

Teaching Sacred Narratives: The Books of Moses

Mark N. ZION

聖典にまつわる話

モーゼの本

マーク・N.ザイオン

要 旨

ユダヤ教、キリスト教、イスラム教と、どの宗教を見ても明らかのように、私たちは今、新たな宗教復興の時代に生きていると言える。ジャンバッティスタ・ヴィーコ(1668-1744)によれば、文明は神権政治に始まり貴族政治と民主主義を経て再び神権政治の順で循環しているという。彼が正しいければ、私達が生きているのは単に宗教的熱狂の時代ではなく、神権政治への回帰過程であるとも言える。そして、もしそうであれば、聖書の持つ意味合いはかつてないほどに重要な色合いを帯びてくることになる。しかし、この時代がヴィーコの仮説通りの過程ではないとしても、私たちが聖書への理解を深めることは極めて重要である。何故なら、いくつもの時代を経てなお人々を魅了し続けて止まない聖書を理解することは、国々の文化や人々の価値観の基盤を理解することにも繋がる大切な作業だからである。ここでは、私が日本の各大学の教壇で聖書を取り上げてきた経験を踏まえて、聖書を学ぶことの原点に立ち返り、モーゼの書が世に送り出されるに至った経緯即ち聖書誕生の原点について考えてみたいと思う。

Key Words

The Document Hypothesis, Yahweh, Elohim, The Torah, The Pentateuch, The End of History, Aristocratic, Ethical Monotheism

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1. Introduction

When I first began teaching the course *Judaism and the Origins of Western Religion*, I covered only a few of the main themes from *Genesis* (*Bere'shith*, "In The Beginning" in Hebrew) and *Exodus* (*Shemout*, "Names"): Adam and Eve, the expulsion from Paradise, the call of Abraham and Moses, and the Ten Commandments. I was fortu-

nate to have some very curious students, some of whom had lived in America on home-stays, a few with Evangelical Christian families. They asked more challenging questions about the Bible: Who wrote it? When was it written? Why is it still so important?

The first two questions, of “who” and “when,” seemed manageable, or at least I thought so at the time (I do not believe anyone can answer the latter question). Yet the field of biblical studies has been transformed in the last forty years or so, propelled by the extraordinary discoveries of ancient Christian and Jewish texts in Nag Hammadi, Egypt (1945) and the Dead Sea Scrolls in Qumran, Israel (1946–56).¹⁾ It was not until several years later that I began answering these questions a bit more thoroughly, based on what I feel is the most relevant scholarship.

Needless to say, the Bible is the most important book the world has known, translated into more languages than any other work, read weekly by billions in gatherings for worship and daily in personal study and reflection. The Ten Commandments have been the foundation of civil law until relatively recently in Western Civilization. Religious belief, though waning in Western Europe, is on the rise in almost every other place and is likely to be founded on some form of Bible-based theology. Polls consistently show, for example, that over ninety-percent of Americans believe in God. The God they believe in comes from the Bible. About one-third of the world’s population is nominally Christian, with another one-fourth nominally Muslim, both of whom worship the God of Abraham—based on the biblical accounts of him—and see themselves as either Abraham’s spiritual or actual physical descendants. Nearly sixty-percent of the world’s population, then, is living in cultures with a biblically derived ethical monotheism. Understanding of the West’s sacred narrative is

essential for all students of culture and civilization.

My approach in introducing students to the Bible is from the liberal end of biblical scholarship. My intention is both to convey something of the aesthetic power of the early writers (one in particular) and to show a little of what the sacred narrative means to Jewish, Christian, and Muslim believers. I always regret not spending more time on the story of this scholarship, a remarkable saga in itself. I offer now a thumbnail sketch of it, followed by a summary of the various biblical writers, mainly from an amalgam of four books: *The Bible as History* (1980) by Werner Keller, *Who Wrote the Bible* (1987) by Richard Elliot Friedman, *The Book of J* (1990) by Harold Bloom and David Rosenberg, and *The Voice, The Word, The Books* (2007) by F.E. Peters.²⁾

2. A woven tapestry

Since time immemorial, and without the texts actually saying so, the devout have believed Moses wrote the first five books of the Bible (the Jewish Torah—Hebrew for “Teaching” or Christian Pentateuch—Greek for “Five Books”—are better known by their Christian designations: *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, and *Deuteronomy*). Moses, the great lawgiver, is the inspired prophet for the three great monotheistic faiths; only Moses, who spoke to God face-to-face, was therefore acceptable as a conveyor of God’s words. The tradition of Moses’ authorship began from this exalted height.

By the middle ages, however, as a literate and scholarly class developed, Moses’ authorship came under closer scrutiny. Needless to say, in a society of religious literalists, it was not safe to question the sacred traditions too openly, though some stout-hearted souls did try. Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), the British philosopher, was among the first to publicly deny that Moses wrote all the

Torah. Hobbes' books were banned in England, and some members of Parliament claimed the Great Fire of London (1665–66) was God's punishment on England for tolerating Hobbes's views. Later, Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) published a comprehensive (and accurate) critique of Moses' authorship. This alienated him from the elders of his synagogue in Amsterdam, who eventually expelled him. Spinoza would spend the rest of his life polishing lenses (other early critics suffered similar fates, or worse). Spinoza pointed out that *Deuteronomy* 34:10, "Never again did there arise in Israel a prophet like Moses....," must have been written by someone much later than Moses, who could compare Moses with other prophets before making such a claim. *Deuteronomy* 1:1 supports Spinoza's thesis: "These are the words that Moses addressed to all Israel on the other side of the Jordan." Would this not have been written by someone in Israel, describing the things that happened "on the other side of the Jordan," and not by Moses himself, who by tradition never entered the Promised Land (*Deuteronomy* 34)?

Sections of the Torah also contain information Moses could not have known: the list of kings, for example, in *Genesis* 36, lived long after Moses. Not only is Moses always spoken of in the third person—something eyewitnesses ancient or modern tend not to do—but Moses' death, and burial by Yahweh, is also described; as far as we know, no other writer has been a witness to his or her own death. Also, the book of *Exodus* speaks of Moses receiving the Ten Commandments on Mount Sinai, while the book of *Deuteronomy* says it was on Mount Horeb. Why the differences with such an important event?

More mysterious, stories in the Torah are repeated, some two or three times (scholars call these "doublets" and "triplets"): The stories of Noah's flood and Abraham's saga, for example,

are in doublets (cut up and combined); though similar, each varies a bit, in some places quite a bit. When the sections are separated they become complete stories by themselves (see Appendix 2). The language and idiomatic expressions also differ a great deal, as if written in different times, perhaps in vastly different times; some writers use "Yahweh" (YHWH) for God, others "Elohim". At the very least, something as important as God's name would be consistent, if the work were by one author, namely Moses. Questions about Moses' authorship were repressed, sometimes violently, but simmered until they found voice in a more liberal environment.

3. The document hypothesis

The starting point for the scholarship I present began in the eighteenth century when a few came to the conclusion that the Torah was in fact a piecing together of several authors. Johann Gottfried Eichhorn published a paper in 1780 identifying three writers of the Torah. Later, W.M.C. De Wette agreed that three different authors wrote *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, and *Numbers*, but added a fourth person who wrote *Deuteronomy*. Both were on the right track. I should add that these early scholars were usually members of the Protestant clergy and believed the Bible was inspired, so their intention was not to demythologize it; they merely wanted to answer the questions my students raised, of who put knife to parchment or reed pen to papyrus and when they did so.

By the nineteenth century, scholars began using alphabetic designations for the different writers: "J" for the person using Yahweh (all were German and the German equivalent for Y is closer to the J sound in English), "E" for the author using Elohim, "P" for the Priestly *Leviticus* author (and large parts of *Genesis*, *Exodus*, and *Numbers*) of ritual concerns, "D" for author of *Deuteronomy*, and

“R” for the Redactor (editor) who put them all together, adding some lines and chapters here and there (mostly genealogies) to smooth over the seams. In the twentieth century, scholars had great fun with all these combinations and identified several Js and several Ds, as well as many of the others. Most scholars feel, however, only these four writers and one editor composed the first five books of the Bible (later my summary will include the first eleven books, known as the First Bible).

In the nineteenth century, after nearly a hundred years of intense scrutiny, German scholars began to convincingly answer the questions of “who” wrote the Bible and “when.” Karl Henrich Graf established the order in which each wrote; Wilhelm Vatke expounded on the development within the religion itself, its various stages from primitive to more sophisticated, and Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918) brilliantly brought together the work of all who preceded him. Wellhausen, who put forward the Document Hypothesis (1878), remains the eminent authority on this scholarship to our day and was largely responsible for making this research known the world over. All were influenced by Georg Wilhelm Hegel’s *Phenomenology of Mind* (1807), his theory of progression in history. Their biases, then, were centered on a religious “end of history,” which for them was rational German Protestantism (Jewish scholars, who could study the Bible at most European universities only after the Second World War, would have a different perspective on “progression”).

Yet these scholars did well to apply Hegel’s theory, since it fits our underlying, universal sense (or fiction) of social development, in its idealized trajectory: 1) The earliest writers were J and E, connected with the religion’s beginning of nature and fertility (I will say more on this later); 2) D repre-

sented the second, ethical stage of development, of people living in moral communities; 3) and finally P for the priesthood and temple administration as a professional religious class developed. Friedman points out Wellhausen’s mistake, which for me as a devotee of this research is convincing: P came before D; D knew of P and quotes him many times (see Appendix 5). This scholarship was controversial for about a hundred years, given the orthodoxy concerning Moses’ authorship, but today all critical scholars from all religious traditions accept it.

4. The writer “J”

While firm archeological evidence has shown that the Hebrews had developed writing early, before 1,000 BCE, both J and E, the earliest biblical authors, came out of an oral tradition; they were performing-poets of their national epics at a time when most could not read. Though it is possible that each wrote down the stories, their main purpose was public performances; a performance, of course, is partly spontaneous innovation. The same is true of Homer’s work. Scholars have identified in Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey* certain set phrases or key words (“the wine dark sea” is one such key phrase) that performers used to return to the main story as they were performing it. This tradition of Homeric recitations has continued in Bulgaria and other regions of southeastern Europe to our own day, studied by both anthropologists and Homer scholars. A complete recitation of Homer can take twenty-five hours.

These studies are relevant as we consider the sacred narrative of Western religions. The earliest biblical authors, J and E as Homer may not have written down their work (by tradition, Homer himself was blind), yet because the poetry of J and Homer was on the heights, other poet performers memorized the “outline” for their

own performances, thus preserving it for posterity.

F.E. Peters, in his remarkable book *The Voice, The Word, The Books* (2007), wrote that with J and E we never encounter the actual writer, only the scribe who eventually committed the poetry to parchment (Peters 2007:85–86). Until the stories were written down, they were “fluid,” changed, expanded, expounded upon by various performers. Peters compares the oral tradition of public performances to Jazz improvisation. The underlying song remains, even as it is embellished, played in a different tempo, or lengthened depending on the mood of the audience. The Dead Sea scrolls the earliest dated to the third century BCE reveal a great deal of variation from the official Hebrew masoretic texts of over a thousand years later (the earliest masoretic text *masoreh* meaning “tradition” in Hebrew is dated at 1009 CE). The sublime book of *Isaiah* is markedly different from the masoretic text, proving that the scribes themselves had room for a great deal of creativity as they committed the work to writing (Peters 2007:155). Yet, with all due respect to Peters, when reading the material that is indisputably J’s (see Appendix 3), one encounters an extraordinary poetic consciousness, as one does when reading Homer. I think most agree that with these works one is in touch with an authorial consciousness, though doubtless some scribes themselves may have been literary geniuses who put the final version down.

That said we come to J, arguably the most influential writer of all time. J, writing and/or reciting sometime between 925 and 900 BCE but perhaps as early as the time of King David, is the earliest biblical writer, with the Court Historian, whose work became most of *2 Samuel*.³⁾ Since J is by far the most important writer ever perhaps ever will be I will spend more time with J. Judging from the metaphors and underlying

themes, J seems to have lived in the latter part of Solomon’s reign and early part of Rehoboam’s, Solomon’s son and successor, under whom the United Monarchy of Judah and Israel split apart (see Appendix 1). J’s stories, from the creation of Adam and Eve to the death of Moses, survive as much of *Genesis*, parts of *Exodus* and *Numbers*, and a fragment of *Deuteronomy*, the foundational sacred narratives for three religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.⁴⁾

J’s stories, with the Court Historian, are the first known attempt to write history, composed half a millennium before Herodotus (485–425 BCE), officially the West’s first historian (Friedman 1995:88); their writing, also preceding Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (c. eighth century BCE) by almost two hundred years, is closer to imaginative literature than to history (or religion for that matter), according to our categories today.⁵⁾ It is shockingly different and more beautifully written than other narratives of the time, when the deifying of national heroes was the norm. The earliest extant narrative of length, the Sumer *Tale of Gilgamesh*, a poetic warrior story from 1800 BCE Mesopotamia, has a similar style to the Court Historian’s, but it lacks the extraordinary scope, the vivid characters, the sublime themes of these two remarkable writers, who labored over realistic representations of personality, its nobility and gross defects. Oddly, from their pervasive influence on all the West’s great writers, these earliest writers seem modern. I offer the opening lines of J’s work, as we have it, translated by David Rosenberg, for a sense of this work of art:

Before a plant of the field was in earth, before a grain of the field sprouted Yahweh had not spilled rain on the earth, nor was there a man to work the land yet from the day Yahweh made earth and sky, a mist from

within would rise to moisten the surface. Yahweh shaped an earthling from clay of this earth, blew into its nostrils the wind of life. Now look: man becomes a creature of flesh.

Now Yahweh planted a garden in Eden, eastward, settled there the man he formed. From the land Yahweh grew all trees lovely to look upon, good to eat from; the tree of life was there in the garden, and the tree of knowing good and bad.

Thus begins one of the most magnificent sagas written by a human, with Yahweh making a man of clay, as a child plays in the mud, and placing him in a garden with an abundance of trees, including two trees that will shape the destiny of humankind.

Can we know anything of the person, J? Yes. But we have been prevented from reading J, because this primal work has been cut up and pasted together with three other writers. For English Bible readers, the King James (1611) version is so remarkable a translation in the way it blends the various writers that it makes it harder for us to see J's work on its own.⁶⁾ When J is separated from the other Bible writers, we enter an extraordinary sensibility.

Some believe J was a woman — now a bandwagon opinion — and I also use this as way for students to feel a connection with the Bible and its stories. J's heroes are always heroines: Eve, Sarah, Hagar, Rebekah, Rachel, Tamar, Zipporah — even Balaam's heroic donkey, who rebuked the wayward prophet, is female. J's great women are juxtaposed with weak men — the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob foremost among them — some of whom are partially redeemed for their love for these women. Only the charismatic Joseph among the men is consistently heroic, yet even he is childlike in contrast to the mature and forceful

women. Yahweh (a male) is also childlike, full of tantrums, dynamic but unpredictable in the extreme. The men have Yahweh's more negative qualities, with Jacob the most negatively god-like, while the women possess Yahweh's more admirable qualities, particularly his dynamism and willpower.

J's work is elitist or aristocratic, not exactly writing of the left, as many of the later Hebrew prophets would be. J did not seem to care very much for the multitudes, whom Yahweh almost destroyed several times and finally allowed to languish in the Wilderness for forty years, denying them entrance to the Promised Land for expecting more from him than he was willing to give. J may have been a member of the royal family, a daughter or granddaughter of Solomon. The renowned literary and religious critics Harold Bloom and Jack Miles assert that J was Bathsheba, the wife of David and mother of Solomon (incidentally a Hittite not a Jewess, a reason, perhaps, that the Hebrew heroes receive such comic treatment and why non-Jewish women usurp the Hebrew Blessing). If so, then the Canaanite woman, Tamar, who seduces her father-in-law, Judah, to enter the Blessing to become King David's ancestor, may be her signature person.⁷⁾ Of course, we will never know, since we have only hints from the writing. J, despite her comical portrayal of Yahweh, was a firm monotheist even at this early date and shows that Abraham was the founder of monotheism, not Moses as Sigmund Freud, *Moses and Monotheism* (1939), mistakenly contended.

5. "J's" vision

Friedman, *The Hidden Book in the Bible* (1998), theorizes that J wrote more than previously believed, including large parts of *Joshua*, *Judges*, *1 and 2 Samuel*, *1 and 2 Kings*.⁸⁾ I wish J had written more, as Friedman claims, but for me J and the

2 *Samuel* author, as well as the writer or writers of the other histories, had very different sensibilities.

I do not know if women and men perceive life differently in any fundamental sense, so it makes me uncomfortable to say that one piece of writing seems “female” and another “male” (I know this is a sensitive area). Can we tell? Not definitively, but perhaps a bit more with some writers than with others. Mary Ann Evans (alias George Eliot) succeeded in making most of nineteenth-century England believe she was a man, yet some critics at the time correctly surmised Eliot’s gender before it was publicly known, for her three-dimensional female characters. William Shakespeare’s *As You Like It* and *All’s Well That Ends Well* could pass for female authorship if women had been allowed to write at the time since both are marvelous portraits of women: the sublime Rosalind and the formidable Helena. Walt Whitman and Henry James are epicene, in contrast to Earnest Hemingway except in his short stories and William Faulkner, who are indubitably male.

J’s social vision is family-based, beginning with Adam and Eve of course, but centering on a solitary family, Abraham and Sarah, called by Yahweh to begin a new nation, one that will worship Abraham’s God. (*Abraham* means “Father of a Multitude” in Hebrew; but J uses only *Abram*, “Exalted Father.” I will use Abraham since all the other Torah writers use it).

Women, the force of stability in J, have authority through marriage and their offspring, who become heirs of the Blessing. Sarah’s authority is on a par with Abraham’s as a partner in this promise or covenant. Yahweh tells Abraham, in his dealings with Hagar and Ishmael, his son by Hagar: “whatever Sarah tells you, do as she says.”⁹) J has only one prominent example of polygamy and it is not a happy one: Jacob is tricked by his future father-in-law, Laban, into marrying his first-born

(and homelier) Leah in place of Rachel, whom he worked seven years for.¹⁰) Jacob works an additional seven years for Rachel, the great love story in J. Leah and Rachel quarrel, with Leah stridently outdoing Rachel in childbearing out of spite for Rachel and to keep Jacob’s affection.

The Court Historian of 2 *Samuel*, in contrast to J, affirms male authority as the social foundation: the prophets, who receive Yahweh’s purposes and anoint the kings, the priests who perform their ministries, and the military that protects and expands the nation are central for him. Male camaraderie, unknown in J, is a prominent theme for the Court Historian: David’s lament for the deaths of King Saul, David’s predecessor, and his son, Jonathan, David’s beloved friend similar in some respects to *Gilgamesh*¹¹) and David’s pouring the water out on the ground his soldiers risked their lives to bring, in honor of their sacrifice, are homages to male loyalty.¹²) Expansion of territory through bold conquest is more the Court Historian’s focus. J has no warriors or soldiers except for Nimrod, leader of the Tower of Babel project, whose builders Yahweh gleefully scattered by confounding their language. And the nomadic ideal in J, perhaps a male ideal, is deprecated (Cain’s punishment for murdering his brother, Abel, was to wander as a nomad). J, who never refers to the Temple as the other writers did in the portable tabernacle in the wilderness and makes light of animal sacrifices, did not seem interested in religion.

In reading J we have a genuine shock, not only of originality but of a limitless imagination: angels lusting after women and fathering on them Nephilim (giants), men of renown; Yahweh grieving he had made humanity and choosing the drunkard Noah to preserve his race; Yahweh thwarting the compulsive builders of the Tower of Babel by making each scatterbrain to his neigh-

bor; Abraham and Isaac, the great patriarchs, making their wives say they are sisters for fear lustful Egyptian rulers will kill them for the beauties; Yahweh relaxing with Abraham under terebinth trees, lunching on veal, bread, and cheese; angels destroying Sodom and Gomorrah after the townspeople attempted to rape them; the daughters of Lot, Abraham's nephew, fearful they were never meet men after their cities were destroyed, get their father drunk so he would father children on them their children becoming the nations of Moab and Ammon; Jacob, the cunning hypocrite, stealing not only his brother Esau's birthright but most of his father-in-law's cattle; Jacob winning an all night wrestling match with an angel (or Yahweh himself) to win a new name, Israel; the jealous and heartless sons of Jacob by Leah, tribal founders of the future nation, selling their brother, Joseph, into slavery because their father loved him more; Yahweh talking through a burning bush; a talking donkey admonishing the prophet, Balaam, hired to curse the wandering Hebrews.

We are dazzled by the imaginative audacity. Is this not a person who tells wonderfully crafted stories for the sheer love of it? J's poetic tales, told in crisp and understated prose rich in word play, were perhaps for public performances, the purpose for which Geoffrey Chaucer (1345–1400) also wrote. Only a few works in Western literature reach the level of the sublime: Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, Shakespeare's great tragedies, Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Tolstoy's *War and Peace*. J is on any short list.

Some say J may have had a political motive: to help reunite the kingdom (Judah and Israel) by showing the common heritage after the two separated in bitterness. J often repeated the promises Yahweh gave to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob of their descendants' inheritance, the borders of the king-

dom at its height under Solomon (962–922 BCE).¹³⁾ If anything in J is political, however, it borders on political satire. J plays on the name Rehoboam (meaning "wide" or "numerous" in Hebrew) at least six times, a lampooning of Solomon's incompetent son, who through bull-headedness reduced the kingdom to a small piece of land on a hilltop.¹⁴⁾

J's central theme, though, is the "Blessing," which consisted of three things: 1) more life, a richer or a longer life; 2) a life with wide horizons not limited by boundaries; and 3) immortality, to be remembered forever by your descendants, so your name would not be scattered in the wind (Bloom 1990:211). The Blessing is passed from patriarch to a male descendant (J preferred the Blessing going to younger sons); outsiders can win it, as Tamar did when she seduced her way into the family. But it can also be lost: Esau sold the Blessing to his younger brother, Jacob, for porridge for his starving stomach.

J's idea of moral divisions if we can call them that is fundamentally different from any other biblical writer's (and from our own). In place of "good" versus "evil," J's vision is closer to "vitality" versus "contempt," as Harold Bloom brings out (Bloom 1990:273–278). Vitality is connected with generosity, hospitality, and openness to change; contempt is connected with irritability, stubbornness, and rigidity. Abraham is a model of generosity, as a bearer of the Blessing, of openness to change and of hospitality to strangers. The Sodomites are not destroyed because they are Sodomites (according to the modern meaning of the term); they are destroyed because they show contempt for strangers, whom they callously rape. J's villains (not an accurate word) are those who cannot change: the resentful Cain, the obsessive builders of Babel, the mean-spirited dwellers of Sodom and Gomorrah, the stubborn Pharaoh, the

murmuring multitude (Hebrews) in the Wilderness. If you are spontaneous, comfortable with uncertainty, openhearted, Yahweh likes you and will broaden your way, but if you are inflexible, whinny, resentful, Yahweh does not like you and may thwart you for the very fun of it. Yahweh, then, is the reality or vitality principle in life. We have no standards by which to measure Yahweh, for he is life itself, the daemonic and the angelic. One has a blessing to the degree one is in harmony with the daemonic force of life.

Perhaps the clearest contrast of J's vision to the other biblical writers is in the Mosaic covenant. The Ten Commandments, I should point out, is not from J but from P (*Exodus* 20:1–17) and D (*Deuteronomy* 5:6–12), many hundreds of years after J. J's version (*Exodus* 34:11–26) is more enigmatic, and I again offer David Rosenberg's translation:

"I mark this a covenant," Yahweh said. "Watch yourself, do not march into covenants with those already in the land. Walking among you, they will destroy your boundaries. You will sweep their altars away; their sacred pillars leveled, their poles cut down. You will not fall prostrate to another God, as if Jealous One is my name, Jealous Yahweh. You must not be drawn into a covenant with the inhabitants; they seduce their gods with slaughter; they will beckon you to their sacrifices and you will eat. Their daughters will give you sons yet still embrace seductive gods; your sons will also."

Now Yahweh concluded. "So be it: I will disperse a nation in your path, broaden your road and borders; so no one dreams he can embrace your land on your way to Yahweh; as you go up to face your God three times a

year."

"You write these words," said Yahweh to Moses. "On the speaking of these words, I have cut with you a covenant and with Israel."

We cannot find any moral injunctions in J, neither "Thou Shalts" nor "Thou Shalt Nots," only the irony of Yahweh's growing awareness of himself. Suddenly, after Moses led the Hebrews out of Egypt, Yahweh becomes "Jealous Yahweh," meaning "zealous" or "energetic." The covenant to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob was out of friendship and did not burden them with any special responsibilities. Now that he is extending the covenant to the horde of Abraham's descendants, Yahweh is considering what this will mean for those descendants and for himself in his new role. The boundaries, the full meaning of which is left undefined, are also for Yahweh, to help him to stay within limits, otherwise he may wreck havoc on them out of his zeal, perhaps as he did on the builders of Babel, if the rash mood is upon him.

The name "Yahweh," also ironical in denoting the ultimate free-spirit (J may have created the name), plays on the Hebrew verb *ehyeh* "to be," and may mean "I will be [what, where, when, that] I will be." Now considered sacred by Orthodox Jews (only the consonants YHWH are written and it is never spoken, unless with *Adonai* "Lord"), J is implicit in showing that Yahweh does not know his name until Moses, whom he commissioned to make demands of the Pharaoh for release of the Hebrew slaves, asked him whom he should say sent him should Pharaoh inquire (*Exodus* 3:14).

J's saga ends with pathos toward a lost possibility and also a prophecy of the future: Moses and the first generation dying in the Wilderness outside the Promised Land. The Blessing is also the

Promised Land Canaan and with the division of the kingdom the two tiny nations would not be strong enough to withstand the great empires (Israel fell to Assyria two hundred years after the division and Judah to Babylon one hundred-fifty years after that). Adam and Eve's banishment from Paradise, the fratricidal Cain doomed to nomadism, and the Tower of Babel builders scattered in the wind are all powerful images for the nation, doomed to live outside the land of Blessing as a nation of wanderers for most of its history. The dust-to-dust metaphor, given after Adam and Eve ate the Forbidden Fruit, echoes a universal pathos, where everything in Eden is given but what matters most (life itself) is taken away.

Would we have Judaism without J? Yes. Since J was using available legends (oral or written) as a source for many of the stories, legends that perhaps the other biblical writers also used now lost that would have come down to us. We would still have known of Abraham and Moses, but the Bible without J is similar to *The Declaration of Independence* without Thomas Jefferson. J set extremely high literary standards, which later writers aspired to but fell short of.

Finally, is J more primitive in showing a human-like God, as Hegelians assert? Hegel's thesis, however useful when considering social organization over long periods of time, falls short with regards to poets and visionaries. J is the pinnacle no other Bible writer could reach (with the Court Historian, her contemporary, coming closest). Is it progress when religious communities over time purge God of all traces of humanity and make him (or her) predictable? Christianity may have begun as a backlash within Judaism over the spiritual void left by a less personal God; the rise of Mary's importance as intercessor in Roman Catholicism, after Jesus was exalted so far beyond people, seems an attempt to reconnect with a more com-

passionate and humane side of the divine. Since the idea of God is part of personal and communal identities, this conflict is a true dialectic within religions to our own day. Yes, J's Yahweh is anthropomorphic, but her people are also god-like, a new humanism. For those who value vision and humanity, J is the crown. We see in J the origins, where God walked in the cool of the evening with Adam and Eve, something religious quests have been trying to return to ever since.

6. The other bible writers

After J, four other writers—the Court Historian of *2 Samuel*, “E,” “P,” and “D” and one editor “R” produced “The First Bible” or the first eleven books of today's Bible. Each writer was a priest (male) except for the writer of *2 Samuel* and each wanted to get his viewpoint across in an intense rivalry among tribal families for priestly privileges that lasted for more than five hundred years. Scholars can only infer the identity of “E” and “P” by the values and personal interests they reveal in their writing, but they believe they can identify “D” and “R”.

“E” (850–800 BCE), who used the word “Elohim” for God rather than Yahweh, was a priest from Shiloh, in the northern kingdom (Israel); he wrote parallel stories about a hundred years after J to exalt his nation and its heroes (Moses, not very heroic in J, was a hero in the north, which E should to rectify). J, we should remember, was from the south—Judah, with Jerusalem its capital. Surprisingly, “Elohim” is a plural expression for God, and is more accurately translated as “Divine Beings,” calling attention, perhaps, to the different manifestations of the one God or showing a more ancient concept of the deity, with God presiding over an angelic council. E, a Levite descended from Moses, matches many of J's stories from *Genesis* and *Exodus*: the sagas of

Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Joseph in Egypt, slavery in Egypt, the commission of Moses, the Exodus, the Red (or reed) Sea miracle, the covenants altogether twenty-six stories that assert his own priorities in the narrative (see Appendix 4).

The writing of J and E may have been joined early, after the Assyrian invasion (722 BCE) when refugees from the conquered Israel went south to live among their cousins; perhaps they were joined as a way to show their common heritage (see Appendix 1). We do not know much of this ancient period, except it seems remarkably cohesive (given the threats from Assyria and Egypt) and that one's tribal ancestry was very important. The J and E portions are similar in style, making it difficult for scholars to tell them apart. The different names for God, the exaltation of Moses, and the more normative sensibility of E, the wordplay and outrageousness of J, help scholars separate J from E.

"P," a Temple priest from Jerusalem, descended from Aaron, lived during the reign of King Hezekiah (722–693 BCE), a remarkably fruitful time for literature (the books of the prophets Amos, Micah, Hosea, large parts of *Isaiah*, as well as *Kings*, *Chronicles*, and parts of the *Proverbs* were written during this time). P wrote by far the largest sections of the Torah (some of the holiness codes and priestly regulations may have been added after the Babylonian Exile, 587–538 BCE), more than the other three writers combined half of *Exodus* and *Numbers* and almost all *Leviticus* (in Hebrew *Wayiqra* "And He Called"). As J and E's work, P's work was a separate scroll before it was cut up and grafted together with the other writings by the Redactor (Cohn 1993:188–192).

J shows Cain, Abel, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob making offerings on their own; this must have horrified P, who countered by showing the

necessity of proper offerings through the Temple priesthood. P does not show any sacrificial offerings in his work until Aaron becomes High Priest. As E wrote his version, following J's lead, so P wrote an alternative version for twenty-five of J's stories: the creation, the fall, Noah's flood, Abraham, and Moses, to name a few (Bloom 1990:189). Again, we see how important J was for setting the basic biblical storyline. E's writing, we can speculate, must have disconcerted P; E was from a rival priesthood family who exalted Moses and his descendants; P sought to temper this, since a priest's livelihood came from worshipers giving one-tenth of the meat offered in rituals ceremonies.¹⁵⁾ P did not seem to like J either; P has no dreams with divine messages, no talking animals, and no personal onsite inspections by Yahweh, in contrast to the imaginative J. P's motivation for writing, apart from his purely political goals, may have been from a personal animosity toward J, whose writing was simply not religious enough. Also writing the majestic first chapter of *Genesis*, P introduced the more stable, cosmic, distant, and all-powerful God ruling an orderly universe, a central vision of monotheism today. Later, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam would be unable to incorporate J's outrageous Yahweh into religious teachings and exchanged him for the more majestic, less personal, more distant Creator of P.

"D," (625–587 BCE) who wrote almost all the fifth book of the Bible, *Deuteronomy* ("Words," *Debarim* in Hebrew), lived in Jerusalem, and also uses "Yahweh," as opposed to "Elohim," favored by all other Torah writers except J. Wellhausen, as I mentioned above, believed that D came before P, but recent scholarship shows that P was written in an earlier Hebrew than D.¹⁶⁾ D was Jeremiah, scholars believe, a Shiloh (Israel) priest descended from Moses, then under Babylonian control; Jeremiah makes mention of an assistant, a scribe

named Baruch, son of Neriiah. This scribe (whose personal seal was excavated near Jerusalem) probably recorded the facts while Jeremiah himself wrote the poetry and predictions.¹⁷⁾ The Hebrew Bible's most prolific writer/editor, Jeremiah shared E's ancestry and both seemed to admire J. Under King Josiah, whom Jeremiah revered as a Messiah, Jeremiah and E's Levites from Moses administered the Temple rituals. *2 Kings* 22:8 speaks of the High Priest Hilkiah, reporting to King Josiah (649–609 BCE), that he found a previously unknown scroll in the Temple. King Josiah, deeply moved by its content, personally read the scroll to the people on the Temple Mount. Scholars believe this scroll was the book of *Deuteronomy*.

An ancient Talmudic tradition holding that Jeremiah wrote *1 Kings* and *2 Kings* turns out to be true (or at least he and Baruch edited and compiled historical records from others); this pair also edited *Joshua*, *Judges*, and *1 Samuel*.¹⁸⁾ Jeremiah, also writing *Jeremiah* and *Lamentations* under his own name, has eight books of the Bible to his credit as writer/editor. Jeremiah did not like P, his earlier rival for priesthood privileges, calling his work "a false Torah" and mocking it many times.¹⁹⁾ An exceptional person, he suffered in turbulent times. After the Babylonian Empire destroyed the First Temple in 587 BCE, Jeremiah probably died as an exile in Tahpanhes, Egypt.²⁰⁾

A final person, R for Redactor, put together the scrolls that had accumulated over nearly six hundred years into a single narrative around 458 BCE, making "The First Bible" (Friedman 1987:236): *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Deuteronomy*, *Joshua*, *Judges*, *1 Samuel*, *2 Samuel*, *1 Kings* and *2 Kings*. The *Nevi'im* or "Prophets" and the wisdom literature, the *K'tuvim*, were added by 90 BCE. Scholars believe R is Ezra the scribe, an Aaronid priest from Judah, who is featured in the

books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, a record of his return to Jerusalem with fifteen-hundred Judean exiles (see Appendix 1); Ezra, called in Jewish tradition "The Second Law Giver" or "The Second Moses," grew up in Babylon and was commissioned by the Persian Emperor Artaxerxes I (465–424 BCE), with fellow Hebrew exile Nehemiah as governor, for a leadership role in religious matters. The book of *Nehemiah* tells us that when Erza came from Persia, he had a Torah (teaching), which he read to the people; Ezra must have created it before leaving.²¹⁾ The First Bible, I point out to students, was completed before the Greek philosophers who gave us the "categories" of philosophy, religion, history, and mathematics. The Hebrew Bible is, after all, a combination of all the categories, and much more.

7. Subplot: rivalry for priesthood

A subplot in the Torah of priestly clan rivalry, which I referred to above, is difficult to see unless one reads the texts, especially the histories, very carefully; it centers on a conflict between two branches of the Levites (only Levites—those descended from Jacob's son, Levi—could be priests): one group descended from Moses and the other from his brother and spokesperson, Aaron. For centuries these two groups struggled over the sole right to administer Temple functions in ancient Judaism. The United Monarchy of Judah and Israel under David and Solomon (1000 to 922 BCE), I should point out, had two High Priests, one from Moses and the other from Aaron: Moses' descendants were usually northerners (Israel) and Aaron's southerners (Judah). After Israel fell to Assyria in 722 BCE, Judah became the lone steward of Hebrew tradition, favoring its Aaronid (descended from Aaron) priests, with some exceptions. King Josiah, also mentioned above, reigning when D wrote, promoted the

Levites from Moses to priesthood functions. Again, E and D, priests descended from Moses, were pitted against P and R, priests descended from Aaron, in this rivalry played out in the biblical narrative.

Moses (meaning “son” in ancient Egyptian) is also the battleground for all Torah writers except J. J, coming first and committed to aesthetics, came to hold the middle ground in this conflict, typical of this artist of nuance and shadows. J portrays Moses the angry stutterer with a deep pathos, since Yahweh does not love this faithful servant as he loved the patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob). Moses knows he lacks leadership qualities and resists Yahweh’s commission, but Yahweh persists in spite of Moses’ objections, yet in the end even Yahweh regrets choosing Moses. J’s Moses has heroic moments, however, when he led the multitude away from the pursuing Egyptians for example (in J the Red or reed Sea does not open), but he is clumsy and never overcomes his temper or feelings of inferiority. While an angel of death may have struggled all night with Jacob before giving a blessing, Yahweh tries to kill Moses himself but is stopped by the boldness and sharp-wit of Moses’ wife, Zipporah.²²⁾ And no blessing awaits poor Moses, for Yahweh always keeps him at a distance, even refusing him entrance to the Promised Land after forty years of faithful service under the most extreme conditions (only Caleb and Joshua, with the children of the original exodus people, will enter Canaan). Strangely, Yahweh buries Moses himself in a secret place, for something about Moses’ personality grieved Yahweh.

Both E and D, as Moses’ descendants, exalt him as the greatest prophet ever (the passage that Spinoza referred to, mentioned above, came from D Jeremiah) in rivalry with their Aaronid cousins, who, except for brief periods, enjoyed the

favored position as priests. P, on the other hand, demeans Moses by showing him more dependent on Aaron, whom he identifies as Moses’ “older brother.” P even depicts Moses as scarred after one encounter with Yahweh, a facial disfiguration for which he has to wear a veil, a not so subtle belittling of the prophet, since those disfigured were considered unfit to participate in Temple functions.²³⁾

Ezra, as the final person cutting and pasting all the scrolls together, made the Torah with his priorities stamped on it. Though not writing a great deal himself, just verses and chapters here and there, Ezra probably kept as much of the other writers’ work as possible, but no doubt cut out some, especially from J, whose outrageous writing would not have fit very well with his religious revivalism. Ezra, of course, would have been most consonant with P, sharing not only his ancestral heritage but also his religious values of centralized worship; hence, a Torah with the enormous volume of P’s writing. From 516 BCE, when the Second Temple was rebuilt until the Romans destroyed it in 70 CE, only Levites descended from Aaron functioned as priests, the final winners in the multi-generational contest with Moses’ descendants. Ezra, more than any single person, is responsible for creating a religion based on the Book, his permanent contribution to Western religious consciousness. Friedman offers a description of Ezra’s accomplishment in crafting the Torah (Friedman 1987:135):

And so [Ezra] shaped his history of his people around the themes of (1) fidelity to Yahweh, (2) the Davidic covenant, (3) the centralization of religion at the Temple in Jerusalem, and (4) the Torah. And then he interpreted the major events of history in light of these factors.

Some will ask why would anyone combine contradictory texts. Friedman offers two reasons

(Friedman 1987:225–332): 1) All the texts were known by the people—the stories of Adam and Eve, of Noah, Abraham, and Moses, the four covenants—and so Ezra could not leave them out; 2) Each group may have supported different texts, and so each had to be honored with its version in the final book. The alphabet of writers is a little confusing (J, E, P, D, and R), but there are only six responsible for the First Bible (with other historical records, holiness codes, and priestly regulations). R, an extraordinary artist in his own right, brought the disparate pieces together into so seamless a narrative that it took nearly twenty-three hundred years before anyone began to (or dared to) unravel it.

8. Conclusion

Our sense of God in Western civilization, consequently, comes from the Torah writers J, E, P, and D, each with their different emphases; today we see how their visions have become part of Judaism's daughter religions, Christianity and Islam. J, E, and D, writers of the covenant, use the word "merciful" about seventy times, their vision of the divine triumphing in Christianity, embodied in Jesus, the merciful savior and redeemer, who taught of the Heavenly Father's compassion and care for humanity. The *Gospel of Mark* is in the spirit of J, with Jesus as free-spirited as Yahweh. P, who became more important in Islam, portrays the simplicity of approaching God through order and ritual (the five prayers a day, the fasting, etc.), in the obligations inherent in an agreement. Though God is more distant in P, less personal, he is also more reliable than J's rather childlike God. For P, God is just and does not fail a person if the person does not fail God.

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Appendix 1 Historical Chronology ²⁴⁾

Before Common Era (BCE) Hebrew Bible

1800	1700	Abraham, Isaac's father
1700	1600	Descent of Israel into Egypt
	1280	Exodus
1250	1200	Conquest of Canaan
1000	961	The United Monarchy of David (Northern and Southern Israel, which had been a collection of twelve semiautonomous tribes)
961	922	The Empire of Solomom
	950	First Temple Dedicated
	922	The Death of Solomon; the Division of Kingdom into Israel and Judah.
922	900	<i>The Writing of J (Yahwist, Jehovahist)</i>
922	915	Reign of Rehoboam in Judah
922	901	Reign of Jeroboam in Israel
850	800	<i>The Revisions of E (for Elohim, another name for God)</i>
722	721	Fall of the Northern Kingdom of Israel (Samaria) to Assyria
722	690	<i>The Writing of P (Priestly Writer)</i>
625	587	<i>The Writing of D (Deuteronomist Jeremiah & Baruch)</i>
587	538	Fall of Judah (Jerusalem) to Babylon; The Babylonian Exile
	538	The Return from Babylonian Exile to Jerusalem
520	516	The Rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem
	516	Dedication of Second Temple
460	400	<i>The Writing of R (Redactor Ezra)</i>
	400	The First Bible completed by this date
250	100	The Translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek. Called the Septuagint, meaning seventy--seventy scholars worked on it. ²⁵⁾
	90	The Hebrew Bible completed.

Appendix 2

Noahs Flood: Genesis 6:5-8:22

(J is in regular type, P in bold type)²⁶⁾**Genesis 6**

- 5 And Yahweh saw that the evil of humans was great in the earth and all the inclination of the thoughts of their heart was only evil all the day.
- 6 And Yahweh regretted that he had made humans in the earth, and he was grieved to his heart.
- 7 And Yahweh said, I shall wipe out the humans which I have created from the face of the earth, from human to beast to creeping thing to bird of the heavens, for I regret that I have made them.
- 8 But Noah found favor in Yahweh's eyes.
- 9 **THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS OF NOAH: NOAH WAS A RIGHTEOUS MAN, PERFECT IN HIS GENERATIONS. NOAH WALKED WITH GOD.**
- 10 **AND NOAH Sired THREE SONS: SHEM, HAM, AND JAPHETH.**
- 11 **AND THE EARTH WAS CORRUPTED BEFORE GOD, AND THE EARTH WAS FILLED WITH VIOLENCE.**
- 12 **AND GOD SAW THE EARTH, AND HERE IT WAS CORRUPTED, FOR ALL FLESH HAD CORRUPTED ITS WAY ON THE EARTH.**
- 13 **AND GOD SAID TO NOAH, THE END OF ALL FLESH HAS COME BEFORE ME, FOR THE EARTH IS FILLED WITH VIOLENCE BECAUSE OF THEM, AND HERE I AM GOING TO DESTROY THEM WITH THE EARTH.**
- 14 **MAKE YOURSELF AN ARK OF GOPHER WOOD, MAKE ROOMS WITH THE ARK, AND PITCH IT OUTSIDE AND INSIDE WITH PITCH.**
- 15 **AND THIS IS HOW YOU SHALL MAKE IT: THREE HUNDRED CUBITS THE LENGTH OF THE ARK, FIFTY CUBITS ITS WIDTH, AND THIRTY CUBITS ITS HEIGHT.**
- 16 **YOU SHALL MAKE A WINDOW FOR THE ARK, AND YOU SHALL FINISH IT TO A CUBIT FROM THE TOP, AND YOU SHALL MAKE AN ENTRANCE TO THE ARK IN ITS SIDE. YOU SHALL MAKE LOWER, SECOND, AND THIRD STORIES FOR IT.**
- 17 **AND HERE I AM BRINGING THE FLOOD, WATER OVER THE EARTH, TO DESTROY ALL FLESH IN WHICH IS THE BREATH OF LIFE FROM UNDER THE HEAVENS. EVERYTHING WHICH IS ON THE LAND WILL DIE.**
- 18 **AND I SHALL ESTABLISH MY COVENANT WITH YOU. AND YOU SHALL COME TO THE ARK, YOU AND YOUR SONS AND YOUR WIFE AND YOUR SONS WIVES WITH YOU.**
- 19 **AND OF ALL THE LIVING, OF ALL FLESH, YOU SHALL BRING TO THE ARK TO KEEP ALIVE WITH YOU, THEY SHALL BE MALE AND FEMALE.**
- 20 **OF THE BIRDS ACCORDING TO THEIR KIND, AND OF THE BEASTS ACCORDING TO THEIR KIND, AND OF ALL THE CREEPING THINGS OF THE EARTH ACCORDING TO THEIR KIND, TWO OF EACH WILL COME TO YOU TO KEEP ALIVE.**
- 21 **AND YOU, TAKE FOR YOURSELF OF ALL FOOD WHICH WILL BE EATEN AND GATHER IT TO YOU, AND IT WILL BE FOR YOU AND FOR THEM FOR FOOD.**
- 22 **AND NOAH DID ACCORDING TO ALL THAT GOD COMMANDED HIM SO HE DID.**

Genesis 7

- 1 And Yahweh said to Noah, Come, you and all your household, to the ark, for I have seen you as righteous before me in this generation.
- 2 Of all the clean beasts, take yourself seven pairs, man and his woman; and of the beasts which are not clean, two, man and his woman.
- 3 Also of the birds of the heavens seven pairs, male and female, to keep alive seed on the face of the earth.
- 4 For in seven more days I shall rain on the earth forty days and forty nights, and I shall wipe out all the substance that I have made from upon the face of the earth.
- 5 And Noah did according to all that Yahweh had commanded him.
- 6 AND NOAH WAS SIX HUNDRED YEARS OLD, AND THE FLOOD WAS ON THE EARTH.**
- 7 And Noah and his sons and his wife and his son's wives with him came to the ark from before the waters of the flood.
- 8 OF THE CLEAN BEASTS AND OF THE BEASTS WHICH WERE NOT CLEAN, AND OF THE BIRDS AND OF ALL THOSE WHICH CREEP UPON THE EARTH,**
- 9 TWO OF EACH CAME TO NOAH TO THE ARK, MALE AND FEMALE, AND GOD HAD COMMANDED NOAH.**
- 10 And seven days later the waters of the flood were on the earth.
- 11 IN THE SIX HUNDREDTH YEAR OF NOAH'S LIFE, IN THE SECOND MONTH, IN THE SEVENTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH, ON THIS DAY ALL THE FOUNTAINS OF THE GREAT DEEP WERE BROKEN UP, AND THE WINDOWS OF THE HEAVENS WERE OPENED.**
- 12 And there was rain on the earth, forty days and forty nights.
- 13 IN THIS VERY DAY, NOAH AND SHEM, HAM, AND JAPHETH, THE SONS OF NOAH, AND NOAH'S WIFE AND HIS SONS THREE WIVES WITH THEM CAME TO THE ARK,**
- 14 THEY AND ALL THE LIVING THINGS ACCORDING TO THEIR KIND, AND ALL THE BEASTS ACCORDING TO THEIR KIND, AND ALL THE CREEPING THINGS THAT CREEP ON THE EARTH ACCORDING TO THEIR KIND, AND ALL THE BIRDS ACCORDING TO THEIR KIND, AND EVERY WINGED BIRD.**
- 15 AND THEY CAME TO NOAH TO THE ARK, TWO OF EACH, OF ALL FLESH IN WHICH IS THE BREATH OF LIFE.**
- 16 AND THOSE WHICH CAME WERE MALE AND FEMALE, SOME OF ALL FLESH CAME, AS GOD HAD COMMANDED HIM.** and Yahweh closed it for him.
- 17 And the flood was on the earth for forty days and forty nights, and the waters multiplied and raised the ark, and it was lifted from the earth.
- 18 And the waters grew strong and multiplied greatly on the earth, and the ark went on the surface of the waters.
- 19 And the waters grew very very strong on the earth, and they covered all the high mountains that are under all the heavens.
- 20 Fifteen cubits above, the waters grew stronger, and they covered the mountains.
- 21 AND ALL FLESH, THOSE THAT CREEP ON THE EARTH, THE BIRDS, THE BEASTS, AND THE WILD ANIMALS, AND ALL THE SWARMING THINGS THAT SWARM ON THE EARTH, AND ALL THE HUMANS EXPIRED.**
- 22 Everything that had the breathing spirit of life in its nostrils, everything that was on the dry ground, died.
- 23 And he wiped out all the substance that was on the face of the earth, from human to beast, to creeping thing, and to bird of the heavens, and they were wiped out from the earth, and only Noah and those who were with him in the ark were left.
- 24 AND THE WATERS GREW STRONG ON THE EARTH A HUNDRED FIFTY DAYS.**

Genesis 8

- 1 **AND GOD REMEMBERED NOAH AND ALL THE LIVING, AND ALL THE BEASTS THAT WERE WITH HIM IN THE ARK, AND GOD PASSED A WIND OVER THE EARTH, AND THE WATERS WERE DECREASED.**
- 2 **AND THE FOUNTAINS OF THE DEEP AND THE WINDOWS OF THE HEAVENS WERE SHUT,** and the rain was restrained from the heavens.
- 3 And the waters receded from the earth continually, **AND THE WATERS WERE ABATED AT THE END OF A HUNDRED FIFTY DAYS.**
- 4 **AND THE ARK RESTED, IN THE SEVENTH MONTH, IN THE SEVENTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH, ON THE MOUNTAINS OF ARARAT.**
- 5 **AND THE WATERS CONTINUED RECEDING UNTIL THE TENTH MONTH; IN THE TENTH MONTH, ON THE FIRST OF THE MONTH, THE TOPS OF THE MOUNTAINS APPEARED.**
- 6 And it was at the end of forty days, and Noah opened the window of the ark which he had made.
- 7 **AND HE SENT OUT A RAVEN, AND IT WENT BACK AND FORTH UNTIL THE WATERS DRIED UP FROM THE EARTH.**
- 8 And he sent out a dove from him to see whether the waters had eased from the face of the earth.
- 9 And the dove did not find a resting place for its foot, and it returned to him to the ark, for waters were on the face of the earth, and he put out his hand and took it and brought it to him to the ark.
- 10 And he waited seven more days, and he again sent out a dove from the ark.
- 11 And the dove came to him at evening time, and here was an olive leaf torn off in its mouth, and Noah knew that the waters eased from the earth.
- 12 And he waited seven more days, and he sent out a dove, and it did not return to him ever again.
- 13 **AND IT WAS IN THE SIX HUNDRED AND FIRST YEAR, IN THE FIRST MONTH, ON THE FIRST OF THE MONTH, THE WATERS DRIED FROM THE EARTH.** And Noah turned back the covering of the ark and looked, and here the face of the earth had dried.
- 14 **AND IN THE SECOND MONTH, ON THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DAY OF THE MONTH, THE EARTH DRIED UP.**
- 15 **AND GOD SPOKE TO NOAH, SAYING,**
- 16 **GO OUT FROM THE ARK, YOU AND YOUR WIFE AND YOUR SONS WIVES WITH YOU.**
- 17 **ALL THE LIVING THINGS THAT ARE WITH YOU, OF ALL FLESH, OF THE BIRDS, AND OF THE BEASTS, AND OF ALL THE CREEPING THINGS THAT CREEP ON THE EARTH, THAT GO OUT WITH YOU, SHALL SWARM IN THE EARTH AND BE FRUITFUL AND MULTIPLY IN THE EARTH.**
- 18 **AND NOAH AND HIS SONS AND HIS WIFE AND HIS SON'S WIVES WENT OUT.**
- 19 **ALL THE LIVING THINGS, ALL THE CREEPING THINGS AND ALL THE BIRDS, ALL THAT CREEP ON THE EARTH, BY THEIR FAMILIES, THEY WENT OUT OF THE ARK.**
- 20 And Noah built an altar to Yahweh, and he took some of each of the clean beasts and of each of the clean birds, and he offered sacrifices on the altar.
- 21 And Yahweh smelled the pleasant smell, and Yahweh said to his heart, I shall not again curse the ground on man's account, for the inclination of the human heart is evil from their youth, and I shall not again strike all the living as I have done.
- 22 All the rest of the days of the earth, seed and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease.

Appendix 3

J's writing in the Hebrew Bible, in the order believed to have originally appeared ²⁷⁾

Genesis

2:4b 7	18:1 5	21b
2:8 0	18:6 8	34:25b, 26
2:10 17	18:9 15	34:30 31
2:18 25	18:16 22	37:2b 4
3:1 7	18:23 33	37:5 7, 9 11a
3:8 12	19:1 16	37:12 17a
3:13 15	19:17 23	37:17b, 19 20, 23
3:16 19	19:24 28	24, 28/25b
3:20 21	19:30 38	37:31 35
3:22 24	21:1 2, 7	38:1 11
4:1 2	22:20 24	38:12 19
4:3 7	24:1 14	38:20 23
4:8 9	24:15 20	38:24 26
4:10 16	24:21 28	38:27 30
4:17 18	24:29 51	39:1 6a
4:19 24	24:52 60	39:6b 20a
4:25 26	24:61 67	39:20b 23
6:1 2	25:5 6, 11	41:8 13
6:3	25:21 34	41:14 15, 17 21,
6:4	26:1 5	24b, 25a, 26a, 27a,
6:5 8	26:6 11	28b, 29 31, 33, 35,
7:1 5, 7	26:12 33	39 40, 44 45
7:10, 12, 16b	27:1 29	41:54 57
7:17 23	27:30 33	42:1, 3 4
8:2b 3a, 6, 8 12	27:34 38	42:6 7a, 8 9a, 27
8:13b, 20 22	27:39 45	28a
9:18 19	28:1 11a, 13 16, 19	43:1 7, 42:38,
9:20 27	29:1 14a	43:8 13, 15
11:1 9	29:14b 25	43:16 23a, 24 25
12:1 4a	29:31 35	43:26 29a, 30 31
12:6 17	30:14 16, 17b	43:32 34
12:18 13:2	30:24 30	44:1a, 2a/c, 3 29,
13:3 5, 7 12	31:17 20, 25a, 26 28, 30 36a,	33 34, 45:1 3
13:13 18	32:2a	45:12 14
15:1 6	32:7 9, 12, 14, 22 24	46:28 34
15:7 12	32:25 32	48:1 2, 8 9a, 9c 11,
16:1 6	33:1 17	13 14, 17 19a
16:7 14	34:1 3, 5, 7, 11 12, 19,	50:1 11, 14

Exodus

1:6	10:13b 19
1:8 11a, 12a	10:24 26
1:22	10:28 29
2:1 3	11:4 8
2:5 6ab	12:21 23
2:10a	12:27b
2:11 12	12:29 34
2:15	12:37 39
2:16 23a	13:20 22
3:1 5	14:5b 6
3:7a, 8a	14:10
4:1 4	14:13 14
4:6 7	14:19b 20a, c
4:10 12	14:24, 25b
4:19 20a	14:27b
4:24 26	14:30 31
4:29	15:1
5:1 3	15:22 25
5:5 23	15:27
6:1	17:3
7:14 15a,	17:7
16 17a,	24:1 3
18, 20a, 21a	19:18
7:23 29	19:20 22
8:4 5a, 6 11a	19:24
8:16 21	19:11 12
8:24b 28	19:25
9:1 7	24:9 11
9:13	34:1a, 2 5
9:17 21	34:10a, 12 16
23b 30	34:24, 27 28
9:33 34	32:19 24
10:1a, 3 11	32:31 34a

Numbers

10:29 33, 35 36	13:25 29, 32c 33, 14:1 4, 11 14a,
11:4 6, 10 15	26, 28, 31 33
11:18 23	22:22 30
11:27 29	22:31 35a
13:17 20, 23 24	25:1 5

Deuteronomy

31:14 15, 23	34:1 6
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Appendix 4²⁸⁾

	J	E	P	R
Generations of Creation	2:4b 25	1:1 2:3		2:4b
heaven and earth				
Garden of Eden	3:1 24			
Cain and Abel	4:1 16			
Cain genealogy	4:17 26			
Generations of man	5:29			5:1 28; 30 32
Sons of God and women	6:1 4			
The flood	6:5 8; 7:1 5, 7 10, 12 16b 20, 8:2b 3a, 6 8 12, 13b, 20 22		6:9 22; 7:8 9, 11, 13 16a, 21 24; 8:1 2a 13a, 14 19; 9:1 17	
Noah's drunkenness	9:18 27			
Noah's age				7:6: 9:28 29
Generations of Noah's sons	10:8 19, 21 24 30		10:1b 7 20, 22 23, 31, 32	10:1a
The Tower of Babel	11:1 9			
Generations of Shem				11:10a 10b 26
Generations of Terah				11:27a, 32
Abraham's migration	12:1 4a		11:27a 31; 12:4b 5	
Promise to Abraham	12:6 9			
Wife/sister	12:10 20			
Abraham and Lot	13:1 5, 7 11a, 12b 18; 14:1 24		13:6, 11b 12a	

Abraham's covenant	15:1 21		17:1 27	
Hagar and Ishmael	16:1 2, 4 14		16:3, 15 16	
The three visitors	18:1 33			
Sodom and Gomorrah	19:1 28, 30 38		19:29	
Wife/sister		20:1 18		
Birth of Isaac	21:1a, 2a, 7	21:6	21:1b, 2b 5	
Hagar and Ishmael		21:8 21		
Abraham and Abimelek		21:22 25		
The binding of Isaac		22:1 10, 16b 19	22:11 16a	
Abraham's kin	22:20 24			
The cave of Machpelah			23:1 20	
Rebekah	24:1 67		25:20	
The sons of Keturah		25:1 4		25:5 6
The death of Abraham	25:8a		25:7, 8b 11	
Generations of Ishmael			25:13 18	25:12
Generations of Isaac				25:19
Jacob and Esau	25:11b, 21 34; 27:1 45		26:34 35; 27:46; 28:1 9	
Wife/sister	26:1 11			
Isaac and Abimelek	26:12 33			
Jacob at Beth-El	28:10 11a, 13 16, 19	28:11b 12, 17 18, 22 22		
Jacob, Leah, Rachel	29:1 30			
Jacob's children	29:31 35 30:1a, 4a, 24b	30:1b 3, 4b 24a	35:23 26	
Jacob and Laban	30:25 43; 31:49	31:1 2, 4 16, 19 48, 50 54 32:1 3		

Jacob's return	31:3, 7 18a; 32:4 13;	32:14 24 33:1 17	31:18b 35:27	
Jacob becomes Israel		32:25 33	35:9 15	
Shechem	34:1 31	33:18 20		33:18
Return to Beth-El		35:1 8		
Rachel dies in childbirth		35:16 20		
Reuben takes Jacob's concubine	35:21 22			
The death of Isaac			35:28 29	
Generations of Esau	36:31 43		36:2 30	36:1
Joseph and his brothers	37:2b, 3b, 5 11, 19 20, 23, 25b 27, 28, 31 35	37:3a, 4 12 18, 21 22, 24, 25a, 28a, 29, 30, 36	37:1	37:2a
Judah and Tamar	38:1 30			
Joseph and Potiphar's wife	39:1 23			
The butler and baker		40:1 23		
Joseph and Pharaoh		41:1 45a, 46b 57	41:45b 46a	
Jacob's sons in Egypt	42:1 4, 8 20, 26 34, 38; 43:1 13, 15 17, 24 34; 44:1 34; 45:1 2, 4 28	42:5 7, 21 25, 35 37; 43:14, 18 23; 45:3		
Jacob in Egypt	46:5b 28 34; 47:1 6, 11 27a, 29 31; 49:1 27; 50:1 11, 14 23	46:1 5a; 47:7 10; 48:1 2, 8 22; 50:23 26	46:6 27; 47:27b, 28; 48:3 6; 49:29 33; 50:12 13	48:7; 49:28

Appendix 5

Chronology of Biblical Writers²⁹⁾

The Song Miriam 1300 1200 BCE	<i>Exodus</i> 15:21 is one of the oldest fragments, among others: “And Miriam said ‘Sing you to the Lord (Yahweh), for he has triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider has he thrown into the sea.’” God was seen as a warrior fighting on behalf of his people. Scholars have concluded this expression is one of the earliest because of its formulation in Hebrew.
The Book of the Covenants 1100 1000 BCE	<i>Exodus</i> 20:22 to <i>Exodus</i> 23:33. The Covenant or the Promises from God to his people appeared very early; this has characterized both Judaism and Christianity. The New Testament (Christian), we remember, is the New Covenant or New Promise, which changed the Hebrew meaning of “God” and “His People.” The covenant was based on mutual obligations. Here we see the high standards set for the people, which formed the basis of social law.
Poetry and Songs 1000 BCE	<i>Psalms</i> and <i>Proverbs</i> 10-29 are from about 1000 BCE, which were used for singing in religious worship. Many divide the righteous (good) from the unrighteous (bad) <i>Psalms</i> 1:6: “For the Lord (Yahweh) knows the way of the righteous; but the way of the ungodly shall perish.”
The Writer “J” 922 900 BCE	This writer always identifies God as “Yahweh.” In the eighteenth century, German scholars were the first to begin separating the various writers of the Hebrew Bible. In German “Yahweh” begins with a “J” sound, pronounced something like “Jehovah” in English. J wrote some of the most remarkable literature in world history. Some have rated this author second only to Shakespeare in Western literature, and similar in many ways, since the writer’s main concern seems to be the representation of the personality as well as the ironies at every level of life. The writer also uses a great deal of word play, as did Shakespeare. Though we think of Judaism as male-dominated, some claim “J” was a woman, since the heroes of these stories are women; she may have been a member of the court after Solomon, or perhaps a daughter or granddaughter of Solomon, others say Bathsheba, wife of David and mother of Solomon. “J” wrote much of <i>Genesis</i> , some of <i>Exodus</i> and <i>Numbers</i> , and a fragment of <i>Deuteronomy</i> , and her emphasis was on Judah, the small kingdom with Jerusalem as its capital, after Judah divided from Israel in the north in about 922 BCE.
The Writer “E” 850 800 BCE	E was a priest from Shiloh (Israel) who wrote a parallel history following the stories of J. E writes from the early stories of Abraham until the story of God calling Moses to lead the Hebrews to the land of promise. He always calls God, “Elohim,” thus his identification. While Israel shared virtually the same culture with Judah, there were some differences. Both Joshua and Moses were heroes in the north, more so than in the south, so E portrays them with great heroism. E was a priest descended from Moses, who therefore was “out of favor.” This intense rivalry between the descendants of Moses and Aaron would last more than half a millennium. Since E wrote parallel stories of the patriarchs and Moses, he contributed to what became the same books: <i>Genesis</i> , <i>Exodus</i> , and <i>Numbers</i> . Some believe E wrote a small section of <i>Deuteronomy</i> .
The Writer “P” 722 690 BCE	P wrote, perhaps with some associates, by far the largest sections of the Torah (the first five books): large parts of <i>Genesis</i> , <i>Exodus</i> , and <i>Numbers</i> , and almost all of <i>Leviticus</i> . A Temple priest

from Jerusalem, P is concerned with the correct administration of the rituals. P also wrote a small section of *Deuteronomy*, and perhaps *1 & 2 Chronicles*, for which he may have relied on other sources. P is largely responsible for a more exalted view of God, the Great Creator and upholder of the universe that remains central to monotheism.

This writer is called “P” because his concern is with the priesthood and its functions. Scholars believe he wrote during the reign of King Hezekiah (722–693 BCE), who appointed the descendants of Aaron as the only priests and who centralized worship in Jerusalem. P also wrote twenty-five parallel stories to J and E. Since he was a priest, his concern was a mediated religion. In other words, only through a priest could a worshiper approach God with an offering and receive forgiveness. P does not show Noah, for example, offering a sacrifice, nor does he show Abraham offering Isaac. God for him is more distant, less personal, and Moses is presented in a less than favorable light, since he is the ancestor of a rival clan with claims to the priesthood. Aaron, who was anything but heroic in J (Aaron built a golden calf for the Hebrews to worship while Moses was receiving the commandments from Yahweh on Mount Sinai), is presented as the divinely sanctioned leader of the priesthood, the true High Priest, and also as the older brother of Moses. In short, P is affirming his own lineage as well as the importance of the priesthood in mediation to God for the average person.

The Writer “D”
625–587 BCE

This writer/editor “D,” the *Deuteronomist*, is called this because of his concern with the covenant of Yahweh and keeping the law. Scholars have identified him as the prophet Jeremiah, with a scribe Baruch son of Neriyah. Jeremiah lived during King Josiah’s reign and also went into exile in Egypt when Babylon conquered Judah. Like the writer E, Jeremiah was a priest descended from Moses, who, also like E, was from the northern city of Shiloh. D, therefore, exalts both Moses and Joshua, the northern heroes. He also exalts King Josiah as one of the great leaders, second only to Moses himself. King Josiah did a great deal to correct the poor treatment the priests at Shiloh had suffered during the previous three hundred years.

A Talmudic tradition held that Jeremiah wrote *1 & 2 Kings*, and Jeremiah is the major editor who pieces together historical accounts from court historians and writing sections himself. Jeremiah may have written most of *Deuteronomy*. Jeremiah and the scribe probably compiled *Joshua*, *Judges*, and *1 Samuel*, using the records of court historians, and edited parts of *2 Samuel*, adding one or two chapters to the court historian’s work, the great contemporary of J. Jeremiah probably wrote the poetry and prophetic sections of the eight books and Baruch wrote the “prose” or historical sections. Of course, Jeremiah wrote his own book of the Hebrew Bible under his own name, *Jeremiah*, and *Lamentations*. Jeremiah indeed is one of the superstars of the Hebrew Bible.

The Writer “R”
460–400 BCE

The writer/editor R for Redactor or “frame for publication” is identified as Ezra the Scribe. Ezra created “The First Bible” (*Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Numbers*, *Leviticus*, *Deuteronomy*, *Joshua*, *Judges*, *1 & 2 Samuel*, and *1 & 2 Kings*), by performing the remarkable task of combining many separate scrolls into one narrative. Of course, Jeremiah did something similar with *Joshua*, *Judges*, *1 & 2 Samuel*, and *1 & 2 Kings* a couple of hundred years earlier, but Ezra streamlined it even more. It is impossible to know how much he cut out. Literary critics, notably Harold Bloom, feel that that Ezra cut too much of J’s work, this priceless literature was then lost, since he wanted to base the religion on the Book. Many see large gaps in J’s stories, whose imaginative stories did not fit well with normative religious beliefs. Yahweh was just too erratic and the patriarchs were just too depraved. Yet, no doubt Ezra tried to preserve as much as possible. Ezra is responsible for making the monotheistic faiths of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam religions of a Book. Ezra is known among Jews as “The Second Law Giver.”

Notes

1) Fifty-two books were eventually found, many of them fragments, at Nag Hammadi. These texts may have been buried after the Council of Nicea 325 CE, which set out the proper beliefs regarding Jesus' divinity. With the Dead Sea Scrolls eventually about 122 books all books of the current Hebrew Bible are represented except the book of *Esther* were found in the caves around Qumran, dated from between 200 BCE to 68 CE. These are the most ancient copies of the Hebrew Bible. Previously the most ancient copy of the Hebrew Bible was from about 1006 CE. Some of the Dead Sea Scrolls are more than twelve hundred years earlier .

2) Please see *Who Wrote the Bible?* by Richard Elliot Friedman, pp. 15–32 and *The Book of J* by Harold Bloom, pp. 17–23. Bible scholars today like to talk about schools, literary or priestly, that produced sections of the Bible, a P School and an R School, for example. But I believe that both Friedman and Bloom are correct in saying there were no schools, at least that we know of, and each of the sections can be traced to a solitary vision. We should remember that the Bible is the only successful work written by a committee, but the committee never met and each member worked alone.

3) Richard Elliot Friedman, *The Hidden Book in the Bible*, p. 7, summarizes one of the first studies of early biblical Hebrew, done in the 1970s by Robert Polzin, who concluded that J and the Court Historian were from the same time in the stage of the Hebrew language.

4) *Exodus* 15:21.

5) We should also remember that our divisions of history, literature, religion, science, etc., came from the Greek philosophers, but all the Torah writers, including the Redactor who grafted everything together around 460 BCE, were written before the Greek philosophers. For these writers, history, religion, and literature were not separate; all was simply a Book.

6) The King James version, based on foundational work of William Tyndale (1491–1536), who was

martyred for his translation, and Miles Coverdale (1488–1568), is still by far the finest translation of the Bible in the English language. Why should this be so? We should remember that it came from the Elizabethan Enlightenment and its remarkable cast of writers: John Donne, Ben Jonson, Christopher Marlowe, Francis Bacon, William Shakespeare, John Milton, to name only a few of the most famous. I wonder about the short-comings of all modern translations, in spite of the development of the field of linguistics. What we have gained in accuracy has come at the expense of poetry.

7) Tamar is an ancestor of both David and Jesus, according to Matthew's genealogy (Mt. 1). In *Genesis* 38, J offers some word play on the name of Judah's Canaanite wife, whose father was "Shua", added with the Hebrew word for daughter "bat", becomes Batshua, denoting Bathsheba.

8) Indeed, there are many parallels between the two writers, which Friedman summarized, leading him to the hypothesis they were written by the same person. Some of the similarities: both stories have a character named Tamar (meaning *Palm* in Hebrew). In *Genesis* 34, indisputably by J, Shechem rapes Jacob's daughter, Dinah. In *2 Samuel* 13, written with remarkably similar expressions, Tamar is raped by her half-brother Amnon. Both Shechem and Amnon are killed by avenging brothers. Both the Joseph of J and the Tamar of the Court Historian, victims of violence, of kidnapping and rape respectively, wear a coat of many colors, which is torn after they are abused (*Genesis* 37:3, 23, 32; *2 Samuel* 13:18f). The reason they are similar, perhaps, is that each knew the other well and may have collaborated a bit. Parts of *Joshua*, *Judges*, *1 Samuel* could also have been written by the Court Historian of *2 Samuel*, which all have more in common with each other, I believe, than with J.

9) *Genesis* 21:12 Jewish Publication Society.

10) I should say that there is one other example, an early one, of the enigmatic Lamech, father of Noah, who like Jacob had two wives, *Genesis* 4:16–24.

11) The lament of King David (*2 Samuel* 1:19–27)

some speculate are the authentic words of David, which I will quote 1:22-27, from the Jewish Publication Society:

*From the blood of slain,
From the fat of warriors
The bow of Jonathan
Never turned back;
The sword of Saul
Never withdrew empty.*

*Saul and Jonathan,
Beloved and cherished,
Never parted
In life or in death!
They were swifter than eagles,
They were stronger than lions!*

*Daughters of Israel,
Weep over Saul,
Who clothed you in crimson and finery,
Who decked your robes with jewels of gold.*

*How have the mighty fallen
In the thick of battle
Jonathan, slain on your heights!
I grieve for you,
My brother Jonathan,
You were most dear to me.
Your love was wonderful to me
More than the love of women.*

*How have the mighty fallen,
The weapons of war perished!*

12) God loves the charismatic King and general, David, and the Court Historian's portrait of David is by any measure remarkable. David is on a different level with regards to passion and love of life, the only person in the Hebrew Bible called the beloved of God;

*I have made a covenant with My chosen one;
I have sworn to My servant David:*

*I will establish your offspring forever,
I will confirm your throne for all generations.*

*I have sworn in My holiness, once and for all;
I will not be false to David.
His line shall continue forever,
his throne, as the sun before Me,
as the moon, established forever,
an enduring witness in the sky.*

Psalm 89:4, 36 Jewish Publication Society.

13) The Blessing is repeated three times to Abraham and once each to Isaac and Jacob, *Genesis* 12:3, 18:18, 22:18, 26:4, and 28:14, ending with all the families of the earth will be blessed through you.

14) See *Cosmos, Chaos, and the World to Come* by Norman Cohn, pp. 129-140. Cohn, in outlining the differences between Israel and Judah, describes how Israel was quite rich and powerful, while Judah was a bit of a backwater. Israel would be conquered about two hundred years after the division, by the Assyrians in 722 BCE, but Judah would survive, until conquered by Babylon in about 587 BCE. Judah was probably of so little importance that neither Assyria nor Egypt cared much about it, though the Assyrian King Sennacherib made one attempt, during King Hezekiah's reign (715-687), laying siege to Jerusalem but remarkably he was rebuffed. Judah survived independently but had to pay tribute. Cohn also makes the point that it was Judah which preserved the earlier heritage. Judah actually had the world's longest continuing reign of a family, Davidic, lasting nearly five hundred years. Harold Bloom, pp. 39-40 in *The Book of J*, points out the verses in J where Rehoboam was criticized, with word-playing on his name: *Genesis* 13:17; *Genesis* 19:2; *Genesis* 26, with naming of a well "Rehovot", or Open; *Genesis* 34:21; *Exodus* 3:8; *Exodus* 34.

15) Animal sacrifices, which seem gruesome today, are misunderstood. Animal sacrifices in fact come from more humane attitudes toward animal life than we have today. When a worshiper brought a sacrifice, Temple priests slaughtered the animal, took a

tenth of the meat for themselves, applied some of the blood on an altar, and returned the rest of the meat to the worshiper to take home. Sacrifices, therefore, were for food. Why the sacrifice? Animals were killed; it was the taking of innocent life for food, except during special Holy Days like Yom Kippur. All meat, therefore, before it could be eaten, had to go through a Temple ritual performed by a priest. The shedding of blood and death required a sacred ritual to sanctify animal killing, mainly because people respected animals. This ritual applied to all animals (mammals), but not to birds or fish. The Jerusalem Temple was really an ancient slaughter-house. See *Who Wrote the Bible?* by Richard Elliot Friedman, p. 91.

16) Avi Hurvitz (1982) is one example mentioned by Friedman, from his study: *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship Between the Priestly Source and the book of Ezekiel*.

17) From *Jeremiah* 36:4 "And Baruch wrote from the mouth of Jeremiah all the words of the Lord."

18) Jeremiah and the scribe were working with many ancient records and stories, that may have been part of the literature from the Shiloh priests. With the stories of Joshua, Jericho, and the conquest were fashioned into the book of *Joshua*, the stories of Deborah, Gideon, and Samson became *Judges*, the stories of Samuel both E and Jeremiah's ancestor Saul, and David became *1 Samuel*. Jeremiah may have added only one small section to the Court.

Historian's *2 Samuel*, of the covenant to David (*2 Samuel* 7). The challenge was greater for *1* and *2 Kings*, because Jeremiah had to combine two separate histories: one for Israel and one for Judah.

19) *Jeremiah* 8:8 "How do you say, 'We are wise, and the Torah of the LORD is with us? Lo, certainly with lies he made it, the lying pens of scribes.'"

20) During the Babylonian Exile, a group of Jews remained in Jerusalem. After some of the more zealous killed Nebuchadnezzar's Jewish representative, they fled to Tahpanhes, Egypt, on the eastern side of the Nile River, where they built a Temple to offer sacrifices. The prophet Jeremiah was among

this group. See *Who Wrote The Bible?* by Richard Elliot Friedman, pp. 153, 154.

21) *Nehemiah* 8:1 18.

22) See *Exodus* 4:24 26 for this strange passage, something normative interpreters have been unable to explain.

23) Friedman, in *Who Wrote the Bible?*, makes the point that Moses, after his encounter with Yahweh, is too ugly to be seen by the people and therefore must wear a veil to prevent them from being horrified by his appearance, pp. 201 2.

24) Adapted from *The Book of J* by David Rosenberg and Harold Bloom.

25) Septuagint means "seventy", in Greek representing the number of scholars who worked on it. The work was commissioned by King Ptolemy of Philadelphus in Alexandria. The translation is the story of legend. It was said that seventy scholars, from each of the twelve tribes, worked separately for seventy days. The result was seventy exact translations (or so the legend goes).

26) From Richard Elliot Friedman's translation and division in *Who Wrote the Bible?*, pp. 54 59. Notice the differences between the two. In J, there are seven pairs of clean animals, because Noah needed them to make offerings. P, on the other hand, has only two of each and does not show Noah making an offering. In J, the flood lasts forty days and nights, in P it lasts three hundred-seventy days. In J Noah sends a dove, in P he sends a raven. More interesting, J's Yahweh is more personal, grieving over the things he has done and deciding never to destroy the world again by a flood. In P, God is more distant, less personal. Please read the stories separately to get a sense that each is complete in itself, the great work of R.

27) From *The Book of J* by Harold Bloom and David Rosenberg, Appendix B.

28) Richard Elliot Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?* pp. 246 249. I should say there is debate about many of these. I tend to follow Harold Bloom and David Rosenberg when in conflict. Perhaps the biggest difference here is that Friedman gives more passages to E, which others give to J. There are

questions about whether E actually existed, since the writing is very similar, leading some to believe that E originally was J's writing that had been edited and reworked.

29) Chronology is from Werner Keller (1956) *The Bible As History*, pp. 392–3, combined with the more recent scholarship of Richard Elliot Friedman's study (1987) *Who Wrote The Bible?*