in most instances, be understood as the result of the weaving together of different sources in order to form the present narrative.
Exod 1-7 are thus thought to be a compilation of J, E, and P material. Divisions made on the basis of the names used for God would suggest that 3:2, I6,4:l,5(cf.3:4a,7;4:2f 6, 10, 11, 13, 14, 19,21,27, 30, 3D maybe assigned to the J source because of the use of 'Yahweh,11 and 3:6 (cf. 3:4b, 11, 13, 14, 15;

2 See the commentators for numerous examples. Cf. the extremes of M. Buber, Moses (Oxford, 1946), pp. 39ff. who defends the unity of Exod 3-4; and W.Richter, Diesogenannten vorprophetiscben Berufungsberichte, FRLANT\§\ (Gtittingen, 1970), pp. 55ff., who presents a detailed analysis and reconstruction which, in my view, atomizes the text.
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4:7) may be assigned to E because of the name "Elohim."3 The reference to El Shaddai in Eiod 6:3 is indicative of the P source which generally uses this name in reference to the patriarchal period.4 This explanation, however, fails to solve every problem; within the J material the "messenger of Yahweh" appears in 3:2, but it is the appearing of Yahweh that is referred to in 3:16, 4:1, 5- This could imply either different strands of j material, or more likely, as in other texts, that no clear distinction is being made between the messenger and Yahweh himself in these texts (cf. Gen 16, 18-19). Apparently this was not a problem for the redactor of the material and, one may assume, it would not have been a problem for the readers.

In addition, much attention has been focused upon the literary pre-history of the separate stories which have been woven together. For example, a number of scholars have examined Exod 3-4 and 6 as individual "call narratives."} Exod 3-4 and 6 are treated by the commentators as two parallel descriptions of the call of Moses, the first representing the JE material and the
second that of P.6

3 M. Noth, Eiodus, p. 22 (E. trs. p. 34). Not all scholars accept the use of different names for the deity as a criterion for source division. Cf., for example, Van Seters, Abraham In History and Tradition, pp. 125ff., 156; and R. N. Whybray, The Making of the Pentateuch, JSQT Supplement Series 53 (1987), pp. 64f.

4 For brief review of the theories and bibliography concerning El Shaddai
cf. B. Chiids, Exodus, OTL (London, 1974), p. 110. The © translates "HE? as "almighty," or kavdo "sufficient."

5 Cf. H. Gressmann, Mose und seine Zeit (G&ttingen, 1913), pp. 21ff., 56ff.;
W. Zimmerli, "Zur Form- und Traditionsgeschichte der prophetischen Berufungsgeschichte der prophetischen Berufungserzahlungen," EzekieJ / pp. 16-21 (E. trs. pp. 97-100); and N. Habel, 'The Form and Significance of Call Narratives," pp. 297ff. For a brief review of these and other standard studies see Chiids, pp. 53-56, 1 1 Iff.

6 Cf. Noth, Eiodus, p. 42 (E. trs. p. 58), who suggests the only substantial difference between the two narratives lies in the different locations: Midian in Eiod 3-4 and Egypt in Exod 6. A. Dillmann, Exodus and Leviticus (Leipzig, 1897), pp. 62ff., recognizes that the purpose of the passage was to confirm a

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Childs, in particular, has stressed that with the call of Moses in Exod 3-4
a new element arises in the Pentateuch: 'The patriarchs received revelations in theophanies, but had no commission to transmit a message to others. Moses' call recounts the deep disruptive seizure of a man for whom neither previous faith nor personal endowment played a role in preparing him for his vocation."7 Thus Moses approaches the people claiming to be sent by the God of their fathers.8 This call pattern, however, is different from that of the theophany, according to Childs, in that it attributes "little significance to the appearance of the deity or the place of the revelation, or to acquiring the name of the commissioner."9 In fact, Childs goes so far as to suggest that Exod 3:2, which describes the appearing, "serves as an interpretative superscription to the entire description which then follows." 10 The tradition of theophany, he suggests, is thereby fused with the tradition of the call. While it is likely that the traditions of the call of a prophet and the theophany have been joined together in this narrative, the repeated references to the "appearing" of Yahweh and his messenger throughout Exod 3-4 (3:2, 16; 4:1, 5; cf. 3:6) surely indicate that the "appearing" is more important to the present narrative than is suggested by Childs. 11
For the most part, other commentators pass by the references to "appearing" and "seeing" with little comment, except perhaps to mention that

past promise and was in this context viewed as a sequel, not a parallel to the call in Midian.

7 Childs, p. 56. However, cf. Gen 48:3 ff. where Jacob, in Egypt, passes on
to Joseph the story of Yahweh's appearing and the promises.
8 For Childs, p. 68, this is the function of 3:15. The name Yahweh serves
as the test of his validity as a prophet. He suggests that this tradition was influenced by the later question of the true and false prophet.
9 Ibid., pp. 65-66.
10 Ibid., p. 72.
11 Childs' statement is all the more surprising given the fact that he recognizes that the verb H^H occurs seven limes in w. 2-7 alone (p. 70).

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the "messenger of Yahweh" in 3:2 is a "self-manifestation of Yahweh." 12 J. P. Hyatt, for example, suggests, "the term is simply interchangeable with Yahweh.'"i3 Although Clements suggests that the messenger is Yahweh himself who appears, he writes, "This title has been introduced to avoid the suggestion of a direct physical appearance of the deity. Instead God discloses himself indirectly, through the person of a messenger."!4 Although this idea was suggested by Gunkel long ago, an evolutionary theory of the development of Israel's ideas concerning the manifestation of God would not seem to be justified by those narratives in which the deity and message are interchange-able. The "messenger" does not seem to reduce the directness of the divine appearing in any way in this case. The encounter is also referred to as the appearing of Yahweh (cf. 3:16; 4:1, 5; and cf. "Elohim" in 3:6).15
Exod 6.2-7:7 presents what is generally thought to be a second call of Moses, the P version of the same incident that appears in JE (3:Iff-).16 Yet the P version makes no reference to the burning bush episode. Whereas in JE the story takes place at Horeb in the land of Midian, the P story assumes that the incident takes place in Egypt (6:28). The appearing of the "messenger of Yahweh" of the JE version is also missing; rather the P version begins, "And God said to Moses, 'I am Yahweh. I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, as El Shaddai, but by my name Yahweh I did not make myself known to them1 " (6:2-3).

12 Cf. U. Cassuto, Commentary on the Book of Exodus (Jerusalem, 1983),
p. 31; A. H. McNeile, The Book of Exodus, WC (London, 1908), p. 16; S. R. Driver, The Book of Exodus, fl? (Cambridge, 1918), p. 19; R. E. Clements, Exodus, CBC (Cambridge, 1972), p. 20.
*3 J. P. Hyatt, Exodus, NCB (London, 1971), p. 71.
H Clements, p. 20.
U Cf. H. Gunkel, Genesis, pp. LXVIIIff.; and Barr, "Theophany," pp 31-38.
16 Cf. Noth, Exodus, pp. 42f. (E. trs. p. 58).

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The emphasis of scholarly attention with regard to Exod 6 has fallen upon the self-introductory formula "I am Yahweh" (6:2; cf. 6:6, 7, 8) and the name Tahweh" as introduced by P for the first time (6:3). 17 According to P, God was previously known to the patriarchs only as El Shaddai (cf. other P teits
- Gen 17:1; 28:3; 35:11; 43:14 I?l; 48:3), whereas now he is introduced to Moses as Yahweh.18 From this point forward P uses the personal name Yahweh consistently.19
Commentators point out that the introduction of the name Tahweh" points to something new and significant. Noth stresses the importance of the giving of the name as "a new name unknown to the Patriarchs but now newly revealed to Moses and thus to Israel; and, as a name could not be just empty sound, a new name necessarily also represented a new revelation."20 For Noth this new revelation was that God now meant to fulfill the promises which were still outstanding (w. 6, 7b). Thus in Exod 6:2ff. P refers to the promises that God as "El Shaddai" made to Abraham in Gen 17: Iff., namely the promises of covenant and land (cf. 17:7b, 8b).
Childs also stresses the importance of the revelation of the name. "He (Yahweh) does not merely inform Moses of his name, but by announcing the name he also makes known his essential character."21 The revelation to the patriarchs is thus contrasted with that to Moses. Whereas the patriarchs

17 Cf. Child's survey, pp. 11 Iff. and bibliography on pp. 60-61. See further W. Zimmerli, "Ich bin Jahwe," Geschjchte und AJtes Testament (Tubingen, 1953), pp. 179-209; and M. Greenberg, Understanding Exodus (New York, 1969), pp. 130ff.
18 Cf. Noth, Exodus, pp. 43f. (E. trs. pp. 59f.).
19 Although Tahweh" is found in Gen 17:1 and 26:16, which are both attributed to P, these are thought to have been introduced here by a scribe or redactor at a later time. Cf. Driver, p. 42.
20 Noth, Exodus, p. 44 (E. trs. p. 60).
21 Childs, p. 114.
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received the promise of the land (Gen 17:lff. P), Moses is now informed that Yahweh has remembered his covenant and will bring his promise to fulfillment. This message both begins and ends with the proclamation of the name: "I am Yahweh" (6:2, 8). Yahweh is identified as the God who remembers his covenant and keeps promise with his people.22
Noth and Childs are surely correct in their emphasis upon the relationship between the name and the promise which are brought together in this P narrative. Yet an emphasis upon the revelation of the divine name results in little attention being given to the motifs of "Yahweh's appearing" and "seeing God" in this context. How are these motifs used in the JE and P stories and what is their significance for the larger context of Exod 1 -7 in its present form?

As already stated above, Exod 3:Iff. is generally recognized as a mixture
of theophany and call narrative from the J and E material. Each of the references to appearing are attributed to J (3:2, 16; 4:1, 5, 16); the reference to seeing Elohim is attributed to E (3:6). Such divisions, however, do not solve the question that arises when one discovers that the messenger appears in 3:2, yet the appearing of Yahweh is referred to in the remaining verses. It seems best not to attempt to divide the theophany-call narrative further, but to consider it as a unit. The messenger and Yahweh are sometimes interchangeable within the same narrative. This was apparently not a problem for the redactor of this JE material. It is the final form of the combined material which is frequently overlooked when the question of sources remains the primary focus. Following the introduction of 3:1 which places Moses at "Horeb, the mountain of God," Yahweh's messenger appears in a flame of fire in the midst of a bush which was burning but not consumed. Vv. 2-4a emphasize the visual nature of the encounter and at first there is no divine speech. Unlike the patriarchal appearance stories the reader is told what Moses actually saw.

22 Ibid., pp. 115-116.
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Moses' response to the "appearing" is "to look" (Hfcn) upon the burning bush (v 2b). In verse 3 Moses' inner thoughts are revealed to the reader as he says to himself: "I will turn aside now and I will see (HH"1) this important/ precious/great sight (*7"Iiin fttn&rO." The narrator continues in v. 4a: "Yahweh saw (HiTl) that he (Moses) turned aside to see (rftn)." The visual nature of the encounter is accentuated further in v. 6 following God's warning that Moses should keep his distance and respect the place on which he stands as holy ground. In v. 6a God's identifies himself as the God of Moses' father and forefathers. In v. 6b (E) Moses' reaction to the divine encounter is finally reported: "And Moses hid his face for he was afraid to look (ODD) at God."23 Thus in the introduction to the larger commissioning story (3:1-6), the reader is allowed to know the full import of what is taking place. The place to which Moses has come is out of the ordinary. Here he encounters God. The visual nature of the encounter is accentuated by the "appearing, "looking," and "seeing." V. 6b (E) suggests that this was for Moses nothing less than an encounter with God. Although the messenger appeared and Moses saw a burning bush which was not consumed, the JE redactor finds no problem in suggesting that it was Yahweh who called out to Moses and that Moses was fearful of looking at God.
With the introduction concluded, the unusual, lengthy dialogue between
the deity and Moses begins (3:7-4:17). It is now Tahweh" who speaks to Moses (w. 7f.; cf. v. 4) and reveals the purpose of the appearing. God now becomes directly involved because of Pharaoh's threat to the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Having heard their cry, remembered his covenant, and seen their condition, the deity appears to commission a messenger and deliverer (cf. w. 7f.). Having seen the afflictions of his people in Egypt,

23 It is interesting that nfcHis by far the preferred word for references to "seeing God." See Table VI, Chapter I. D33 is only used one additional time in Num 12:8. Used with-it may be translated "look at" or "look upon." Cf. BOB.

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Yahweh commissions Moses to return to Pharaoh and bring the people out of bondage to a land "flowing with milk and honey."24 in contrast to the humble response of 3:6b, Moses now raises four objections to the divine commission. Each in turn is answered by Yahweh (3:11, 13; 4:1, 10). It is in the midst of this dialogue that three additional references to "Yahweh's appearing" are
found.

The first comes in the response to Moses' second objection concerning the name of the one who commissions him (3:13-22)23 The people will surely want to know the name of the God who sends Moses. The special name is given by which Moses is to identify God (3:13-14), and then Yahweh clarifies what Moses is to do and say: "Go and gather together the elders of Israel, and say to them, Yahweh, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, has appeared (Niphal HiTO to me . ..." This leads to Moses' next objection: "But look, they will not believe me or listen to my voice, for they will say, Yahweh did not appear to you'" (4:1). This objection is met by the signs of the rod, the leprous hand, and the water from the Nile, which are given, Yahweh says, "that they may believe that Yahweh, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, has appeared to you" (4:5). Moses' objection that he will not be believed and the signs which were given to counter such disbelief would seem to indicate the rarity or the unusual nature of such an "appearance" as well as the authority which it brought. Following an additional objection and Yahweh's reply, Moses accepts the commission and returns to jethro and prepares to return to Egypt. During the journey Moses encounters Aaron, and once in Egypt they do as Yahweh asked. The elders were gathered

24 For a summary of the interpretations given to the "sign" of Exod 3:12
see Quids, pp. 56ff.
25 A review of the the many problems and proposed solutions with regard to Exod 3:14 and the divine name "YHWH" is beyond the scope or concern of the present study. Cf. Child's, pp. 60ff., for a summary of such matters. Moses is to identify the deity who "appeared" to him to the elders of Israel as 'Yahweh, the God of your fathers" (3.16).

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together, Aaron spoke all the words which Yahweh had spoken to Moses, the signs were performed, and the people believed and worshiped (4:27-31).
The attention given to "appearing" within the dialogue between Moses and Yahweh suggests the importance of the event for the JE narrative. "Appearing" is certainly more than just a "superscription" to the story. It is important to the narrative that Yahweh appeared to Moses and that the people believed it. This is indicated by the fact that "appearing" and "seeing" are referred to no less than 5X in Exod 3 and 4. The visual nature of the experience is accentuated by the use of the roots fttn 6X and DD3 IX in 3:1-6 alone. Yahweh appears to Moses because he has seen the affliction of "my people" (v. 7). The E addition of v. 6 identifies Yahweh as the God of the patriarchal fathers and adds Moses 1 response to such a close encounter with the deity. Because he fears seeing God Moses hides his face. Yahweh intends to deliver his people and bring them to a "land flowing with milk and honey" (v. 8), the land of the "Canaanites," an obvious reference to the promise of land which is central to the JE patriarchal traditions (cf. Gen 12:1-3,7).
The appearing is, however, something which the people will not necessarily believe. Moses tries to excuse himself from service because they will not believe that Yahweh "has appeared to me." This is countered by the signs, given by Yahweh, "that they might believe that Yahweh ... has appeared to you" (4:5). The appearing is thus regarded as something difficult to believe or at the very least unusual The appearing God must identify himself to Moses and the people as the God of the fathers.
The appearing of Yahweh is central to this JE narrative.26 As in the JE patriarchal traditions, Yahweh appears when "my people" are threatened. However, the purpose of the appearing is now to call a deliverer into action who with Yahweh's help will lead the people out of Israel and to the land of the

26 a. J. I. Durham, Exodus, Jft%T(Waco, 1987), p. 29, who suggests that scholars have, for the most part, focused too much attention on the call element and too little attention on the theophany element in this narrative.

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Canaanites. This is a new element, not found in the patriarchal traditions. The appearing is also different from those of Genesis in that the messenger of Yahweh is introduced and visual features are more clearly accentuated. Here divine appearing clearly does not equal divine speaking. What Moses sees is described. The purpose of the appearing is to call into service the great leader and deliver Moses, who is important for the rest of the pentateuchal narrative. As stated above, Exod 6:2-7:7 presents what is usually considered P's parallel version of the call of Moses. Here the use of the appearing motif is very different. Yahweh or the messenger does not "appear" to Moses. Now God simply speaks (TIT, 6:2). In this context Elohim identifies himself as "Yahweh," who "appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, as El Shaddai, but by my name Yahweh I did not make myself known to them" (6:3). Yahweh further recalls the covenant made with the patriarchal fathers and the promise to give them the land of the Canaanites (6:4). Here the connection with the promise of land given to the patriarchs is made even more clear (cf. 6:7-8). In contrast to the JE story, however, the people do not listen to Moses (6:9). Moses and Aaron go to Pharaoh to carry out his commission at Yahweh's command in spite of the people's rejection (6:1 Off.). In the rest of the P narrative Yahweh speaks to Moses and there are no further references to "appearing."
Here the reference to Yahweh's appearing is part of the self-identification of Yahweh to Moses. P binds the present action to that in the patriarchal period (cf. Gen 17) by identifying the God who spoke to Moses as the Elohim who appeared to the patriarchs as El Shaddai and promised covenant, relationship, and land. The divine name Yahweh is reserved for this later period. The reference to appearing now simply refers to past events (cf. Gen 17:1; 35:1, 9; 48:3).
The larger narrative of Exod 1-7 of which these call stories are now a part and their significance for it should not be overlooked. Exod 1:1-7.7 has a dual function, important for both the book of Exodus and the Pentateuch as a whole. It introduces the situation which makes necessary the call of Moses 185

and presents that call and the beginning of Moses' work. It also serves as the introduction to the larger story of the exodus from Egypt.27 While much attention has been given to Exod 3-4 and 6 as individual and independent narratives, little attention has been given to their role in the present form of the larger narrative.
In their present context these stories are involved in the tension-resolution pattern which is present from the very beginning of the Exodus narrative. As it begins a great period of time has passed; Joseph's generation has died (1:1-7). Meanwhile the descendants of Israel have increased greatly, so much so that they now pose a threat to Egypt. The reference to this increase may serve as a reminder of the patriarchal promise of many descendants which is now being fulfilled. However, tension is introduced into the narrative when the king of Egypt decrees that the people of Israel are to be oppressed by heavy burdens and rigorous toil (1:8-14). Progeny, and therefore the future of the people, is threatened. This plan is thwarted, however, as the more they are oppressed, the more they multiply (1:12). Next the king orders the midwives to kill all male children born to Hebrew women (1:15-21). Yet this second threat also fails as the midwives refuse to carry out the king's order and thus receive God's blessing. A third threat to the Hebrews brings the narrative to the birth of Moses. Pharaoh commands that all sons born to Hebrews must be cast into the Nile (1:22). Despite this, in a twist of irony Moses is saved by the Pharaoh's own daughter who discovers the infant in a hidden basket floating on the river (2:1-10). The narrative would seem to imply that in each of these events God is at work behind the scenes for the benefit of the people.
In the next scene Moses, now mature, sees an Egyptian beating a Hebrew
and murders him. When this is discovered Pharaoh seeks to kill Moses (2:11- 15). In 2:16-22 the scene shifts to Midian where Moses has fled from Pharaoh.

27 Cf. M. Noth's comments about this theme which is frequently repeated
in statements of faith throughout the Old Testament in Uberlieferungs-gesctiichte desPentateuch, pp. 50ff. (E. trs. pp. 47ff.).
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There he meets Reuel, the priest of Midian (cf. Num 10:29), and marries Zipporah, his daughter, who bears a son. At this point God's involvement in Israel's plight becomes more direct. The scene shifts once more to Egypt. The narrator reports the severe bondage of Israel, their crying out for help, and God's hearing their cries and remembering his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: "And God saw the people of Israel and God knew their condition" (2:23-25).
In 3:Iff- the scene shifts again, this time back to Moses in the land of Midian. The "messenger of Yahweh" appears to Moses while he is watching over the flock of his father-in-law (here Jethro; cf. 4:18; 18:lff.; and Hobab in Judg 4:11) at Horeb, the mountain of God (3:l-3)-28 Because he fears seeing God Moses hides his face (3:6b). He is commissioned to return to Egypt as Yahweh's messenger and to bring about the release of his enslaved people (3:7- 10). Yet Moses raises objections to his commission. Each objection is answered by Yahweh (3:11-4:17; cf. 3:16, 4:1, 5). These include Moses objection that the elders will not believe that Yahweh has appeared (3:16; 4:1). In response the deity gives signs which are to be performed "that they may believe that Yahweh ... has appeared to you" (4:5). His objections answered, Moses accepts the commission and prepares to return to Egypt (4:18-23) 29 Finally, in Egypt, Moses, through Aaron, reports Yahweh's words and the signs are presented to the people (4:27-30); their response is positive, "And the people believed" (4:31).
In ch. 5 Moses and Aaron fulfill their commission by going to Pharaoh
and demanding the release of the people in order that they my return to the wilderness and worship their God (5:1-5). Pharaoh, however, refuses their

28 On the relationship between Horeb and Sinai cf. Noth, Exodus, p. 20 (E.
irs. p. 32).
With most scholars, I find Eiod 4:24-26 to be among the most enigmatic verses of scripture and I am unable to offer any helpful suggestions. Cf. Childs, pp. 95ff.
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request and responds by increasing the burden of the people who are now forced to maintain their production of bricks without the necessary raw materials (5:6-14). Tension rises again when the foremen of the people complain to Pharaoh, but receive no relief (5:15-19). Finally they bring their complaint to Moses and Aaron (5:20-21). They have obeyed Yahweh, yet it has only resulted in a greater burden. Moses brings the complaint to Yahweh, "For since 1 came to Pharaoh to speak in your name, he has done evil to this people, and you have not delivered your people at all" (5:23).
This tension is met in ch. 6. Exclusive interest in the pre-history of this narrative overlooks the fact that in this context ch. 6 serves not as a second story of Moses' call, but as a recommissioning of Moses following their failure and the response of the people in ch. 5. Elohim identifies himself as Yahweh who appeared to the patriarchs, made covenant with them, and promised them the land of Canaan (6:2ff.). The lengthy divine speech continues in w. -4-8. Because the cries of the people have been heard and the covenant has been remembered, Yahweh commissions Moses to report to the people his intention to deliver them from their burdens and bring them to the land promised to their forefathers. This story contributes to the overall purpose of the larger narrative, to reaffirm once more the divine promise of land which Yahweh now intends to fulfill.
Moses' obedience and the response of the people are then briefly reported: "Moses spoke to the people of Israel; but they did not listen to Moses, because of their broken spirit and their cruel bondage" (6:9; cf. 4:31). In w. 10-14 Moses is again commissioned to go to Pharaoh, but he objects that if the people have not listened, then certainly Pharaoh will not (cf. 4:10-16). Nevertheless, Moses, and Aaron, who is mentioned for the first time in ch. 6, are charged to represent Yahweh and bring the people out of Egypt. The narrative of these events is broken by w. 14-25 which serve to place Moses and Aaron in the context of the priestly lineage of Levi. Vv. 10-13 are then

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recapitulated in w. 28-30 as the narrative resumes.30 Finally, a further speech of Yahweh to Moses is reported (7:1-5), followed by the statement that "Moses and Aaron did so; they did as Yahweh commanded them" (7:6). The narrative of the ten plagues follows (7:8ff.).
In Exod 3-4 Yahweh appears to commission a deliverer for his people.
The appearing of Yahweh to Moses also provides the opportunity to reaffirm the promise of land which comes to the surface once again in 3:7-8 and 16-17. This is important for the rest of the Pentateuchal narrative. Yahweh has not forgotten his covenant with their forefathers. He is at work behind the scenes in Exod 1 -2 and becomes more directly involved in Exod 3 and following.
This is further accentuated in ch. 6. The God who appears to Moses is the
God who appeared to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob with the promises of progeny, land, and blessing (6:2-8). Although Exodus 6:2ff. may have originally been P's parallel account of the JE call of Moses, in this context it clearly serves as a sequel to that call rather than its parallel.31 The recommissioning of Moses follows his disastrous attempt to secure the people's release from Pharaoh. When Yahweh's promise to deliver seems to have failed, Yahweh manifests himself to Moses again and reaffirms the promises which are of central importance for the narrative. Yahweh has heard the cries of the people in bondage and has remembered the covenant. The promises to deliver and to bring the people to the land which was sworn to their forefathers are renewed to Moses who is commanded to bring them to the people. In contrast to their

30 V. 12 is almost literally repeated in v. 30.
31 Although commentators will usually suggest that it has a function in
its present context, they seem to prefer to discuss it as a parallel account to Exod 3:1-4:17 and to note the differences between the two accounts. Cf. McNeile, pp. 34ff.; Driver, p. 4Iff.; Noth, Exodus, pp. 42ff. (E. trs. pp. 58ff.); G. H. Davies, Exodus, TBC (London, 1967), p. 81; Hyatt, pp. 92ff.; Clements, pp. 36ff. For an alternative view see Childs, pp. Ill, 114; and Dillmann, pp. 62ff., who already viewed 6:2ff as a sequel, not a parallel to the call in Midian, which confirmed the promises made to Moses in 3:Iff.
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earlier response, the people do not listen to Moses because of their broken spirits and their severe bondage. The issue of "faithlessness" is thus introduced into the narrative. Yet the God who appeared to the patriarchs with the promise of land will most assuredly fulfill this promise. Moses and Aaron go forth to do as Yahweh commissions in spite of the negative response of the people. Moses' complaint to Yahweh is met by Yahweh's reassuring message. That which is common to both the JE and P narratives is the connection between appearing and promise, or more specifically the promise of land. Yahweh, who appears to Moses in Exod 3-4, is the God of the forefathers who now remembers his covenant and the promise of land (3:7-10, 17). In the P narrative of Exod 6 it is the appearing to the forefathers that is referred to, but again it is in reference to the covenant and land which were promised to them. In Exod 6 the first person reference to appearing seems to function as a way of identifying the deity to Moses and of relating what God is doing in the present with what he has promised the patriarchs in the past. The same God is still at work in the life of Israel and will now do what he promised to the forefathers. Commentators have failed to appreciate the aesthetic importance of these texts as well as the important relationship between the "appearing" of God and the promises offered Israel, an important theological theme which may be found not only in the patriarchal traditions, but in other Old Testament texts which remember them.

11. EXODUS 19-24;32-34(19:21;24:10, 11:33:18,20,23):
ISRAEL'S NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH GOD

The JE narrative of the Sinai traditions of Exodus includes several references to "seeing" God, but no references to appearing. These are found in chs. 19-24 and 32-34 which have been judged to be very important theologically for the book of Exodus.

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Numerous attempts to assign various portions of these important chapters to different sources have been made, though no scholarly consensus seems to be forthcoming in the case of certain texts. For the purposes of this study it has sometimes seemed best to view the chapters as the product of a long redaction process, beyond which it is impossible to go with certainty, and thus to treat only the larger contexts in which the references to seeing God are found. Often the best that can be said is that an individual reference to "seeing" God is probably attributable to J, E, or JE.

A. EXODUS 19:1-20:22: ISRAEL AT SINAI

Exod 19:22-25 is found in the larger narrative of the theophany on Sinai and the giving of the Decalogue (Exod 19:1-2Q:22).32 Apart from 19:l-2a, which is assigned to P, the remainder of the material is assigned to JE (19:21 is assigned lo J).33 AS ch. 19 begins Israel is encamped before Sinai. Throughout 19:3-15 and 20-25 a pattern emerges in which Moses goes up to God, receives God's message, returns and gives the message to the people who remain below, and then in turn gives their response to God.34 For example, Moses reports the conditions, set forth by Yahweh, by which Israel may become Yahweh's "own possession among all peoples." The people respond, "All that Yahweh has spoken we will do," and then Moses gives their response to Yahweh (19:3-8a). Next Moses is told that Yahweh will visit the people. Yet the deity will be

32 cr.f for example, Noth, p. 128 (E. trs. p. 160), who considers w. 21-25 a secondary addition which adds to the theme already treated in w. 12-13a.
33 For a review of source-critical questions and proposed solutions cf. Childs, pp. 344ff.
34 The awkwardness of these references to going up and coming down
are often noted by the commentators. They are not consistently connected with the position of Moses at the given lime. Cf. Noih, Exodus, p. 123 (E. irs. p. 153).
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veiled by a thick cloud lTH)) and the people will only be allowed to hear Yahweh speak with Moses (19:9). When this is reported to the people preparations are made for "the third day" when the encounter is to take place (19:10-15).
Following this the reader encounters for the first time the tension, prominent within the narrative, which surrounds the question of how God's presence is to be experienced by the people. Moses, having announced that 'Yahweh will come down upon Mount Sinai in the sight (or presence, ^.^^ & all the people" (19:11) now warns, "And you shall set bounds for the people round about, saying, Take heed that you do not go up into the mountain or touch the border of it; whoever touches the mountain shall be put to death; no hand shall touch him, but he shall be stoned or shot through; whether beast or man, he shall not live 1 " (19:12-13; cf. 19:21). A tension is obviously present between two contradictory statements: 1) Yahweh will come down before all the people (19:1 lb); and 2) Yahweh will come down in a thick cloud and be heard but not seen (19:9; cf. 19:2i).35
Following two days of preparation for this event which includes ceremonial purification of body and clothing, "the morning of the third day" brings "thunders and "lightnings," a "thick cloud," and a loud shofar blast upon the mountain. The response of the people, still in the camp, is to "tremble" Moses then leads the people from the camp "to meet (fcHp, or encounter) God." Meanwhile, Mount Sinai was "altogether smoking" because 'Yahweh descended (TT) upon it in fire." At Yahweh's descent "the whole mountain quaked greatly" (19:18). Following the smoking, quaking, and increasingly loud shofar

35 This may be explained by attributing one to J and the other to E, though the division of sources in these verses is extremely difficult. Cf. the review of Durham, p. 260. For the purposes of this study it has seemed wise to treat the text in its present form which is JE.

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blasts, Moses finally speaks and Elohim answers back "in thunder "(19:19).36 The narrative portrays an unique experience for Israel who encounters God in a new way. Yet the experience is not without limitations for the people. It is Moses who brings them out to encounter God. They are allowed to stand only at the foot of the mountain where they can hear Moses speak and God answer in thunder. In spite of 19:11 there is no indication that the people were allowed to see God in any way.
Noth distinguishes between two variant traditions which have come together to form the theophany depiction as it is presented in w. I6ff. To J he attributes a "volcanic description" based on references to smoke, fire, and quaking. The image of the smelting oven in verse 18 along with these manifestations, "point quite clearly to a volcanic eruption."37 While this leads some to argue for the location of Sinai at one of the extinct volcanic peaks in north-west Arabia, such a view probably places too much significance upon this imagery and more recently has been rejected. Cassuto concedes that the literary tradition of theophany may have been originally influenced by the observation of volcanic activity, but this, he suggests, is not a reference to volcanic phenomena's Rather, these details (smoke, fire, quaking) belong to the literary tradition of theophany depictions whereby the deity's nearness or immediate presence is portrayed.

36 The description of Israel's encounter with God in 19:16-19 includes
the metaphors for the presence of God which are common to the ancient Near East. Cassuto, pp. 232-233, translates 'TlpD "with a voice," which he suggests corresponds to Ugaritic epic poetry that describes the deity speaking with a
loud voice.

37 Noth, Exodus, p. 128 (E. trs. p. 159).
3* Cassuto, p. 232. a. Hyatt, p. 204; E. W. Nicholson, Ezodus and Sinai in History and Tradition (Atlanta, 1978), pp. 61-62, n. 24; and J. I. Durham, Psalms, BBC (Nashville, 1971), p. 203. See further Dillmann, pp. 2l6ff., who suggests that the natural phenomenon were regarded by the people as manifestations of Yahweh's presence.

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Contrary to Moth, Cassuto suggests that the description of the storm continues in 19:18 as "the fire of volcanoes goes upward and does not descend from the sky ... the smoke is the mist rising from the mountains."39 Although all such arguments may be carried to the extreme, such imagery seems to have been one of the conventional ways of describing theophanies in the ancient Near East. It is now clear that Israel borrowed and transformed various ideas

and imagery from her Near Eastern neighbors.40 J describes the theophany or God's presence upon the mountain in terms of smoke, fire, and great quaking. E describes the theophany in terms of thunder and lighting, a thick cloud on the mountain, and the shofar biasts.41 Although the deity never "appears" he is portrayed as coming, descending, and calling out. This descriptive language is called upon in both sources to depict the presence of the deity upon the

mountain.

In 19:20-23 Moses alone goes to the top of the mountain where Yahweh
has come down (TV). The limitations upon the people's experience of God's presence are accentuated again when Yahweh tells Moses, "Go down and warn the people lest they break through to Yahweh to gaze (HlK 4! 1?) and many of them perish" (19:21). Even the priests who are allowed to come near Yahweh for cultic purposes must "consecrate themselves, lest Yahweh break out upon them" (19-.22) 42 Moses responds, 'The people cannot come up to Mount Sinai;

39 Cassuto, p. 232. Cf. the comments of J. Day, God's Confttct, p. 125.
40 For a discussion of this phenomenon with regard to theophany cf. R. E. Clements, God and Temple, pp. 1-27; J. Jeremias, Theophanie, pp. 73-90; F. M. Cross, Canaanite Myth, pp. 147ff.; and J. Day, God's Conflict, pp. 124-125-
41 Cf. Noth, Exodus, pp.127-129 (E. trs. pp. 158-160); Nicholson, Ezodus and Sinai, pp. 78f. There is evidence for a reading of verse 18, including the ©, which describes the people trembling rather than the mountain. Cf. BHS. See further the brief depictions and recollections of Sinai in the later material of D: Deut 4;11; 5:23-24; 9:15; 31:14-15. Cf. Exodus 24:15-18; 34:5-9.
42 J seems to recognize the existence of priests, sacrifices, and altars before Sinai, whereas P does not. Cf. Clements, p. 118.

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for thou thyself did charge us, saying, 'Set bounds about the mountain, and consecrate it'" (19:23). To this Yahweh replies, "Go down, and come up bringing Aaron with you; but do not let the priests and the people break through to come up to Yahweh, lest he break out against them" (19:24).
Most commentators consider 19:20-25 an anti-climai which disturbs the theophany.43 Moses is called up the mountain once again, this time to receive a prohibition which has already been given (cf. 19:12). Moses is even presented as reminding Yahweh that his previous and now repeated instructions have already been carried out (19:23). However, this overlooks the distinction between the prohibition of 19:12 and 19:21. Eiod 19:12-13 stress that the boundary of the mountain must not be transgressed until the trumpet sounds, whereas in 19:21 the reason they might break through the barrier is accentuated; by violating the boundary they will break through to Yahweh and "gaze" upon the deity. The repetition of the prohibition brings clarification and emphasis to the prohibition against crossing the boundary between God and man, and particularly against seeing Yahweh.44 The people must not see Yahweh on pain of death (19:21-22). This emphasis is further suggested by the fact that Moses 1 objection to Yahweh's concern is rejected by the deity who then stresses the importance of the prohibition again (19:24).
Following the giving of the decalogue (20:1-17) with its responsibilities
for Israel as God's covenant people, 20:18-21 serves as the conclusion of the theophany depiction. The people respond with fear and trembling (20:18) and wish Moses to mediate directly with God for them: 'You speak with us and we will hear; but let not God speak with us lest we die" (20:19). At this point the people even fear that hearing God might lead to immediate death (cf. 19:9, 19).

43 Cf. Childs, p. 361 for a review. See further M. Haelvoel, "La Theophanie
du Sinai," ETL 9 (1953), PP. 386ff.f who assigns 19:20-25 to a late redactor. 44 Cassuto, p. 233, points to a triple reference (w. 12-13, 21-22; 24) and suggests that these verse simply stress the thought that the boundary between the two spheres is not to be violated.

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Moses commands the people: "Do not fear; for God has come (K*D) in order to prove you, and that his fear may be before your faces in order that you may not sin" (20:20). Their request for mediation is fulfilled as he ventures into the "thick darkness" (^QtD) where God is present (20:21).
Exod 19-20 is concerned with Israel's special relationship to God. Important to this is Israel's privilege to experience the presence of God. Here special relationship and presence are not without responsibility and limitations. Thus Israel has a special duty before God which is illustrated by the Decalogue presented in the narrative of the theophany and the Book of the Covenant which follows it (20:23-23:33). There are also limitations placed on the directness of the experience of God's presence. Humans may not "gaze at" God. They may come only so close to the Ineffable, and then only when cultic preparations have taken place. Prohibitions must be kept lest Yahweh break out upon the people. An intermediary is required; Moses fulfills this role for now. The priests are mentioned, although their function at this point is not clear as they are not formally introduced until Exod 29. Exod 19:21 presents the warning that humans may not "break through to gaze" at the Ineffable as coming from the mouth of God himself. No doubt it is this view which stands behind other Old Testament texts which express fear at seeing God (cf. Gen 16:13; 32:30 E. trs. 29; Exod 3:6; 33:18-23). This statement contributes to this theme which is introduced in w. 11-12 and clarifies the prohibition concerning the mountain.

The difference between "seeing" and "hearing" is worthy of further consideration. As stated above tensions exist within the narrative of Exod 19- 20 between the suggestion that Yahweh may be seen and others, more predominant, which stress that he may only be heard but never seen. In the end the people even fear that hearing Yahweh may lead to death. On the basis of 19:11 and 21 one may wonder whether references to seeing Yahweh at Sinai have at a later time been removed or toned down to some degree by stressing prohibitions against seeing. Emphasis may have shifted to seeing the natural 196

order's response to Yahweh's "coming down," e. g. fire, smoke, cloud, and even later to hearing Yahweh which was just as frightful an experience (20:19). This may also be suggested by Deut 4-5 which recapitulates these events. There, from a later vantage point, the emphasis has shifted entirely from seeing to hearing: "you heard the sounds of words, but saw no form; there was only a voice" (4:12b) 45 Although Yahweh spoke to the people "face to face" it was from "the midst of the fire" (5:4; cf. 4:33). Moses' intermediary role is stressed even further: "I stood between Yahweh and you at that time, to declare to you the word of Yahweh; for you were afraid because of the fire, and you did not go up into the mountain" (5:5). In Exod 19 the foremost danger is that the people might "break through to gaze" upon Yahweh (v. 21). As a result boundaries are set up and the people are repeatedly cautioned not to cross them. In Deuteronomy, however, this threat is altogether absent. In contrast, the danger which is emphasized is hearing of "the voice of Yahweh" (Deut 5:26- 27). Weinfeld states that Deuteronomy "cannot conceive of the possibility of seeing the Divinity."46 Although 5:24 refers to "seeing" it is not Yahweh that is seen, but rather the people have been shown Yahweh's "glory and greatness" and they have "seen that 03) Yahweh speaks with man and yet he (man) lives."47 That it is now "hearing" which is feared is also suggest by w. 25ff.: "For who is there of all flesh, that has heard the voice of the living God speak

45 Cf. M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School (Oxford, 1972), p. 207.
4*Ibid. Though cf. Deut 3 1:1 5.
47 The meaning of fttn moves toward "experience" or "perceive" in this context. Weinfeld, p. 206, suggests that the word TOD does not in this instance mean the "being and substantiality" of God, but rather his "splendor and greatness," or his "wholly-otherness." I agree that in this case the reference to seeing Yahweh's "glory and majesty" does not refer to literally seeing God, but reflects a later usage (in contrast, for example, to the P text of Exod 24:17 where the glory of Yahweh is compared to the devouring fire at the top of the mountain). The emphasis here is upon hearing God and the possible consequences of hearing.
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out of the midst of the fire, as we have, and has still lived?" As in Exod 20:19, the people request Moses to intercede on their behalf rather than tempt fate again (Deut 5:26).
Following his divine commission Moses enjoys a special status before God, that of an intermediary between God and the people. He is commissioned to lead the people out of Egypt and to the mountain for worship (3:12b; cf. 3:18). In Exod 19ff., following their arrival at Sinai, the people are given the opportunity to encounter God and to have a special relationship with God. The seeing motif is now introduced with a different purpose. In this case God does not come to rescue or to reaffirm the patriarchal promises. Nor does the seeing text come at the conclusion of an encounter with God in order to clarify the experience from the point of view of the protagonist (cf. 3:6). The motif is now employed in a text which concerns the initiation of a new and special relationship. Yahweh offers, "If you will obey my voice and keep my covenant (rT"Q), you shall be my own possession among all peoples, ... a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (19:5-6). When the people have agreed to this special relationship and its responsibilities, Yahweh tells Moses, "I am coming to you in a thick cloud, that the people may hear when I speak with you" (19:9). Moses informs the people, "On the third day Yahweh will come down upon Mount Sinai in the sight of all the people" (19:11; cf. 19:16-25; 20:18-20). However, the exact nature of their encounter with God is unclear. Moses still plays an intermediary role, and although the people are to experience God's presence in a more direct way than before, precautions must still be taken lest man or beast break through to gaze at God and face the consequences, death.48 Moses may come near, but the people must not break through "to gaze." Here one encounters the first direct Old Testament statement that God may not be

48 Scholars have noted the theological significance of Exod 19ff. as well as
its structural awkwardness. Cf. J. Licht, Storytelling in the Bible (Jerusalem, 1978), p. 19.
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seen by humans on pain of death and this is in contrast to the experience of the patriarchs and Moses before.

B. EXODUS 24:1-11: THE MAKING OF THE COVENANT

If Exod 19:1-20:22 may be said to stress special relationship with God
and its responsibilities, as well as its limitations and the penalties for crossing the boundaries between God and humans, then Exod 24:1-11 may be said to stress God's freedom to remove those limitations and allow humans full access to God's presence without harm.49 In Exod 24:Iff. the JE narrative resumes following the conclusion of the Book of the Covenant (20:23-23:33). The bulk of Exod 24 is assigned to E, though some assign w. 1-2 and 9-11 to J. Vv. 15-18 are attributed to P.50
Exod 24:1-11 is generally described by commentators as a covenant ratification ceremony. The laws of the covenant having been stated (20:23- 23:33), Yahweh instructs Moses to come up the mountain with "Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel, and worship afar off" (24:1). As in ch. 19, certain restrictions are given which must be observed. Moses alone is to come near Yahweh, while the elders remain at some distance and the people remain below (v. 2). Vv. 3-8, which describes the ritual by which the covenant is made, interrupts these events. Moses writes all of the words of Yahweh, builds an altar and twelve pillars at the foot of the mountain, and sacrifices are offered and blood is thrown upon the altar. Then Moses reads the "book of the covenant" before the people and they reply, "all that Yahweh has spoken we

49 For a discussion of points of contact between 19:3b-8 and 24:3-8 with regard to structure and terminology see L. Perlitt, Bundestheologie im Alten Testament, WMANT 36 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969), pp. 167ff., 190ff. See further Childs, pp. 502f. and Nicholson, God and His People, pp. I64ff.
50 Cf. Durham, Exodus, pp. 340-341, for a review of the proposals of source critics.
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will do, and we will be obedient" (24:7). Finally, the ceremony concludes as Moses throws blood upon the people saying, "Behold the blood of the covenant which Yahweh has made with you in accordance with all these words" (24:8) 51 Following this ritual Moses and his party go up. Yet the events described
in w. 9-1 1 do not correspond to Yahweh's instructions in w. 1-2 which clearly state that the elders are to come near, but only Moses is to come to Yahweh. At this point the reader of the Sinai narrative encounters what must be, in contrast to all the prohibitions against seeing God, the most direct Old Testament statement that God was seen by humans. Moses, Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy elders all go up:

And they saw (Hfcn) the God of Israel; and there was under his feet as
it were a pavement of sapphire stone, like the very heaven for clearness. And he did not lay his hand on the chief men of the people
of Israel; they beheld (fittl) God, and ate and drank (24:10-1 1) 32

Moses and Joshua then go up the mountain in order to receive the tables. Whether this is at a later time, or perhaps suggests that they go up further is not clear. In any case the JE narrative is broken at 24:15 by a Priestly insertion (24:15b-31:18) and does not resume until Exod 32 where the breaking of the covenant is described.
Exod 24 continues to be the subject of a great deal of scholarly attention. There seems to be a consensus that there is a lack of unity in w. 1-14, though commentators have proposed many different solutions to this problem 33 AS stated already, w. 1-2 and 9-11, which appear to be a continuous account, are

51 For a recent review of issues concerning 24:3-8 cf. Nicholson, God and
His People, pp. I64ff.
32 The only thing which compares are the first person reports of the prophets (cf. 1 Kgs 22:19 = 2 Chr 18:18; Isa 61, 5; Amos 9:1; Ezek 1:28), and yet these are concerned with only individuals while Exod 24:9-11 is concerned with a group of people.
33 Cf. Childs, pp. 499-502, for a summary of problems and proposed solutions.
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interrupted by the covenant ritual of w. 3-8. While w. 3-8 are generally assigned to E, w. 1-2, 9-11 have been assigned by commentators to J or an earlier stratum of the E source.34 H. Gressmann suggests that Eiod 24:1-2, 9-11 is a second covenant tradition which exhibits marks of great antiquity 33 This view has found wide acceptance as is evidenced by those scholars who consider w. 1-2, 9-11 and 3-8 two different covenant traditions or even two versions of the same tradition.
For example, Moth, who accepts that they are two different versions, concludes, "The fact that God lets the representatives of Israel hold a meal in his presence on the mountain indicates the making of the covenant between God and peopie."5& Similarly, Beyerlin, on the basis of the description of the meal and its proximity with the account of the covenant in w. 3-8, remarks, "Everything points to Exod. xxiv. 1 Ib involving a sacrificial meal in which the covenant... was realized and made effective."57 However, this view has not gone unchallenged as is evidenced by the work of L Perlitt, and more recently that of E. W. Nicholson 58
Nicholson, in particular, has noted the ease with which commentators have passed over the statement, which occurs twice, that the elders on the mountain saw God (w. 10 and 11)39 The phrase "they ate and drank" has

54 W. Beyerlin, Herkunft und Geschichte, pp. 2 If. (E. trs. pp. 16f.), supposes E, though a different stratum than w. 3-8, while Dilimann, pp. 284f.; Driver, pp. 25 Iff.; and Hyatt, pp. 254, 257, suppose J. See the recent review of Nicholson, God and His People, pp. 9-13, 12 Iff.
35 Gressmann, pp. 182ff.
56 Moth, Eiodust p. 159 (E. trs. p. 196); cf. Childs, pp. 50 Iff.
57 Beyerlin, p. 40 (E. trs. p. 33); cf. Noth, Exodus, p. 159 (E. trs. p. 196).
5& Perlitt, pp. 18 1-190; Nicholson, God and His People, pp. 121-133. Cf. Davies,p. 193-
This was not the case for ancient translators and commentators who recognized the theological problems that such bold statements pose. <S, for

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been over-emphasized, thus suggesting that the passage is related to the making of a covenant, while that which is central and emphasized by repetition, the fact that the elders of Israel saw God and remained unharmed, goes unnoticed. "In short, the tradition embodied in this passage is, properly speaking, a theophany tradition, a tradition of a vj'sjo dej\ the most remarkable in the Old Testament."60

This is perhaps the most that can be said about this brief story as inherited material. Exod 24:9-11 is certainly unusual. The directness of the statements that God was seen may indicate the antiquity of the brief theophany text. Given the restrictions of chs. 19 and 24 the references to seeing God are all the more unusual. The question arises as to why later redactors would have let such a text stand>l Perhaps this is due to its present location at the conclusion of the covenant ratification ceremony. If w. 9-11 do not reflect a second covenant tradition, then what is their purpose in the larger
narrative of Exod 24?

As suggested above, what is instructed by Yahweh in 24:1-2 is not what takes place in w. 9-11. Whereas w. 1-2 report Yahweh's explicit instructions that Moses alone may come near Yahweh while the people remain "below" and the elders "worship from afar," w. 9-11 records that they all went up and they all saw the God of Israel. The inclusiveness of the encounter is further demonstrated by the statement that God "did not lay his hand upon the chief

example, tends to tone down the directness of the two statements. Moses Maimonides is typical in writing that the verbs flin and ntfi must be understood as "intellectual apprehension and in no way to the eye's seeing." Cf. The Guide of the Perpleied (Chicago, 1963), p. 28. See further Nicholson, God and His People, pp. 127f., for a summary of such treatments.
60 Nicholson, God and His People, p. 130.
61 Cf. the ancient translators for whom the directness of the verses was obviously a problem. <S translates Koi clSov TOV rdirov ou danfca 6 Gcdo rofi 'lopaVjX and Kol &&wav 4v T<J> -r6w$ -roi) e^ofi. Cf. Nicholson, God and His People, pp. 123f. for the emendations which have been suggested, and pp. 128f. for a review of other translations and the views of Rabbinic literature.
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men of the people of Israel; they beheld God, and ate and drank," that is that which was warned in 19:12 and 21-24 did not take place. The usual consequences for seeing God were set aside; they were not "swept away," they did not die (cf. Exod 33:20-23).
Two important, if obvious, points must be made with regard to the function of the seeing motif in this context. First, the brief narrative scene occurs at the conclusion of the ratification of the covenant. Whatever may be said about its origin and purpose as an independent unit, in the present narrative it is closely associated with the making of the covenant which has gone before. Second, it is in direct contrast to the relationship between God and humans, as related to "appearing" and "seeing," that has been presented in Genesis and Exodus until this point. Before this only individuals see God, and then never so directly as this (cf. Gen 16:13; 32:31). There is usually a statement which reflect the unusual nature of the experience or fear. For example, in Exod 3:6 Moses is said to have hidden his face, "because he was afraid to look at God" (cf. Gen 16:13; 32:31, E. trs. v. 30). Before this narrative chs. 19-20 and 24 have presented prohibitions concerning seeing God or how near the people may come to God. Only Moses is allowed to come near.
These considerations point to the central theological significance of this text for the narrative. These bold references to seeing God comes at the conclusion of the theophany/covenant narrative and function as the climax of the presentation. Nicholson has described w. 9-11 as "the very crowning of the covenant ceremony."62 In spite of previous prohibitions, Yahweh sets aside the usual consequences and the representatives of Israel have direct access to God. As a result of this new and unique relationship (1VH), Israel as God's special possession has direct access to God's presence. This new relationship between God and his covenant people is dramatically portrayed by the experience of

62 Nicholson, God and His People, p. 172.

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Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and the seventy elders who see God and Iive.fi 3 Although the description of what was actually seen is restrained, describing only what was under God's feet, its image of brightness is consistent with other Old Testament imagery for the direct presence of God.64
To summarize, in this context Exod 24:9-11 presents the portrait of Israel's unique relationship with God as his covenant people. The passage speaks to God's intimate and direct presence with his special people, a relationship that may be taken for granted and placed in jeopardy as the reader discovers when the narrative resumes in Exod 32ff.

C. EXODUS 33:18-23: MOSES' REQUEST

Exod 33:18-23 is part of the larger composite JE narrative of Exod 32-34 which resumes following the Priestly insert (Exod 24:15b-31:18). The story of Moses 1 request to see Yahweh's glory has been carefully integrated into the larger narrative and is best understood in the context of that whole>5
When the JE narrative last ended Moses and Joshua had gone up into the mountain, leaving Aaron and Hur in charge below (24:12-14). The Priestly theophany (24:15-18) which introduces the material of Exod 25-31 reports that Moses was on the mountain forty days. As the JE narrative resumes (cf. 24:14 with 32:If.) the people are anxious that Moses has not returned from the mountain.

63 Cf. Nicholson, God and His People, p. 174. It should be noted that the event does not include any divine communication. G. H. Davies, "Theophany," JDB 4 (New York, 1962), pp. 620, describes this as "the only theophany in the Old Testament which is silent," though surely this goes too far.
64 On the imagery employed cf. Haelvoet, pp. 366ff. See further Childs,
PP. 506, 509, n. 10.
65 Cf. Durham, Exodus, pp. 450f. for a review of the suggestions of source
critics.
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With this the first of a number of scenes is introduced. The people implore Aaron, "Make us gods who shall go before us; as for this Moses, the man who brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we do not know what has become of him" (32:lb). Aaron, without hesitation, responds by taking their gold jewelry, melting it down, making a golden calf, and declaring a feast to Yahweh for the next day (32:2-6).
The scene shifts to the mountain in w. 7-14 where Yahweh tells Moses what has taken place below: "they have turned aside quickly" (32:8).66 Yahweh intends to consume the "stiff-necked people." Moses quickly intercedes on their behalf by reminding Yahweh of his investment in the people and the consequences of such an action, and by imploring the deity to turn from wrath and remember the promises of progeny and land which were given to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. With this the destruction of the people is averted (11-14), though Moses' plea for full forgiveness is rejected (32:30-35).67
In the next scene, w. 15-20, Moses and Joshua return with the two tablets while the feast is taking place. Moses responds by throwing down the tables and breaking them, symbolic of the broken covenant, and by melting down the calf into powder and making the people drink it. In w. 21-24 the scene shifts to the brief confrontation between Moses and Aaron.
In spite of Moses' pleading, Israel's sin is not without its consequences as
the next two scenes clearly reveal. In w. 25f. three thousand are put to death by the sons of Levi at the command of Moses, and the Levites are thereby consecrated. In w. 3 If. Moses returns to Yahweh to seek forgiveness for the people. Although Moses is commanded to lead the people further, Yahweh

66 Note that in 32:7 the people become "your (Moses 1) people" whom you brought up thus suggesting hostile overtones. In his intercession to Yahweh, Moses calls attention to "your (Yahweh's) people" (cf. 33:16). Cf. R. W. L Moberly, At the Mountain of God, JSOT Supplement Series 22 (1983), P- 49. 67 Childs, p. 570, draws the contrast between Aaron who is too weak to restrain the people, and Moses who is strong enough to restrain even God.

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sends a plague upon the people (w. 34-35). However, the most serious consequence of Israel's sin is reported in Eiod 33:1-3. Again Moses is commanded to lead the people to the land of promise with the assurance that the messenger will go before them, but Yahweh says "I will not go up among you, lest I consume you in the way, for you are a stiff-necked people" (33-3). The breaking of the covenant has serious consequences. Although Yahweh will not forsake his people, his direct presence will no longer go with them (cf. 24:9- 11). Here the identity of Yahweh and the messenger are more clearly distinguished. Their journey shall continue, aided by Yahweh's messenger, but they shall go without Yahweh "in their midst.1 *8 It is this consequence of their sin and its grave implications which are focused upon in Exodus 33. Moberly writes, "Ex. 33 is the most extended treatment of the issue of God's presence in the OT."69 The people respond to the consequences of their sin (cf. 32:20, 25- 29, 35; 33:3) in this instance only; they mourn and strip themselves of their ornaments (33:4-6).
Exod 33:7-11 follows, and yet it seems out of place.70 The tenses are all imperfects, perhaps suggesting something which "used" to happen or happened on a recurring basis. Childs suggests that these verses function to witness to the obedient behavior of Moses over an extended period of time and therefore to provide the basis upon which Moses can intercede with Yahweh in 33:12ff 7I They may also serve to inform the reader what had happened in the past in order to set in relief the severity of the consequences of Yahweh's punishment

68 Moberly, p. 63, finds in the phrase "in your midst" a reference to the tent as the mode of Yahweh's presence "in the midst" of the people.
69 Moberly, p. 62; cf. pp. 57ff.
70 Cf. Noth, Eiodus, pp. 209ff. (E. trs. pp. 254ff.), who considers it an old pre-Priestly, pre-deuteronomic tradition that stressed the tent and the descending cloud as the unique means by which Moses communicated with Yahweh.

71 Childs, p. 592.
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for the present and future. Thus the pillar of cloud used to descend and stand at the door of the tent and Yahweh would speak directly with Moses (33:8-9) In fact, the narrative boldly states that Yahweh used to "speak to Moses face to face, as one man speaks to another" (33:11). As a result of their sin, however, Yahweh's presence will no longer go in the midst of the people.
The narrative resumes in 33:12f. as Moses questions Yahweh about the promise to send his messenger with him as they depart for the land (cf. 32:34- 33:3) 72 On the basis of his obedience to Yahweh's commission and Yahweh's promises to him, Moses requests a clearer understanding of the ways of Yahweh (0*0^,33:12-15), or the deity's intentions in this matter73 The issue is whether Yahweh will accompany his people and if so, how. Yahweh responds, "My presence will go with you, and I will give you rest" (33:14).74 Although the response is favorable, Moses is not satisfied and presses further the issue whether Yahweh will again accompany his people. For Moses nothing less than the immediate presence of God will suffice. At this point the reader encounters what is surely one of the central theological assertions of the book of Exodus: "If your presence f^pJS) will not go with me, do not carry us up from here (note the change from singular to plural). For how shall it be known that I have found favor in your sight, I and your people except by your going with us; that we are distinct, I and your people, from all the peoples upon the face of the earth?" (33:15-16). By this the fundamental issue is made clear; Yahweh's direct presence with his people makes them distinct. This is the essence of the

72 The distinction between Yahweh and his messenger is more obvious in this narrative than in others where their identities are merged or confused (cf. Gen 18;Judg6, 13).
Noth, Exodus, p 21 1, (E. trs. p. 257), suggests that the request to know Yahweh's "ways" should be taken in the wider sense of what is Yahweh's intention?

74 Childs, p. 574, considers the phrase "I will give you rest" as a possible reference to the promised land. Cf. Deut 3:20; 12:10. See further Davies, p.
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original covenant promises (19:4-6) which are in jeopardy because of Israel's sin.7}

Moses receives a favorable reply; this Yahweh will do because "you have found favor in my sight, and I know you by name" (33:17). This positive response, however, leads to what is in this context a second, and perhaps even bolder request: "Please, show me (cause me to see) your glory (Tji3)" (33:18)76 Although the exact nature of the request is unclear, that which Moses desires is more clearly defined in God's response: "I will cause all my goodness to pass before you, and I will proclaim before you my name Tahweh' .... But you cannot see my face; for man shall not see me and live" (33:19a, 20).77 Moses desires to see Yahweh's face or presence. Yet it must be enough for Moses to know that Yahweh's presence has passed by him. Limitations are here placed even upon Moses, who according to v. 11 spoke with Yahweh face to face. In the prohibitions of w. 20 and 23 Israel's belief that God's face may not be seen by man is expressed in its clearest form, by the deity himself (cf. 19:12-13, 21-24)78 Man shall not see Yahweh and live.

75 a Childs, p. 595.

76 <S interprets Moses 1 request somewhat differently. Both 33:13 and 18 have k|i4>dvio(Jv jioi oeawrdv "manifest yourself to me." In other texts the appearance of Yahweh's glory is in the context of judgment of the people (cf.

Exod 16:10; Num 14:10; 16:19; 17:7 IE. trs. 16:42]; 20:6), though here it is used of the revealing of Yahweh's "goodness." 77 Some commentators have suggested that two different stories may lie behind this narrative because of the request to see the "glory" and the response

concerning the "face." Cf. Childs, pp. 595f. Davies, however, suggests that the glory of God is the face of God and writes, p. 243, "All through the book of Exodus, the Presence of God is normally veiled, whether in a cloud, a pillar of fire, in a mighty hand, in goodness or in a face. Not even in the moment of

departure from Sinai, and especially not after the apostasy of the calf, may the veiled glory be shown unveiled."
78 No doubt it is this belief which stands behind those Old Testament texts which declare such a prohibition and the consequences of its violation, as well as those texts which express surprise, shock, and even fear of death

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In 33:21-23 God describes how Moses' request will be met. Moses will
be prevented by God's hand from seeing God's face as the "glory" passes by. Yet God will remove his hand after he has passed by so that, "you shall see my back, but my face shall not be seen" (33:23; cf. Gen 32:30; Deut 4:33; 5:24, 26; Judg 6:22f.; 13:22; Isa 6:5).79 A variety of terminology - glory, goodness, name, face - is called upon to express the experience of God's presence. Although what is to take place is described in some detail, it is not repeated in the description of the event described in 34:1-10. The only direct contact between the description of ch. 33 and what takes place in ch. 34 is the proclamation of the divine name Tahweh" and the statement of the divine nature or character (cf. 33:19 and 34:5-7). In 34:lf. the event takes on a new significance as Moses is told to prepare tables of stone like those that were broken (32:19). Again the dangerous nature of such a direct encounter with the deity is emphasized: "No man shall go up with you, and let no man be seen upon all the mountain; and also let no flocks or herds feed before the mountain" (34.3). Moses carries out Yahweh's instructions and the encounter takes place. However, Moses is not said to "see" God (cf. 33:1 l).so Rather, Yahweh descends (TV*) in the cloud and stands O^) with Moses (34:5). Yahweh passes before (T$) Moses, proclaims his name, and describes his own nature (34:6-7).81 Moses' response, like that of the patriarchs, is to bow his head to the earth and worship (34:8; cf.

following an encounter with the deity (cf. texts in Ch. III). For an important, if somewhat dated, treatment of the "face of God" cf . Notscher, pp. 35f., 47f.
79 The word translated "back" is "inK which is literally the "back-part."
In this context it has also been translated "afterglow" (cf. Job 26:14). Cf. Driver, p. 363.
*° Moberly, p. 62, finds in Exod 33-34 the use of the language of paradox (see versus cannot see) which he considers a theologically reflective account of the divine presence.
81 V. 6 in the <D lacks the name Yahweh and therefore leaves open the question as to the subject of the verb and therefore who spoke the words describing Yahweh. CT. the commentators.
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3:6; Gen 17:3; 18:2). The story concludes as Yahweh makes covenant and promises to do an "awe-inspiring" thing with the people of Israel (34:10).
The seeing motif is found in the context of Exod 32-34 which deal with
the issues of Yahweh's character and his relationship with the "stiff-necked people" of Israel. Moses 1 relationship with Yahweh is set off again as special and different from that of the people (33:11). He pleads on their behalf for God's presence to go with them. In fact, Moses' encounter with Yahweh is framed on either end by requests for God's continuing presence with the people and for the forgiveness of their sins. (cf. 33:15; 34:9). Yet Yahweh's face may never be seen. The possibility of seeing God "face to face" (33:11) is set in contrast with the boundary between God and man which must be preserved (33:20).
The narrative is highly reflective and this paradox should not be overlooked. Moberly suggests that the narrative is concerned with "the moral problem of how a holy God can abide with a sinful people."82 An answer cannot be given without resort to paradox. Following Yahweh's response to Moses' petition the covenant is restored and the people are forgiven (34:8ff.). Yahweh will go in the midst of the people. The people "shall see the work of Yahweh, for it is an awe-inspiring thing that I will do with you" (34:1 Ob). Yet Yahweh's face cannot be seen; there is no further description like that of Exod 24:9-11.

Following the commissioning of Moses in Exod 3ff., references to seeing
God in the book of Exodus are found only at the climax of the Sinai narrative when Israel's relationship with God is made, and later at a high moment of theological tension when that relationship is in jeopardy. Here the paradox of Israel's relationship to God is clearly revealed. God may not be seen on penalty of death; yet God removes the threat himself and allows the people to have relationship with him. Yet this special relationship cannot be abused or taken

82 Moberly, p. 67.
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for granted without serious consequences. This is a message which would have been important much later when in the aftermath of the eiile Israel's theologians viewed their people's sin as broken covenant and the reason for their own adversity.

III. LEVITICUS 9 AND 16 (9:4, 6, 23; 16:2):
APPEARING AND ISRAEL'S CULT: YAHWEH'S RELATIONSHIP
WITH HIS PEOPLE

Leviticus may be described as a book about worship. The bulk of the contents of the book consist of material relating to laws about sacrifices (1-7), clean and unclean (11-15), Israel's life as the people of God (17-26), and religious vows (27). There remain, however, two narrative sections, also related to worship, which have to do with the consecration of the priests (8-10), and the Day of Atonement ceremony (16). It is in the midst of these two sections that four references to the appearing of Yahweh or his glory may be found (9:4, 6, 23; 16:2). Chs. 8-10 and 16 are both attributed to P.
In Lev 9, following the seven day ordination ritual described in ch. 8, Aaron and his sons begin their priestly duties and preparations are carried out for an assembly of the congregation of Israel for worship. In the midst of this description of ritual preparation and worship three references to "appearing" are found (9:4, 6, 23). The first occurs when Moses instructs Aaron to tell the people that certain offerings are to be prepared for sacrifice, "for today Yahweh will appear (with <5 6(j>8ifa T(H which presupposes HH*13, the participle form) to you" (v. 4). The neit occurrence follows these preparations when the people have gathered at the tent of meeting to present themselves "before Yahweh" (v. 5). Moses tells the people, "This is the thing which Yahweh commanded you to do; and the glory of Yahweh will appear to you" (v. 6). Moses then gives Aaron further instructions regarding the sin offerings which are to be offered for both priest and people (w. 8-11) and these are carried out (w. 12-22; cf. ch. 8).

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The final reference occurs after Aaron blesses the people and comes down from the altar (v. 22): "And Moses and Aaron went into the tent of meeting; and when they came out they blessed the people, and the glory of Yahweh appeared to all the people. And fire came forth from the presence of Yahweh and consumed upon the altar the burnt offering and the fat; and when all the people saw it they shouted, and fell on their faces" (w. 23b-24). Lev. 10 follows with a description of the sin of Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, who make an unauthorized offering and are consumed by fire which comes forth from the presence of Yahweh.
As stated above, Lev 8-10 follow the laws concerning sacrifices (1-7),
and are followed by laws concerning what is clean and unclean (11-15). Noth argues that Lev 1-7 and 11-15 are additions to the Priestly material which break the narrative continuity between the end of the book of Exodus and Lev 8-10 (cf. Exod 39:32, 42-43 and 40:17 with Lev 8:lff.)*3 and between Lev 10:Iff. and 16 where the P material picks up again with the ritual of the Day of Atonement (cf. Lev 10:20 and 16:1).84 The final appearing text is found in Lev 16:2. Yahweh instructs Moses, "Tell Aaron your brother that he must not come into the holy place within the veil, before the cover over the ark, at all times, and he will not die; for in the cloud I will appear (fttHK) over the cover ."S3 The remainder of the chapter sets forth the ritual requirements for the Day of Atonement (cf. Exod 28).

8 3 M. Noth points to differences in cultic terminology, stereotyped phrasing, and word order between Lev 1 -7 and what follows. Cf. Das dritte Bucb Mose, Leviticus, ATD 6 (Gottingen, 1962), p. 62 (E. trs. Leviticus, OTL. London, 1965, p. 75).
84 Cf. Noth, Pentateuch, pp. 7f. (E. trs. pp. 8f.); and Leviticus, pp. 4ff. (E.
trs. pp. 13ff.). See further N. H. Snaith, Leviticus and Numbers, CB (London, 1967), p. 10, who holds that chs. 1-16 and 27 are entirely P, while 17-22 and 26 are H (Holiness Code) and 23-25 are H edited by P.
irDS or literally "at all times" presumably means 'not just any
time." Cf. Snaith, p. 110.
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The book of Leviticus is concerned with Israel's relationship to God as it
is expressed in the ritual worship which is at the center of the life of the community 86 in both Lev 9 and 16 the references to the appearing of Yahweh are found in the context of prescriptions for the cultus which are embedded in the P narrative of Israel's sojourn at Sinai 87 Although there is agreement that these chapters contain traditions which reach back to ancient times, commen-tators assign this material to a relatively late period in Israel's history, usually to the post-exilic period and the time of the establishment of Judaism with its rigorous rules for temple and sacrifice.58
Noth suggests that Lev 9 relates the first public sacrifices of Israel. After
the seven day ordination of Aaron and his sons (Lev 8), "the whole congrega-tion" now participates in the sacrifices and worship that takes place on the eighth day; "this was the beginning of their cultic service to God."89 The first reference to Yahweh's appearing is found in Moses' instructions to Aaron concerning what is to take place (v. 4). Of this, however, Noth remarks, "It is not a very suitable anticipation of the solemn announcement of the 'appearing of the glory of Yahweh' through Moses, and is probably a secondary addition."90 The reference here is to the appearing of Yahweh rather than the glory of w. 6 and 23- Noth's view, however, overlooks those texts in which the "glory" and Yahweh are not clearly separated. In a number of texts the appearing of the glory of Yahweh is followed by "and Yahweh said" (cf. Exod 16:10-11; Num 14:10-11; 16:19-20; 20:6-7). In these cases the "glory" suggests that Yahweh is immediately present and does not seem to weaken the directness of the

86 Cf. Noth, Leviticus, p. 1 (E. trs. p. 9); and D. J. A. Clines, Pentateuch, pp.
5 Off.

87 Noth, Leviticus, p. 4 (E. trs. p. 12).
88 Snaith, p. 8.
89 Noth, Leviticus, p. 6 If. (E. trs. p. 75U
90 Ibid., p. 63 (E. trs. p. 77).

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appearing. That there is no divine speech following this appearance is explained by the cultic interest of this teit. The purpose of the appearing is the consuming of the burnt offerings. Here the fire comes forth from the presence ofYahweh(v. 24).
The next reference follows in Moses' address to the assembly. He explains that what is about to take place has been commanded by Yahweh whose glory "will appear to you" (w. 5-6). Thus both of these references to appearing simply anticipate what is to take place at the climactic moment of their worship. It is anticipated that Yahweh's glory will appear. Their cultic rites lead up to this important moment. They are then described. The people make their offerings and Aaron and his sons carry out the sacrifices (w. 7-21). Moses and Aaron enter the tent of meeting (w. 22f.). When they come out they bless the people and the glory of Yahweh appears to "all the people." Because of these references (6b and 23b), Noth does allow that the story of the appearing was an original part of the narrative of Lev. 9. For P, he suggests, this is the first appearance of the glory of Yahweh in the newly erected holy place (cf. Exod 24:15b-17): "Now, this glory had begun to appear in the midst of Israel in the legitimate sanctuary erected by Yahweh's command and dedicated by the first sacrifices to his purpose."91 That Yahweh had accepted the sacrifices with approval is indicated by v. 24 which declares that a fire came forth from the presence of Yahweh and consumed the offerings.92 The people respond to the appearing and the fire which they "see" by giving a shout and falling on their faces, both acts of worship and awe in response to the presence of God.
Following the interruption of Lev 11-15, the narrative resumes in I6:lff.: "And Yahweh spoke to Moses after the death of Aaron's two sons, when they

91 Ibid, p. 67 (E. trs. p. 81).
92 Snaith, p. 74, states, "the supernatural kindling of such fire is a sign of God's special approval."
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drew near the presence of Yahweh and died."93 This refers back to Lev. 10:Iff. In the following verse (16:2) Aaron is warned that he is not to go into the holy place, the inner room beyond the curtain where the ark stood (cf. Exod 26:33, 34), "at any time," for this is where Yahweh appears. In contrast to 9:6, 23 which refer to the "glory," it is now Yahweh who will appear. Various instructions follow which concern the specific time as well as the conditions which must be met when Aaron enters the "holy place" (I6:3ff.). This is to occur on the tenth day of the seventh month each year: "And this shall be for you an everlasting statute, that atonement may be made for the children of Israel once in the year because of all their sins" (I6:34a; cf. v. 29).
Thus in this P conteit the appearing of Yahweh (9:4b; 16:2), or Yahweh's glory (9:6b, 23b), is presented as an integral part of Israel's sacrificial ritual and worship. Moses relays Yahweh's prescriptions to Aaron with the promise that as a result Yahweh will appear. The people participate by bringing their offerings. Aaron and his sons carried out the sacrifices. Moses and Aaron enter the tent of meeting, then come out and bless the people. Their worship reaches its climax when the glory of Yahweh appears and fire from the presence of Yahweh consumes the offering. The visual aspects of the encounter are emphasized by the statement that "all the people saw it" (9:24), though it is the consuming fire which they see rather than Yahweh himself. The people respond to the appearing and the sight of the fire by shouting (]H) and bowing themselves to the ground, both responses of worship, reverence, and awe which are found in other seeing and appearing texts.
Yet dealing with the holy is not without responsibilities and even dangers. This becomes evident when Nadab and Abihu offer fire before Yahweh which was not commanded (10:Iff.). They are consumed by fire which comes forth from the presence of Yahweh. This theme is taken up again when

93Noth, Leviticus, p. 100 (E. trs. p. 117f.), suggests that 16:1 was added
at a later time after I6:2f. was separated from 10:lf. by 11-15.
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the narrative resumes in 16:If. Aaron must be warned not to enter the holy place at just any time lest he die, for this is where Yahweh appears. Only once a year does he dare to enter.
The motif of appearing is significant for the P narrative of Leviticus. Yahweh appears at the climax of Israel's worship in Lev 9, and yet Aaron is warned that the holy place within the tent of meeting must not be violated at just any time on pain of death because this is where Yahweh appears (ch. 16). Appearing and the benefit of God's presence are found set side by side with the danger and warning (cf. Exod 19, 24, 32-33; 2 Sam 6:6-7). God appears in Israel's worship and yet Israel is warned through Aaron and his sons that God's presence cannot be manipulated and abused. In Lev 9:24 and 10:1 the consuming fire of God's presence is introduced. The fire comes forth from Yahweh to consume the offerings of the people. However, it also comes forth to consume Nadab and Abihu when unholy fire is offered before Yahweh. God's presence is a blessing which brings responsibilities. The paradox of Israel's experience at Sinai is now set within the framework of Israel's religious faith and cultic practice concerning the presence of God.
Commentators have pointed out that the consuming of the sacrifices by Yahweh in ch. 9 reveals the deity's acceptance of Israel's worship and the sacrificial ritual which is here introduced for the first time. In Lev 16 the important ritual for the Day of Atonement is also introduced. Both chapters are important for the priestly prescriptions for worship in Israel. However, commentators overlook the significant shift which takes place in the use of the "appearing" motif. Now Yahweh does not appear at a moment of crisis or tension when the people are threatened; nor does the deity appear to reaffirm promises previously made or to make covenant. Yahweh's appearing is now set within the framework of the cult. Yahweh appears on a recurring basis following the proper cultic acts or at the proper moment in the cultic calendar However, the relationship between appearing and the promise of

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relationship, present in P material from the very beginning, should not be overlooked in this context (cf. Gen 17:lff.; Exod 6:2ff.). D. J. A. Clines writes:

As for the book of Leviticus, its function, within the scheme of the promise and its fulfilments, is to spell out in detail the means by which the relationship now established is to be maintained. The presuppositions are that men will wish to offer gifts to God, will sin against God, will want to know the will of God for everyday life. That
is to say, Leviticus depicts a community exploring its relationship with
God.*

The covenant having been made at Sinai and God's promise of special relationship having been fulfilled, the implications of this relationship must now be worked out. For the priestly theology, however, there is obedience and right worship which brings Yahweh's presence, and there is also disobedience and profane worship which leads to punishment. Such a relationship is clearly spelled out in the Holiness Code in Lev 26: "If you walk in my statutes and observe my commandments and do them,.... 1 will walk among you, and will be your God, and you shall be my people" (26:3, 12); "But if you will not hearken to me, and will not do all these commandments, but break my covenant,.. ., I will set my face against you, and you shall be smitten before your enemies" (26:14, 17).
In the context of the larger pentateuchal narrative the promise of everlasting relationship finds fulfillment in the covenant at Sinai. This promise was offered to the patriarchs to whom God appeared, "And 1 will establish my covenant between me and you and your descendants after you throughout their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be God to you and to your descendants after you. And 1 will give to you, the land of your sojournings, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession; and I will be their God" (Gen 17:7-8; cf. 17:lf.). The same was later promised to Israel through Moses, "Say therefore to the people of Israel, '1 am Yahweh, and I will bring you out from

94 Clines, p. 50.

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under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will deliver you from their bondage, and I will redeem you with an outstretched arm and with great acts of judgment, and I will take you for my people, and I will be your God; and you shall know that I am Yahweh, your God, who has brought you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians" (Exod 6:6-7).
Following the prescriptions for the ordination of Aaron and his sons in Exodus the promise of relationship is offered once more, "And I will dwell among the people of Israel, and will be their God. And they shall know that I am Yahweh their God, who brought them forth out of the land of Egypt that I might dwell among them; I am Yahweh their God" (Exod 29:45). In Leviticus Yahweh's relationship with his people is set within the framework of the cult where Yahweh now appears on a recurring basis.
In Lev 8-10 and 16 Aaron and his sons are ordained and take up their priestly offices. The priestly sacrifices and worship are introduced for the first time and the climax of their worship is the appearing of the glory of Yahweh (9:4b, 6b, 23b). Yahweh who appeared to Abraham now appears in Israel's worship. The appearing motif is important for the narrative of the institution of Israel's cult. Yet the tension which is found in the JE sources of Exod (cf. chs. 19-20, 24ff.) is also present here. Aaron must enter through the veil of the tent only when prescribed by Yahweh. Even when appearing becomes a recurring cultic event, it must not be manipulated or abused. The priestly theology has placed the paradox of Israel's relationship with Yahweh in the context of Israel's cultic worship which concerns Yahweh's relationship with his people.

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IV. EXODUS 16:7, 10; NUMBERS 12:8; 14:10, 14, 22; 16:19;

17:7 (E. TRS. 16:42); 20:6: CRISIS AND REBELLION IN THE WILDERNESS

One of the more prominent functions of the appearing motif outside the patriarchal traditions of Genesis occurs in four self-contained narratives, one in Exodus and three in Numbers, which describe Israel's rebellion or murmuring in the wilderness (cf. Exod 16; Num 14, 16-17, 20). These chapters are generally thought to be compilations of both J and P material, though the reference to "appearing" in each one may be attributed to P.95 in each case the Niphal of Hin is collocated with the "glory of Yahweh" (HliT 7ft?) as subject. Exod 16 also includes a reference to "seeing" the "glory" (v. 7 P) and Num 14:14 (J) refers to Yahwer being seein "face to face" by Israel. An additional "seeing" collocation may be found in the J narrative of Num 12:1-6 which describes the rebellion of Miriam and Aaron against Moses. In this case the glory of Yahweh does not appear, but Yahweh "comes down" (TV). However, this story contains Yahweh's declaration to Miriam and Aaron that Moses "beholds the form of Yahweh." This unique context will be examined after attention is give to the other four, the structures of which are very similar.

A. REBELLION AND THE APPEARING OF THE GLORY OF YAHWEH

A review of these self-contained stories reveals certain commonalties between them.% Perhaps most noticeable is the narrative structure: A)

Cf. the commentators. In the case of Num 14, two "seeing" collocations
from J have been added to the story of the appearing of Yahweh's "glory" (w. 14,22).
96 Cf. G. W. Coats, Rebellion in the Wilderness: The Murmuring Motif in
the Wilderness Traditions of the Old Testament (Nashville, 1968). Coats examines the formal structure of the murmuring motif and the use of the verb]f? with ^, "to rebel against" (p. 28). Following Noth, (Uberlieferungs-geschichte desPentateuch, p. 136. E. trs. p. 124), he concludes that murmuring is often a secondary negative element in the tradition (P) which was imposed on Israel's positive confessions about Yahweh's aid in the wilderness (p. 250).

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Introduction; B) Conflict; C) Appearing; and D) Resolution. For example, Exod 16 and Num 20, which have to do with the need of food and water respectively, are introduced by reference to an itinerary usually attributed to P: "They set out from Elim and all the congregation of the people of Israel came to the wilderness of Sin" (Exod 16:la); or "And the people of Israel, the whole congregation, came into the wilderness of Zin in the first month, and the people stayed in Kadesh" (Num 20:1 a).9? The introduction to the story of Num 14 is more properly the whole of the previous chapter which tells the story of the spies sent to Canaan and thus introduces the conflict surrounding the land which is prominent in the story. The introduction to Num 16-17 is much more concise, beginning only with the names of the chief conspirators against Moses 1 authority.
The introduction is followed by the conflict. The conflict, however, is different in each case. For example, as already noted, in Exod 16 the conflict centers around the lack of food and the desire to return to their state of life before the Exodus. In Num 20 the concern is the need for water. In Num 14 the conflict follows the report of the spies sent into the land of promise. Rather than fight the giants of the land, the people resolve to return to Egypt and abandon their faith in Yahweh: "Would that we had died in the land of Egypt! Or that we had died in this wilderness! Why does Yahweh bring us into this land, to fall by the sword?" (Num 14:2b-3a). In Num 16 the conflict surrounds the authority of Moses and the subordination of certain Levites to the Aaronite priestly order: "And they assembled themselves together against Moses and

This became necessary in the post-exilic period when the theological necessity to explain the tragedy of the exile lead to the view that Israel's rebellion extended back through Israel's history to the fathers (p. 253).
97 With regard to the itinerary of Exod 16, Noth, Exodus, p. 106 (E. trs. p. 133), remarks "after the rich oasis of Elim the wilderness of Sin was the first stopping place in which the lack of sustenance in the desert would have made itself felt. Now there follows for the first time in P, the 'murmuring' of the people (w. 2f.) who rebel against the leadership of their God." Cf. Coats, pp. 71,
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against Aaron, and said to them, Tou have gone too far! For all the congregation are holy, every one of them, and Yahweh is among them; why then do you exalt yourself above the assembly of Yahweh?" 1 (Num 16:3).98
In Num 17:6f. the people gather together against Moses and Aaron and accuse them of being responsible for what happened to Korah and his conspirators. The people or congregation are said to murmur against (]f?Exod 16:2, 7; Num 14:2; 16:11; 17:6; cf. 17:3), to gather together against
16:3; 17:7; 20:2), to contend with D^Num 20:3), or to be ready to stone (D3TI Num 14:10) Moses and Aaron. Moses and Aaron usually respond to the complaint by falling on their faces (bfcUNum 14:5; 16:4; 17:10; 20:6). By this act they present themselves before Yahweh and shift the burden of response to the deity."
Although it is against Moses and Aaron that the people murmur, in each case the narrative seems to imply that the murmuring of the Israelites is a sign of lack of faith in God. Thus Moses and Aaron tell the people, "At evening you shall know that it was Yahweh who brought you out of the land of Egypt, and in the morning you shall see the glory of Yahweh, because he has heard your murmuring against Yahweh. For what are we, that you murmur against us?" (Exod l6:6b-7; cf. 16:8). Yahweh asks Moses, "How long shall this wicked congregation murmur against me? I have heard the murmurings of the people of Israel which they murmur against me" (14:26). Moses tells Koran, "Therefore it is against Yahweh that you and all your company have gathered together; what is Aaron that you murmur against him?" (Num 16:11). Similarly, Joshua and Caleb tell the people, "Do not rebel (TlD) against Yahweh, and do not fear the people of the land" (Num 14:9). Thus the emphasis is placed upon the faithlessness of the people and their open rebellion against
Yahweh.

98 Cf. the discussion of Num 12:1-16 below.
"Coats, p. 39.

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The conflict or complaint is always followed immediately by the "appearing" of the glory nt33) of Yahweh. In Eiod 16:10 and Num 17:7 the glory appears in the cloud (]31!MOO In Num 14:10; 16:19; 20:6 the tent of meeting is given as the specific location of the appearing.101 With the exception of Num 20:6 where the glory of Yahweh appears to Moses and Aaron, the appearing takes place before all the people (Exod 16:10; Num 14:10; 16:19; 17:7). In every case, however, the appearing is immediately followed by "and Yahweh said to Moses." (Exod 16:11; Num 14:11; 16:20; 17:9; 20:7). Yahweh's glory may appear before the whole congregation, but Yahweh speaks only to Moses who continues to exercise a mediating role between the people and their
God.

The sudden appearing always brings a resolution to the conflict in some way. In each case Yahweh speaks to Moses and gives instructions concerning the response to the people's murmuring. In the first and last context the need which leads to the conflict is met, food and water. Thus in Exod 16 the people's hunger is met by the quail and manna which are miraculously provided by Yahweh, and in Num 20 Yahweh gives Moses instructions which bring forth water from the rock (cf. Exod 17)J02
In Num 14, 16-17, and 20 the appearing of Yahweh also brings judgment
and punishment. In Num 14:11-25 (J) Yahweh announces his intention to

100 This seems to suppose that the cloud covered the tent of meeting (Exod 40:34-38; Num 9:15-16). Cf. Hyatt, p. 175-
101 Commentators are generally agreed that the phrase "come near before Yahweh" in Exod 16:9 may be taken to mean "towards the tent." Cf. Dillmann, Exodus, p. 185; Driver, p. 147; Davies, p. 139; and Cassuto, p. 194. 102 In the narrative of Exod 16, the manna is described in greater detail than the quail which is mentioned no further. Cf. the J account in Num 1 l:4ff. For a comparison of these accounts see the commentators, especially Noth, Exodus, pp. 104ff. (E. trs. pp. 13Iff-); Clements, Exodus, pp. 98f.; and Childs, pp! 279ff. The J account makes no reference to the "appearing" which is found in the P narrative. Coats, p. 16, suggests that the different responses of aid and punishment may suggest different levels of tradition.
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destroy the people of Israel and start afresh with Moses about whom Yahweh says, "1 will make of you a nation greater and mightier than they." Moses, however, intercedes for Israel calling attention to their special relationship with Yahweh, "For you 0 Yahweh, are seen face to face, and your cloud stands over them and you go before them, in a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night" (14:14 J). Yahweh responds to Moses' plea and pardons the people, with the exception that "none of the men who have seen my glory and my signs which I wrought in Egypt and in the wilderness, and yet have put me to the proof these ten times and have not harkened to my voice, shall see the land which I swore to give to their fathers; and none of those who have despised me shall see it" (14:22-23 J). 1Q 3 Here seeing "my glory" is set side by side with having seen signs and Yahweh's activity in delivering Israel from Egypt and should, therefore, probably not be understood as a reference to having literally seen Yahweh, such as is suggested by 14:14. Their lives will be spared, but they will not be given the opportunity to enter the land. A generation is doomed to wander in the wilderness because of their murmuring or lack of faith. Once again reference to the land, which figures prominently in this story, is found together with the appearing of Yahweh, though this seems to belong to the J material in the chapter rather than P (14:14, 22, 23). Moses' plea places emphasis upon the people's lack of faith in spite of the fact that they have seen God face to face, a reference to their special relationship.
In Num 16-17 the consequences of the murmuring are even more severed04 In the first instance Korah and his household are swallowed up alive

in the J context of this narrative one can speculate on the basis of
these verses that the encounter was related to Yahweh's promise of the land. Here only Caleb and his descendants will enter and possess the land (14:24). Such a statement may also suggest a pro-Judean viewpoint.
104 Because of the different persons involved at different points of the narrative (cf. w. 12-15 and 25-34 with w. 2f. and 8-11), and the apparent different nature of the complaints (cf. w. 3 with 13-14), commentators have suggested that three versions are present in this J/P narrative. Cf. M. Noth, Das 223

by the earth and go down into Sheoi, and his conspirators are consumed by a fire which comes forth from Yahweh (16:31-35). In the second, a plague kills over fourteen thousand before Moses can make atonement for the people (17:1 Of.). In Num 20 the punishment falls upon Moses and Aaron who will not be allowed to bring the people into the land of promise because apparently they failed to interpret the giving of water as a sign from Yahweh. 105
The appearing of the glory of Yahweh would seem to have the same function in each case. After the conflict has been clearly introduced and the the narrative tension reaches its highest point the glory of Yahweh suddenly appears. The murmuring of the people against Moses and Aaron is not only a threat to them, but it is an affront to Yahweh. The glory of Yahweh appears before all the people, or in Num 20:6 only to Moses and Aaron. The appearing of the "glory" is followed immediately by Yahweh's speech and instructions to Moses for the resolution of the conflict. 10^ This suggests the "glory" was not intended to reduce the directness of Yahweh's appearance and involvement in these important moments in the wilderness.
In each text the appearing is involved in the tension of the narrative which is introduced by the people's murmuring. Yahweh appears following their complaints and either meets the need or confronts their faithlessness by judgment. In Num 14, 16-17 and 20 the relationship between the appearing of Yahweh and judgment and punishment is made explicit for the first time. In the present form of the wilderness traditions the murmuring motif has the significant function of showing Yahweh's guidance of Israel through the

viene Buch Mose, Numeri, ATD 7 (Gottingen, 1966), pp. 107ff. (E. trs. Numbers,™. OTL. London, 1968, pp. 107ff.).
103 Cf. Deut 32:50-52 with Deut 1:37; 3:26; and Ps 106:32 which seem to interpret Moses' sin as a vicarious death on behalf of the people. See further Coats, p. 80; R. J. Burns, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, OTM (Wilmington, 1983) p. 255; and Noth, Numeri, pp. 127ff. (E. trs. pp. 144ff.).
106 With the exception of Num 14:11 (J), both the appearing and speech verses belong to P.

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wilderness.*0? This guidance and aid may involve meeting the needs of a given situation or punishing those who are rebellious and faithless. The appearing of Yahweh's glory is the means whereby the divine becomes directly involved in the wilderness at these moments of crisis and rebellion.
To summarize, Yahweh's glory appears in the narratives of the wilderness wanderings when God's relationship with the people is threatened by their rebellion and faithlessness. These occur during the journey to Sinai (Exod 16) as well as afterwards. Such faithlessness, however, is not without its consequences. These stories, scattered throughout the larger narrative, bear witness to Yahweh's direct intervention in the wilderness to guide, sustain, and even judge the people Israel during their journey towards Sinai and then the land. Through these stories Israel may learn who God is through his gracious acts of ultimately sustaining Israel through the difficult period in the wilderness. To a later time they would have made a clear witness to Yahweh's aid to his people and to the seriousness of rebellion and faithlessness and its consequences. In the larger narrative these very similar stories may have offered further theological justification for the tragedy experienced in the exile as Israel's rebellion and faithlessness is clearly portrayed as part of even her earliest experiences as the people of Yahweh.

B. REBELLION AGAINST THE AUTHORITY OF MOSES

Commentators assign Num 12 to either E or J.10S The self-contained narrative moves from tension to confrontation and then to resolution in sixteen verses. Much of the story is communicated by the narrator in the third person, though direct speech is also used at important moments, such as Miriam's and

107 Cf. Childs, pp. 287ff.
108 a. G. B. Gray, Numbers, AT (Edinburgh, 1903), p. 120; and Snaith, p. 234, who both designate this as an E story; and Noth, Numeri, pp. 82ff. (E. trs. pp. 92ff.), who suggests J.

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Aaron's question, God's response, Aaron's eipressed concern for Miriam, and Moses' plea to Yahweh.
At the beginning the narrator clearly states the tension of the story. Unlike the murmuring traditions, this story represents the rebellion not of the entire community, but of Miriam and Aaron alone (though cf. Num 16). Miriam and Aaron have spoken against Moses "because of the Cushite woman whom he had married, for he had married a Cushite woman" (12:1).109 Although the exact nature of the offence is unclear, it is emphasized by its repetition. The reader is also told that the two have asked, "Has Yahweh indeed spoken only through Moses? Has he not spoken through us also?" (12:2). The relationship between Moses' having married a Cushite woman and the subsequent question concerning Moses as the mediator of Yahweh's revelation is unclear, unless one takes their anger concerning Moses 1 marriage as but an excuse for the more important issue. This has led commentators to postulate that two different stories are here combined. For example, some hold that the first charge concerning Moses' marriage to a Cushite woman was originally brought by Miriam alone. This may be suggested by the feminine singular imperfect verb. The second, brought by Miriam and Aaron, concerns the claim to special privileges with regard to receiving Yahweh's word. Noth concludes that from a literary point of view the two can no longer be disentangled, though he suggests that the reproach concerning the Cushite marriage must be regarded as primary.HO Although this may or may not be the case, it seems to me that the narrative in its present form focuses upon the issue of Moses 1 authority rather than his marriage. It is in regard to this issue that Moses is said to "see the form of Yahweh" (12:8).

109 Cf. Exod 2:21 where Moses marries Zipporah, a Midianite. Apparently
the term "Cushite" included Midianites and other Arabic peoples. However, the <B, S, and D render Ethiopian which has led to the suggestion that this is in fact
a second wife.

110 Noth, Numm\ p. 83 (E. trs. p. 93); cf. Coats, pp. 26Iff.

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Following the collective direct speech from Miriam and Aaron the narrator tells the reader, 'Yahweh heard it." There follows in v. 3 a rare, explicit comment from the narrator concerning Moses: "Now the man Moses was very meek, more than all men that were on the face of the earth."111 Vv. 2b-4f. would seem to indicate that this controversy, like the others in the wilderness, was in reality a rebellion against Yahweh. While Moses remained silent, Yahweh began to act.112
The tension having been introduced, the narrative moves to confronta-tion as "suddenly" Yahweh intervenes and calls Moses, Aaron, and Miriam to the tent of meeting: "And Yahweh came down (TV) in a pillar of cloud and stood at the door of the tent" (12:4-5). In the midst of Yahweh's speech the following statement is found: "With him (Moses) I speak mouth to mouth, in personal presence, and not indirectly; and he beholds (DDM the form (n]1Dfl)u3 of Yahweh. Why then were you not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?" (12:7-8). The results of Yahweh's anger are reported by the narrator: "And when the cloud departed from the the tent, look, Miriam was leprous, as white as snow" (12:9-10). Direct speech is used again as the narrative tension builds when Aaron sees what has happened. He pleads to Moses on her behalf and then immediately Moses cries out to Yahweh, "Heal her, 0 Yahweh, I pray you" (12:13). Moses' request is granted as her punishment is reduced. In 12:14 Yahweh speaks again and orders that Miriam remain outside the camp for seven days. The narrative moves quickly to its resolution as Yahweh's

111 Licht, p. 33, remarks, "Comment in Biblical stories is always impressive, because of its rarity." Cf. Gen 3:1; 6:9; 2 Sam 11:27; Job 1:1) See further Gunkel, Genesis, pp. XXXIXff.; and R. Scholes and R. Kellogg, The Nature oTNarrative (New York, 1966), pp. 164-167. This verse is one of the age old stumbling blocks for belief in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.
112 Cf. Burns, p. 233.

U3 The© reads ad tV 6#av Kvpfov (cf. S and C). a. Deut 4:12 which stresses that the people saw no rUlDHbut only heard a voice. T »
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instructions are carried out. Miriam remains outside the camp for seven days and the camp does not march on until she is brought in again.
In this case, the "seeing" motif is closely related to the purpose of the narrative itself, to declare Moses1 unique relation to God. Miriam, who receives the punishment for challenging Moses, has no direct speech of her own. Aaron, who challenges Moses with her, goes unpunished, except perhaps with the pain of seeing his sister afflicted with leprosy. Moses, the very meek man, does not seek their punishment, but rather pleads with God on Miriam's behalf. Yahweh, whom the narrator has speaking more than any other character, defends the unique position of Moses.
This story belongs to those narratives in the Pentateuch which extol Moses' unique relationship with God. In this it is not surprising. What is worthy of notice, however, is the statement, from Yahweh himself, concerning the directness of this relationship. To other prophets Yahweh reveals himself, literally causes himself to be known (ininK), in a vision (rftHD) or a dream (Dlbn). 114 Moses, however, has access to Yahweh's presence, speaks directly

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with him, and sees the form or semblance (n^Dfl) of Yahweh.11 ^ Although this

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story is an unique narrative within itself,l 16 it nevertheless belongs to the larger group of rare Old Testament texts which declare that God is seen. Yet it also stresses the unusual nature of such an encounter. Not even other prophets enjoy the direct presence of God. In this narrative this is clearly reserved for Moses alone. The story also tells of another crisis during the period of the

114 Miriam is referred to a prophetess in Exod 15:20, another J text. The statement may then be taken as contrasting Moses' unique relationship with God with that of Miriam.

Noth, Numeri, pp. 85f- (E. trs. p. 96), has pointed to a connection between 12:1-16 and 11:14-17, 24b-30 which refer to the selection of seventy elders to assist Moses. Although there were other prophets, Moses was much more than this, and continued to have a special role as God's unique spokesman.
116 Cf. Coats, p. 263, who considers it a family saga and sui generis.

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wilderness wanderings in which Yahweh became directly involved in order to preserve order and to affirm once more the unique authority and position of Moses (cf. Eiod 33:11; Deut 34:10).

V. NUMBERS 22-24 (22:21-35): BALAAM THE DIVINER

Numbers 22-24 present the entertaining self-contained story of Balaam,
a Mesopotamian diviner, who is asked by the Moabite king, but forbidden by God, to place a curse on the invading Israelites. The compiled nature of this narrative has been noted by scholars who have assigned it to JE.117 The introduction sets forth the tension of the narrative straightaway (w. 1-3). Moab is in dread of the Israelites because they have witnessed their success against the Amorites. This fear is further stressed in the first scene by the speech of Balak, the Moabite king, to his elders: "This118 horde will now lick up all that is round about us, as the ox licks up the grass of the field" (22:4). Therefore, the king sends the elders of Moab and Midian to Balaam, the diviner, to request that he come and curse the Israelites (22:4b-14).
In the next scene the elders issue Balak's invitation, but Balaam insists
his answer be dependent upon divine instruction. God replies, Tou shall not go with them; you shall not curse the people, for they are blessed" (22:12). These

117 Cf. the commentators. Noth, Numeri, pp. 15 Iff. (E. trs. pp. 17 Iff..), assigns 22:1 to P, and on the basis of doublets (cf. 22:3a//3b; 22:41/723:26; 23:287/24:19) and the use of both Elohim and Yahweh he suggests that both the J and E sources are present in the rest of the narrative. See further Gray, pp. 309ff.; McNeile pp. 123ff.; and A. Dillmann, Numerj, Deuleronomium und Josua (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 135ff., who attributes to the Balaam of J greed or avarice in his attempt to receive "honor" or payment from Balak. Cf. the later references to Balaam in Deut 23:5b-6 (E. trs. 23:4b-5); Josh 24:9b-10a; Neh 13:2. For a recent discussion of the difficulties of applying the documentary hypothesis to the Num 22-24 see H. Rouillard, Laperocope deBalaam (Nomores 22-24). La prose etJes "oracles" Etudes bibJiques, Nouvelle serie No. 4 (Paris, 1985),pp.9ff.

118 Reading ffi Hwith the <5, S, and D.
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events are virtually repeated in the next scene where Balak sends an even more impressive group of princes to Balaam with the same request (22:15- 20).119 Again Balaam seeks out God, this time, however, receiving the reply, "Rise, go with them; but only what 1 bid you, that shall you do."
There follows in 22:21-35 the story of Balaam's ass, originally independent, which now functions as a separate scene within the larger narrative. Balaam goes with the princes of Moab on the neit morning just as God commanded (v. 20 E). Yet this divine sanction is contradicted in v. 22 where the narrator says "God's anger was kindled because he went." The messenger of Yahweh blocks the road on which they travel. Three times the story emphasizes the fact that Balaam's ass saw the messenger, while the diviner who is baffled by it all did not (cf. 22:23 I2X], 27). First, the ass responds by going off the road, then by squeezing Balaam's foot against a wall, and finally by lying down under him. Each time Balaam responds by striking the animal. After the third incident Yahweh opens the mouth of the ass and a conversation takes place between master and beast which introduces the real cause of the problem.
Unlike the ass, it is only after Yahweh opens his eyes that Balaam can see
the messenger standing in the way with sword drawn (22:31). Following this Balaam responds reverently by bowing his head and falling upon his face. The fact that the ass saw the messenger and Balaam did not is stressed once more in the conversation that follows (22:32-33). In the end the messenger instructs Balaam, "Go with the men; but only the word which I bid you, that shall you speak" (22:35; cf. 22:20).120

119 On the use of repetitive devices in this narrative cf. R. Alter, The An
of Biblical Narrative (New York, Publishers, 1981), pp. 104f.
120 Cf. Alter's suggestion, p. 106, that the role of the ass in the story is to
be contrasted with that of Balaam, "beholding divine visions with eyes unveiled," while the role of blind Balaam and his rage is to be contrasted with Balak.
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In the next scene a sequence of repeated actions are presented as three times, each from a different vantage point, Balak requests Balaam to curse the people and the diviner instructs Balak to build seven altars and to sacrifice upon them seven oxen and seven sheep (22:36-24:24). These painstaking preparations, however, only result in greater and greater frustration for the king, who receives each time the same reply; Balaam cannot curse what God has blessed. Thus the tension introduced from the beginning remains in spite of the king's frustrated attempts to have his enemies cursed. In angry protest the king decries the diviner, "I called you to curse my enemies, and look, you have blessed them these three times" (24:10). To this Balaam replies, "Did I not tell your messengers whom you sent to me, 'If Balak should give me his house full of silver and gold, I would not be able to go beyond the word of Yahweh, to do either good or bad of my own will; what Yahweh speaks, that will I speak 1 " (24:12).
Following a fourth oracle the narrative comes swiftly to a close as the narrator reports, "Then Balaam rose, and went back to his place; and Balak also went his way" (24:24). As the story ends the tension has shifted from the danger of the king's enemies to the king's frustration that God's favor cannot be manipulated. Rather what Yahweh has blessed is blessed. Both the king and the diviner go their ways in silence.
Scholars generally consider 22:21-35 an independent story from another tradition which has been incorporated into the narrative of Mum 22-24. Noth, for example, suggests that it may be assigned to jJ21 Thus attention has been given to the sources and earlier forms of the two stories which have been woven into the narrative very poorly given the contradiction of 22:20 and 22.122 In 22:12 God commands Balaam not to go. In 22:20 God comes to

121 Noth, Numerj\ p. 151 (E. trs. p. 172). He writes, p. 157 (E. trs. p. 178), "the episode of the ass is a masterpiece of ancient Israelite narrative art." 122 Noth, NumerJ, pp. 153ff. (E. trs. pp. 174ff.), suggests that two different themes are reflected; Balaam can refuse to come, or else come and
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Balaam at night and tells him to go, but he is to speak only what he is
commanded.

In 22:21-35 both the messenger of Yahweh and Yahweh are involved in
the action of the story. The messenger of Yahweh stands in the road with a drawn sword in his hand and blocks the path (22:23-26), and he tells Balaam he would have slain him had the beast not turned aside (22:33). Yahweh, however "opens the mouth" of the ass and "opens the eyes" of Balaam (22:28, 3 1). Noth remarks, "the messenger of Yahweh, then, acts and speaks in place of Yahweh, but always in such manner as if it were an action or speech of Yahweh
himseif."123

The function of 22:21-35 and the use of the seeing motif deserve more careful attention. Although Balaam "sees" the messenger of Yahweh only once (22:31), the messenger is seen three additional times by the ass (22:23, 25, 27; cf. v. 33). A helpful re-evaluation of the story and its function within the whole of the narrative has been carried out by R. Alter who points to what he considers "a carefully orchestrated ensemble of repetitive devices" which provide the structure for the story.124 Among these is the repetition of the

bless, not curse. From the point of view of the history of tradition Noth suggests the latter is primary. Cf. Licht, p. 70, who offers the suggestion, Balaam must be both forbidden to go and sent on his journey; this dilemma arises ultimately from the very nature of prophecy, as conceived of by the Old Testament." Yet he perceives (pp. 70-71) that this does not make the problems disappear and suggests the episode must have been combined with the other elements of the narrative to form the story as we have it. See further Gray, pp. 308f.; L. E. Binns, The Book of Numbers, WC (London, 1927), pp. 15 If.
Noth, Numeri, p. 157 (E. trs. p. 179). Cf. Snaith, p. 288, who writes,
"the conception represents a stage in the development of God's transcendence, when it was no longer acceptable to think of God as speaking directly to man." The problems of such an evolutionary view have been mentioned above.
124 Cf. Alter, pp. 104f. See also Rouillard's recent treatment of this narrative, pp. 1 15ff. and her article, "L'Anesse de Balaam, Analyse Litteraire de Nomb., XXII, 21-25," RBW (1980), pp. 5-37, 211-241. She suggests that 22.22-35 was added to the Balaam story by a later narrator in order to discredit the foreign prophet by means of ridicule. 23:27-24:19 were then added by even later narrators to counter the influence of the story of the ass.
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very first word in the Hebrew of the story, Hfcn "to see," which he considers the Leitwort for the entire narrative. Thus Balak "sees" all that Israel has done to the Amorites (22:2). Later Balak brings Balaam to three different vantage points from which he can "see" Israel to curse them (22:41; 23:9, 13).125 What Balaam eventually "saw," however, was that "it pleased Yahweh to bless Israel" (24:1-2). Balaam's final oracles are prefaced by an affirmation of his prophetic "seeing": "The oracle of him who hears the words of God, and knows the knowledge of the Most High, who 'sees' the vision of the Almighty, falling down, but having his eyes uncovered" (24:16).
Into this narrative the story of Balaam and his ass, which is also about seeing, is placed. The irony is that while the diviner does not see the messenger of Yahweh, his ass does. The diviner sees only when his eyes are opened by Yahweh (22:31). Alter concludes that this tale is about the nature of prophecy or vision; the story presents "the steady insistence on God as the exclusive source of vision." 126 Just as Balaam is unable to see three times the messenger of Yahweh standing before him, so he sees three times that "it pleased Yahweh to bless Israel" (24:1). In contrast to Balak's notion, "I know that he whom you bless is blessed, and he whom you curse is cursed" (22:6), the narrative stresses the view that blessing and cursing are beyond human manipulation, belonging to God alone as the one who opens the eyes of the prophet,127
Although Alter's view obviously does not account for all the details of
the narrative, especially the apparent contradiction between 22:20 and 22 which has not been smoothed over, he has offered a more positive evaluation

125 Noth, Numeri, p. 160 (E. trs. p. 182), remarks, "according to a widespread conception, for a curse such as Balak wanted from Balaam to be effective, it was essential to be able to see the object that was to be cursed." 126 Alter, p. 105- Cf. Snaith, p. 291.
127 cf. Noth, Numeri. P- 163 (E. trs. p. 186).

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of what had otherwise been thought to be a rather insignificant addition. Here he finds an important theological insight and an example of the harmony between theological argument and narrative art.
The contradiction between 22:20 and v. 22 cannot be overcome. 22:21-
35 has been adapted and adopted into the larger narrative of Balaam the diviner. In its original form perhaps the story would have made much of the contrast between the "seeing" ass and the blind diviner. The messenger of Yahweh, here in more anthropomorphic terms than other narratives (22:23-26, 33), is seen by the ass, and by Balaam, when his eyes have been opened by Yahweh. The narrative now contributes to the larger narrative by its emphasis upon true divination and prophecy which come only when Yahweh has opened the eyes of his servant. The fact that God's blessing and cursing are beyond human manipulation is further clarified.
Although Num 22-24 is fairly complete within itself, its place within the narratives of Numbers should not be overlooked. These chapters present an entertaining story which further portrays God's protection of Israel, his special people, during the wilderness wanderings before the death of Moses and the entrance into the land of promise. The story presents a Moabite king in dread of the invading horde of Israelites and a Mesopotamian diviner who is bribed to curse Israel. Yet even this foreign diviner is subject to God's influence. God becomes directly involved, as at other times in the wilderness narratives, thwarts the kings plans, and insures a blessing for Israel rather than a curse. The narrative makes much of "seeing." In this highly reflective story the diviner Balaam cannot see the messenger until Yahweh opened his eyes. Following this he can only speak what words are put in his mouth: "perhaps Yahweh will come to meet me; and whatever he shows me I will tell you" (23:3).

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VI. CONCLUSION

In the patriarchal traditions of Genesis Yahweh appears in order to reaffirm his promises to the patriarchal fathers (JE and P). This occurs frequently at moments of tension when the fulfillment of a promise is in question or the patriarchal family is threatened. A similar usage of the appearing motif is found in the JE traditions concerning Moses (Exod 3-4). When the people of Israel are threatened by affliction and bondage Yahweh appears, identifies himself as the god of the patriarchal fathers, and announces his intention to bring them to the land of the Canaanites. Yet the motif is now combined with the commissioning of a deliverer who is to mediate Yahweh's intentions to the people. Now Yahweh appears to call a deliverer into service. In contrast to previous appearance stories the visual features of the experience are here accentuated (cf. 1-4). Moses hides his face because he fears looking at God (3:6).
The P version of Moses 1 call which now serves as its sequel uses the appearing motif differently (Exod 6). Yahweh does not appear to Moses but only speaks. However, he identifies himself as Yahweh, "who appeared ... as El Shaddai" (6:3) The appearing now refers to past events surrounding the patriarchs (cf. Gen 17:1; 35:1; 48:3). However, the P report of Yahweh's appearing to the patriarchs also includes the promises of relationship and land. Both JE and P stories concerning Moses refer to appearing and promise and thus bind the events of the Exodus to the events of the patriarchal period. Several references to "seeing God" may be found in the context of the JE depiction of the theophany and covenant at Sinai in Exod 19-24 (19:21; 24:10,
11) and the subsequent breaking and renewal of the covenant 32-34 (33:18, 20, 23). These are highly reflective stories which illustrate the paradox of Israel's relationship with God. The seeing motif is used in order to express prohibitions as well as to describe the unique experience of 24:9-11. On the one hand they may come only so close to the Ineffable. Barriers exist lest

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humans break through to gaze upon God and die (cf. 19:12-13, 21). Yet on the other hand God himself may set aside the usual consequences and allow humans full access to his presence (24:9-11). Here one encounters one of the central theological assertions of the Old Testament. God is present with his special, elect people in a way which makes them distinct from ail other peoples (Exod 33:15-16). Yet this presence may not be manipulated, abused, or taken for granted. Israel's sin threatens this special relationship and therefore the very life of the people (chs. 32-33). These texts also emphasize Moses' special relationship to God as one who can mediate directly to God for Israel. Following Israel's sin even Moses' request for direct access to God's presence is denied. The prohibition comes to the forefront once more: "Man shall not see me and live" (33:20, 23).
The appearing motif is found in the context of the introduction of the sacrificial system and the prescriptions for the cultus which are embedded in the P narrative of Israel's sojourn at Sinai (Lev 9 and 16 - P). Here appearing is integral to Israel's worship. Yahweh's appearing is promised by the deity to Moses, and in turn by Moses to the people. At the climax of their worship Yahweh appears and the fire from his presence consumes the offerings, thus revealing his acceptance of their worship. The paradox of Israel's theology of the presence of God is also found in this later narrative. Although Yahweh appears in the worship of Israel, his presence must not be abused (Lev 10:If.). Aaron is warned not to enter the holy place within the tent "at just any time" on pain of death, for this is where Yahweh will appear. Here for the first time, the appearing motif is incorporated into the cult. Before this, Yahweh's appearing was reserved for moments of tension, related to promise and commissioning. Now it becomes a regular occurrence in the worship of the cult with its provisions for the life of the people in relationship with their God. The appearing motif is also found in the wilderness traditions (cf. Exod
16; Mum 12; 14; 16; 17; 20 - all J and P). At moments of crisis in the life of the people, Yahweh's "glory" appears. The appearings function artistically as well

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as theologically in these remarkably similar narratives. They function artistically to meet the tension which is introduced by the conflict. The conflict may be a material need, such as food or water, or a crisis concerning religious authority. In either case, the tension is met by Yahweh who appears and brings the conflict to its resolution. These appearing collocations also function theologically as they witness within the larger narrative to Yahweh's continuing guidance, aid, and judgment during the period of the wilderness wanderings. Yahweh meets the material needs of the community and he judges the community when, by their lack of faith, they rebel against Moses' authority and, therefore, against God himself. Seeing texts are also found in these narratives in individual texts which either affirm Yahweh's special relationship with Moses (Num 12:8) or the people (Num 14:14).
Seeing texts may also be found in the highly reflective story of Balaam
the Diviner (Num 22:21-35 J). The diviner may not see God unless his eyes are opened by God himself. This is set into the larger narrative of Num 22-24, the concern of which is that God's will and his blessing may not be manipulated by a King who can bestow honor. Rather the prophet must do and say only what he "sees" that Yahweh wants him to do. This is the nature of true prophecy. This entertaining narrative also makes witness to Yahweh's direct involvement in the wilderness to preserve and aid the people on their journey towards the land. The plans of an enemy king are thwarted by God's intervention into the affairs of a foreign diviner who becomes the servant of Yahweh's word when his eyes are opened.
As in the case of Genesis, the appearing motif is found in both JE and P narratives. The seeing motif is limited to JE texts. In Genesis the seeing motif was limited to statements of exclamation at the conclusion of divine encounters which present the event from the point of view of the protagonist. Now seeing texts are found in both prohibitions against seeing God and in direct statements that God was seen, and in statements which affirm special relationship. In Genesis the appearing motif was associated with divine promise, often at times

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of tension and conflict. JE now associates appearing with commissioning as well as promises. For P appearing is an event in the patriarchal period associated with divine promise, though now the motif is also used in Israel's worship where it has become a recurring event, and with J P associates appearing with crisis in the wilderness when God came to aid or judge his people. This study indicates that these motifs were not repeated slavishly, but were used in very different ways by the various sources throughout the narrative of the Tetrateuch.

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CHAPTER FIVE

"SEEING GOD" AND "GOD'S APPEARING"

IN THE HISTORY WRITING OF THE DEUTERONOMIST AND CHRONICLER

In this chapter the use of the motifs of "seeing God" and of "God's appearing" within the history writing of the Old Testament will be examined. Tables VI and VII of Chapter One reveal that these motifs are found less frequently in the work of the Dtr and Chr than in the Tetrateuch. The tables list ten references to "seeing" God, and thirteen references to the "appearing" of God. There are fewer references in the Chr than in the Dtr. The use of these motifs in the Dtr is somewhat surprising given the direct statement in Deut 4:12 that, "you heard the sound of words, but saw no form (H^DH); there was only a voice." As stated in the previous chapter, in Deuteronomy's account of the events of Sinai the emphasis has shifted away from any possibility of seeing God (cf. Exod 19:21; 24:1-2, 9-11) to hearing God which is now feared because it might cause death (Deut 4:1 Off., 33; 5:4-5, 22ff.).
These twenty-three references are limited to a much smaller number of contexts, three of which are found in both Kings and Chronicles. 1 "Seeing God" is limited la narratives which involve Joshua, Gideon, Manoah and his wife, David and Oman, Solomon, Micaiah, and on only one occasion all the people of Israel (2 Chr 7:3). References to God's "appearing" are limited to contexts which involve Moses and Joshua, Gideon, Manoah and his wife, David, and Solomon.2 As in previous chapters, where possible attention will be given to the significance of these motifs for both the stories as inherited material as well as for the historical narratives in which they are found.

1 Those in the Chr generally parallel those in the Dtr and they will thus be examined together.
2 Whereas 2 Chr 3:1 refers to Yahweh's "appearing" to David, 1 Chr 21.16, 20 only report his "seeing" the messenger of Yahweh.
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I. DEUTERONOMY 31:14-15, 23 (15): THE COMMISSIONING OF JOSHUA

References to the appearing of God and seeing God are not prominent in the book of Deuteronomy.3 in fact, only one reference to the appearing of Yahweh is found. This is in the context of chs. 31-34 which are appendices to
the book.

Ch. 31 presents Moses' final charge to Israel in which the people are encouraged to fulfill the task that lies ahead (31:1-8). The theme of these verses is that Yahweh will go with them into the land even though Moses will not: 'Tahweh your God himself will go over before you" (31:3); "Be strong and full of courage, do not dread them or be afraid: for Yahweh your God himself goes with you; he will not fail you or forsake you" (31:6). The new leader Joshua is commissioned by Moses with this same charge in w. 7-8. Vv. 9-13 report the institution of a covenant ceremony which is to take place every seven years: "When all Israel comes to appear before Yahweh your God at the place which he will choose, you shall read this law before all Israel in their hearing" (31:11)-4
Vv. 14-15 return to the commissioning of Joshua. Because of his approaching death Moses is ordered by Yahweh to take Joshua to the tent of meeting, "that I may commission (Piel rTEO him" (v. 14). When they arrive Yahweh "appears" in the tent in a "pillar of cloud" which stands by the entrance to the tent (v. 15).5 The account of the commissioning is interrupted by w. 16-

3 Cf. the discussion of Exod 19-24 in Chapter Four.
4 There are numerous references to "appearing before Yahweh." Cf. Exod 23:15; 34:20, 23, 24; Deut 16:16; 1 Sam 1:22; Isa 1:12; Ps 42:3. Each of these seems to reflect a cultic setting. Some commentators have suggested that in certain of these cases the phrase was originally "to see Yahweh," but that this was problematic at a later time and was thus changed to the less offensive "appear before." See particularly Notscher, p. 89-95.
5 Cf. the © which presupposes TV.

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22 where Moses is warned that Israel will turn away from Yahweh and break the covenant following his death. Moses is commissioned to write a song which will serve to confront the people as a witness when they have turned to other gods (ch. 32). 31:23 returns once more to the commissioning of Joshua who is now promised, "Be strong and full of courage; for you shall bring the children of Israel into the land which I swore to give them, and I will be with you" (cf. 31:8). Vv. 24-30 report that when Moses finished writing the law he gave it to the Levites, who had responsibility for the ark, with the command that the elders and officers be assembled to hear the words of the song. The song follows in ch. 32.
Much of previous scholarly work on Deut 31 focuses on the different character of these traditions in comparison with the rest of the book. Thus S. R. Driver writes, "The entire section has been long recognized as not forming part of the work of D."6 This is because of its preference for the past tense, direct speech, and narrative presentation, rather than the hortatory manner of the addresses of Moses as in earlier chapters. It is usually suggested that the pentateuchal sources pick up again in ch. 31 and much of this material is assigned to JE.7 This is especially true of w. 14-15 and 23 and the references to the "Tent of Meeting" and the "pillar of cloud" which are in the manner of Eiod 33:7, 9, 10 and Num 11:16; 12:5. The "Tent of Meeting" is not elsewhere

6 S. R. Driver, Deuteronomy, ICC (Edinburgh, 1895), p. 336. Cf. J. Wellhausen, Die Composition des Heiateuchs, p. 118; A. Dillmann, Die BOcher Numeri, Deuwronomium, undjosua (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 386ff.
7 SoC. Steuernagel, DasDeuteronomium (Gottingen, 1923), pp. 9ff., 16Iff.; Driver, pp. 337-338; G. A. Smith, Deuteronomy, CB (Cambridge, 1918), p. 336; G. von Rad, "Zelt und Lade," in Gesammelte Studien, p. 113 (E. trs. "The Tent and the Ark," p. 107); A. C. Welch, Deuteronomy: The Framework to the Code (Oxford, 1932), p. 61; G. von Rad, Das funfteBuch Mose:Deuteronomium, ATD 8 (Gatlingen, 1964), p. 135 (E. trs. Deuteronomy, OTL. London, 1966, p. 189). Others commentators find evidence of the work of later pentateuchal editors in this chapter. Cf. A. Phillips, Deuteronomy, CBC (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 205ff.; A. D. H. Mayes, Deuteronomy, NCB (London, 1979), pp. 375ff.
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referred to in Deuteronomy.8 Other commentators, however, consider w. 14- 15 and 23 to be a deliberate Deuteronomistic construction which uses older formulaic material9

Vv. 14-15 and 23 present the brief commissioning of Joshua by Yahweh. Moses is told by Yahweh that his death approaches (v. 14). He is therefore commanded to call Joshua and to go with him to the tent of meeting, "that I may commission him" (v. 14b). V. 15 reports that after Moses and Joshua had presented themselves at the tent of meeting, "Yahweh appeared (KT1) in the tent in a pillar of cloud; and the pillar of cloud stood by the door of the tent." © has «& KflT$t) which presupposes TV 1, "and he came down," and omits "in the tent." Smith suggests that "appeared" is an emendation for the more anthropo-morphic "came down," which is found in E (cf. Exod 33:9; Mum 11:25; and also J Num 11:24-26; 12:5). 10 While the verb TP is regularly used in conjunction with the deity's presence at the Tent of Meeting, a fact further supported by <6, the collocation of the Niphal of HK1 with Yahweh or the TOD is also found in a number of texts with reference to the Tent of Meeting (Num 14:10; 16:19; 17:7; 20:6, all P). Furthermore, Yahweh's appearing is also found in connection with the commissioning of significant persons in other contexts (Judg 6; 13; cf. Exod 3:2). In view of this the MT should probably be dealt with as it stands.
This may also be suggested by the reference to the land in v. 23. Yahweh who appeared to the patriarchs with the promise of land and who

s For other texts which refer to the appearing of Yahweh or the TDD at the Tent of Meeting cf. Exod 16:9 (?); Num 12:5 (TV); 14:10; 16:19; 17:7 (E. trs. 16:42); and 20:6. With the exception of Num 12:5 (J), these references are usually attributed to P.
9 Cf. M. Noth, Uberlieferungsgeschichte desPentateuch, pp. 35, n. 126, 193,
n. 496 (E. trs. pp. 33, n. 126, 176, n. 496), who considers it secondary Deuteronomistic material which is dependent on 31:1-8; von Rad, Deuteronomium, p. 135 (E. trs. p. 189); Mayes, pp. 375-376.
10 Smith, p. 337; Cf. M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School (Oxford, 1972), pp. 20 If.; Mayes, p. 377.

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appeared and commissioned Moses with the declaration that he had remembered his promise to the patriarchal fathers, now appears to commission Joshua with the very same promise. Appearing and the promise of land, common to both JE and P traditions of the patriarchs and Moses, are now associated with the commissioning of Joshua.
If the MT is accepted as it stands, then 31:15 is the only occurrence in Deuteronomy of the Niphal of TftC\ with Yahweh as subject, a fact which is otherwise ignored by commentators who have focused on the rarity of the reference to the Tent of Meeting in w. 14-15.U The account of the commissioning of Joshua is not without references to the appearing of Yahweh in a pillar of fire and to the promise of land. Yahweh speaks to Moses, but the commissioning of Joshua requires that they present themselves at the tent where Yahweh appears. Yahweh's appearing is here a special event associated with commissioning. Joshua is commissioned with the message which was promised to the patriarchs and later reaffirmed to Moses at his commissioning. Yahweh now intends to bring Israel into the land which was promised to them (v. 23). Although the brief story has much in common with older traditions, it should probably be viewed as a later composition which used older motifs. This is suggested by the reference to the promise in 31:23 which is virtually the same as 31:6. Joshua is now commissioned with the same promise given to the people.
That it is a later composition is also suggested by its role in the larger narrative. Commentators have generally understood w. 1-8 as the continuation of the situation described in Deut 3:23-29, where Moses learns that he cannot enter the promised land. Joshua, therefore, is commissioned by Moses after "these words," or Moses farewell addresses (31:1). 12 Following the

11 Cf. Driver, p. 338; Smith, p. 337; von Rad, "Zelt und Lade," pp. 112f., 122f. (E. trs. pp. 107; 117D; von Rad, Deuieronomium, p. 135 (E. trs. p. 189); Phillips, pp. 207-208.
12 Cf. von Rad, Deuteranomlum, p. 134 (E. trs. p. 188).

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promise that God himself will go with the people (w. 2-6), w. 7-8 report that Moses summoned Joshua and commissioned him with the command and promise: "Go with this people into the land which Yahweh swore to their fathers to give them .... It is Yahweh who goes before you; he will be with you, he will not fail you or forsake you; do not be discouraged or fearful" (31:8) Commentators suggest that w. 14-15 and 23 supplement w. 7-8. The suggestion that Moses appointed Joshua in view of his own approaching death was not considered sufficient by a later redactor (cf. w. 7-8; Mum 27:18-23). 13 Thus Welch writes, "the reason for inserting the verses here was to correct, or at least to supplement, the preceding account" by suggesting that Joshua received his authority directly from God. 14
Thus the new leader, like his predecessor, now receives his authority directly from Yahweh (31:7-8; cf. Exod 3:2ff.; Num 27:18-23). In this context the function of the story is to legitimate and give divine authority to the new leader. It further serves to tie the events in the present narrative with Yahweh's earlier promise to the patriarchs and Moses. When compared with w. 6f. (cf. 34:4), v. 23 clearly binds the addition to what precedes. What Yahweh does here is related to his promise of land .
Even here Moses continues to have the main role in the narrative; the commissioning of Joshua is interrupted by Yahweh's command to Moses to write the song of witness. Nevertheless, the brief report of the commissioning of Moses' successor includes a rare reference to the appearing of Yahweh. By adding the appearing story a later redactor claims for Joshua an authority which is derived from a direct encounter with Yahweh. Like Moses before him, Joshua, who is to be the leader of Israel at the conquest, receives his

13 Smith, p. 336, suggests that w. 14-15 and 23 are in substance a continuation of the deuteronomic charge in w. 1-8, but also its parallel in phraseology which resembles E. Cf. Welch, p. 61; Mayes, pp. 375-376..
U Welch, p. 62; Cf. Phillips, p. 207; P. C. Craigie, The Book of Deuteronomy. NICOT (Grand Rapids, 1976), p. 371; Mayes, pp. 375-376.

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commission and begins his work following an encounter with Yahweh who "appears" and announces his intention to fulfill the promise of landJ5
The book of Deuteronomy concludes with the death of Moses, but not before the great leader has received from Yahweh once more the promise of land which he now sees before him: "This is the land of which 1 swore to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, 'I will give it to your descendants'" (34:4b). It should not be overlooked, however, that prior to this a new leader, like Moses before him, is commissioned following an appearance of Yahweh and also receives Yahweh's promise. After the long years of wandering in the desert, the story of the conquest and the fulfillment of the promise of land may now begin.

II. JOSHUA 5:13-15 (13): JOSHUA SEES THE COMMANDER OF YAHWEH'S ARMY

The principal theme of the book of Joshua is the conquest of Palestine west of the Jordan after the long years of wandering in the desert.16 Israel succeeds in gaining a foothold in the land under the leadership of Joshua. As the narrative begins the reader is informed that Moses has died. Yahweh commands Joshua to cross the Jordan into the land "which I am giving them, to the people of Israel" (1:1-3; cf. 1:11). Chs. 2-6 describe the initial stages of this process as spies are sent to Jericho (2); the Israelites miraculously cross the Jordan and a monument is set up commemorating this event (3-4); Israel arrives at Gilgal and sets up camp (5); and Jericho is taken (6). It is in the midst of these chapters that the report is given that, while undertaking reconnaissance (?) before the siege in or nearby Jericho, Joshua encountered

tf Cf. Welch, p. 62.
l6 J. A. Soggin, LeLlvre de Josu^ CAT Va (Neuchatei, 1970), p. 9 (E. trs Joshua, OTL. London, 1972, p. 1).

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the commander of Yahweh's army (5:13-15).17 This is the only use of the "seeing" motif in the book of Joshua. Moreover, Joshua does not contain any references to the "appearing" of God. 18
Commentators on 5:13-15 have largely concentrated on the fact that in
the MT the story seems out of context and incomplete.I 9 This is most clearly evident in v. 13 which speaks of Joshua literally "in Jericho" before the siege of ch. 6, and by the fact that the story ends abruptly without a conclusion or message from the commander.20 This leads J. A. Soggin to suggest that 5:13-15 originally belonged to the tradition which also included josh 2; 6:22ff. and 24:11. These verses suggest that the city of Jericho was conquered by a ruse. Soggin further conjectures that Joshua could have been inside the city after its destruction. Thus Joshua could have "lifted up his eyes" (v. 13) in order to view the ruins of the city.21 Following the replacement of the story of the military conquest of Jericho by the narrative of ch. 6, the ancient tradition was retained, but changed into a favorable prediction for the campaign.22

17 Although the text does not specifically refer to the "messenger," this narrative is included in this study because it closely resembles other "seeing" texts which involve the messenger.
1S More common are texts which simply say that Yahweh spoke to Joshua HQK, cf. 1:1; 3:7; 4:1, 15; 5:2, 9; 6:2, and

19 The II, D, and S seem to recognize this. Cf. Soggin, pp. 63-64 (E. trs. p. 78).
20 Translators attempt to overcome the first problem (v. 13) by translating IrPVTnear Jericho" (NEB), or "by Jericho" (RSV). R. G. Boling and G. E. Wright. Joshua, AB (Garden City, 1982), p. 196, suggest "in the vicinity of," or the area controlled from Jericho rather than within the walled town. Cf. T. C. Butler. Joshua, JftfrT(Waco, 1983), P- 57.
21 In my view the present narrative will not substantiate this interpretation. In the phrase "he lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold, a man," the word "behold" (H3.rO points to that which Joshua saw, namely, the
man.

22 Soggin, p. 63 (E. trs. pp. 77-78); cf. H. J. Wiener, "The Conquest Narratives," JPOS 9 (1929), p. 4; and Boling and Wright, pp. 196f.

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Noth points out that the commander's response to Joshua's question in v.
14 might be taken to announce an official visit and intended to introduce a message which, in the present context, is missing 23 Rather, Joshua is simply commanded, "Take off your shoes from your feet; the place where you stand is holy" (v. 15). Commentators have called attention to the similarity between this command and that given Moses in Exod 3:5- Although Boling and Wright suggest that the parallel is incomplete because Joshua does not deal directly with Yahweh, Soggin suggests that the commander is, "but in a sense one of his (Yahweh's) hypostases."2^ The verse would seem to be at least a partial parallel to the scene at the burning bush, though perhaps it would be too much to suggest, as does 0. Keel, that these verses portray Joshua's commissioning.2^ This brief review suggests that no satisfactory explanation of this awkward story has been offered, nor is one forthcoming given the present state of the text which in all likelihood is incomplete. Joshua is "in" Jericho where he lifts up his eyes and sees a "man before him with his drawn sword in his hand" (5:13). The visual nature of the experience is emphasized by the expression "he lifted up his eyes," by the use of the verb HfrH and the particle HDH, and by the description of what was seen. Although the "man" is identified as "the commander of Yahweh's army" the description is similar to other texts which

23 M. Noth, DasBuchJosua, HAT 1.7 (Tubingen, 1938), pp. 13-15- Cf. 1952 second edition, pp. 33-35. Noth suggests that the expected conclusion of the story is instruction for establishing or changing the religious practice, or the founding of a sanctuary, but there is nothing to suggest this in the present
context.

24 Cf. Boling and Wright, p. 199 and Soggin, p. 64 (E. trs. p. 78). It should be pointed out, however, that this is a unique story. Here the stranger is referred to as a "man" (cf. Judg 13) and as the commander of Yahweh's army. In other texts Yahweh speaks, thus suggesting a closer relationship between the messenger and Yahweh himself.
25 0. Keel, WirkmAchtige Siegeszeichen im Alien Testament: Ikono-graphjsche Studein zu Jos 8:J8-26; £r 17:8-13; 2 K6n JJ.J4-J9 und 1 K&n 22:11, Qrbis Bibljcus et Orientals 5 (Freiburg, 1974), pp. 85-88. Cf. Soggin, p. 64 (E. trs. p. 78).

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employ the "messenger," particularly Mum 22:23ff. The "commander of Yahweh's army" is a unique phrase, yet like "messenger" texts Joshua assumes that he is to receive a message from Yahweh (5:14b). Here no such message is given, only the command to recognize the sanctity of the location of the encounter. This suggests that the story is incomplete.
With regard to the significance of the story for its present location in the narrative of Joshua, Boling and Wright suggest that it announces the "arrival and involvement of Joshua's heavenly counterpart"; only then could the Yahweh war against Jericho begin.26 The event must be remembered as especially holy, thus its inclusion at this point. In ch. 5 Butler finds the Deuteronomic picture of Joshua as the example of cultic correctness before the conquest of the land. He emphasizes that 5:13-15 centers on Joshua and his actions and therefore the unfinished sentence from the commander in v. 14 is not problematic. Rather, Butler suggests, Joshua does not wait to hear because he knows the proper reaction and falls upon his face in reverence (cf. Exod 3:5- 6): "Whatever the original form of the narrative, the present form is that of a divine test. The divine messenger appears and places demands upon the human recipient.... Here the ending is a simple statement of fact - Joshua obeyed."27
Although the importance of Joshua's response in the narrative is clear enough, an emphasis upon the story as a test for Joshua does not completely solve the problem of the present context of this story and its apparent lack of a conclusion. All that can be said for sure is that in its present context the story is set before the siege of Jericho in ch. 6 and that Joshua is reconnoitering "in" or nearby Jericho when he encounters a "man" with drawn sword in hand (cf. Mum 22:23, 31; 2 Sam 24 // 1 Chr 21:16; 2 Kgs 19:35). At first the identity of the "man" is not apparent to Joshua who approaches him unafraid in order to

26 Boling and Wrighi, p. 198.
27 Butler, p. 57.
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determine his identity as friend or adversary (v. 13). In times of war this is all that matters. His answer reveals the true identity of the stranger. If the MT is read as it stands then the answer is surprising.28 He is neither friend nor adversary, but the commander of Yahweh's army (cf. Gen 32:1-2; Josh 10:12- 13; judg 5:20). Once identified, Joshua makes the proper response to the strange visitor and falls to the ground before asking a second question: "What does my lord have to say to his servant?" (v. 14). Joshua's second question clearly asks if there is a message and, if part of the original story, would seem to suggest that a message is missing.29 The commander's final reply recalls Yahweh's words to Moses before the burning bush (Exod 3:5) which there precede the divine message. The story ends abruptly with the statement that Joshua did as he was commanded (v. 15).
Although it is unlikely that the problems of this brief and apparently incomplete narrative will ever be satisfactorily solved, several observations may be made concerning its function within the larger narrative of Joshua 1-6. Joshua's encounter with the commander of Yahweh's army, whom he "sees," is located just before the narrative of the siege of Jericho. The story of Israel's first military endeavor west of the Jordan is prefaced by an unusual encounter between the protagonist Joshua and the divine messenger or commander.30 Although the distinction between the commander and Yahweh is more clear than is the distinction between the messenger and Yahweh in certain other texts, the story suggests the divine involvement just before the conquest begins. The role of Yahweh and his army in the events which are about to take place must not be overlooked. The story tells the reader that before the siege

28 The © and S presuppose f? "to him," rather than the MT K^ "no." Soggin, p. 63 (E. trs. pp. 77-78), reads the emphatic lamed, "Indeed."
29 Cf. Noth, Joshua, p. 23 (1938), pp. 46-47 (1953); Soggin, p. 64 (E. trs. p. 78); Butler, p. 57.
30 Cf. Jacob's encounters during his journeys (Gen 28; 32); Moses at Sinai before the Exodus (Exod 3); and Gideon before the defeat of Midian (Judg 6). 249

of Jericho Joshua encountered ("saw") the commander of Yahweh's army. The description of what Joshua saw is accentuated, thus stressing the importance of the visitor. Only with the involvement of the divine could Israel undertake the battles which would bring them into possession of the land of promise. The commander of the army of Israel encounters the commander of the heavenly army. Now the conquest may begin. The story tells the reader that Joshua was vouchsafed to see the commander of Yahweh's army before the siege of Jericho and would have made witness to Yahweh's involvement as the conquest of the land began.

III. "AND YAHWEH RAISED UP JUDGES"

The book of Judges presents the struggles of the various tribes of Israel
in the settlement of Palestine under the leadership of charismatic individuals who were called "judges" (DXDfitf): "And Yahweh raised up judges, who saved

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them out of the hand of those who plundered them" (2:16). Scholarship generally recognizes that "in contrast to the book of Joshua, which represents the occupation of Palestine as a speedy conquest in two main campaigns under the leadership of Joshua, the book of judges presents a much more sober account, emphasizing the local activity of independent communities, sometimes less and sometimes more than a tribe, but never all Israel."3l
In the main body of the book there are two stories of the raising up of unique individuals which include the motifs of "appearing" and "seeing." Gideon (ch. 6) and Samson's parents (ch. 13) encounter the messenger of Yahweh. Although different in details, the structures of the stories are remarkably similar. The appearing stories are part of the larger narratives

31 J. Gray, Joshua, Judges */?<//ta£ (London, 1967), pp. 210-211. On the structure and presentation of the book cf. W. Beyerlin "Gattung and Herkunft des Rahmens im Richterbuch 1-29," Tradition und Situation. Eds. E. Wurthwein and 0. Kaiser (Gottingen, 1963), PP 1-29. For a summary of earlier views see G. F. Moore, Judges, ICC (Edinburgh, 1898), pp. 175-177.

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about Gideon and Samson which may have received their present form before being incorporated into the book of Judges. The individual stories may thus be examined before considering their significance for the narratives in which they
are found.

A. JUDGES 6:1-24 (12, 22): GIDEON'S ENCOUNTER WITH
THE MESSENGER OF YAHWEH

The story of Gideon is found in Judg 6-8. The appearing and seeing motifs are employed only in 6:11-24. The composite nature of the Gideon narrative is generally acknowledged. C. F. Burney is representative of commentators from roughly the end of the last century to the middle of this century when he writes,

The narrative of the oppression of Midian and the deliverance effected by Gideon is highly composite throughout. In no other
section of Judges is the eiistence of two documents bearing the characteristics of J and E more clearly evident, and the criteria for determining the main lines of analysis are fairly decisive; though in
details there remains considerable scope for difference of opinion.^2

Commentators have suggested that ch. 6 contains not one, but two call stories. With slight variations w. 11-24 are generally attributed to J and w. 25-32 to E.33 These two stories are loosely connected by the words "in that night" (v. 25).
The composite nature of the material is still generally accepted, although

32 c. F. Burney, The Book of Judges (London, 19202; originally published in 1918), p. 176. Cf. K. Budde, Das Bocher ftchter und Samuel(G\.m<&, 1890), pp. 107ff.; and C. H. Cornill, EinJeitungiff das Alte Testament (Freiburg, 1896), pp. 87f. (E. trs. Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament. London, 1907, p. 163); Moore, pp. 182-184; 0. Eissfeldt, Die QueJlen des Richterbuches (Leipzig, 1925); C. A. Simpson, Composition of the Book of Judges (Oxford, 1957),pp.25ff.
33 Q. Moore, pp. 182ff.; Burney, pp. 177ff.; Simpson, pp. 25ff.

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since Moth's important work the sigla J and E are not generally used .34 Von Rad, for example, also considers the Gideon traditions a "conglomeration of very diverse sagas."33 He suggests that 6:11-24, which describes Gideon's call, was once an etiological cult-saga: "The narrative was a typical hieros logos, whose purpose was to guarantee the legitimacy of a cuitic shrine by recounting the manner in which the sanctuary was founded and established. The saga had no other purpose than this."36 von Rad recognizes, however, that the founding of a shrine is pushed into the background in the present context in which the story has been transformed into a hero-saga. Such an emphasis upon etiology continues to influence the study of Judg 6 and, as might be expected, the views concerning the references to appearing.3?
Other commentators have found in 6:11-24 the remains of two independent stories, one reflecting the call of Gideon (w. 14, 16, 18) and the other relating the story of the founding of the altar at Ophrah (19-24).3& This is suggested in large part because of the use of both the messenger and Yahweh within the brief narrative. However, this overlooks the fact that the messenger and Yahweh are often interchangeable in such stories. The presence of both should not necessarily suggest different traditions.39 If there are two

34 Cf. Gray, pp. 222ff.; L. Schmidt, Menschticher Erfolg und Jahwes Initiative, WMANT 38 (1970), pp. 5-53; J. D. Martin, The Book of Judges (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 83ff.; and J. A. Soggin, Judges, QTL (London, 1981), pp. 103ff. The exception to this is R. G. Boling, Judges, AB (Garden City, 1975), p.
130.

35 G. von Rad, "Die Anfang der Geschichtsschreibung im alten Israel" in GesammeJte Siudien, p. 154 (E. trs. "The Beginnings of Historical Writing in Ancient Israel," p. 172).
36 ibid., p. 154 (E. trs. p. 172).
37 Cf. Simpson, p. 25; Gray, pp. 223-224; Soggin, Judges, p. 117.
38 Cf Simpson, p. 26; Gray, p. 223; and Martin, p. 83.
39 Although he cautiously accepts the presence of two traditions, Soggin, Judges, p 114, finds that the use of the messenger and Yahweh within such a short space does not suggest different traditions.
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traditions, they have been combined with such skill that any satisfactory separation of two autonomous texts is now unlikely.40 Vv. 11-24 is thus best considered as a single story.
In its present form it presents the commissioning of Gideon following the appearing of the messenger of Yahweh. In w. 11-24 the "messenger of Yahweh/God" is mentioned no less than seven times.41 In w. 11-12 the messenger of Yahweh comes (K"Q), appears (ITKH), and speaks H&K) to Gideon. V. 11, which describes the messenger as coming and sitting beneath a tree before appearing or showing himself to Gideon, is unusual (cf. Gen 18:2ff.). While the narrator allows the reader to know the identity of the visitor from the beginning, it is not until the end of the story that Gideon becomes fully aware of the identity of the messenger and the importance of his experience. His cynical response to the messenger's introductory statement suggests that he is unaware of the messenger's identity and also reveals his understanding of Israel's relationship to Yahweh. Israel has been cast off and given into the hands of Midian (6:12-13) 42
Following Gideon's remarks the narrator intrudes with the statement
"and Yahweh turned to him and said" (6:14). Boiing argues that v. 14 does not identify Yahweh with the messenger. Rather, on the basis of Mal 3:1-2 he suggests, "the envoy goes in advance to prepare the way for Yahweh."4 3

40 Soggin, p. 117. Cf. the division of L. Schmidt, p. 53- For a further example of an attempt to divide 6:11-24 see W. Richter, Die sogenannten vorprophetischen Berufvngsberichte; Eine literawrwissenschafiliche Studie zu I Sam 9:1-10, I6;£zjf. undRi 6:llb-17, FRLANT 101 (1970), pp. 134ff.
41 Moore, p. 188, and Simpson, p. 28, suggest that the reference to the "messenger of God" in v. 20 may indicate that the verse is by a different hand. However, cf. (5 and some S manuscripts which presuppose "Yahweh."
42 Some call attention to the fact that Gideon makes no reference to Israel's sin as the reason for Yahweh's action towards Israel and therefore suggest that these verses originally had no relationship to 6:1-10. Cf. Burney, p. 177.
43 Boiing, p. 131.
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However, it is difficult to see the relevance of Mal 3:1-2, which speaks of a future day of judgment, to such a teit as Judg 6:11-24. Here the messenger appears, but both the messenger and Yahweh speak interchangeably. Boling's view overlooks other "appearing" texts which do not distinguish between the messenger or glory and Yahweh himself.** Although Gideon only gradually perceives the identity of his visitor and must be given a sign, the reader of this story is made aware of his identity from the beginning. This was apparently an important part of storytelling in such delayed-recognition stories (cf. also Judg 13).
In v. 14 it is Yahweh who turns towards Gideon, and in w. 16 and 23 it
is Yahweh who speaks directly with Gideon (cf. w. 25f.).45 Yahweh declares, "I will be with you" (v. 16). However, Gideon is still unconvinced and a sign is requested in order for him to believe the visitor's identity (w. 17-18). It is only after the consuming fire from the rock and the disappearing of the messenger that Gideon perceives the full import of his encounter (6:19-21; cf. 13:20). The miraculous consuming of the meal by fire and the disappearance of the messenger (w. 20, 21) leads Gideon to exclaim "Oh my Lord Yahweh! For now I have seen the messenger of Yahweh face to face" (6:22b). Gideon's statement is the response of one who has experienced the deity's direct presence; he fears for his life (cf. Gen 16:13; 32:31; Exod 3:6; 24:10-11; Judg 13:22; 1 Chr 21:16-20; 2 Chr 7:3). This is made clear by Yahweh's direct speech to Gideon once again in v. 23: "Peace to you; do not fear, you will not die" (cf. Gen 26:24). Gideon's response is similar to that of the patriarchs. He builds an altar to Yahweh and calls it Dl^titTirP. To this the narrator adds the note that

« Cf., for example, Gen 18:lff.;Exod 16:7, 10-11; Hum 14:10-11; 16:19-20; 20:6-7; Judg 13.
*3 Though cf. (5 of w. 14, 16 which presupposes the "messenger of Yahweh." Soggin, Judges, p. 115, suggests that <S5 has the more difficult reading because in its time the distinction between Yahweh and the angel was more clear.
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the altar still stands at Ophrah (6:24).
That the use of appearing in v. 12 refers to visual perception is clearly suggested by v. 11. After coming, sitting, and watching Gideon, the messenger shows himself to Gideon. This may imply that he was invisible to him, or that he came out of hiding to reveal his presence. At first Gideon expresses no fear and does not perceive his identity, which is clearly revealed to the reader. The seeing motif is important at the climax of the story. Gideon's exclamation (v.
22) announces the moment when he finally perceives the messengers full identity and gives emphasis to the unusual nature of the encounter. In spite of the usual consequences Gideon has seen the messenger of Yahweh face to face and yet lived. In this unusual encounter he receives his commission to deliver his people from the hand of Midian.
The story of Deborah's victory over the Canaanites ends with the statement "and the land had rest for forty years" (5:31b; cf. 3:11, 30; 8:28). This binds the Gideon narrative with the larger story of the judges. This peaceful state comes to an end in 6:1 when, "The people of Israel did what was evil in the sight of Yahweh; and Yahweh gave them into the hand of Midian seven years" (cf. 2:11, 17-20; 3:7, 12; 4:1; 10:6; 13:1). As a result of this punishment, the people "cry for help to Yahweh" (6:6; cf. 2:18; 3:9, 15; 4:4; 10:10). This pattern is one that emerges in several of the stories of the "judges." Following a forty year period of peace the people turn away from Yahweh again and bring punishment upon themselves. When they are brought low they cry unto Yahweh who responds by raising up another judge (6:1-2). However, the pattern is not followed exactly in every case. Sometimes only two of the three components of the introduction are present as can be seen from a comparison of the references given above. Commentators generally assign this stereotyped introduction to a compilation of the traditions which antedates the Deuteronomic compilation and suggest that it indicates the

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theme, the recurring apostasy of Israel.46 6:3-10 is generally thought to be an insertion into the story by the Deuteronomist who took the opportunity to emphasize the reason for the new oppression.47 Vv. 7-10 refer to an unnamed prophet who clearly reveals the reason for the Midianite problem. The people have turned again to apostasy by reverencing the gods of the Amorites. Following this the appearance story and the commissioning of Gideon is presented.
Too much attention has been given to w. 25ff- as a second call narrative. Although this may have been the case in an earlier form, attention should also be given to the function of these verses in their present context as the sequel to the call in w. 11-24. In w. 25ff. Gideon, by Yahweh's command, sets right Israel's apostasy by pulling down the altar of Baal during the night (cf. 6:1, 7- 10). This is the first act of the new judge following his commissioning. Following the sign of the fleece in 6:33-40, chs. 7-8 report the story of the defeat of Midian by the charismatic Gideon who was possessed by the spirit of Yahweh (6:34).
The Deuteronomist probably adopted the Gideon narrative without much alteration apart from the addition of 6:3-10. Following forty years of peace, Israel returns to apostasy until she is punished by Yahweh and repents, or cries out to Yahweh. At this point Yahweh raises up a judge who meets the current crisis. Only here and in the Samson narrative are references made to the appearing of the "messenger of Yahweh" and to "seeing" God (Judg 6, 13).4S It is difficult to determine whether the appearing and seeing motifs were significant for the Dtr, or were simply a part of the inherited material

46 Cf. Gray, pp. 207, 222.
47 Cf. Moore, p. 177; Gray, pp. 222-223; Boling, p. 127; Martin, p. 79.
48 Boling, p. 136, offers the suggestion that the messengers figure in these stones only in the absence of the tribal assembly which would customarily have provided for the election of the judge. Thus the messenger explains the inexplicable, or how it was that these two judges came to be.

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which he used to form the larger narrative. Perhaps the latter is more correct given the fact that other judges receive their commissions in other ways. For the inherited material, however, that the messenger of Yahweh appeared to commission Gideon was important. After Israel was brought low and cried out to Yahweh for help, a new deliverer was commissioned to save his people from their oppression. That the new leader was commissioned after the manner of Moses, by an appearance of the messenger of Yahweh was significant. Like the Moses story, the messenger and Yahweh are interchangeable in the story. The importance of the encounter is revealed in Gideon's statement and Yahweh's reply at the conclusion of the encounter. The usual consequences of such an experience were set aside once more and Yahweh became directly involved in the affairs of his people to raise up a deliverer. The overall picture of Yahweh's involvement would most certainly have been important for the later redactor of the material in the time of the exile.

B.JUDGES 13:1-25(3,21,22): THE PROMISE OF THE BIRTH OF A DELIVERER FOR ISRAEL

The Samson narrative (Judg 13-16) consists of a number of semi-independent stories which were probably joined to form a cycle long before their present literary form.49 The story of Samson is remarkably different from that of the other so-called judges. Whereas other judges lead armies in

49 At the turn of the century some interpreters viewed the story of Samson as a solar myth, viewing the name as a form of the root tfDtf, "sun," but this view is now rejected. Cf. H. Sleinthal, 'The Legend of Samson," Mythology Among the Hebrews. Ed. I. Goidziher (London, 1877), p. 392-446 (the original German is unavailable to me); P. Carus, The Story of Samson and Its Place in the Religious Development oT Mankind (Chicago, 1907), pp. 91-92. See further Gray, pp. 234-236 and J. L. Crenshaw, Samson (London, 1978), pp. 15-16. It is now usually classified as a birth, hero, or etiological story, though it is hard to see how the references to locations are important in the present form of the narrative Cf. Moore, p. 314; Burney, p. 336; Gray, pp. 232f.; Crenshaw, pp. 19f.; Soggin, Judges, pp. 228f.
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their exploits to deliver Israel, Samson is presented as the solitary hero who single-handedly wreaks havoc among the Philistines with strength gained by the spirit of Yahweh.
The narrative begins with 13:2-25 which has the features of both a birth story and a delayed-recognition story.50 Here one finds the familiar theme of the promise of a son to a barren couple. Yet within this story of twenty-four verses there are no less than eleven references to the "messenger of Yahweh" (God in MT v. 9, though <9 and S presuppose Yahweh). The messenger is referred to five additional times by Manoah and his wife as either a "man" or a "man of God." Vv. 3 and 10 refer to the messenger's appearing and v. 23 refers to seeing God. These references do not necessarily indicate different literary sources or traditions, but rather as in Judg 6:11-24 may suggest the structure of a delayed-recognition story.51 The story makes much of the identity of the mysterious visitor who is clearly identified to the reader or hearer from the beginning, but is unknown to the protagonists until the end. Following the introduction of the couple and the statement that she was barren (v. 2), the messenger of Yahweh appears to Manoah's nameless wife (w. 3f.) and promises a son who will begin to deliver Israel from the Philistines (v. 5). The story is told in an entertaining fashion. Although Manoah and his wife are unaware of the identity and significance of their visitor, the reader is aware that Yahweh is involved. The woman's report of the visit to her husband reveals that for them the visitor is a man of God, an unnamed prophet with the ability to foretell the birth of a son. The woman's description reflects more wisdom than even she realizes: "and his appearance (Hfcnft) was like the appearance of the messenger of God, exceedingly terrible" (v. 6b). Throughout

50 Cf. Boling, p. 220; Crenshaw, p. 39.

51 Commentators note the striking resemblances between chs. 6 and 13. Cf. W. Bohme, "Die aiteste Darstellung in Richter 6:11-24 und 13:2-24 und ihre Verwandtschaft mil der Jahveurkunde des Pentateuch," ZAW 5 (1885), pp. 251 -274; Burney, p. 336; Boling, p. 220. Cf. n. 58 below.

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their conversation the messenger is always referred to as either "the man of God" or "the man." Whenever the narrator speaks the visitor is the "messenger of Yahweh." V. 16 even concludes with the narrator's statement, "For Manoah did not know that he was the messenger of Yahweh."
The identity of the visitor is made clear to Manoah and his wife following
the sacrifice that is requested by the visitor (w. 15-20). In a scene not unlike that of the conclusion of Judg 6:11-24, the messenger of Yahweh ascends in the flame of the altar as Manoah and his wife look on. Manoah and his wife respond by falling to the ground. V. 22 expresses Manoah's fear following his recognition of the visitor: "We shall surely die, for we have seen God." Yet he is reassured by his wife that if this had been Yahweh's intention the offering would not have been accepted and the promise of a son would not have been given (v. 23). The story concludes with the announcement of the birth of Samson, that he received Yahweh's blessings, and that the spirit of Yahweh began to stir in him (w. 24-25).
For the narrator of this story that Samson became a judge who began to deliver Israel from the Philistines was nothing short of wonderful (cf. w. 18- 19). It begins with the appearing of the messenger of Yahweh and the announcement of the birth of one who would begin to deliver Israel from Philistine oppression. What is revealed to the hearer or reader from the beginning is withheld, only to be revealed to the protagonists of the story at the climactic end. The messenger of Yahweh appears and the parents of Samson are vouchsafed an encounter with the messenger and promised the birth of the one who will begin to deliver Israel from the Philistines.
The story is introduced by 13:1-2 and is followed by the exploits of Samson in chs. 14-16. Yet the various stories of the Samson narrative seem to form a unity in their present form 52 This can be demonstrated by certain key

52 j. Blenkinsopp, "Structure and Style in Judges 13-16," JBL 82 (1963): pp.
65-76.
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references which are found throughout the stories. For eiample, ch. 13 is certainly presupposed by the other references to the Nazirite vow (Judg 13:4-5, 7,^14; 14:9; I6:17f.; cf. Num 6:1-21)53 There are also multiple references to the spirit of Yahweh which stirred in Samson and resulted in his great strength (13:25; 14:6, 19; 15:14; I6:28f.). A further obvious connection may be found in the references to the Philistines throughout the narrative.
Only on rare occasions are there obvious additions from the Deuteronomist who has adopted the Samson narrative into the larger narrative of the judges M For example, the narrative begins with the recurring formula, "And the people of Israel did what was evil in the sight of Yahweh; and Yahweh gave them into the hand of the Philistines for forty years" (13:1; cf. 10:6-16). It should be noted, however, that no mention is made of Israel's repentance or cry unto Yahweh, which in other cases precipitates Yahweh's mercy and the call of a new judge. Judg 13:5 refers to the limited nature of Samson's success against the Philistines. Judg 15:20 and 16:31 state that Samson was a judge for only twenty years rather than the usual forty, thus making way for the continuing Philistine problem in the days of Samuel.53
The Samson narrative was probably included at this point (cf. 10:6f.) because of the protagonist's exploits against the Philistines who plagued Israel for such a long time. The story is introduced by the narrator who declares

53 cf. the conclusions of W. Richter, Tradltionsgesctijchttiche Unter-suchungen zum JUctiterbuch, BBB\% (Bonn, 1963), pp. 142ff., who considers ch. 13 to have been composed as an introduction to the stories on the basis of material attested elsewhere.

54 Older commentators argue that the language and style of ch. 13, as well
as that which follows, strongly resemble that of the pentateuchal source J. Cf. Bohme, "Die alteste Darstellung in Richter 6:11-24 und 13:2-24," pp. 26 Iff., K. Budde, JRichier und Samuel, pp. 132f.; Moore, p. 314; Burney, pp. 336f.; Simpson, p. 54.
55 if the twenty years of Samson plus the twenty of Samuel add up to the forty years alluded to in 13:1 then this may be evidence that the Samson narrative was placed by an editor into a much more comprehensive historical account. Cf. Crenshaw, p. 40.
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Israel's crisis situation (13:1; cf. 10:6f.). In this way the narrative tension, which rises and falls throughout the story of the judges, is presented and countered once more. Yahweh gives Israel over to the Philistines because of her evil doings. However, Yahweh's messenger appears to Manoah and his wife and promises a son who will begin the long process which leads to Israel's deliverance. The promise of the birth of Samson includes the phrase, "he will begin to deliver Israel from the hand of the Philistines" (13:5b). Although 13:1 states that the Philistines held power over Israel for forty years, Samson is said to judge for only twenty years (15:20; 16:31), thus leaving the solution of the Philistine problem until later. This serves to link the story of Samson with the narrative which follows. Samson's charismatic character and strength, as one possessed by the spirit of God, and his exploits against the Philistines introduce the period of Philistine oppression and present the stories of a tragic hero who begins the struggle for Israel's deliverance. The birth of the judge was foretold by the messenger of Yahweh who appeared to his parents. The story tells of another occasion when Yahweh became directly involved in the affairs of Israel. Samson's parents were allowed to see God and receive the promise of the deliverer; yet they did not die.
Both Judg 6 and 13 present variations of a theme 3& As delayed-recognition stories they are part of the larger group of stories in the Old Testament which witness to Yahweh's direct involvement in the affairs of Israel at significant moments. Yet these stories are nowhere exactly alike. They reflect a theme which was no doubt a delight both to the story-teller and audience. Yet it was not just pedantically repeated. The appearing and seeing

56 Commentators frequently mention the close resemblance between Judg
6 and 13. However, the differences should not be ignored. Nowhere in Judg 13 does Tahweh" speak directly to Manoah or his wife as is the case of Gideon in Judg 6. The moment of recognition in each story is similar, but not exactly alike. In Judg 6 fire springs forth from the rock, consumes the food which was prepared as a meal, and the messenger vanishes. In Judg 13, however, the messenger ascends in the flame of the sacrifice offered by Manoah.

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motifs and the delayed-recognition theme are here employed in commissioning and birth stories. The creative use to which the theme of the messenger's appearing was put is clearly illustrated by Judg 6 and 13.

IV. 1 SAMUEL 3:1-21 (21): YAHWEH APPEARS AGAIN AT SHILOH

The seeing and appearing motifs are not prominent in the books of Samuel. In fact, there is only one reference to the appearing of Yahweh in 1 Sam 3:21 and one reference to seeing the messenger in 2 Sam 24:17 (// 1 Chr 21:16), in the last chapter of the book.
In its present form 1 Sam 3:1-21 is generally regarded as the call narrative of Samuel.57 As the story begins Samuel does not yet know Yahweh; the word of Yahweh has not yet been revealed to him (v. 7). But in the end he is established as Yahweh's prophet, the one through whom Yahweh's word is revealed to Israel (w. 19-21). After long absence, Yahweh appeared again at Shiloh (cf. 3:1 and 21). However, such an understanding of 1 Sam 3 has not gone unquestioned.
For example, K. Budde suggests that what may have originally been a call narrative has been modified by the insertion of w. 11 -14 to become a message of judgment against the house of Eli.5& W. Richter rejects altogether the idea that this was a call narrative. Rather, he finds here a text which is primarily concerned with the judgment of the Elides.59 Most commentators now seem to accept that the present form of 3:11-14 has been deuteronomistically shaped,

57 Cf. the commentators and B. 0. Long, "Prophetic Call Traditions and Reports of Visions" ZAWM (1972), pp. 494-500. For a fuller bibliography of those who hold this view see Gnuse, Dream Theophany, p. 168, n 133.
58 K. Budde, Die Bucher Samuel, KHAT 8 (Tubingen, 1902), p. 25. See further Gnuse, The Dream Theophany, pp. 130f.; P. K. McCarter, Jr., / Samuel, AB (Garden City, 1980), p. 100.
59 W. Richter, Die sogenannten vorprophetischen Berufungsberichte, pp. 174-175.
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or at least that 3:12 has been added to harmonize the story with 2:27-36, but 3:1-21 is still referred to as the call of Samuel>0

A "different approach has been taken by R. Gnuse who has reopened the question as to whether or not 1 Sam 3 describes a dream. On the basis of a study of ancient Near Eastern dream reports, he concludes that the narrative presents an "auditory message dream theophany" rather than a call.6! Gnuse points out that some of the characteristics of a formal call narrative are missing.62 However, a large part of his argument stands or falls upon the definition accepted for a dream in the ancient Near East.63 Given that the narrative never mentions "dream" (Dlbfi) and that Samuel is presented as awake during his encounter with Yahweh, this debate is likely to continue.64 The story is framed by references to the "word of Yahweh" in w. 1 and
21. In addition the words for "vision" C|1tn), "appearing" (Hinrf?), and "revealing" (rf7tt) T ,r are employed 65 Whereas the "word of Yahweh" generally refers to hearing, "vision," "appearing," and "revealing" may refer to visual

60 Cf. P. R. Ackroyd, The First Book of Samuel, CBC (Cambridge, 1971), p. 43; H. W. Hertzberg, Die Samuelbucher, ATD 10 (GOttingen, second revised edition, 1960), pp. 30f. (E. trs. / & II Samuel, OTL London, 1964, p. 42); McCarter, p. 100; R. W. Klein, 1 Samuel, WBC (Waco, 1983), p. 30.
61 Gnuse, "A Reconsideration of the Form-Critical Structure in 1 Samuel 3: An Ancient Near Eastern Dream Theophany," ZA JT94 (1982), pp. 379-390; and Dream Theophany, pp. xiii, 59f., 119f.; 140f. Cf. W. McKane, I and II Samuel, TBC (London, 1963), p. 46; Klein, pp. 30f.
62 For example, the story is told in the third person and it contains no direct charge to prophesy. Cf. Habel, "Call Narratives," pp. 297-323.
6 3 See especially Gnuse, Dream Theophany, pp. 140-152.
64 Although Gnuse, Dream Theophany, p. 153, would argue that this is to impose a modern definition of dream, it should be noted that some Old Testament references to dream theophanies make explicit reference to or at least imply sleeping (cf. Gen 20:3; 28:11; 31:24). a. H. P. Smith, The 8oo£ of Samuel, /^(Edinburgh, 1899), p. 27; McKane, p. 46.
65 Both the phrase "word of Yahweh" and the term "Vision" are usually associated with the prophets. The unusual form nJOrf? also occurs in Judg
13:21.
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perception. The story seems to emphasize the fact that the word of Yahweh, which had become rare, was now a regular occurrence in Shiloh because of Samuel's unique relationship with Yahweh.6& This new era of Yahweh's appearing in Shiloh and revealing himself by the word of Yahweh was inaugurated when Samuel encountered Yahweh for the first time and responded to his call.

The use of different images in 1 Sam 3 prevents it from being easily categorized. It seems best to consider it an inaugural theophany or call story. Yahweh comes (K*D) and stands Q2P) in the temple and calls out ftHp) to Samuel (3:10). The young lad encounters Yahweh. To portray this the narrator has drawn images from not one Old Testament form for divine encounter and the receiving of a divine message, but from several. Here one finds references to the word of Yahweh, or hearing, as well as to vision, appearing, and revealing which may suggest the visual. In addition the setting is at night when dreams occur and in the temple where God's call and message were
received.

This present form of the story is apparently also concerned with a new prophetic era which was introduced by Samuel. Following a period of spiritual and moral crisis and decay, exemplified by the house of Eli, Yahweh once again directly involves himself in the affairs of Israel. Yahweh's word was now revealed to an individual on a recurring basis. Samuel's encounter ushers in a new period when 'Yahweh appeared again at Shiloh" (3:21). This reference to appearing is paralleled in the same verse by the statement that 'Yahweh revealed (rf^D) himself to Samuel at Shiioh by the word of Yahweh." Here, for

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the first time, the appearing of Yahweh is set side by side with the prophetic image of "the word of Yahweh." The reference to appearing is one of a number of images which, when combined, accentuate the importance of Samuel's

66 S. R. Driver, Notes on the Hebrew Teit oTSinweJ (Oiford, 1913), p. 42, supports the rendering "frequent:

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encounter with Yahweh. Yahweh was appearing and his word was being revealed by the special person who was vouchsafed this experience on a recurring basis. The rarity of the word of Yahweh and its restoration through Yahweh's appearing at Shiloh to Samuel which was of special concern to the narrator of the present story.
The story of Samuel's call follows chs. 1-2 and concludes the narrative introduction to Samuel. Chs. 1-2 suggest that his birth was miraculous. The story of a barren woman bearing important offspring as a result of special favor from God is not uncommon. To this is added the call of the individual which occurs during an unusual encounter with Yahweh in the temple during the night. But Samuel's encounter is unique and his special relationship with Yahweh is stressed even further. Yahweh now appears on a recurring basis at Shiloh in order to reveal his word to the prophet Samuel. Such an image of Samuel would have made clear his qualifications for later important moments, such as inaugurating the kingship (chs. 7-12) and for transferring it from Saul to David (ch. 16). The authority of Samuel is further emphasized by the addition of his announcement concerning the house of Eli into the present
narrative.

A new era, symbolized by Samuel's relationship to Yahweh, is thus introduced as the book of Samuel begins. After long absence and infrequency a period was ushered in in which Yahweh appeared again at Shiloh. Yahweh's appearing is now something which occurs on a regular basis at a specific location, the shrine at Shiloh. This reflect a important transition as Yahweh's appearing is now clearly tied to one particular cultic place.67 Yahweh's appearing is related to Samuel's responsibilities as a prophet of Yahweh, as one to whom Yahweh reveals himself by "the word of Yahweh" (cf. 1 Sam 9:15;

67 Although there are a number of tens associated with Yahweh's appearing at the Tent of Meeting, these are at different locations during the wilderness wanderings (cf. Lev 9:5; 16:2; Num 11:24; 12:5; 14:10; 16:19; 17:8 [E. trs. 16:421; 20:6; Deut 31:15).
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15:10, 16; 16:1). From this point forward more emphasis is placed upon the communication of Yahweh's word through the mediation of the prophets and the appearing motif becomes even more rare.

V. 2 SAMUEL 24:1-25 (17) // 1 CHRONICLES 21:1-30 (16, 20); AND
2 CHRONICLES 3:1: DAVID SEES THE MESSENGER OF YAHWEH

There are no Old Testament stories in which Yahweh appears to David.6S There is, however, one story, found in both 2 Sam 24 and 1 Chr 21, in which David "sees" the messenger of Yahweh. These essentially self-contained stories have been judged by commentators to have an important function within the two works and their presentations of David. K. Budde, for example, considers this to be one of the most important stories in the Old Testament because it presents the hieros logos of the sanctuary at Jerusalem (cf. 2 Chr 3:1).69 Most commentators adopt this view of the story. First, a comparisons of the individual stories will be offered and then the different settings in which they are found will be considered.
Differences between the two stories are evident from the very beginning.70 Whereas 2 Sam 24:1 has David declare the census at the incitement of Yahweh, 1 Chr 21:1 attributes the incitement to Satan without the article).71 Commentators usually view this change as a theological

Though compare 2 Chr 3:1 which seems to interpret David's encounter
with the messenger as an appearance of Yahweh.
69 Budde, Samuel, p. 326. Cf. the commentators and Bentzen, 1:236, who classifies the story as an etiology.
70 For an extensive list of the differences between 2 Sam 24 and 1 Chr 21:1-22:1 see E. L. Curtis and A. A. Madsen, The Books of Chronicles, ICC (Edinburgh, 1910), pp. 245-246.
71 The reference to Yahweh's anger at Israel in 2 Sam 24.1 is taken as a reference to the account of the famine in ch. 21.
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vindication of God72 Both presentations of the story are vague as to the offence of the census. It is usually considered to have been a political offence with theological implications. A census for political purposes may have been viewed as a turning away from total reliance upon God which was considered more significant than numerical advantage73 in both accounts David confesses that he has sinned by calling the census (2 Sam 24:11, 17; 1 Chr 21:8, 17)74 The results are different in that the number in 1 Chronicles falls short of that in 2 Samuel by 200,000, perhaps intentionally because Levi and Benjamin are not included (cf. Num l:47f.)75
The seeing motif is employed in the scene at the threshing floor76 Because of David's sin, Yahweh sends a pestilence upon Israel via the messenger of Yahweh (2 Sam 24:18f.; 1 Chr 21:14f.). In both accounts David sees the messenger. In 2 Sam 24:17 following the vision of the messenger smiting the people David asks that the punishment be upon him and not the

72 Cf. Hertzberg, Samuelbucher, p. 339 (E. trs. p. 411); Curtis and Madsen,
p. 246; R. J. Coggins, The First and Second Books of the Chronicles, CBC (Cambridge, 1976), p. 107; and J. M. Myers, I Chronicles, AB (Garden City, 1965), P. 147. Though cf. McKane, p. 301, for another view which suggests the Chr sought to correct the discontinuity between v. 1 and the fact that in w. 1 Off. David expresses guilt.
G. von Rad, Der Heilige Krieg im alien Israel (Gdttingen, 1951), pp. 37f., considers it to have been an attempt to replace the levy, a charismatic institution, by military organization and thus an improper move into the sacred realm. Cf. McKane, p. 302; Ackroyd, / and II Chronicles, p. 75; Curtis and Madsen, p. 247; and H. G. M. Williamson, / and 2 Chronicles, NCBC (Grand Rapids, 1982), p. 144.
74 In fact, David's repentance in 2 Sam 24:10 comes before his denunciation which leads some to speculate the possibility of insertions or even two different accounts. Cf. Smith, p. 390; and McKane, p. 301.
73 a. W. Rudolph, Chronikbucher, HAT 1.21 (Tubingen, 1955), p. 144; Curtis and Madsen, p. 248; Williamson, p. 145
76 In 1 Chr 21:18f. the threshing floor belongs to Ornan C|n H) which is used consistently. In 2 Sam 24:18, however, the name is rP3*J.H, and the remaining seven times nj"! IK(Araunah).

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innocent people. Seeing the messenger simply prompts David's repentance and intercession for the people. The messenger plays no further role. In 1 Chr 21:16, however, David and the elders fall upon their faces when he sees the messenger and then David requests that he alone be held responsible. The messenger continues to have a function and instructs Gad to command David to build an altar on the threshing floor of Or nan.
In both cases the messenger plays a much more distinct role from Yahweh than is sometimes the case in other stories where both are found. Here the messenger is sent by God to carry out his commands upon earth.77 In 1 Chr 21:16 the messenger is portrayed as standing between heaven and earth with a drawn sword in hand (cf. Mum 22:23ff.; 2 Kgs 19:35). In 2 Sam 24:16 Yahweh repents of the evil when the messenger stretches forth his hand to destroy Jerusalem. 1 Chr 21:15a is more explicit: "And God sent the messenger to Jerusalem to destroy it; but as he was destroying it (reading the suffix with <5), Yahweh saw, and repented of the evil." In both cases Yahweh commands the messenger "stay your hand" (2 Sam 24:16; 1 Chr 21:15). According to 2 Sam 24:17, only David sees the messenger. The Chronicler adds an additional witness, Oman (1 Chr 21:20).7S In addition the elders join David in bowing their faces to the ground, and Oman's four sons hide themselves (1 Chr 21:16, 20).79 In both contexts to see the messenger was a fearful experience which required a reverent response.
In 2 Sam 24:18f. Yahweh's command for the sacrifice is given through Gad, but in 2 Chr 21:18f. the messenger gives the command (cf. Judg 6; 13).

77 Cf. Coggins, p. 109; and Myers, p. 148.
78 <5 has Tbv paoiXta which presupposes "j^Dfi as in 2 Sam 24:20 rather

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79 Although some argue that this refers to David's sons by reading the "messenger" of v. 20 as "king," as the text stands they can only be Oman's sons. Cf. K. Galling, Die Bocher der Cbronik, Esra, Nehemia, ATD 12 (Gottingen, 1954), p. 62; R. Mosis, Untersuchungen zur Theologie ties chronistischen Geschichtswerkes (Freiburg, 1973), pp. 113f.

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The scene which follows resembles that of Gen 23. Araunah/Ornan offers to give the threshing floor and necessary tools and animals to David. David, like Abraham insists on purchasing the site. - In 2 Sam 24:24 the price is fifty shekels of silver. The Chronicler, no doubt wishing to emphasize the value of the future temple site, exaggerates the price which becomes six hundred shekels of gold.
The account of 2 Sam 24 ends with the brief conclusion that David built
an altar, offered sacrifices, and the plague was averted. The importance of the event, the last recorded by Dtr of David's life, for the temple is not explicitly revealed at this time. The acquisition of the site, the building of an altar, and the sacrifice are simply explained as that which averted the plague from Israel. The scene is much more elaborate in 1 Chr 21 where Yahweh answers David's sacrifices with "fire from heaven." Yahweh commands the angel and he replaces his sword into its sheath (21:26-27). The Chronicler also adds an extremely important epilogue which reports David's command that the threshing floor of Ornan, rather than Gibeon, will be the house of Yahweh and the place for sacrifices for Israel (21:28-22:1). Thus it is bound more carefully with the later temple site.
The story of David's experience with the messenger of Yahweh is important for both histories, but used differently by them. Whereas the story forms part of the appendices of 2 Samuel, it is integrated into the overall structure of the Chronicler's presentation of David. 2 Sam 24 is thought to have been connected originally with 21:1-14, perhaps following it without a break.80 Both 2 Sam 21 and 24 reflect the belief that natural calamity is caused by the wrath of God, both are concerned with a holy place, and in both the disaster eventually leads to something more positive. Ch. 24 was probably moved to the end of the book at a later time because of its importance with regard to the

80 Thus Yahweh's anger in 24:1 is thought to refer back to the previous story. Cf. Smith, p. 388; and Hertzberg, Samuelbticber, p. 338 (E. trs. p. 410).

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sanctuary in Jerusalem. David may not build the temple, but he leaves to Solomon the holy place on which it will be built. It is the climactic event of his career and is therefore significantly placed at the end of the book.
The importance of these events is accentuated even more by the Chr. The story is now presented as central to the entire David narrative (1 Chr JO-29). The Chr is more explicit in his affirmation that although David was not permitted to build the temple, he was its founder (cf. 21:28-22:1). This is clearly seen in 2 Chr 3:Iff.: "Then Solomon began to build the house of Yahweh in Jerusalem on Mount Moriah, where he (Yahweh) had appeared (Hfcn 3) to David his father, at the place that David had appointed, on the threshing floor of Oman the Jebusite."81 Ackroyd writes, "The Chronicler ventures as near as he may to affirming that it was really David who was responsible rather than Solomon; the latter is depicted basically as the one who carried out what had already been ordained."82
Both versions of the story of David's census of Israel and the encounter with the messenger of Yahweh serve to show how Jerusalem was chosen for the temple during the time of David. The story is set at the end of 2 Samuel as the conclusion to the appendices which round off the whole picture of David and as such present the climatic concluding event of David's life. As the narrative of 2 Samuel ends the site of the temple is ready and Solomon may now appear on stage. In 1 Chr 21 the connection with the future temple is even more explicit. The story shows how as a result of the census and plague, the threshing floor of Oman became the consecrated site for Israel's worship and sacrifice. The importance of this event for the Chronicler is made clear in 2 Chr

81 David's encounter with the messenger ("see") is here referred to as Yahweh's appearing. As this statement is missing from the account in Kings, it may be understood as a gloss from the Chronicler who wished to strengthen the association of the site of the temple with Yahweh himself. He thus refers to it as the place where 'Yahweh appeared to David."
82 p. R. Ackroyd, I and IJ Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, TBC (London, 1973), p. 74.
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3:1. With the beginning of Solomon's activity the event is recalled as an appearance of Yahweh and the location of Solomon's building is firmly tied to the experience and instructions of David. For the Chronicler the site of the temple in Jerusalem was a result of nothing less than the theophany of the messenger of Yahweh who was seen by David and others (cf. 2 Chr 3:1). The Chronicler claims for Jerusalem a unique position with the authority of a theophany and the command of David. This accords well with the Chronicler's view that Jerusalem was the authentic place of worship for the returnees after the exile.

VI. 1 KINGS 3:3-14; 9:1-9/7 2 CHRONICLES 1:2-13; 7:3, 11-22;
AND 1 KINGS 11:1-13: YAHWEH APPEARS TO SOLOMON AND THE PEOPLE

Solomon is vouchsafed an appearance of Yahweh on two occasions. There are four references to the appearing of Yahweh in the Dtr's presentation of Solomon (1 Kgs 3-11), two of which are repeated in the Chr (2 Chr 1-9). Yahweh first appears to Solomon in Gibeon at the beginning of his reign and grants his request for wisdom. The second appearance occurs in Jerusalem near the end of Solomon's reign and after his crowning achievement, the building and dedication of the temple. There Yahweh grants the requests of Solomon's dedicatory prayer (1 Kgs 8:22ff. // 2 Chr 6:12ff.). In addition, there is one reference to all Israel "seeing" the glory of Yahweh come down upon the temple following Solomon's dedicatory prayer which is found only in 2 Chr 7:3.

A. 1 KINGS 3:5 // 2 CHRONICLES 1:7: YAHWEH APPEARS AT GIBEON

On the basis of style and content 1 Kgs 3:4-15 is treated as a unit by almost all commentators. Although there is dispute about the extent of the editorial shaping of the narrative, the arrangement of the text suggests that it

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is best to view it as an essentially unified piece.8 3 Following the introduction in 3:3-5 which places Solomon in Gibeon, the report of the dream-appearing begins. It concludes with v. 15 which refers to Solomon's awaking from the dream. The focus of the story is upon the setting of the appearance, Solomon's request, and Yahweh's response. The report in 2 Chr 1:2-13 is, on the whole, much more condensed. Following an expanded introduction (w. 2-6), the focus is also upon Yahweh's appearance, Solomon's pious petition, and the announcement that Solomon's request will be granted.
Numerous comparisons have been made between the two presentations.
The Dtr's version places Solomon in Gibeon and suggests that his presence and the sacrifices he carried out were indications of his love for Yahweh (1 Kgs 3:2- 4). There Yahweh appears to Solomon "in a dream by night" and offers to grant Solomon's request. (3:5) The Chr, however, makes this over into an act of worship by the whole assembly which goes to Gibeon (1 Chr l:2f.). The event is thus given additional status. Although the appearance is still to Solomon alone and during the night, there is now no reference to a dream (1 Chr 1:7). Perhaps this be explained by the fact that by the time of the Chr dreams were considered a suspicious mode of revelation.84 In addition the 'Yahweh" of 1 Kings 3:5 is now "Elohim" in 2 Chr 1:7.
The Chr, which presents a more ideal Solomon, does not offer an apology
for Solomon's sacrifices outside Jerusalem (cf. 1 Kgs 3:3)- Rather 2 Chr 1:5-6

*3 Cf. B. 0. Long, / Kings, FOTL IX (Grand Rapids, 1984), p. 63. However, M. Noth, "Die Bewahrung von Salomos 'Gottlicher Weisheit/" Festschrift H. H. Rowley: Wisdom in Israel and the Ancient Near East. 5F/3 (1955), pp. 227ff., finds two distinct traditions within the Dtr's narrative: one which concerns the divine revelation, and a second, more ancient, tradition which concerns Solomon's wisdom. Cf. R. B. Y. Scott, "Solomon and the Beginnings of Wisdom in Israel," Wisdom in Israel and the Ancient Near East, pp. 262-279, who regards this wisdom tradition as generally late and emphasizes the Dtr's critical attitude to Solomon.

84 Cf. Wiliiamson, p. 195; Ackroyd, Chronicles, p. 101; Coggins, p. 148; and see Jer 23:23f.
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uggest that the bronze altar and the tent of meeting were still in Gibeon at this ime, thus legitimating this national worship and sacrifice. Solomon's speech in 1 Kgs 3:6-9 is abbreviated by the Chr (2 Chr 1:7-10). The Chr does, not include :he condition of obedience imposed on Solomon in 1 Kgs 3:14 (cf. 1 Kgs 11:9). klso, the reference to Solomon's appearance before the ark in Jerusalem following the appearance in Gibeon is passed over by the Chr (1 Kgs 3:15b). Attention has also been given to the similarities between this story and other ancient Near Eastern texts. A. L. Oppenheim, for example, suggests that the structure of the Dtr's presentation is consistent with the pattern for reporting dreams in the ancient Near East 85 The narrative is also similar to an Egyptian prototype in the sphinx-stele inscriptions of Thutmose IV.86 The Egyptian KdnigsnovelJe, or "royal novel," legitimated royal decrees by describing a revelation given to the king in a dream. Afterwards the king offered sacrifices during which he revealed the contents of the dream to his court. Yet the Egyptian text frequently cited is fragmentary and seems far different from the story of 1 Kgs 3.87 B. 0. Long has cautioned that this narrative is atypical of Old Testament dream texts (cf. Gen 37:5-11; 40; 41; Judg 7:13-14). He points out that it bears a strong resemblance to Old Testament reports of "epiphany" which may or may not be described as a dream.88

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A. L. Oppenheim, Dreams in the Ancient Near East, p. 226. Cf. Gray, pp.

86 J. A. Wilson, "A Divine Oracle Through a Dream," ANET, p. 449. Cf. S. Hermann, "Die Konigsnoveile in Agypten und Israel," Wissenshaftliche Zeit-schrlft der Karl Marz-Universim 3 (1953-54), pp. 51-62.
87 E. Wurthwein, Die Bocher der Ktinige. 1 Konige 1-16, ATD 11/1 (G&ttingen, 1977), pp. 34ff., suggests that the genre of the Egyptian narrative reflects a royal ritual in which the king was granted his requests, but this has found little support.
88 Long, p. 64. Long is correct that the present text is similar to other Old Testament references to epiphany or appearing He concludes, "perhaps the Hebrews made no firm distinctions among dream, epiphany, and vision." But this goes beyond the evidence. None of the texts Long cites refers to both dream and appearing together, nor dream and seeing together. Gen 28.1 1-17

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In both stories Yahweh appears to Solomon at Gibeon. The Chr abbreviates the story with the exception that any suggestion that Solomon's sacrifices away from Jerusalem was improper is more carefully removed. In both stories Solomon is the recipient of Yahweh's appearance and is granted his request for wisdom to rule his people. The story presents a positive view of Solomon as one who encountered God, asked for wisdom, but also received wealth, honor, and long life because his request pleased God.
The settings of the story in the two histories are somewhat different. Following the death of David, Dtr's presentation of Solomon begins with a report of his actions against Adonijah, Abiathar, and Joab (1 Kgs 2:13ff.). This is not found in the Chr's presentation. After his control of the kingdom is secure, Solomon goes up to Gibeon to sacrifice privately and there he encounters Yahweh who appears "in a dream by night" (1 Kgs 3:5). Although slightly condensed and modified by the Chr, both accounts present the story of the appearance of Yahweh and the granting of Solomon's request for wisdom. The Dtr includes additional material about Solomon's wisdom before turning to the building of the temple. The story of the harlots (1 Kgs 3:16-28), however, is passed over by the Chr who proceeds directly to the preparations for building. The Chr follows the tradition that Solomon's reign began with this event, but he abbreviates it and then proceeds directly to the building of the temple, which is delayed in Dtr until 1 Kgs 5ff.
It is interesting that Yahweh appears to Solomon, but never appears to David. Commentators suggest that in both contexts the story of Yahweh's

may imply seeing, but it is not stated that Jacob saw God (cf. 35:1). Oddly, Long, p. 66, seems to imply that Gen 12:7 is a dream epiphany. He refers to the possible cultic etiological connection for such texts and suggests this may also be the background for this appearance at Gibeon. In fact, 1 Kings 3:5 is the only Old Testament text which refers to an appearance of Yahweh during a dream and is thus a unique text. Although Jacob receives a revelation by dream in Gen 28:12f, there are no references to appearing or seeing. In reality, the distinction between dream and appearing may not have been as blurred as Long seems to suggest.
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appearance to Solomon at Gibeon introduces and authenticates Solomon's reign as king.89 Perhaps the intention was that Solomon, without obvious aptitude for leadership, or the charisma of the judges, Saul, or his father, be given a new basis for his claim to rule.90 Solomon is thus the recipient of divine wisdom after an appearance of Yahweh. The story claims that the wisdom, wealth, and long life of Solomon came about as a result of divine initiative at the beginning of his reign. The work of the great king begins with an encounter with Yahweh who appeared and granted Solomon's request for wisdom to lead his people. Whereas the Dtr expounds Solomon's wisdom, the Chr moves immediately to the building of the temple, the great achievement of the wise king, which is central to his presentation.

B. 1 KINGS 9:2 (2X) // 2 CHRONICLES 7:3, 12: YAHWEH APPEARS TO SOLOMON AGAIN

The second appearance of Yahweh to Solomon is the immediate sequel to
the king's dedicatory prayer for the new temple in 1 Kgs 8:22ff. // 2 Chr 6:12ff. and is a parallel to the earlier appearance. 1 Kgs 9:1-9 is regarded by some as exilic because of apparent references to the exile of Israel and the destruction of the temple.91 Skinner, for example, suggests that 1 Kgs 9:1-5 and 6-9 are from different hands, pre-exilic and exilic respectively.92 Vv. 1-5 are in the second person singular address and w. 6-9 in the second person plural. Burney, on the basis of v. 3, suggests that a pre-exilic dating is just as possible

89 See, for example, S. J. DeVries, J nogs, iR5if (Waco, 1985), pp. 47L; and
H. G. M. Williamson, p. 193.
90 Cf. Gray, pp. 120-121.
91 For the older commentators holding this view cf. C. F. Burney, Notes on the Hebrew Ten of the Book of Kings (Oxford, 1903), p. 129.
92 Cf. Skinner, p. 156. He holds that w. 6-9 were written from the standpoint of the exile for the purpose of explaining the destruction of the temple.
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for the whole, and finds that w. 6-9 could have been penned in the reign of Josiah.93 Moth argues that w. 1-5 could not have stood alone and considers 1 Kgs 9:1-9 a unity. However, w. 6f. may reflect a Deuteronomistic expansion reflecting the decline and fall of the monarchy.94 Noth's view continues to find support.9^
There are obvious differences between 1 Kgs 9:1-9 and 2 Chr 7:11-22.
In both accounts the appearance is said to take place when Solomon had completed his building (1 Kgs 9:1-2; 2 Chr 7:11-12). 1 Kgs 9:2 clearly states that this was a second encounter which happened just "as he appeared to him at Gibeon."96 2 Chronicles makes no reference to the previous appearing, although it does say again that it took place "in the night."97 In addition, 2 Chr 7:12b is expanded by stressing that the temple is a "house of sacrifice." Perhaps the greatest overall difference is that the Chr has conformed Yahweh's speech more specifically to Solomon's prayer.98 Thus w. 13-15, which are not found in Kings, answer Solomon's request for the people (cf. 6:26f.); w. 17-18 respond to his request concerning the Davidic line (6:14-17); and w. 19-22 refer to both king and people, rather than just to the king

93Burney,pp. 129-130.
** M. Noth, K&uge I, 1-16, MAT IX/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1968), pp. 195ff.
95 Cf. Long, pp. 108, 110, who considers it a creation of the exilic deuteronomic author-editor; and DeVries, pp. 127f.
% Long, pp. 108-109, refers to the phrase "and Yahweh appeared" as "the stereotyped dream epiphany formula." While the phrase "a second time, as he appeared to him at Gibeon" may refer to the method of the previous appearance, the dream, as stated above the collocation of dream and appearing is rare and the formula "and Yahweh appeared" does not in itself suggest a dream.

97 Coggins, p. 171, suggests that the omission of the Kings reference to Gibeon by the Chronicler is deliberate because of his desire that attention now be focused on Jerusalem.
9* Cf. Williamson, pp. 224f.
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and his descendants as in 1 Kgs 8:4f. The Chronicler also intensifies the reference to God's covenant with David as the basis of his relationship to Solomon (cf. 1 Kgs 9:5 and 2 Chr 7:16).
Comparisons may also be offered between the two settings of the second appearance story. Following Solomon's prayer of dedication and prior to Yahweh's second appearance, 1 Kings 8:54-65 reports that Solomon blessed the people, sacrifices were offered before Yahweh, and an eight day feast was held. The Chr's account omits the blessing of the people, but includes the reports of the sacrifices and feast (2 Chr 7:4-10).
2 Chr 7:1-3, however, presents a unique description of the fire coming down from heaven (cf. 1 Chr 21:26) and the glory of Yahweh filling the temple in response to Solomon's prayer. This report includes the statement that "all the people of Israel" saw fire come down and the "glory of Yahweh" (TQ3 upon the temple. In response the people bow their faces to the earth, worship, and give thanks (2 Chr 7:3). Williamson suggests that the Chronicler's interest at this point was to show Yahweh's positive and direct response to Solomon's prayer (cf. 2 Chr 6:40-42)." Thus Yahweh's approval of Solomon's building and the transfer of the ark and his consecration of the temple were clearly made known to the people as well as the priests. Such reports of "all Israel" or groups of people seeing Yahweh are rare. 100 In most cases only individuals "see" or experience the "appearing." This is the last account of "all Israel" seeing such an event in the Old Testament and the only such report in Chr (cf. Exod 16:17; 19:21; 24:9-11; Lev 9:4; Num 14:14). The addition of such a report indicates the importance of this moment for the Chr. When the newly built temple is consecrated all Israel witness ("see") fire, symbolic of the direct presence of God, coming down and the glory of Yahweh upon the temple.

99 Williamson, pp. 222-223, attributes this to the influence of Lev 9:23f. and to a lesser extent Exod 40:34.

100 Cf. Exod 33:10; Exod 24:10; Ps 97:6. The glory of Yahweh appears to the congregation in Exod 16:10; Num 14:10; and 16:19.
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In both contexts, however, Yahweh's appearance follows the dedication
of the newly built temple, the crowning achievement of Solomon's reign. At this important moment Yahweh appears and answers Solomon's prayer. The temple is now consecrated by the presence of Yahweh (1 Kgs 9:3 // 2 Chr 7:16). This provides the occasion for giving additional emphasis to the Davidic covenant with Yahweh (1 Kgs 9:4f. // 2 Chr 7:17fj. Both texts serve to invoke the seriousness of disobedience for the king as well as the people. 101 The penalties for disobedience are severe. Israel will be deported, the temple will be destroyed, and they will become an example and admonition to others. 1 Kgs 9:6ff. probably reflect a Deuteronomistic expansion of the material which was inherited. The penalties for disobedience are clearly expounded. 2 Chr 7:13ff., however, stress the possibility of forgiveness, though the security of the Davidic throne is also clearly tied to obedience.
On this occasion Gibeon is superseded by Jerusalem as the place where Yahweh's name will dwell forever. The humanly built temple is now acclaimed as the place of divine presence. The appearance of Yahweh to Solomon reveals the acceptance of the kings work and he is assured that his work and prayer have been heard and answered by Yahweh. From a later point of view, the occasion provides the opportunity for a reminder of the seriousness of disobedience and its results.

C. 1 ICINGS 11:9: JUDGMENT ON SOLOMON

There is one further reference to Yahweh's two appearances to Solomon
in 1 Kgs 11:9; it is not repeated by the Chr. 1 Kgs 11 serves as the conclusion to the Dtr's portrait of Solomon and presents an account of Solomon's apostasy and the resulting judgment of Yahweh. This chapter is generally regarded as thoroughly Deuteronomic, an editorial comment which sought to explore the

a. DeVries, pp. 127-128.
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causes for the divided kingdom which followed.102
The chapter states that Solomon sinned against God by his marriages to foreign women (1 Kgs 11:1; cf. Deut 7:3-4; Exod 34:15-15; Josh 23:12),^3 and by building shrines for these wives to the gods Milcom and Chemosh (1 Kgs 11:5-8).104 The reference to the two appearances is found in the context of w. 9-10 which further emphasize the reasons for Yahweh's anger. The two appearance stories were probably inherited by Dtr from the sources which were available for his historical narrative. Although both stories provide the opportunity for stressing the association of obedience and Yahweh's blessing (1 Kgs 3:14; 9:4f.), as stated above, an expansion has strengthened the threat of punishment in 1 Kgs 9:6ff. Here the importance of the two appearance stories for the Dtr is further clarified: "And Yahweh was angry with Solomon, because his heart had turned away from Yahweh, the God of Israel, who had appeared to him twice, and had commanded him concerning this thing, that he should not go after other gods; but he did not keep what Yahweh commanded." 10^
The appearances are interpreted as two occasions when Yahweh appeared to Solomon and warned him concerning apostasy. Skinner notes that the warning against idolatry is given only on the second occasion, and then not to Solomon personally, but to Israel generally.106 However, Solomon is commanded on both occasions to follow Yahweh's commandments (1 Kgs 3:14;

102 Cf . J. A. Montgomery and H. S. Gehman, The Books of Kings, ICC (Edinburgh, 1951), P- 235; Wurlhwein, pp. 13 Iff.; and G. H. Jones, / and 2 Kings, 2 vols., NCBC (Grand Rapids, 1984), 1:232, 238.
does not have the censure implied by the word "foreign." Cf. Gray,
pp. 27 If. for a discussion of the complex differences between the MT and (5. 104 For a discussion of these gods and their presence in Ugaritic texts cf. Montgomery and Gehman, pp. 232-235; and Gray, pp. 275-278.
The characteristically Deuteronomistic phrase, "So Solomon did what
was evil in the Sight of Yahweh" is also found in 1 1:6 (cf. 1 Kgs 14:22; 1 5.26, 34; 16:19,25,30).
Skinner, p. 174.
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9:4-5). For the Dtr Yahweh's appearing on two occasions presented clear testimony against Solomon. In spite of being vouchsafed two appearances and being given Yahweh's clear commandments, Solomon "turned away from Yahweh" and broke covenant (11:9-10). The results of this was to be a divided kingdom. Solomon's successor would be reduced to one tribe, and this only "for the sake of David my servant and for the sake of Jerusalem which I have chosen" (11:13b).

VII. 1 KINGS 22:1-40 (19) // 2 CHRONICLES 18:1-34 (18):
MICAIAH'S VISION OF YAHWEH UPON HIS THRONE

Following the reign of Solomon (1 Kgs 3-11), the remainder of 1 Kings recounts the reigns of the kings of the divided monarchy through Ahab of Israel and Jehoshaphat of Judah (chs. 12-22). The greater part of 2 Chr 10-36 also surveys the period of the divided monarchy. The Chr, however, shows hostility towards the Northern Kingdom and writes as little as possible about it. It is all the more interesting, then, that the present story, which primarily concerns Ahab and his battle against Syria, should be taken from 1 Kgs 22:1-35 almost verbatim. Within this story the only remaining reference to "seeing" God in both histories is found. There are no further references to the appearing
of God.

1 Kgs 22:If. is the continuation of the presentation of Ahab's wars with Syria which begins in ch. 20.1°7 The text presupposes that the key fortress of Ramoth-gilead had not been handed over as promised by Ben-hadad following his earlier defeat (20:34), and thus Ahab and Jehoshaphat enter into alliance to regain it. Commentators, however, are generally suspect of the historical reliability of these chapters. For example, the originality of Ahab to these traditions has been seriously questioned. The name Ahab is present only in

107 <B does not separate the three campaigns from each other, but has ch. 22 immediately following 20.

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20:2, 13, 14 and 22:20. The frequent use of the generic phrase "the king of Israel," as well as other historical considerations, have led scholars to suggest that the association of Ahab with these anonymous traditions is late. In addition the picture of Ahab as one who seeks out the prophets for the word of Yahweh is contrary to that of 1 Kgs I6:29ff. It follows that the historical setting suggested by 1 Kgs 20 and 22 for these battles and the origin of these accounts are also questioned.108
Commentators generally agree that in 1 Kgs 22 the battle report, which originally may have belonged in another context, has been combined with prophetic material to form the present narrative of a conflict between prophets.109 Gray, for example, suggests that the present story presents the conflict between two concepts of prophecy, that represented by the 400 prophets of Ahab and that of Micaiah, or false versus true prophecy.110
As stated above, the almost verbatim repetition of this story in 2 Chr 18:1-34 is somewhat surprising given the Chr's lack of interest in the Northern Kingdom. In fact, this is the only extensive excerpt from the history of the Northern Kingdom in Chronicles Thus commentators have given careful attention to the variations in the two stories in order to determine the Chr's reasons for its inclusion.

These changes are perhaps most obvious in the Chr's new introduction
(w. 1-2). 111 The Chr stresses Jehoshaphat's position of wealth and honor

108 For a discussion of the historical difficulties of these texts see Gray, pp. 414f.; and Jones, pp. 337f. Cf. further J. M. Miller's articles, "The Elisha Cycle and the Accounts of the Omride Wars" JBL 85 (1966), pp. 441-445; "The Fall of the House of Ahab," VT 17 (1967), pp. 307-324.; and "The Rest of the Acts of Jehoahaz (1 Kings 20; 21:1-38);' ZAW 80 (1968). pp. 337-342.

109 cf. E. Wurthwein, "Zur Komposition von I Reg 22:1-38," Festschrift

Leonard Rost: Das feme und n&he Wort. Ed. F. Maas, BZAW 105 (1967), pp. 245-254; Jones, p. 362; DeVries, pp. 25-30; and Long, pp. 232f.
110 Gray, p. 449.

a. Curtis and Madsen, pp. 395-396; Coggins, p. 214; Williamson, pp. 284-285; and Myers, pp. I04f.
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(18:1). The rift between the two kingdoms is now healed as is indicated by reference to a marriage alliance between Jehoshaphat and Ahab. Here Ahab is portrayed as preparing a great feast at which he entices Jehoshaphat to join him against Ramoth-gilead (18:2).^2 NO reference to Jehoshaphat's position or this seduction is made in 1 Kgs 22.
From v. 3 the narrative of 1 Kings 22:4-35 is followed more closely. However, there are several additional alterations. 1 ^ For example, Micaiah's speech in 1 Kgs 22:15, 'Tahweh will deliver it into your hands," is now changed to "it will be given into your hand," thus removing the suggestion that. Yahweh would work for the northern king. The Chr understands Jehoshaphat's cry as a prayer which brings divine intervention, rather than a cry to his men (1 Kgs 22:32-33), and thus adds, Tahweh helped him; God drew them away from him" (18:31). In addition the Chr supplies his own conclusion. The graphic reference to Ahab's death and burial given in 1 Kgs 22:36-39 is omitted. Rather the Chr presents Jehoshaphat's safe return to Jerusalem and his confrontation with Jehu over his aid to the Northern Kingdom (19:1-3).
There are basically two related views as to why the Chr included this story which deals almost exclusively with the Northern Kingdom. Myers, for example, suggests that the Chr was drawn to the story because of its reference to the prophet Micaiah whose message involved judah at this point.114 According to this view the story is important to the Chr for much the same reason as it was to the Dtr. Two forms of prophecy are contrasted. Micaiah, unlike the prophets of Ahab, provided the example of the true prophet of Yahweh. Perhaps more common, however, is the view which grants the

112 The RSV translates the word HID "induce," but this hardly seems strong enough for a word which is used for seduction into apostasy (cf. Deut 13:6. Cf. Ackroyd, p. 144; and Williamson, p. 285.
A minor example which may reflect textual differences can be seen in
the different spellings, tibfr in Chronicles and rf^ in Kings
Myers, pp. 104-105. Cf. Coggins, p. 215.
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importance of the prophetic element in the story, but also suggests that of greater concern is the role of Jehoshaphat.U3 The image of Jehoshaphat as a vassal of Ahab is softened by the Chr (18:1-3). Although seduced by the apostate northern king, Jehoshaphat insists that the word of Yahweh be sought out through Micaiah (18:4-7). During the battle Jehoshaphat is delivered by divine intervention (18:31-32). And in the end Jehoshaphat returns safely to Jerusalem. Although he is condemned for his alliance with "the wicked" Ahab, Jehoshaphat is assessed as one in whom good could be found and as one who "set his heart to seek God" (19:1-3). The second view which combines both elements is probably correct.
The presentation of Micaiah's prophecy is virtually the same in both accounts (1 Kgs 22:13-28 // 2 Chr 18:12-27). The reference to "seeing" Yahweh introduces Micaiah's third prophecy to the kings. The first simply repeats the earlier positive word of the 400 prophets (1 Kgs 22:15 // 2 Chr 18:14). The second presents Micaiah's vision of Israel as sheep without a shepherd and is introduced by "I saw" (1 Kgs 22:17 // 2 Chr 18:16). Micaiah's third report sets this in a new context. It begins, "therefore hear the word of Yahweh: I saw (Hfcn) Yahweh sitting upon his throne, and all the host of heaven standing beside him" (1 Kgs 22:19 // 2 Chr 18:18). 116 The prophet visualizes a scene in the heavenly court in which Yahweh directs human affairs from above by means of the hosts of heaven (cf. Job 1; Isa 6; Ezek 1; Zach 3). 117 Thus a lying spirit is commanded to go forth from the mouths of the prophets in order to entice Ahab into a battle in which he will be killed. In spite of this prophecy, Ahab goes into battle and the prophecy comes true. The Chr adds to this the

Cf. Curtis and Madsen, p. 395; Ackroyd, Chronicles, p. 143; and Williamson, pp. 284f.
116 In 1 Kgs 22:18 (9 presupposes "the God of Israel" which softens the suggestion of the vision of Yahweh.
Cf. Gray, p. 451. Skinner, p. 265, suggests that this is the first instance
of the use of the expression "the host of heaven."
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contrast of Jehoshaphat whose life is spared by divine intervention. He returns home safely and is judged favorably, even if he is admonished for his alliance with Ahab.

This is the first of the rare first-person prophetic vision reports found
in the Old Testament (cf. Isa 6:1, 5; Am 9:1; Ezek 1:1, 27-28).ns Though without great detail, the prophet actually describes what he sees as well as what he hears. The vision does not deny that the other prophets speak under divine influence, but rather expresses the view that this was intended by Yahweh as the means for the kings destruction. Yahweh is the source of a "lying spirit" in both accounts.
In both the scene in which the prophets are consulted interrupts the preparations for war and the actual campaign. Micaiah's vision is the highpoint of the narrative. What begins as a narrative of two kings plotting war now becomes the story of a sinful king and Yahweh's prophet. Yahweh's prophet proclaims what he "sees" (w. 17, 19). In contrast to the king's "yes men," Micaiah is vouchsafed a vision of Yahweh sitting upon his throne. In contrast to the king's prophets who are but puppets in the hands of a lying spirit, Micaiah "sees" what Yahweh is really doing in these events. Yahweh's prophet has access to the very council of heaven and is therefore privy to Yahweh's intentions. Following the confrontation the two kings curiously follow through with their plans in spite of the counsel of the prophet. Although Micaiah has access to the council of heaven and pronounces Yahweh's judgment upon the situation, this is ignored by the kings and therefore the prophecy comes true. In spite of the introductory scene, the Dtr's narrative reveals the contrast
and opposition between both Ahab and Micaiah, and the four hundred prophets and Micaiah. Jehoshaphat plays a very small role in the story. Through Micaiah Yahweh's intentions are introduced into the story and the fate of Ahab

118 Cf. also those rare prophetic reports which refer to Yahweh 'showing" or "causing to see" (Jer 24:1; 38:21: Ezek 11:25; Am 7:1. 4, 7; 8:1).
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is set in this context. The Chr's narrative, on the other hand, gives Jehoshaphat a much larger role and emphasizes, in spite of his alliance with Ahab, his goodness and his desire to seek out Yahweh. Again Micaiah introduces Yahweh's intentions into the story. These accentuate Yahweh's judgment of Ahab in contrast to the divine intervention which saves the life of Jehoshaphat. In both accounts the vision of Micaiah plays an important role. Here, for
the first time, is introduced the prophetic first-person report of seeing Yahweh and receiving his word. The story suggests that Yahweh's word will in fact come to fruition. This provides an example for all. Ahab, who never doubts Micaiah's legitimacy, foolishly disregards the word of Yahweh. Before being taken away to prison Micaiah invites the people to remember, '"If you return in peace, Yahweh has not spoken by me.' And he said, 'Hear, all you peoples!'" (1 Kgs 22:28 // 2 Chr 18:27).

VIII. CONCLUSION

An examination of the use of the "seeing" and "appearing" motifs in the Deuteronomistic and Chronicler's Histories reveals both some similarity to earlier usage as well as new usages which are not found in the Tetrateuch. The "appearing" motif is found once again in the context of the commissioning of significant individuals. Like Moses before him, Joshua receives his commission and begins his work following an encounter with Yahweh who "appears" and promises to fulfill the promise of land which was given to the patriarchal fathers (Deut 31:15, 23). Yahweh not only appears to reaffirm the promise of land, but to commission a messenger and deliverer for the people in their time of crisis.
In Judg 6 and 13 the messenger of Yahweh appears at moments of
crisis when Israel is threatened. This appearing calls an individual into the service of his God and his people or announces the birth of a hero to a barren couple. In both stories the identity of the messenger, which is apparent to the

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hearer or reader, is only gradually revealed to the protagonist. Thus the appearing and the working out of the identity of the visitor have an important artistic as well as theological function in these narratives which were adopted by the Dtr. As delayed-recognition stories, Judg 6 and 13 are part of a larger group of stories in the Old Testament which witness to Yahweh's direct involvement in the affairs of Israel at important moments of crisis during the pre-monarchical period.
A reference to the "appearing" of Yahweh is also found in 1 Sam 3, the inaugural theophany or call story for the ministry of Samuel. This narrative is unique, however, in that the narrator now combines the appearing of Yahweh with the prophetic image of "the word of Yahweh." With Samuel a new prophetic period is introduced. Now Yahweh appears at a specific sanctuary and to a specific person on a recurring basis for the purpose of revealing his word to his prophet (3:21). With this Samuel's career is introduced and his special relationship with Yahweh is set forth. This prepares the way for Samuel's important functions which follows.
Following the period of the judges references to "seeing" and "appearing" become even more rare. In fact, one finds such references only in connection with David, Solomon, all Israel (IX), and in the story of Micaiah (1 Kgs 22). These motifs have unique functions in these contexts. The story of David and the messenger of Yahweh serves to show how Jerusalem was chosen for the temple during the time of David. In 2 Sam 24 the story is placed at the conclusion of the book which round off the whole picture of David. This is the climax of David's reign. The site upon which the temple will be built is the site where David saw the messenger of Yahweh, repented, and offered sacrifices. Solomon, the builder of the temple, may now appear on stage. In 1 Chr 21 the connection with the future temple is made even more explicit. The story shows how the threshing floor of Ornan became the site for Israel's worship and sacrifice. This is made clear once more by the reference in 2 Chr 3:1 which refers back to this experience as the "appearing" of Yahweh to David. The

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messenger of Yahweh is here presented as having a clearly distinct identity from that of Yahweh himself, a significant change when compared with earlier stories. The site of the temple in Jerusalem was the result of nothing less than the theophany of the messenger of Yahweh who was seen by David and others (cf. 2 Chr 3:1). The Chr, in particular, claims for Jerusalem a unique position with the authority of a theophany and the command of David.
In both 1 Kgs 3 and 2 Chr 1 Solomon's reign begins with his journey to Gibeon and his encounter with Yahweh who appears. Solomon is thus legitimated by an appearance of Yahweh who grants the kings request for discernment and in addition gives wealth and long life. Solomon is vouchsafed a second appearance following the dedication of the newly built temple. Yahweh appears and answers Solomon's dedicatory prayer and the temple is consecrated by the presence of Yahweh (1 Kgs 9:3 // 2 Chr 7:16). The appearance functions to reveal the acceptance of the kings work and to assure him that his work and prayer have been heard and answered by Yahweh. The Chr adds the report that all the people saw the glory of Yahweh upon the temple (2 Chr 7:3). Although both histories make the connection between the appearance stories and the call to obedience (1 Kgs 3:14; 9:4f.; cf. 2 Chr 7:12f.), it is most clear in the Dtr interpretation of these two stories in 1 Kgs 11:9 where they are called upon as witness to the warnings Solomon received concerning the results of disobedience.
Thus in the stories of the kings as presented in both histories references
to seeing God and the appearing of God occur only at three moments. Only David and Solomon are vouchsafed such encounters. All three are ultimately related to the temple and either concern David who is responsible for the site of the temple, or Solomon who builds it and dedicates it. Following this such references become even more rare and are limited primarily to texts which concern prophets and prophetic vision.
The final reference to "seeing" Yahweh in the history writing may be found in the unique vision of the prophet Micaiah (1 Kgs 22//2 Chr 18). Here,

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for the first time, is introduced the prophetic first-person report of seeing Yahweh and receiving his word. The prophet is now portrayed, in contrast to Ahab's prophets, as the one who has access to Yahweh's presence to receive the divine word. The prophet "sees" Yahweh upon his throne, overhears the heavenly council, and is thus privy to Yahweh's intentions. The Dtr historian portrays Yahweh's direct influence in the demise of the wicked king and contrasts the visionary prophet of Yahweh with those who simply respond as the king wishes. To this the Chr adds a more positive evaluation of the role of the Jehoshaphat.
This examination reveals that in the history writing of the Dtr and Chr
the motifs of "seeing" God and the "appearing" of God were employed only in stories about limes of threat to the people or only in connection with significant people and events. On the whole both histories seem to have been loyal to their sources. It is thus sometimes difficult to determine whether they found any significance in the motifs themselves, or whether they were simply apart of the sources they adopted. Although the latter is more generally the case, on rare occasions they break in to reveal the significance of the stories for their historical narratives.

Yet as it happens their work provides new settings for the motifs which
then make their contributions to the larger narrative. As in the Tetrateuch the "seeing" and "appearing" motifs are not repeated slavishly. They are found in individual, creative, and artistic narratives which were taken over by the narrators, often with little change. They are employed in stories which report significant moments in the life of the people whose God "appears" and may be "seen." In the history writing this is an unusual occurrence which happens only in conjunction with significant leaders, judges, the kings associated with the temple, and a lone prophet of Yahweh.

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CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This thesis began in Chapter One with a study of Old Testament words
for "see" with special reference to semantic collocations which suggest that God is seen or appears. A variety of contexts were discovered in which "God" is collocated with the "see" vocabulary. This examination revealed both areas of semantic overlap and distinctiveness where certain words have nuances in different contexts. Perhaps the most important distinction so far as this study is concerned is the Niphal of HH"! which alone is used for God's appearing. Although some 64 references to "seeing" God were discovered, not all of these refer to physical seeing. In some contexts the nuances "have regard for," or "experience" are more appropriate. In other cases "seeing" Yahweh's glory seems to refer to seeing divine activity rather than the deity. There are 46 references to "God's appearing." However, apart from several references to appearing in the Psalms and Prophets and references to seeing in first-person prophetic reports and in Job and Psalms, these motifs are limited to the narrative materials of the Tetrateuch and of the history writing of the Dtr and Chr. These narrative texts were singled out for further examination.
An examination of works on theophany suggested that these motifs have
not been fully appreciated. Generally when considered they are viewed only as they might relate to earlier forms of texts, e.g. cultic etiology; or divine appearing is simply is equaled with divine speaking. The significance of these motifs for the narratives in which they are found is thus ignored. This suggested the need for the study carried out in Chapters Three to Five.
Before this Chapter Two presented an examination of the "see" vocabularies of Ugaritic and Akkadian literature in order to gain possible clues into the ancient Near Eastern backgrounds of these motifs. The context "a person sees a god," though rare, is attested in both. Akkadian texts may be

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compared with psalm texts which refer to seeing Yahweh in the context of the temple. In Mesopotamian temples the worshiper "saw" the god or his face in the form of images. Although certain Psalm texts may have their origin in the older usage suggested by Akkadian texts, it has been suggested that the "seeing God" came to be an idiom for "worship in the temple." Though something like this is probably correct, there remains some question as to the usage of n^DH

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in Ps 17:15 and the directness of Ps 63:3 (E. trs. 2).
Although it is very likely that Israel's confession that God is seen belongs
to the common heritage of the ancient Near East, important differences were discovered. In Old Testament narratives both seeing and appearing motifs are used in different contexts. In contrast to Akkadian texts which reflect the urban setting of Mesopotamian cities and their shrines, the majority of Old Testament references to seeing God and the appearing of God reflect a location other than a temple. This is also true of the one Ugaritic "seeing" text which may be compared with the patriarchal traditions. There are, however, no references to God's "appearing" in Ugaritic and Akkadian literature such as are found in Old Testament narratives. The Old Testament frequently presents God in an active coming. In the Old Testament narratives Yahweh's presence is not fixed to any one place. Rather Yahweh appears or is seen by important people, often at important moments in their lives, and in the life and history of the people.
Such differences may lie partially in the contrast between Akkadian and Ugaritic texts which are the accidents of archaeological discovery and the Old Testament which is the product of careful preservation. Yet the value of this argument is limited. There are many Ugaritic and Akkadian stories in which the gods play major roles and in which much of the see vocabulary is found collocated with "god" in other ways. In the end one must conclude that Ugaritic, Akkadian, and Hebrew texts are complementary, but they can not be equated.

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In Old Testament narratives Yahweh "appears" or is "seen" and speaks, commands, promises, commissions, or even offers judgment. Such references are not necessarily associated with the cult. Frequently the unusual nature of the encounter is emphasized. The Old Testament usage of these themes may be unique in that they play an important role in the highly developed theology of God's transcendence in Old Testament religion which prohibited images.
In Chapters Three to Five the motifs of "seeing God" and of "God's appearing" were examined at two levels where this was possible: the level of the story as inherited material and the level of the present narratives. A variety of contexts were found in which these motifs are used. Most frequently references to seeing God or the messenger are found at the conclusion of stories in first-person statements which express the unusual nature of the encounter. This may take the form of surprise or fear of death (Gen 16:3; 32:31; Exod 3:6; 24:11; Judg 6:22; 13:20, 22; 1 Chr 21:16, 20). They are also found in rare statements which prohibit seeing God (Exod 19:21; 33:23) or suggest that such an encounter results in death (Exod 33:20). A further context is found in a text which extols the special status of Moses as one who sees God face to face (Num 12:8). The motif is also employed on rare occasions when various individuals or all Israel are said to see God or his messenger (Exod 16:7; 24:10; Num 22:31; 2 Chr 7:3). On one occasion Yahweh is seen by a prophet (1 Kgs 22:19 // 2 Chr 18:18). And finally, the seeing motif is found in texts where it seems to have little significance except to provide the reason for the action of the protagonist which follows (Gen 19:1; 32:2; 2 Sam 24:17). In spite of the different usages most texts share in common the view that to see God was out of the ordinary. The motif of seeing God is found in primarily JE traditions of the Tetrateuch. In spite of the view of Deut 4-5, the seeing motif is also found in the Dtr and also in the Chr, though much less frequently.
When the larger contexts are considered, such experiences are often limited to moments of tension within various narratives or to occasions which were later judged to be important. For example, the theophany tradition of

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Moses and the elders seeing God is incorporated into the larger narrative as the climatic event of the covenant ratification ceremony (Exod 24:9-11). The site where David saw the messenger of Yahweh later became the location for the temple at Jerusalem. Although this is found in the Dtr, the Chr makes much of this event (cf. 2 Sam 24:17ff. and 1 Chr 21:16-30).
The motif of God's appearing is also employed in a variety of contexts. Perhaps the most prominent is the relationship between appearing and promise in the patriarchal traditions. Yahweh appears to each patriarchal in order to affirm the promises made to Abraham (12:1-3), often at moments of tension within the larger narrative with regard to fulfillment, or when the patriarchal family is threatened (Gen 12:7; 17:1; 18:1; 26:2, 24; 35:9; 48:3). Yahweh also appears to commission significant individuals or to announce the birth of a future deliverer (Exod 3:2; Deut 31:15; Judg 6:12; 13:3); to give aid (Exod 16:10; Num 20:6) or even judgment at a moment of crisis (Num 14:10; 16:19; 17:7); to bless a new king or to answer his prayer (1 Kgs 3:5; 9:2; 2 Chr 1:7; 2 Chr 3:1); in the worship of Israel (Lev 9:4f.; 16:2); and even to reveal his word to the prophet (1 Sam 3:21). Most frequently the appearing is described by the narrator. Only rarely is it presented as a past event by the person involved (Gen 48:3), or the deity (Gen 35:1).
Although attested in P (17:1; 35:9; 48:3), the connection between God's appearing or encounters which involve seeing and the promises to the patriarchs is perhaps most clear in the J texts (12:7; 18:1; 26:2, 24; cf. 16:13; 19:1). Although the promises may not always have been original parts of the stories in which they are found, my reading of the appearing texts suggests that the relationship between appearing and promise is central to the narratives in their present form. Both J and P stories find significance in the fact that God appeared and promised, even in the face of threats and the apparent impossibility of fulfillment. These stories have been adopted into the tension-resolution pattern of the larger narrative with all its conflicts and threats to the fulfillment of the promises.

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Appearing and commissioning are found in both JE and Dtr narratives. Appearing and aid or judgment are found at moments of crisis in the J and P narratives of the wilderness wanderings. Appearing and Israel's worship at the tent of meeting is limited to P narratives in Leviticus. In the case of the Dtr and Chr the motif of Yahweh's appearing may simply have been part of the inherited material which was taken over with little alteration; or they may have been of special importance to the narrator. For example, the Dtr gives his own interpretation of Yahweh's appearances to Solomon in 1 Kgs 11:9.
Given the varied uses of the themes "seeing God" and "God's appearing"
in Old Testament narratives, the lack of attention given to them in Old Testament Studies is all the more surprising. There has been nothing approaching a comprehensive treatment.1 Moreover, what has been written has tended to overlook the richness and variety of the uses of these themes, particularly on the narrative level. The various purposes for which these themes were employed suggest that their contribution is more significant than previously suggested.
The significance of these motifs for Old Testament theology has been given very little attention and has yet to be worked out in any systematic way. Although it is beyond the scope of the present study to do this, this would be a worthwhile task for further research, particularly when this is contrasted with Ugaritic and Akkadian usage. To this a more careful study of the use of these themes in the prophetic corpus, the Psalms, and Job should be added.
In general, the themes of seeing and appearing are related to the issue of God's presence. References to seeing God and the appearing of God reveal Israel's preoccupation with relationship to God and the question of God's

1 This is not true of depictions of storm-theophany or poetic theophany depictions which have been given much more attention. Cf.f for example, Jeremias, Theophanie, and Cross, pp. 156ff.

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presence with or absence from his people 2 These texts testify to the fact that the experience of the direct presence of God was an important part of Israelite faith. Israel's faith was that God appeared or came to his people and that their life and being was a result of God's direct involvement in her history, particularly with regard to the development, formation, and sustaining of the people and their faith.
Yahweh appears to her forefathers with the promises of land, progeny, and blessing; or her forefathers are vouchsafed a vision of God at moments of conflict when divine intervention brings resolution. Yahweh appears to commission her early leaders and to raise up heroes to deliver the people in times of crisis. Israel also confesses that God was directly involved at important moments such as when Moses and the elders are vouchsafed a vision of God without harm coming to them. The divine impinges into the life of Israel at the institution of the worship and cult. In addition God appears at moments of crisis in the wilderness and so sustains the people, meeting their needs as well as judging them. Such encounters with the divine identify the site of the future temple, legitimate the reign of Solomon, and reveal the acceptance of the newly built temple. Yet in all these events seeing God and the appearing of God are not taken for granted, but recognized as out of the ordinary. When the transcendent God draws near he sets aside the normal consequences for such a close encounter with the divine and comes to meet his people. The narratives which employ these motifs may have taken their final form during a protracted period of time and as suggested above may have been a very significant witness during times of hopelessness and faithlessness to the faithfulness of the God who appears and is seen in Israel.

2 See S. Terrien, The Elusive Presence, who attempts to construct a "biblical theology" around the theme of the presence of God. In doing so he draws upon a number of seeing and appearing texts discussed in this thesis. The theme of God's hiddenness has been recently examined by S. Balentine in The Hidden God.

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