TRACING THE OLD TESTAMENT CANON THROUGH TIME:

THE NECESSITY OF A DIACHRONIC APPROACH TO

COMPILATIONAL CRITICISM

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A Dissertation

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Doctor of Philosophy

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by

Casey Kenneth Croy

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APPROVAL SHEET

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For the glory of God in Christ Jesus

In memory of my father,

Kenneth Lee Croy

To my wife, Autumn, who has sacrificed so much for me

To our children, Atticus and Elise,

May you come to embrace

Christ as your Savior

To the glory of God

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
AOTC	Apollos Old Testament Commentary
ASBT	Acadia Studies in Bible and Theology
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
BBR	*Bulletin of Biblical Research*
BDAG	*Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*.
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*
Bib	*Biblica*
BibInt	*Biblical Interpreter*
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament
BRev	*Biblical Review*
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenshaft
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CC	Continental Commentaries
CurBS	*Currents in Research: Biblical Studies*
DMBI	*Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters*
DOTHB	*Dictionary of the Old Testament: Historical Books*
DOTP	*Dictionary of the Old Testament: Pentateuch*
DOTWPW	*Dictionary of the Old Testament: Wisdom, Poetry, and Writings*
EncJud	*Encyclopaedia Judaica*

ExpTim	*Expository Times*
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FOTL	Forms of Old Testament Literature
HALOT	*The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*
HBM	Hebrew Bible Monographs
HBT	*Horizons in Biblical Theology*
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
Int	*Interpretation*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBMW	*Journal of Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*
JBTS	*Journal of Biblical and Theological Studies*
JESOT	*Journal of the Evangelical Study of the Old Testament*
JET	*Jahrbuch für evangelikale Theologie*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JHS	*Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KEJT	*Kairos: Evangelical Journal of Theology*
KEL	Kregel Exegetical Library
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LTHS	Literature and Theology of the Hebrew Scriptures
NAC	New American Commentary
NCB	New Century Bible
NDBT	*The New Dictionary of Biblical Theology*
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament

NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology
NTM	New Testament Monographs
OTL	Old Testament Library
PIBA	*Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association*
PNTC	Pillar New Testament Commentary
ResQ	*Restoration Quarterly*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
SBLAIL	Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Israel and Its Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SSBT	Short Studies in Biblical Theology
ST	*Studia Theologica*
STI	Studies in Theological Interpretation
THOTC	The Two Horizons Old Testament Commentary
TJ	*Trinity Journal*
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

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PREFACE

What a privilege to express my thankfulness to those who have made this project possible! The first word of thanks must go to Dr. James Hamilton, my doctoral supervisor. I could not have asked for more in a supervisor. Dr. Hamilton gave me the chance to explore ideas that interested me. He picked me up when I failed along the way. He kept me from settling for "good enough". He provided opportunities to help prepare me for when my PhD was completed. I am so grateful to have worked with him. Although they were not directly involved in this project, I wish to express thanks to several of my former teachers. I took most of my PhD seminars with Dr. Brian Vickers. He emphasized careful theological engagement with the biblical text and modeled gracious interaction with his students. It is important for PhD students to learn to be gracious with other students, and that is an enduring lesson I will remember from Dr. Vickers. T. Desmond Alexander supervised my MTh thesis while I attended Union Theological College in Belfast, Northern Ireland. He modeled careful scholarship for me and took every opportunity to make Autumn and me feel at home. Drs. David Hogg and Robert Cole taught me at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary. I was first introduced to many of the ideas in this dissertation by these men and am thankful for their commitment to teaching the next generation of Christian scholars. Finally, I wish to thank Peter Gentry for serving on my committee and Michael Shepherd from serving as my external reader. They both provided helpful feedback on my work. These men are responsible, in many ways, for the good work within this dissertation. Any deficiency within this dissertation should be a reminder of how many more deficiencies there would have been without the positive influence of these men in my life and scholarship.

Words will always fail to express the extent of my love and admiration for my wife, Autumn. She has been anything and everything our family has needed since I first told her, "I want to do a PhD." I cannot wait to see how God will honor her faithfulness to me and by extension to him. Our son, Atticus, and our daughter, Elise, fill my heart with joy. I pray for God's help in being your father. I pray that you will one day call on the name of Jesus Christ for salvation. This dissertation is dedicated to my family.

Casey K. Croy

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December 2019

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Compilational criticism examines the Old Testament in order to discern if the arrangement of its books is significant. The goal of compilational criticism is to establish links between and among the Old Testament books so that a cohesive whole emerges from the (sometimes disparate) parts. If biblical theology is an attempt to understand the parts of the Bible in relation to the whole,[1] then compilational criticism is a useful (and perhaps essential) tool to be utilized within the broader discipline of biblical theology.

The terminology of "compilation criticism" used above stems from Timothy Stone's *The Compilational History of the Megilloth*.[2] Stone uses this term to refer to the purposeful arrangement of the Old Testament books. Although many readers will associate this idea with Brevard Childs' canonical approach and although Stone explicitly states that Childs' work is foundational for his own,[3] Childs showed almost no interest in the arrangement of the Old Testament.[4] Thus, although related, compilational criticism

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[1] This short definition of biblical theology is part of the fuller definition offered by Brian Rosner, who states, "Biblical theology is principally concerned with the overall theological message of the whole Bible. It seeks to understand the parts in relation to the whole and, to achieve this, it must work with the mutual interaction of the literary, historical, and theological dimensions of the various corpora, and with the inter-relationships of these within the whole canon of Scripture." Brian Rosner, "Biblical Theology," in *NDBT*, ed. T. Desmond Alexander and Brian Rosner (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000), 3.

[2] Timothy J. Stone, *The Compilational History of the Megilloth*, FAT 59 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013).

[3] See Stone, *The Megilloth*, 10.

[4] This is evident by the absence of such discussions in two of Childs' major works. See Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979) and Childs, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992). See Stone, *The Megilloth*, 14. See also Stephen Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact': Torah and Temple and the Contours of the Hebrew Canon, Part 1," *TynBul* 48 (1997): 32, Walter Brueggemann, *The Creative Word: Canon as a Model for Biblical Education* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982), 5. In Childs' final book discussing the Pauline letters, he shows some interest in the arrangement of Paul's letters. See Brevard S. Childs, *The Church's Guide for Reading Paul* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 65–78.

must not be equated with canonical criticism or a canonical approach, at least not as it appears in Childs' writings. Authors following Childs' canonical approach may or may not exhibit overlap with compilational criticism. A term more closely related to compilational criticism is con-textuality. According to Sailhamer, "Con-textuality is the notion of the effect on meaning of the relative position of a biblical book within a prescribed order of reading."[5] This term is also utilized by Ched Spellman and referenced by Greg Goswell in his articles discussing the arrangement of the Old Testament materials.[6]

Interest in the arrangement of the Old Testament canon has proliferated following the influence of Brevard Childs. As often is the case, however, this proliferation has led to a variety of methodological approaches. A survey of these studies reveals at least five issues in which these studies exhibit different approaches. These issues of concern are reflected in the following questions: (1) Why did various arrangements of the Old Testament books develop? (2) What principles guided those responsible for compiling the Old Testament? (3) How did the compilation of the Old Testament take place? (4) What did the compilers hope to accomplish by compiling the Old Testament in a specific way? (5) How were arrangements of the Old Testament preserved? While the authors of compilational studies may advocate for a specific approach to these issues, there has been very little interaction among these authors concerning the best methodological approach to these issues. Further complicating matters is that these authors tend to utilize each other's work indiscriminately, regardless of the different approaches to the issues noted above. Thus, although a very valuable tool

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[5] John H. Sailhamer, *Introduction to Old Testament Theology: A Canonical Approach* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995), 213.

[6] In his discussion of con-textuality, Spellman states, "A study of 'contextuality' that notes the generation of meaning produced by juxtaposing *just these works* in *just this fashion*." Ched Spellman, *Toward a Canon-Conscious Reading of the Bible: Exploring the History and Hermeneutics of the Canon*, NTM 34 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2014), 108. See also Greg Goswell, "The Order of the Books of the Hebrew Bible," *JETS* 51 (2008): 673.

within biblical theology, the methodological uncertainties surrounding compilational criticism cause confusion in implementing this tool and using its results.

Personal Interest

My interest in compilational criticism stems from my time as a MDiv student at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary where I first encountered the idea that the arrangement of the Old Testament was potentially significant. I was intrigued by these ideas but also discouraged by the methodological, historical, and theological difficulties inherent within the approach. The main difficulty I encountered with this idea is reflected in the first methodological question noted above: If the arrangement of the Old Testament is significant, then why did multiple arrangements emerge over time? Would not the presence of multiple arrangements of the Old Testament books suggest that the arrangement of those books is unimportant?[7] Despite this discouragement, I continued to read material discussing compilational criticism.

Starting in 2008, Greg Goswell published a series of articles considering the order of the biblical books in the Hebrew Bible, the Greek Old Testament, and the New Testament.[8] These articles were significant to me for several reasons. First, I could

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[7] See, for instance, the statement made by Thomas Schreiner. Schreiner states, "The fact that the Writings are not in the same order in every list indicates that the order is not as crucial as some claim." Thomas Schreiner, *The King in His Beauty: A Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013), xv–xvi n20. See also the statement from Lee Martin McDonald: "Because the early collections of the [books in the Hebrew Bible] circulated in scrolls and not in codices, it is understandable why there is considerable variety in the order of the books . . . . It is important simply to note here that all such discussions of the order or sequence of books in antiquity appear to be something like what Barton described as a 'wild goose chase' that is ultimately 'devoid of importance.'" Lee Martin McDonald, *The Old Testament: Its Authority and Canonicity*, vol. 1 of *The Formation of the Biblical Canon* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 294. Barton's book, which McDonald is referencing, is John Barton, *Oracles of God: Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel After the Exile* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 82. In another work, Barton states, "Still less is it [that the compilation of these books contains a message] likely to be true of, say, the order of the Hagiographa (which varies even in printed editions) or the order of Paul's epistles; and least of all will it be true of the order of the whole Old or New Testament." Barton, *Holy Writings, Sacred Text: The Canon in Early Christianity* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997), 150.

[8] Goswell, "The Order of the Hebrew Bible," 673–88; Goswell, "The Order of the Books in the Greek Old Testament," *JETS* 52 (2009): 9–66; Goswell, "The Order of the Books of the New Testament," *JETS* 53 (2010): 225–41.

discern an attempt in Goswell's articles to overcome some of the same difficulties within compilational criticism with which I had been struggling. Second, I disagreed with the manner in which Goswell attempted to overcome these difficulties. Third, it occurred to me that while biblical compilational criticism did have difficulties, perhaps these difficulties were not as insurmountable as I had previously thought. Though I disagreed with Goswell's approach, I was propelled to think through the difficulties of compilational criticism.

During the Methods of Biblical Theology seminar at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in the Spring semester of 2015, I wrote a paper critiquing Goswell's articles and suggesting another path forward. Dr. Hamilton, my supervisor and the leader of the seminar, suggested that I consider researching compilational criticism further. This dissertation is the result of my studies.

Thesis, Definitions, and Presuppositions

This dissertation will provide a way to begin moving forward through the methodological concerns noted above. One aspect related to several of the previously identified issues concerns whether compilational criticism should be pursued diachronically or synchronically. That is, should compilational criticism prioritize a single arrangement at a single point in time (a synchronic approach), or should compilational criticism examine multiple arrangements as they emerged through time (a diachronic approach)?[9] This section will present the thesis of this dissertation, define several key terms and phrases, and acknowledge some presuppositions upon which this thesis relies.

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[9] Within other biblical studies discussions, such as the development of the text itself, "diachronic" often includes an attempt to trace the development of the text from one form to another. My use of "diachronic" is not meant to include an attempt to trace the development of how the Old Testament was arranged, but simply to acknowledge that one encounters multiple arrangements as time progresses and that each of these arrangements warrants examination.

Thesis

The thesis of this dissertation is that multiple arrangements of the Old Testament are needed to account for all the compilational features within the Old Testament.[10] If this thesis is proven true, then it has at least two implications for compilational criticism. (1) Since the text of the Old Testament has been influenced by more than one arrangement of its books, we should expect multiple arrangements of those books to have emerged from antiquity. (As will be discussed in chapter 2, this is indeed the case.) Thus, a limited number of arrangements of the Old Testament books would indicate that the arrangement of the Old Testament books is more significant, not less, than would be the case if there were only a single arrangement emerging from antiquity. (2) The study of the Old Testament's arrangement (or compilation) must allow for multiple arrangements of the Old Testament canon in order to fully explain features inherent within the Old Testament text. A single arrangement of the Old Testament books will be unable to account for all of the compilational features within the Old Testament. Since compilational features are part of the inspired text, restricting compilational criticism to a single arrangement will omit some part of the inspired message of the Old Testament.

This may be described as a diachronic approach to compilational criticism because the compilational critic will consider multiple arrangements that appeared at different times and at different locations rather than being limited to a single arrangement occurring at a single time and place. Synchronic approaches, which are restricted to a single arrangement of the Old Testament material, will never be able to recognize and evaluate all the compilational features inherent within the Old Testament books because the text of these books was influenced by more than one arrangement.[11] This thesis does

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[10] A "Compilational feature", which will be defined in more detail below, refers to instances in which the words of a biblical book were influenced by how that book was compiled into the Old Testament canon. Chapter 3 proposes a methodology for identifying compilational features.

[11] For example, in chapter 6, this dissertation will argue that Chronicles was composed with

not exclude the importance of synchronic approaches (such as the studies discussed below and in chapter 7) to compilational criticism. This thesis does recognize, however, that synchronic approaches to compilational criticism are limited in a manner that diachronic approaches are not. If it could be demonstrated that a synchronic approach could account for all of the compilational features in the Old Testament then this thesis would be demonstrated false.

Presuppositions and Preliminary Discussions

This section will briefly discuss some presuppositions and other preliminary discussions upon which this thesis relies.

Canon debate. The debate surrounding the formation of the Old Testament canon is well known. The two major questions debated are what books belong in the Old Testament canon and when did these books constitute an authoritative collection? As Stephen Dempster notes, "There is no consensus on these questions, but majority and minority views have developed."[12] The majority view among modern scholars could be described as "minimalism", and its adherents believe that the Old Testament canon was not completed until the second century AD at the earliest.[13] In this view, there initially existed uncertainty and vagueness concerning the extent of the Old Testament canon, but this uncertainty and vagueness gradually gave way to certainty and clarity. The minority view among modern scholars could be described as "maximalism", and its adherents

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the intention that it would end the Old Testament and that Ezra/Nehemiah was written with the intention that it would follow Chronicles. Thus, the Old Testament could be arranged to end with Chronicles, or it could be arranged for Ezra/Nehemiah to follow Chronicles. Each arrangement would partially preserve the compilational intent of these books.

[12] Dempster, "A Resolution in the Canon Debate," 48.

[13] Arguments in favor of the minimalist view can be found in the following: Lee Martin McDonald, *The Old Testament: Its Authority and Canonicity*, vol. 1 of *The Formation of the Biblical Canon* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017); Barton, *Oracles of God*; Lee Martin McDonald and James A. Sanders, eds., *The Canon Debate* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002).

argue that the Old Testament canon was established before the first century AD. In this view, the certainty reached concerning the Old Testament canon prior to the first century AD gradually eroded as the church separated from its early Jewish roots.

This dissertation does not seek to address this debate directly but will operate within a maximalist view of the Old Testament's formation. Several recent contributions from scholars holding this position have successfully argued that the maximalist position is based upon reasonable inferences from the historical evidence.[14] This dissertation is built upon the idea that the final forms of some Old Testament books reveal an awareness of an emerging Old Testament canon. This idea requires a level of canon-consciousness on the part of those responsible (original authors and/or editors) for the final form of these books which is inherently at odds with the minimalist position.[15]

A model for the Old Testament's development. This dissertation relies upon a specific model of the Old Testament's development, and it may be helpful to describe that model at the outset of this dissertation. The goal here is not to defend this model but to describe it in order to help readers better understand what is being said within the body of this dissertation. The validity of this model for the Old Testament's development would be verified if the thesis of this dissertation is proven true.[16]

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[14] In addition to Dempster's article cited above, see the discussions in Spellman, *A Canon-Conscious Reading*, 8–45 and Julius Steinberg and Timothy J. Stone, "The Historical Formation of the Writings in Antiquity," in *The Shape of the Writings*, ed. Julius Steinberg and Timothy J. Stone, LTHS 16 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 1–58.

[15] Steinberg and Stone state, "For McDonald and Barton [advocates of the minimalist position], the fixing or scope of the canon is late, possibly very late, so its limits *could not* be organically connected to the formation of the literature *as* a collection." Steinberg and Stone, "The Formation of the Writings," 5.

[16] The model described here is similar to the one provided by Sailhamer. See John H. Sailhamer, "Biblical Theology and the Composition of the Hebrew Bible," in *Biblical Theology: Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Scott J. Hafemann (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2002), 26–32. Sailhamer uses the word "canonization" to refer to what this dissertation is calling "compilation." Sailhamer also includes a stage called "consolidation" in which the text "take on essential characteristics of the beliefs of that community." This stage has not been included in the discussion because it does not pertain to the matters being discussed in this dissertation.

Every model of the Old Testament's development includes at least two stages: the composition of the biblical books and their compilation with one another to form the Old Testament. The compositional stage refers to how the words of the individual books developed. Each book originated with either an individual (or possibly a group) who could be identified as the "author" of these books. The author of a text is responsible for the most original form of the wording of the biblical book. This would include the incorporation of any previous material into material originating with this author. In addition to an original author responsible for the words of a particular book, many of the books of the Old Testament appear to have been edited, either by alterations made to the wording of the text or by additions to the text.[17] At some point, the text of an Old Testament book reached a final form when it was no longer altered. This could all be described as the "composition" of the biblical text. The composition of the Pentateuch may serve as an example. The oldest material within the Pentateuch was possibly passed down generation to generation among the Israelites living in Egypt before the time of Moses.[18] Moses gathered these materials, composed his own material, and produced something identifiable with, though not the same as, the Pentateuch as we know it today.[19] At a later time, an editor altered Moses' Pentateuch to some degree (e.g., by updating the names of certain geographical locations and historical figures and adding some material such as Deut 34).[20] At some point the text of the Pentateuch became

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[17] An editor could have also possibly subtracted or deleted part of the original material, but this would be nearly impossible to prove.

[18] See the discussion by Harrison concerning the תולדת passages within Genesis. Roland Kenneth Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), 543–47. Harrison believes these statements are evidence that much of the material in Genesis was passed down from previous generations upon clay tablets or cylinders. The תולדת formulas were the original headings upon these tablets.

[19] John Sailhamer refers to this original, Mosaic Pentateuch as the "Pentateuch 1.0." See John H. Sailhamer, *The Meaning of the Pentateuch: Revelation, Composition, and Interpretation* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2009), 204.

[20] Sailhamer refers to this as the "Pentateuch 2.0." See Sailhamer, *The Meaning of the Pentateuch*, 48. It is possible that the Pentateuch has undergone more than one editorial process.

finalized when no further edits were made. All of this comprises the compositional stage of the Pentateuch's production. The production of every Old Testament book went through such a compositional stage, although this stage may have been much simpler for some books (perhaps consisting of only an original author). The compositional stage of the Old Testament's production extended several centuries as the books were written and edited.

In addition to the composition of the books contained within the Old Testament, all models of the Old Testament's development include a compilational stage in which the books of the Old Testament were gathered together. The model presented in this dissertation proposes several distinctive features for the compilational stage of the Old Testament's production. First, for this dissertation, the compositional and compilational stages of the Old Testament's production overlapped for some biblical books, both in terms of chronology and who participated.[21] That is, those responsible for the composition (author[s], editor[s], or both) of some biblical books were aware of an emerging Old Testament canon and composed their books to fill a specific role within the arrangement of that emerging canon. Their compilational intent is evident from the compilational features they place within their books.

Second, in some of these cases (when a book's compilation overlapped with its composition), those responsible for the composition of these books established multiple ways in which these books could be arranged within the Old Testament canon. This would be the cause underlying the thesis of this dissertation. There are three possibilities for how multiple arrangements of the Old Testament books could have occurred during

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[21] It is typically believed that the Old Testament's compilation was completely subsequent to its composition. That is, the Old Testament books reached the final form of their text before they were compiled into what we know as the Old Testament. This is the view of, for instance, Gregory Goswell, whose work on this subject will be discussed below and at several other points within this dissertation. Stephen Dempster is a representative of the "overlapping" view proposed here. As will be discussed below, Dempster believes that the books of the Old Testament were edited for the purpose of forming a specific arrangement of the Old Testament canon. If this was the case, then the composition of some books (the work of the editor) overlapped with the compilation of these books into the Old Testament.

the period when the compositional and compilational stages overlapped. First, it is possible that an editor (probably very near the completion of the Old Testament's production) wanted to create multiple options for the arrangement of some Old Testament books and edited the text of those books to realize this goal. The work of this editor would have produced compilational features within certain books suggesting that they could fill multiple roles within an arrangement of the Old Testament books. For instance, it is possible that a figure such as Nehemiah wanted to establish multiple ways of arranging the Old Testament and therefore edited the Old Testament books to reflect this. Second, it is possible that the compilation of some Old Testament books occurred gradually and that the compilational features within these books reflect the different compilational intentions of multiple entities (possibly including authors, editors, or a combination of both) who were responsible for the composition of the books involved. For example, it is possible that those responsible for the composition of "book B" intended for it to be read after "book A" with the result that a "book A-book B" sequence would be established. Thus, "book B" was composed with compilational features suggesting this arrangement. At a later point, however, those responsible for the composition of "book C" also intended for their book to be read after "book A" with the result that a "book A-book C" sequence was established. Thus, "book C" was also composed with features suggesting that it should be read after "book A". The end result is that multiple arrangements are needed to account for how "book A" could be incorporated into a linear arrangement of the Old Testament: it could be placed before "book B" or "book C". Third, since these possibilities are not mutually exclusive, it is possible that some combination of the previous two options accounts for the multiple ways in which the Old Testament could be arranged.

Third, the final distinctive feature of the compilational stage in the model underlying this thesis concerns the work of the compilers of the Old Testament books after the compositional phase was completed. A limited number of arrangements were

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possible at the conclusion of the Old Testament's composition based on the compilational features within the Old Testament books. This is why more than one arrangement of the Old Testament books emerged from antiquity.[22] When lists or manuscripts of the Old Testament books were compiled, there was a limited number of ways in which they could reflect the compilational intent of those involved in the composition of these books. Rather than suggesting that the arrangement of the Old Testament was not important, a limited number of arrangements suggests that the arrangement of the Old Testament was important in more ways than one.

Textual approach. This dissertation will limit itself to studying the text of the Old Testament books and verifying the presence of their compilational features. It will not attempt to explain how these compilational features and the arrangements suggested by them came to be. For example, in chapter 4, it will be argued that the books of Proverbs and Ruth contain compilational features suggesting they should form a Proverbs-Ruth sequence. This dissertation will not attempt to discern whether this sequence is the work of the author of Proverbs, the work of the author of Ruth, or the work of a later editor (of either or both books). Although such knowledge would be helpful for understanding these books exegetically, any attempt to trace the development of the Old Testament's arrangement in this fashion would be based upon multiple assumptions and much subjectivity. Even if it could be reliably determined that one of the books in question was older than the other, the possibility that either or both of the texts in question were edited and that it was the editor who was responsible for the insertion of the compilational features contained within those books leaves little recourse for determining who may have been responsible for the creation of a compilational sequence.

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[22] Chapter 2 will present three of these arrangements: *Baba Bathra* 14b, Jerome, and the Masoretic text. All three of these arrangements can be verified by extant historical data (ancient lists and manuscripts). Chapter 7 will argue that at least one further arrangement probably existed at the completion of the Old Testament's production.

Therefore, this dissertation will only recognize the compilational features within the Old Testament text and consider the possible exegetical and theological implications of these features without attributing them to a specific author or time.[23]

Defining Key Terms and Concepts

The final introductory matter to be address is the definition of key terms and concepts.

Old Testament. This dissertation has not distinguished between "Old Testament" and the "Hebrew Bible". Although these designations refer to the same material within Protestant and Jewish Bibles, some authors prefer to use "Hebrew Bible" when referencing the grouping and arrangement of these books according to Jewish traditions and "Old Testament" to refer to the grouping and arrangement familiar to modern Christians. Although the groupings and arrangements I discuss throughout this dissertation stem from Jewish sources, I have used the term "Old Testament" to refer to this material throughout the dissertation. For the sake of continuity, I have used "Old Testament" even when discussing authors who use alternative terminology. (I have not modified any quotations to reflect this terminology, however.) I do not believe this alters the substance of their arguments.

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[23] Timothy Stone has suggested a method for determining how compilational features suggesting a sequential arrangement of two biblical books developed. Stone's method is based on two assumptions: (1) the author or editor responsible for the compilation would want his compilational intentions to be recognized by the reader and (2) compilational features are clearest when they appear near the seam between two books (the end of the first book and the beginning of the second book). Stone argues, therefore, that if the compilational features linking two books occur at the seam of one book but not the other, then it is the author/editor of the book for which the compilational feature appears near the seam who is most likely responsible for the creation of the compilation. See Stone, *The Megilloth*, 135. Stone's proposal is reasonable, but the problem is that the method itself would undermine the identification of the compilational features being examined. As will be discussed in chapter 3 (and Stone also recognizes this), sequential compilations are most certain when the compilational features suggesting such an arrangement appear at the seams of *both* books. This puts Stone's proposal in an awkward position. In order to determine how a compilation of two books developed, this proposal needs compilations for which the validity is less certain. Furthermore, although this proposal is based upon reasonable assumptions, it cannot be known for sure whether these issues would have been the priority in every case.

Composition. The terms "composition" and "compositional" refer to the production of the words of the books in the Old Testament. This includes the work of the original author who composed the words of the text, gathered and arranged preexisting sources, and any combination of these two activities. This also includes the work of any subsequent editors who altered the text, if the original text was edited in order to reach its final form.

Compilation. The terms "compilation" and "compilational" refer to the process by which the individual books of the Old Testament canon were gathered together and arranged. In this dissertation, this terminology does not always refer to the gathering of the entire Old Testament but is sometimes used to refer to specific sections or even to just a few books.

Compilational feature. A compilational feature is any element of the text of an Old Testament book which was influenced by how that book was compiled with other Old Testament books. What this dissertation calls "compilational features" is a subset of what has been referred to as "literary criteria" by scholars discussing the compilation of the Old Testament.[24] When discussing the various principles used to arrange the Old Testament, most compilational critics include a literary principle. What they mean is that the compilation of books they are examining appears to have been influenced by the textual features or internal features of the books in question. The arrangement is suggested by the words of the biblical text. When compilational critics classify a compilation as literary, there are three possibilities to explain how that literary arrangement originated: (1) it is possible that a compiler arranged the final form of the biblical books as he received them (no editing) to create a literary arrangement to the best of his ability;[25] (2) it is possible that a compiler edited the biblical text to some degree (by

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[24] See, for instance, Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 162, 209; Greg Goswell, "The Order of the Hebrew Bible," 675.

[25] These three possibilities are referring to the creation or origin of literary arrangements.

adding text, altering words, etc.) in order to create a literary arrangement of the biblical

material; (3) it is possible that the literary arrangement in question was the intention of

the original composition and thus the literary features were part of the biblical text from

its inception. All three of these scenarios would produce "literary criteria" but only the

second and third scenarios would produce what this dissertation refers to as

"compilational features" because only in these two scenarios was the final form of the

biblical text influenced by how it was compiled with other biblical books.

Table 1. Three possible explanations of literary criteria

	The text influenced the compilation	The compilation influenced the text	The text remains stable	Qualifies as a compilational feature
Possibility one: A compiler arranged the books as he received them	Yes	No	Yes	No
Possibility two: A compiler edited the books to form a literary arrangement	No	Yes	No	Yes
Possibility three: the formation of a literary compilation was part of the original intent of the text	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

Chapter 3 will provide the methodology this dissertation will use to distinguish

compilational features (possibilities two and three) from a more generic type of literary

criteria (possibility one). This dissertation has not attempted to distinguish between the

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Assuming that the compilational critic is not attempting to recreate a theoretical compilation based only on features being observed in the biblical text and not verified by physical evidence (a list or manuscript), then possibility one necessarily occurred in all cases. The compilation stems from someone who compiled the texts in question, and if the compilation exhibits literary qualities, then that compiler must have recognized these qualities within the texts unless the formation of a literary compilation was complete happenstance. The question being addressed in delineating these three possibilities is whether the literary arrangement originated with the compiler or whether there was a prior attempt to create a literary affinity drawing those texts together using the text of the books in question. For possibilities two and three, although a later compiler recognized an existing literary link between two books and arranged them accordingly, this later compiler did not create the literary link but only recognized the work of the previous author or editor. Therefore, possibility one cannot be combined with possibilities two or three even though a combination is necessary for the compilation to have reached the compilational critic.

two types of compilational features (possibilities two and three) because this would be unnecessary to argue for this thesis.

Linear or sequential arrangements. A linear or sequential arrangement refers to any instance in which the Old Testament books have been placed in a sequence (one after another) without duplication. This would typically include any list of the Old Testament books or any manuscript containing the text of the Old Testament provided that none of the books have been duplicated. For example, the list provided in *Baba Bathra* 14b, the list provided in Jerome's preface to his Latin translation of Samuel, and the Masoretic codices (the three main arrangements of the Old Testament studied in this dissertation) are all linear arrangements of the Old Testament.

Background-History of Research

The following discussion will review the work of major contributors to compilation criticism. These authors utilize either a single-arrangement approach or a multi-arrangement approach, but only some of these authors distinguish between the two approaches. This section will conclude by determining that none of these authors provided an adequate argument for choosing one method over the other. This section is organized chronologically by the date of the authors' initial work on compilational criticism.

James Sanders

Apart from Brevard Childs, perhaps no scholar is more associated with a canonical approach to Scripture than James Sanders. Unlike Childs, however, Sanders does discuss the compilation of the Old Testament material. In his monograph, *Torah and Canon*, Sanders attempts to trace how the Old Testament came to include the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets. Sanders' theory is that Israel's Scriptures were adjusted to fit

the needs of the evolving Jewish communities which held these writings as Scripture.[26] By examining the earliest recitals of Israel's history, Sanders determines that Israel's Scripture once consisted of a Hexateuch or Genesis–Joshua. According to Sanders, this arrangement views the conquest or entrance into the Promised Land as the climax of Israel's history.[27] After the exile, however, the original conquest no longer held the same importance to the Jewish people. The covenant laws and regulations contained within Deuteronomy took on more significance as the people hoped to re-enter the land. In order to reflect this new need within the community, the Jewish people separated Joshua from Genesis through Deuteronomy. This new compilation created a Pentateuch from what was originally a Hexateuch. Sanders states, "The decision had been made; and it had been made in Babylonia where the Pentateuchal climax in the Deuteronomic expectation of crossing the Jordan had completely offset the conquest fulfillment story, which no longer authenticated the identity of Judaism."[28] Thus, Sanders promotes a multiple-arrangement approach to compilational criticism. Since Sanders believes both a Pentateuch and a Hexateuch are necessary to understand how the arrangement of Israel's scripture reflected the nation's theological ideals, compilational critics must examine multiple arrangements of the Old Testament material.

David Noel Freedman

David Noel Freedman has argued for the literary unity of the Hebrew Bible by demonstrating that it naturally forms two halves, each consisting of about 150,000 words.[29] The first half consists of the Torah and the Former Prophets. This Primary

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[26] James A. Sanders, *Torah and Canon*, 2nd ed. (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2005). See also James Sanders, "Adaptable for Life: The Nature and Function of Canon," in *From Sacred Story to Sacred Text* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987).

[27] See Sanders, *Torah and Canon*, 28.

[28] Sanders, *Torah and Canon*, 52.

[29] See David Noel Freedman, *The Unity of the Hebrew Bible*, The Distinguished Senior Faculty Lecture Series (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1993), 5–6. Freedman covers much

History discusses God's creation of Israel through the covenant relationship sealed at Sinai and the subsequent violations of this covenant until the people were taken captive.[30] The second half consists of the Latter Prophets and the Writings. These books reaffirm the message of the first half but offer some hope for the future provided that the community is faithful.[31] Freedman only examines one arrangement of the Old Testament (Codex B19a) and does not acknowledge the existence of multiple arrangements.[32] Thus, he incorporates a single-arrangement approach. Furthermore, he attributes the patterns observed within his study to a single editor or a group of editors with a single purpose. Freedman states, "All this points to the intricate and interlocking character of the Hebrew Bible and supports the view that a single mind or compatible group was at work in collecting, compiling, organizing, and arranging the component parts into a coherent whole."[33] Freedman prioritizes the work of this editing individual or group.

John Sailhamer

Sailhamer discusses compilational criticism in several of his works related to Old Testament theology.[34] As noted above, Sailhamer uses the term 'con-textuality' to refer to what this dissertation has called compilational criticism. According to Sailhamer, "Con-textuality is the notion of the effect on meaning of the relative position of a biblical book within a prescribed order of reading."[35] Sailhamer illustrates con-textuality by

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of the same ground in a previous article. See David Noel Freedman, "The Symmetry of the Hebrew Bible," *ST* 46 (1992): 83–106.

[30] See Freedman, *The Unity of the Hebrew Bible*, 38–39.

[31] See Freedman, *The Unity of the Hebrew Bible*, 99–100.

[32] See Freedman, *The Unity of the Hebrew Bible*, 83.

[33] Freedman, *The Unity of the Hebrew Bible*, 73.

[34] See Sailhamer, *Old Testament Theology*, 213–15, 249–52; Sailhamer, "Composition of the Hebrew Bible," 25–37; Sailhamer, *The Meaning of the Pentateuch*.

[35] Sailhamer, *Old Testament Theology*, 213.

creating an analogy with the cinematographic theory of montage as described by Sergei Eisenstein. According to Eisenstien, competent viewers always seek to understand parts in light of the whole. Thus, when two pieces of film are juxtaposed, the viewer intuitively looks for a single theme drawing them together. In the same way, when a reader encounters the biblical text in a sequence, competent readers attempt to connect the parts in light of the whole.

Since Sailhamer identifies con-textuality as a reader-orientated approach,[36] his approach may be classified as a multiple-arrangement approach. A reader can encounter multiple arrangements of the Old Testament over time and thus be affected differently each time he encounters a different arrangement of the Old Testament. Sailhamer's multiple-arrangement approach can be most clearly seen in his essay "Biblical Theology and the Composition of the Hebrew Bible." Near the end of this essay, Sailhamer discusses how the conclusion of the Old Testament can affect the reader's understanding of Jeremiah's prophecy concerning the end of the exile (Jer 29:10). Sailhamer notes that there are two competing arrangements of the Old Testament in the pre-Christian era: one arrangement concluding with Ezra/Nehemiah (represented in Codex B19a) and the other concluding with Chronicles (represented in *Baba Bathra* 14b). According to Sailhamer, these arrangements represent differing views concerning the end of the exile and Jeremiah's prophecy. The arrangement concluding with Ezra/Nehemiah identifies the return from Babylon as the fulfillment of Jeremiah's prophecy.[37] The arrangement

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[36] Although Sailhamer clearly favors a reader-oriented approach, at times, he is seemingly inconsistent with this approach. In response to a self-posed question concerning the intentionality behind con-textuality, Sailhamer states, "The concept of con-textuality does not propose to answer such questions. They are important questions, but they go beyond the limits of the concept. Con-textuality raises only the question of the effect of context on meaning, not of the intent that lies behind it." Sailhamer, *Old Testament Theology*, 215. Yet later, he makes this statement: "Of the three approaches to the theological shape of the OT Canon [the other two being inner-textuality and inter-textuality], the notion of con-textuality, or montage, is the most problematic. It is the aspect of the canonical shape that is least traceable to a distinct authorial or compositional intention." Sailhamer, *Old Testament Theology*, 249. If con-textuality is unconcerned with the intent behind an arrangement of the Old Testament, then why would it be problematic that an arrangement cannot be easily traced to authorial or compositional intention?

[37] Sailhamer, "Composition of the Hebrew Bible," 34–35.

concluding with Chronicles identifies the end of the exile with Daniel's extension of Jeremiah's prophecy: seven times seventy years.[38] Thus, this arrangement anticipates an eschatological fulfillment of Jeremiah's prophecy. Which reading of Jeremiah's prophecy is taken depends upon the arrangement encountered by the reader.[39]

Stephen Dempster

Dempster began discussing the arrangement of the Old Testament canon with a two-part article entitled "An 'Extraordinary Fact': Torah and Temple and the Contours of the Hebrew Canon."[40] Dempster has also published a monograph[41] and several subsequent essays related to this issue.[42] Dempster emphasizes the importance of what he calls the seams of the Old Testament canon. Beginning with a tripartite structure, Dempster studies the themes appearing at each junction within this tripartite structure and determines that the beginning of each section of the tripartite canon emphasizes Torah (or divine instruction) and divine rule in the land. The conclusion of each section emphasizes eschatological hope.[43] Dempster attributes these structural emphases to the work of

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[38] Sailhamer, "Composition of the Hebrew Bible," 35–36.

[39] Sailhamer may insinuate that he prefers the arrangement concluding with Chronicles because "it is along that story line that the NT writers pick up the narrative thread and take us into the world of the NT canon." Sailhamer, "Composition of the Hebrew Bible," 37. If this is the case, then Sailhamer may be advocating a single-arrangement approach, but his argument is not defined well enough to make this assertion.

[40] Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact', Part 1," 23–56, and Stephen Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact': Torah and Temple and the Contours of the Hebrew Canon, Part 2," *TynBul* 48 (1997): 191–218.

[41] See Stephen Dempster, *Dominion and Dynasty: A Theology of the Hebrew Bible*, NSBT 15 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003).

[42] See Stephen Dempster, "A Wandering Moabite: Ruth—A Book in Search of a Canonical Home," in Steinberg and Stone, *The Shape of the Writings*, 87–118; Dempster, "From Many Texts to One: The Formation of the Hebrew Bible," in *The World of the Aramaeans: Biblical Studies in Honour of Paul-Eugène Dion*, vol. 1, ed. P. M. Michèle Daviau, John W. Wevers and Michael Weigl, JSOTSup 324 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001); Dempster, "Canons on the Right and Canons on the Left: Finding a Resolution in the Canon Debate," *JETS* 52 (2009): 47–78.

[43] See Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact', Part 2," 214–15. Dempster credits Nahum Sarna for first drawing his attention to the Torah emphasis at the beginning of each structure. See Nahum Sarna and David Sperling, "Bible," in *EncJud*, 2nd ed. (Farmington Hills, MI: Thomson Gale, 2007), 3:582.

editors. According to Dempster,

> My own study . . . concludes that the canon had editors who redacted their text in order to provide a general orientation, keeping in view the main themes of the literature lest these be lost in the mass of detail, reflecting on the significance of previously written material (when possible) and providing transitions to important new developments.[44]

Dempster's conclusion that a group of editors was responsible for the symmetry he sees within the tripartite arrangement of the Old Testament canon establishes the foundation of a synchronic approach. In Dempster's approach, compilational criticism can focus on a single point in time when these editors were at work and upon the single, sequential order which they produced. This sequential order, Dempster believes, is referenced in *Baba Bathra* 14b. According to Dempster,

> The evidence also suggests that there are internal criteria available by which one can evaluate the various forms of the canon, and determine an original form, namely the redactional material which suggests an awareness of the limits of the canon itself: Deuteronomy 34, Joshua 1:1–9; Malachi 4:4–6 [3:22–24], Ruth 4:18–22, Psalms 1–2, 2 Chronicles 36:22–23. This evidence conforms to the Jewish canon described in *Baba Bathra* 14b.[45]

Dempster's reference to an original form demonstrates the synchronic nature of his approach to compilational criticism. Although subsequent orders emerged over time, this original order produced by an authoritative editor (or editors) should be prioritized over these subsequent orders. Dempster states, "That there were other canons and various arrangements was no doubt true but it seems that this particular canon with a beginning in Genesis and a conclusion in Chronicles was part of a stream that was involved in the production of the Bible and thus part of a central stream of Judaism linked to the temple."[46]

My indebtedness to Dempster's work will be evident at multiple points

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[44] Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact', Part 1," 47.

[45] Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact', Part 2," 217. Dempster's confidence in *Baba Bathra* 14b stems from Roger Beckwith's study. See Roger T. Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church and its Background in Early Judaism* (London: SPCK, 1985).

[46] Dempster, "A Resolution in the Canon Debate," 76.

throughout this dissertation, yet the thesis of this dissertation will attempt to shift the discussion of this issue slightly from his conclusion concerning the priority of a single arrangement. Dempster prioritizes a single arrangement which he argues was produced by the editorial activity responsible for creating the original form of both the text and shape of the Old Testament canon. This dissertation will argue that even if Dempster is correct to see editorial work which resulted in the purposeful arrangement of certain books of the Old Testament, a single arrangement of the Old Testament books still cannot account for all the ways the text of the Old Testament suggests that it may be arranged. As noted in the model given for the Old Testament's production described above, either the editorial activity to which Dempster is referring created multiple ways in which the Old Testament books could be arranged or it created another arrangement of the Old Testament materials in addition to previous arrangements of that material which were still evident from the text of those books. If the first option is taken, prioritizing a single arrangement would disregard the intentions of this editor. If the second option is taken, then prioritizing a single arrangement disregards the implications of the compilational features which that editor apparently allowed to stand unchanged, thus disregarding an implication underlying the text of the Old Testament.[47] Since compilational features stem from the composition of the Old Testament books, the compilational intent underlying

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[47] As alluded to above, Dempster extends the idea of the "final form of the text" to include the arrangement of the Old Testament books, thus legitimizing his decision to prioritize a single order. The importance of the "final form" is that it represents the form of the text that was received as canonical by communities holding that text to be Scripture. Thus, although the final form of the text of some Old Testament books likely developed from an original form of the material within it, it is this final form of the material which is emphasized because it is that form which is held to be Scripture. The goal of textual criticism is to establish the "final form" of the text of the Old Testament. See Peter J. Gentry, "The Text of the Old Testament," *JETS* 52 (2009): 19; Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 94–96. For instance, although the original form of Deuteronomy likely did not include Deut 34, those who advocate for a "final form" approach to the Old Testament argue that the interpretation of Deuteronomy should always include Deut 34 because that is the form of Deuteronomy which was accepted as Scripture. In my judgment, the same argument does not work when considering the arrangement of the Old Testament books. The difference is that the compilational features underlying other arrangements of the material are still present even when the arrangement of the books in question do not illustrate the arrangement suggested by these features. We cannot fully explain the text of the Old Testament without considering multiple arrangements of the Old Testament books.

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these features cannot be ignored without ignoring the intent underlying the text of the Old Testament. If, as argued in this dissertation, the compilational features of the Old Testament suggest multiple arrangements of the Old Testament books, then compilational critics cannot prioritize a single arrangement.

Christopher Seitz

Christopher R. Seitz discusses the importance of maintaining the canonical arrangement of the Hebrew Bible in his books *The Goodly Fellowship of the Prophets* and *Prophecy and Hermeneutics*.[48] Seitz understands the arrangement of the Old Testament as a process and identifies the outcome of the process as the church's Scripture. For example, Seitz states, "Consolidation of the Twelve did not happen after the fact in terms of external editing, shuffling, exclusion, and closure but belongs intrinsically to the prophetic accomplishment of the Twelve itself. In the earliest phases we can detect, interest in relating individual witnesses to one another is evident."[49] When Seitz speaks of "consolidation", he is referencing a single, fixed arrangement, and it is this single arrangement which he presents as the church's Scripture.

As is evident in the quote above, Seitz believes the outcome of the canonical process preserves the purposes of the canonical process itself. Since the outcome of the canonical process was a single arrangement of the books, this claim essentially rules out the possibility of multiple arrangements within Seitz's approach to the compilation of the Old Testament. The canonical process evident within the text gave rise to the final canonical form. Any deviation from this final form will only obscure the processes which led to this final form. For example, Seitz states, "Newer work on the Twelve is instrumental in this debate because it shows how integrative were the concerns that

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[48] Christopher R. Seitz, *The Goodly Fellowship of the Prophets*, ASBT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2009). Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics*, STI (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007).

[49] Seitz, *The Goodly Fellowship*, 23.

brought about the accomplishment of this prophetic collection. These are traceable to the beginning of the process and are not additive features from a later period."[50] This statement refers to the formation of the book of the Twelve, and Seitz is addressing the concern that reading the twelve Minor Prophets as a single book will obscure the original intent of these individual works. Seitz, however, is claiming that the association of these twelve prophetic books into the book of the Twelve does not obscure the original message of these texts but is an inherent feature of the texts themselves.

Greg Goswell

Greg Goswell has published an extensive list of articles concerning compilational criticism.[51] His approach to compilational criticism can best be described as reader-oriented. Goswell oscillates, however, between ancient and modern readers. For example, Goswell states, "The positioning of a canonical book relative to other books is by no means value-neutral and reflects a construal of the book by ancient readers. In other words, it preserves evidence of the early history of interpretation of the book."[52] Yet, Goswell also states, "Where a biblical book is placed relative to other books influences, initially at least, a reader's view of the book, raising expectations regarding the contents of the book. A reader naturally assumes that material that is juxtaposed is in some way related in meaning."[53]

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[50] Seitz, *The Goodly Fellowship*, 29.

[51] Three of these articles are mentioned above in n. 7 of this chapter. Goswell has published several other articles related to this topic: Gregory Goswell, "Two Testaments in Parallel: The Influence of the Old Testament on the Structuring of the New Testament Canon," *JETS* 56 (2013): 459–74; Goswell, "Having the Last Say: The End of the OT," *JETS* 58 (2015): 15–30; Goswell, "Assigning the Book of Lamentations a Place in the Canon," *JESOT* 4 (2015): 1–19; Goswell, "The Place of the Book of Acts in Reading the NT," *JETS* 59 (2016): 67–82; Goswell, "Finding a Home for the Letter to the Hebrews," *JETS* 59 (2016): 747–60; Goswell, "The Place of the Book of Esther in the Canon," *TJ* 37 (2016): 155–70; Goswell, "The Canonical Position(s) of the Book of Daniel," *ResQ* 59 (2017): 129–40; Goswell, "Putting the Book of Chronicles in Its Place," *JETS* 60 (2017): 283–99.

[52] Goswell, "Putting Chronicles in Its Place," 283.

[53] Goswell, "The Order of the Hebrew Bible," 673.

Regardless of whether Goswell is describing the effect of order on ancient or modern readers, his reader-oriented approach can be classified as a multiple-arrangement approach. In his articles discussing compilational criticism, Goswell considers all of a book's locations within the various arrangements of the Old Testament and never argues that one location or arrangement should be considered more significant than the rest. In fact, as a reader-oriented phenomenon, one wonders whether there are any limitations in Goswell's approach to compilational criticism.

A key aspect of Goswell's approach is his identification of the Old Testament's compilation as a paratextual feature. According to Goswell, "Paratext may be defined as everything in a text other than the words, that is to say, those elements that are adjoined to the text but are not part of the text itself if the 'text' is limited strictly to the words."[54] Goswell continues,

> Since these elements are adjoined to the text, they have an influence on reading and interpretation. This study proceeds on the assumption that text and paratext (though conceptually differentiated) are for all practical purposes inseparable and have an important interrelationship that influences the reading process.[55]

Again, this emphasis on compilation as paratext demonstrates the multiple-arrangement nature of Goswell's approach. There can be as many arrangements as there can be paratexts, and each arrangement alters the reader's conception of the book.

Although Goswell's approach uses multiple arrangements of the Old Testament books, his approach must be differentiated from the approach argued for in this dissertation due to his classification of compilation as a strictly paratextual phenomenon. This dissertation will argue that in some instances, the compilational features of the biblical text may be traced to the composition of the text itself. That is, the

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[54] Goswell, "The Order of the Hebrew Bible," 673.

[55] Goswell, "The Order of the Hebrew Bible," 673. The most prominent study of paratexts is Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

person or group responsible for the wording of the text intentionally worded the text so that it would fill a specific role within the arrangement of the Old Testament. Goswell, however, explicitly denies this ever happens. According to Goswell,

> In some quarters there is a lack of recognition that the (differing) order of the biblical books is a paratextual phenomenon that cannot be put on the same level as the text itself. Whatever order is adopted as a starting point, it is a reading strategy and must be viewed as such. A prescribed order of reading the biblical books is in effect an interpretation of the text.[56]

In his article on the arrangement of the Greek Old Testament, Goswell states, "Although the ordering of the biblical books is not due to their authors, it does reflect the perceptions of those who compiled the canon(s) of Scripture."[57] Thus, even though Goswell advocates for studying multiple arrangements of the Old Testament canon, his approach to compilational criticism is completely at odds with the approach argued for in this dissertation.

Hendrik Koorevaar

In two articles, Hendrik Koorevaar has argued that the Old Testament was originally compiled to highlight the themes of exile and return, which are present when the Old Testament is arranged in the order given in *Baba Bathra 14b*.[58] In order to make this argument, Koorevaar points to several deficiencies within what he calls the "Torah Model", which is his designation for the claim that the Old Testament canon was arranged to emphasize the theme of Torah. The main feature of his argument is that the arrangement in *Baba Bathra* 14b is more original than the Masoretic arrangement, upon which the Torah Model is based. The issue concerns the grouping of the *Megilloth* within

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[56] Goswell, "The Order of the Hebrew Bible," 677. Goswell gives Dempster as an example of one who fails to recognize that the order of the biblical books is a paratextual phenomenon.

[57] Goswell, "The Order of the Greek Old Testament," 450.

[58] Hendrik J. Koorevaar, "The Torah Model as Original Macrostructure of the Hebrew Canon: A Critical Evaluation," *ZAW* 122 (2010): 64–80 and Koorevaar, "The Exile and Return Model: A Proposal for the Original Macrostructure of the Hebrew Canon," *JETS* 57 (2014): 501–12.

the Masoretic arrangement. According to Koorevaar, this is a later liturgical development that does not preserve the intentions of the original arrangement of the Old Testament.[59] Koorevaar argues that the arrangement of *Baba Bathra* 14b is based on literary concerns and is therefore more original and to be preferred over the Masoretic arrangement. Koorevaar's preference for an original order, which he identifies with *Baba Bathra* 14b, signifies a single-arrangement approach to compilational criticism.

Timothy Stone

Timothy Stone discusses compilational criticism within his monograph *The Compilational History of the Megilloth*. Although his book focuses upon the Megilloth, Stone discusses the compilation of the entire Old Testament. Stone's work contains three major theses, but only the third is essential for the present discussion. According to Stone, "The books in the *Megilloth* are purposefully arranged even if in various (but limited) orders. With the exception of Ruth, the books of the *Megilloth* as found in both the MT and *BB* 14b exhibit a similar logic."[60] Since Stone is considering two different arrangements, he is advocating a multiple-arrangement approach to compilational criticism even though he limits this approach to just two arrangements. Stone argues that these were the only two Jewish arrangements of the Writings prior to the eleventh century C.E.

Stone's multiple-arrangement approach is evident in his discussion of the book of Ruth. According to Stone, "[The multiple places of Ruth] may reveal that the search for an 'original' order—as well as the rejection of the significance of order if there are multiple arrangements—may be misguided."[61] Stone believes the book of Ruth was

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[59] See Koorevaar, "The Torah Model," 78.

[60] Stone, *The Megilloth*, 9.

[61] Stone, *The Megilloth*, 116.

composed to be read between Judges and Samuel in the Prophets section of the Old Testament. At a later time, however, the author of Proverbs concluded his work with the intention that it would be followed by Ruth with the result that Ruth is found within the Writings instead of the Prophets. At a later point in time, Ruth migrated to the beginning of the Writings in front of the Psalter. Stone argues that each shift in Ruth's position reveals a different compilational motive of the authors and compilers responsible for that shift.[62] This discussion reveals Stone's multiple-arrangement approach to compilational criticism. Ruth is found in multiple locations within three arrangements of the Old Testament, and each location is significant for understanding the theological purposes of those responsible for these arrangements.

The tension between Stone's multiple-arrangement approach and Dempster's single-arrangement approach becomes more evident within a book entitled *The Shape of the Writings*. In Dempster's contribution to this volume, he reaffirms his commitment to a single-arrangement approach. In response to Stone's quotation noted above, Dempster writes, "My own analysis would question this conclusion if the canonical process is limited to the period of the closure and arrangement of the canon."[63] Stone likewise reaffirms his commitment to a multiple-arrangement approach in his article. Stone writes, "The reconfiguration of the earliest canonical arrangements, so far as we can track these activities, should give us reason to reject the concept of an original order even as it highlights the importance of analyzing the canonical arrangements."[64] These statements reveal an unresolved and ongoing dispute over how compilational criticism should be pursued. This dissertation will argue that additional Old Testament books occupied different locations within multiple canonical arrangements. The theological purposes of

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[62] See Stone, *The Megilloth*, 118–39.

[63] Dempster, "A Wandering Moabite," 116.

[64] Timothy J. Stone, "The Compilational History of Ruth," in Steinberg and Stone, *The Shape of the Writings*, 183.

these varying arrangements must be understood in order to obtain a complete compilational understanding of these books. Thus, this dissertation will argue in favor of a multiple-arrangement approach to compilational criticism.

Ched Spellman

Ched Spellman discusses compilational criticism within his monograph *Toward a Canon-Conscious Reading of the Bible*. In this work, Spellman demonstrates that the concept of canon is a legitimate hermeneutical control for biblical interpretation. One of the main features of Spellman's argument concerns what he has designated "canon-consciousness". By canon-consciousness, Spellman means that the biblical authors and those who compiled their works were aware of an emerging collection of canonical literature. According to Spellman, "The notion of a stable, authoritative body of literature was in fact a legitimate category of thought during the process of canon formation."[65] This notion of canon-consciousness forms the basis from which Spellman will discuss compilational criticism.

Spellman, who as noted above utilizes the term con-textuality to refer to the concept this dissertation will describe as compilational criticism, distinguishes between what he terms "mere con-textuality" and "meant con-textuality". According to Spellman, "Mere contextuality is the effect that arises in the mind of the reader when writings are seen in relation to other writings." Thus, Spellman's mere con-textuality is synonymous with Goswell's reader-oriented approach to compilational criticism.[66] Spellman further explains that mere con-textuality is unconcerned with how a book came to be associated with its broader canonical context but instead focuses upon the result of that association.

Meant con-textuality, on the other hand, attempts to discern the intentionality

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[65] Spellman, *A Canon-Conscious Reading*, 47.

[66] Spellman's chapter includes a long discussion of Goswell's approach. See Spellman, *A Canon-Conscious Reading*, 113–20.

underlying the arrangement of the Old Testament canon. Spellman's previous discussions of canon-consciousness are essential for establishing the basis for meant con-textuality. According to Spellman, "As discussed (and argued for) in chapters 1 and 2, there is plausible internal and external evidence that those making these associations were following the signposts and guidance of the biblical authors themselves (either directly in person or through their writings). In some cases, at least, the order of reading itself represents an interpretive move."[67]

Spellman does not advocate for the primacy of either mere con-textuality or meant-contextuality. Each has their place within a canon-conscious reading of Scripture. Spellman states,

> On the one hand, a study of contextuality that restricts itself to analyzing the effect that the broader context of the biblical collection has on an individual writing without recourse to intention (i.e. mere contextuality) has been solidly established by the scholars noted above and can bear hermeneutical fruit. On the other hand, the concept of canonical shaping, and canon-consciousness in particular, seems to allow for the possibility of an intended contextuality.[68]

Spellman does not specifically address whether meant con-textuality prioritizes a single arrangement or allows for multiple arrangements to occur. Nevertheless, Spellman's discussions of canon-consciousness, canon as a mental-construct, and meant con-textuality provide some essential categories needed in order for the thesis of this dissertation to be true.

Evaluation

The previous review of scholarship has demonstrated the need for this dissertation. Some of the authors above fail to even acknowledge that there are multiple ancient arrangements of the Old Testament canon. Among those who do acknowledge this issue, the debate concerning how compilational criticism should proceed has barely

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[67] Spellman, *A Canon-Conscious Reading*, 121.

[68] Spellman, *A Canon-Conscious Reading*, 120.

begun.

Dempster and Koorevaar both acknowledge the existence of multiple arrangements of the Old Testament canon but argue that the arrangement of *Baba Bathra* 14b should be preferred for compilational criticism. Both authors argue that the Old Testament books were compiled by a group of editors who slightly altered the Old Testament materials in order to create a cohesive product.[69] They refer to this product as either the original form or final form of the Old Testament canon[70] and argue that the product of this editorial activity is represented by *Baba Bathra* 14b.[71] The determination that *Baba Bathra* 14b is the original arrangement of the Old Testament canon is largely based upon the conclusion that it is a literary arrangement as opposed to a historical or

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[69] Dempster's emphasis on the arrangement found in *Baba Bathra* 14b can be tied to his interest in the debate concerning the development of the Old Testament canon. Dempster argues that the Old Testament canon was an early development (as opposed to a late development), and he presents the thematic symmetry at the seams within *Baba Bathra* 14b as evidence for this case. See Dempster, "A Resolution in the Canon Debate," 47–78; Dempster, "Torah, Torah, Torah: The Emergence of the Tripartite Canon," in *Exploring the Origins of the Bible: Canon Formation in Historical, Literary, and Theological Perspective*, ed. Craig A. Evans and Emanuel Tov, ASBT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 91–104. I believe Dempster is correct to hold to an early development of the Old Testament canon and in his assessment that the arrangement found in *Baba Bathra* 14b shows an early awareness of the Old Testament canon. If this thesis is proven true, it would affirm Dempster's conclusion that the Old Testament canon was fixed at an early date and possibly even extend the development of the Old Testament canon to an even earlier date. Although it is often acknowledged that an early fixed order of the Old Testament would imply an awareness of its books and that its canon was closed (see Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 181), it may be equally significant if multiple arrangements emerged before the text of the Old Testament was finalized. Such a development could be taken as an indication that canonical activity began much earlier and was even more widely spread than would be the case if a single authorized order emerged.

[70] The "original" terminology probably best reflects what these authors are trying to say. Childs frequently referred to the "final" form of the Old Testament books, which he equated with the canonical form. Childs, however, used this terminology in reference to the compositional history of the individual books. The form of the individual books is "final" when the text was stabilized (any changes were due to scribal error or isolated attempts to change the text) and became part of the canonical text. This is clearly not how Dempster and Koorevaar use the term "final" when referencing the arrangement of the Old Testament canon because both authors acknowledge that subsequent arrangements did emerge. The fact that several arrangements of the Old Testament canon developed after what Dempster and Koorevaar refer to as the "final form" should illustrate that the arrangement of the Old Testament books never achieved a "final form" in the manner that the text of the Old Testament did. The only way "final" could accurately describe Dempster and Koorevaar's discussion is if it referred to an order which coincided with the production of the final form of the Old Testament text. But even if this is what they mean, they must admit that "final form" in this instance is primarily describing the text rather than the arrangement of the books.

[71] It should be noted that although *Baba Bathra* provides its own rationale for the order it contains, this rationale is not utilized by these modern defenders of this arrangement. Since this passage in *Baba Bathra* 14b is a baraita, the order given may significantly predate the stated rationale.

liturgical arrangement. Their conclusion on this matter stems from Roger Beckwith and is based mainly on the claim that arrangements which group the *Megilloth* together do so for liturgical reasons.[72] I will address this claim more fully in the next chapter, but to anticipate the conclusion that will be reached by that discussion: there are several legitimate reasons to question whether arrangements which group the *Megilloth* together but begin with Ruth are based upon liturgical criteria. Furthermore, this dissertation will argue that several of the differences between *Baba Bathra* 14b, the Masoretic tradition, and Jerome's list could be literary in nature which would suggest that the Masoretic order and Jerome's order are also literary in nature.

Nevertheless, even if Dempster and Koorevaar are correct to regard the arrangement in *Baba Bathra* 14b as the original arrangement of the entire Old Testament, does this conclusion necessarily deny any prior attempt to arrange either smaller sections of the Old Testament or just several books literarily? If there were prior attempts to arrange some elements of the Old Testament canon and these compilational activities have affected the composition of the Old Testament text, then compilational critics must recognize these arrangements even if these arrangements differ from the earliest arrangement of the entire Old Testament canon. If the thesis of this dissertation is true, then such prior attempts to arrange the Old Testament canon must have occurred, and compilational critics must evaluate multiple arrangements of the Old Testament canon and its books rather than prioritizing any single arrangement, such as found in *Baba Bathra* 14. Some arrangements may prove to be more helpful exegetically or theologically, but no single arrangement of the Old Testament canon can exhaustively present the compilational intentions underlying the Old Testament text.

Goswell, Sailhamer, and Spellman (partly) each argue for a reader-oriented approach to compilational criticism. This reader-oriented method allows for a multiple-

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[72] Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 206–10.

arrangement approach to compilational criticism but sacrifices the historical value of the discipline, especially in Goswell's case. Sailhamer's material addressing compilational criticism demonstrates often enough that he believes there to be some historical element underlying compilational criticism,[73] and Spellman's discussion of compilational criticism encourages both reader-oriented (mere con-textuality) and historical approaches (meant con-textuality). Goswell, on the other hand, rejects any attempt to tie compilational criticism to the composition of the Old Testament text.

I do not wish to "set biblical author against pious reader as hermeneutical competitors,"[74] but reader-oriented approaches to compilational criticism, as advocated by Goswell, are problematic for several reasons. First, if we are discussing modern readers (and I think this is the implication of Goswell's discussions), then what limits are there for how we as modern readers encounter the text? Are we free to rearrange ancient canons in an attempt to create a reading we prefer?[75] Goswell never suggests this and limits his reader-oriented studies to arrangements attested to in antiquity, but this limitation must be based on a historical impulse of some kind. Second, reader-oriented approaches yield uncertain results and must be verified by historical data. If a reader encounters an arrangement of the biblical text which would lead them to a conclusion not intended by the composition of the text, then a reader-oriented approach to compilational criticism would show pitfalls that must be avoided in order to understand the

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[73] For instance, he limits his discussion of the conclusion of the Old Testament to Codex B19a and *Baba Bathra* 14b. See Sailhamer, "Composition of the Hebrew Bible," 34–36.

[74] Goswell, "Putting Chronicles in Its Place," 284. Since readers have a significant role within communication, studies which investigate how readers would receive a written text can be helpful for determining the meaning of a text, but these approaches must be based upon an affirmation that the author's intended meaning is the goal of interpretation.

[75] Lest anyone think this is an unfair critique, it should be remembered that Goswell treats the arrangement of the biblical books as a para-textual phenomenon. Modern readers have affected every other para-textual feature of the biblical text (covers, page quality, font, study notes, etc.). Why should we be restricted from altering the arrangement of the biblical books, if that is just one para-textual element among many? In fact, modern English Bibles do re-arrange the biblical text! The typical English Bible bought today does not reflect any order from antiquity.

compositional intent of the text. If limited strictly to a reader-oriented approach, compilational criticism could possibly be an unhelpful way to study the biblical text. Finally, Goswell rejects the possibility that the compilation of the Old Testament could have influenced the composition of the biblical text. This is why he insists that the arrangement of the biblical books is a para-textual feature, but how does Goswell know that compilational concerns are completely absent from the biblical text? This dissertation will argue that in some instances, the composition of the biblical text reflects compilational concerns.

Stone advocates for a multiple-arrangement approach to compilational criticism. He does not, however, provide extensive support for this conclusion. This dissertation will provide additional support for a multiple-arrangement approach to compilational criticism.

Method

This dissertation will argue that multiple arrangements are needed to account for the compilational features within the Old Testament. Two methodological matters must be established in order for this argument to be made. First, this thesis must propose a method for identifying when the words of an Old Testament book were influenced by how that book was compiled with other Old Testament books. This is a significant claim and demands a level of canon-consciousness on the part of those who composed the text which is often beyond what is assumed to be the case. What features between two or more biblical books would indicate that they were linked compilationally by those responsible for their textual formation? The most extensive discussion concerning how one may identify compilational features within the Old Testament has been done by Timothy Stone. This project will utilize Stone's criteria as a base but modify these criteria with observations from recent discussions of inner-biblical reuse in the Old Testament. These modifications to Stone's criteria will be discussed in chapter 3 and will

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enable the author to examine and draw conclusions from the Old Testament's compilational features while acknowledging that the evidence for some of these features is stronger than others.

Second, in order to make the argument of this dissertation (that multiple arrangements are needed to account for the compilational features within the Old Testament), this thesis will have to show that the text of some Old Testament books has been influenced by more than one arrangement of the Old Testament. This argument will be made by presenting how the Old Testament books have been compiled historically in ancient lists and manuscripts, observing the differences between these compilations, and examining whether these differences preserve compilational features within the books in question. If it can be demonstrated that the text of the Old Testament has been influenced by multiple arrangements, this dissertation's thesis will be demonstrated correct: multiple arrangements of the Old Testament canon are needed to account for all of the compilational features within the text of the Old Testament.

Preview

In this introduction, I have drawn attention to the methodological questions confronting compilational criticism. Several of these questions center around whether compilational criticism prioritizes a single arrangement over the rest of the arrangements emerging from antiquity or whether several of these arrangements offer important insights into the Old Testament and its theological content. I am claiming that the composition of the biblical text demands that compilational criticism examine multiple arrangements of the Old Testament. In chapter 2, I will present the three oldest, Jewish witnesses concerning the arrangement of the Old Testament books: *Baba Bathra* 14b, Jerome, and Codex B19a. These ancient witnesses provide the data utilized in this dissertation. Furthermore, I will question whether these arrangements could have derived from one another based on non-literary criteria. In chapter 3, I will develop the

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methodology I will use to discern whether the text of an Old Testament book was formed with the intention of directing readers how it should be read within a compilation of other Old Testament books. Since this is inherently a subjective endeavor, the method developed will grade potential compilational features on a scale spanning from "certain" to "possible".

In chapter 4, this dissertation will begin the process of evaluating selected divergences between ancient arrangements of the Old Testament (mainly the arrangements discussed in chapter 2) in order to see if these divergences preserve multiple ways of arranging the Old Testament canon at the compositional level of the text. Chapter 4 will examine the placement of Nahum within the book of the Twelve. In the Masoretic tradition, Nahum is preceded by Micah, but in the tradition preserved by the Septuagint, Nahum is preceded by Jonah. Both arrangements are based upon the same compilational logic which indicates that either Micah or Jonah could have proceeded Nahum in ancient arrangements of the Old Testament. Chapter 5 will consider the compilational issues surrounding the book of Ruth. It will argue that the books of Judges and Samuel were linked compositionally in order to form a Judges-Samuel sequence as is found in *Baba Bathra* 14b and the Masoretic tradition. These books, along with the book of Ruth, were also linked compositionally in order to form a Judges-Ruth-Samuel sequence as found in Jerome's list. The book of Ruth also shares compilational features with the book of Proverbs, suggesting a Proverbs-Ruth sequence (as found in the Masoretic tradition), and possibly with the Psalms, suggesting a Ruth-Psalms sequence (as found in *Baba Bathra* 14b). Each of these arrangements preserves the compilational features inherent within these books. Thus, multiple arrangements are needed in order to account for the compilational features in these books. Chapter 6 will consider the books of Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah. It will argue that the book of Chronicles was composed to be placed at the conclusion of the Writings (the third section of the Old Testament) and at the conclusion of the Old Testament as a whole. The book of

Ezra/Nehemiah was composed to be read as a sequel to Chronicles. Both of these arrangements (Chronicles at the end of the Old Testament and Chronicles followed by Ezra/Nehemiah) are needed to account for the compilational intention of these biblical books. Multiple arrangements are needed in order to study these books compilationally.

Chapter 7 will apply the multiple-arrangement approach argued for within chapters 3 through 6 to the macro structure of the Old Testament canon. Since multiple arrangements are needed to study smaller groupings of books in the Old Testament compilationally, multiple arrangements are also needed in order to study the macro structure of the Old Testament compilationally. Multiple arrangements of the Old Testament as a whole are needed in order to study the macro structure of the Old Testament compilationally. This dissertation will conclude in chapter 8 by overviewing the implications of this dissertation for compilational criticism.

The first step needed to complete this study will be to identify ancient compilations of the Old Testament. These compilations will provide the data examined in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation. It is this step which will be undertaken in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

ANCIENT WITNESSES TO THE ORDER
OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

This dissertation is arguing that multiple arrangements of the Old Testament are needed in order to account for all the compilational features evident within the books of the Old Testament. A compilational feature is any element of an Old Testament book which was influenced by how that book was compiled in relation to another Old Testament book or the Old Testament as a whole. Compilational features reveal how those responsible for a book's composition intended for it to be incorporated within the Old Testament. Typically, however, the Old Testament's arrangement has not been determined by its compilational features but by ancient witnesses to its arrangement. These ancient witnesses include both manuscripts containing the printed text of the Old Testament books and also ancient lists containing the names of these books.

Ultimately, if this thesis is correct, it will show that utilizing manuscripts and lists to determine the arrangement of the Old Testament books is problematic because these manuscripts and lists are restricted to a single order. Lists and manuscripts only contain one of the multiple ways in which the Old Testament could be arranged according to its compilational features. Thus, lists and manuscripts are unable to provide a complete explanation of the Old Testament's compilational features and will inevitably omit the implications of some features.

List and manuscript evidence regarding the arrangement of the Old Testament may be analogous to the way maps depict the earth. As two-dimensional representations of three-dimensional objects, maps necessarily distort some aspect of what they intend to represent in order to more accurately depict some other aspect of what they represent. For

example, a Mercator projection map is most useful for nautical and air navigation due to its perpendicular representation of longitude and latitude, but in order to do this, it greatly distorts the areas around the earth's poles. A Mollweide projection map, on the other hand, is able to give an accurate representation of the earth's land masses but distorts the shape of the earth. The type of map chosen depends on what information is needed.

In a similar way, those who were responsible for compiling the books of the Old Testament into linear formats (manuscripts and lists) were able to accurately represent some of the Old Testament's compilational features but distorted others.[1] This does not negate the value of linear arrangements of the Old Testament books so long as the compilational critic acknowledges that a single linear arrangement contains only part of the Old Testament's compilational message. A map's distortion of some features of the earth's surface does not negate the value of maps because different maps serve different functions. In a similar way, different arrangements of the Old Testament canon do not negate the value of studying how the Old Testament has been arranged because different arrangements may serve different functions.

Although lists and manuscripts can only provide a partial presentation of the multiple ways in which the Old Testament could be arranged, this thesis will utilize these ancient witnesses to the Old Testament's arrangement as a starting point in order to identify the Old Testament's compilational features. The benefit of relying upon these ancient witnesses will be the historical verification they provide for the arrangements studied within this dissertation. None of the arrangements studied in chapters 3 through 6 have been reconstructed from inferences based upon a book's proposed compilational features but instead are verifiable from the extant historical data.

This chapter will begin by providing three ancient Jewish witnesses to the

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[1] As defined in the introduction, a linear arrangement/order refers to a sequence of the Old Testament books without duplication.

arrangement of the Old Testament: the Masoretic text, *Baba Bathra* 14b, and a list from Jerome's prologue to his Latin translation of Samuel and Kings. According to Beckwith, these three arrangements are the oldest Jewish witnesses concerning the arrangement of the books within the Old Testament canon.[2] All three arrangements adhere to the Jewish tradition of arranging the Old Testament into a tripartite structure and contain only those books held to be canonical within Judaism.[3] After presenting how these three ancient witnesses arrange the Old Testament, this chapter will examine whether one or more of these arrangements may have been derived from another using the non-literary criteria suggested by Beckwith: Liturgical, Chronological-Author, Chronological-Characters, and Size. It will be determined that these four non-literary criteria are inadequate to show that any of these three arrangements were derived from one another. Even if one or two of these orders were derived from the other, the changes in arrangement must be explained by something besides these four non-literary criteria. This dissertation is proposing that those responsible for compiling these arrangements were guided by the literary features they observed in the Old Testament text, but since these literary features (which may be compilational features but not necessarily) suggest multiple ways in which the Old Testament books could be arranged, each compiler produced a different arrangement.

The Three Ancient Jewish Arrangements of the Old Testament

This section will present the three earliest Jewish arrangements of the Old Testament which will be utilized within this dissertation.[4] Each witness will be briefly

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[2] See Roger T. Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church and Its Background in Early Judaism* (London: SPCK, 1985), 198–211.

[3] The arrangements labeled "Christian" by Beckwith are divided into four parts and contain additional books beyond what was understood to be canonical in ancient Judaism. See Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 182–98.

[4] Although he does not identify the books by names, it is possible to discern an arrangement from Josephus in a statement he makes in *Against Apion* (1.37–38). Beckwith, however, argues that Josephus' statement was directed at a gentile audience and not intended to reflect Jewish tradition. See Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 123–24. The key issue is that Josephus includes all of the narrative

described before its arrangement of the Old Testament is provided within a tripartite framework.

The Masoretic Arrangement

The arrangement of the Masoretic text is contained within its two earliest extant manuscripts: Codex B19a and the Aleppo Codex. The Aleppo Codex dates from the first half of the tenth century.[5] The beginning (Gen 1:1–Deut 28:26) and ending (Song 3:12–Nehemiah) of the codex were destroyed during the anti-Jewish riots in 1947, but the text originally contained the entire Old Testament in the same order as Codex B19a. Codex B19a was copied in AD 1008.[6] Aside from the Dead Sea Scrolls, which give only minimal information concerning the arrangement of the Old Testament books, these two manuscripts represent the earliest arrangement of the Old Testament books that can be

The Pentateuch	The Prophets	The Writings
Genesis	Joshua	Chronicles
Exodus	Judges	Psalms
Leviticus	Samuel	Job
Numbers	Kings	Proverbs
Deuteronomy	Isaiah	Ruth
	Jeremiah	Song of Solomon
	Ezekiel	Ecclesiastes
	The Twelve	Lamentations
		Esther
		Daniel
		Ezra/Nehemiah

Figure 1. The Masoretic arrangement of the Old Testament

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books within the second division of the canon and only includes poetic books within the third division. Thus, this dissertation will not utilize his arrangement of the Old Testament even though it is ancient.

[5] See Ernst Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Biblia Hebraica*, 2nd ed., trans. Erroll F. Rhodes (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 36.

[6] See Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament*, 36–37.

derived from manuscript evidence.[7] Although these Masoretic manuscripts were copied

long after the other two orders discussed in this chapter and manuscripts of the Septuagint

and the Peshitta, they represent the Hebrew Bible which was preserved by the Jews and

reflect primitive Jewish traditions.[8] The arrangement of the Old Testament books in these

manuscripts is given in figure 1.

Baba Bathra **14b**

Baba Bathra 14b is part of the Babylonian Talmud, which was compiled

starting in the third century AD.[9] The Babylonian Talmud reached its present form

between the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century. This particular

passage, however, is a baraita, which is an ancient tradition stemming from an earlier

stage in rabbinic teaching than the rest of the Talmud.[10] *Baba Bathra* 14b states,

> Our Rabbis taught: The order of the Prophets is Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings,
> Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the Twelve Minor Prophets. . . . The order of the
> Hagiographa is Ruth, the Book of Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of
> Songs, Lamentations, Daniel and the Scroll of Esther, Ezra and Chronicles.[11]

Baba Bathra 14b omits any discussion of the Pentateuch, but the absence of a

discussion is a good indication that the author assumed the traditional order of the

Pentateuch.[12] Anything aside from the traditional view would certainly warrant an

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[7] See Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 198.

[8] See Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 198.

[9] See Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 122.

[10] See Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 122. According to Beckwith, baraitas are signaled in the Talmud by the phrase "the rabbans taught," which refers to an earlier authority. This phrase appears in the quotation of *Baba Bathra* 14b above.

[11] Maurice Simon, Israel W. Slotki, and Isidore Epstein, trans., *Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Baba Bathra* (New York: The Soncino Press, 1976). The original text of the quote above is provided in Appendix 1. Beckwith points his readers to two critical editions of the text in Gustaf Hermann Dalman, *Traditio Rabbinorum Veterrima de Librorum Veteris Testamenti Ordine et Origine* (Leipzig: Drescher, 1891), and Raphael Nathan Rabbinovicz, *Variae Lectiones in Mischnam et in Talmud Babylonicum* (Munich: Rosenthal, 1871).

[12] See Hendrik J. Koorevaar, "The Exile and Return Model: A Proposal for the Original Macrostructure of the Hebrew Canon," *JETS* 57 (2014): 502.

explanation. The arrangement of *Baba Bathra* 14b given in figure 2 reflects the order provided by this statement.

The Pentateuch	The Prophets	The Writings
Genesis	Joshua	Ruth
Exodus	Judges	Psalms
Leviticus	Samuel	Job
Numbers	Kings	Proverbs
Deuteronomy	Jeremiah	Ecclesiastes
	Ezekiel	Song of Solomon
	Isaiah	Lamentations
	The Twelve	Daniel
		Esther
		Ezra/Nehemiah
		Chronicles

Figure 2. The Arrangement of the Old Testament in *Baba Bathra* 14b

Jerome's Arrangement

Jerome lived from AD 340-420 He was well known for his biblical scholarship and translations, primarily his Latin translation of the Christian Bible. Although Jerome was a Christian, he valued Jewish traditions and interpretations of the Old Testament. He was one of the few Christian scholars of his day who learned Hebrew, and he utilized Hebrew texts for his Latin translation of the Old Testament.[13] Jerome discusses the arrangement of the Old Testament books in his preface to his Latin translation of Samuel. Jerome states,

> That the Hebrews have twenty-two letters is testified by the Syrian and Chaldæan languages which are nearly related to the Hebrew, for they have twenty-two elementary sounds which are pronounced the same way, but are differently written. The Samaritans also employ just the same number of letters in their copies of the Pentateuch of Moses, and differ only in the shape and outline of the letters. And it is certain that Esdras, the scribe and teacher of the law, after the capture of Jerusalem and the restoration of the temple by Zerubbabel, invented other letters which we now use, although up to that time the Samaritan and Hebrew characters

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[13] See Dennis Brown, "Jerome," in *DMBI*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2007), 565–71.

were the same. In the book of Numbers, also, where we have the census of the Levites and priests, the mystic teaching of Scripture conducts us to the same result. And we find the four-lettered name of the Lord in certain Greek books written to this day in the ancient characters. The thirty-seventh Psalm, moreover, the one hundred and eleventh, the one hundred and twelfth, the one hundred and nineteenth, and the one hundred and forty-fifth, although they are written in different metres, have for their acrostic framework an alphabet of the same number of letters. The Lamentations of Jeremiah, and his Prayer, the Proverbs of Solomon also, towards the end, from the place where we read "Who will find a brave woman?" are instances of the same number of letters forming the division into sections. And, again, five are double letters, viz., *Caph*, *Mem*, *Nun*, *Phe*, *Sade*, for at the beginning and in the middle of words they are written one way, and at the end another way. Whence it happens that, by most people, five of the books are reckoned as double, viz., Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Jeremiah, with *Kinoth*, i.e., his Lamentations. As, then, there are twenty-two elementary characters by means of which we write in Hebrew all we say, and the compass of the human voice is contained within their limits, so we reckon twenty-two books, by which, as by the alphabet of the doctrine of God, a righteous man is instructed in tender infancy, and, as it were, while still at the breast.

The first of these books is called *Bresith*, to which we give the name Genesis. The second, *Elle Smoth*, which bears the name Exodus; the third, *Vaiecra*, that is Leviticus; the fourth, *Vaiedabber*, which we call Numbers; the fifth, *Elle Addabarim*, which is entitled Deuteronomy. These are the five books of Moses, which they properly call *Thorath*, that is law.

The second class is composed of the Prophets, and they begin with *Jesus* the son of Nave, who among them is called Joshua the son of Nun. Next in the series is *Sophtim*, that is the book of Judges; and in the same book they include Ruth, because the events narrated occurred in the days of the Judges. Then comes Samuel, which we call First and Second Kings. The fourth is *Malachim*, that is, Kings, which is contained in the third and fourth volumes of Kings. And it is far better to say *Malachim*, that is Kings, than *Malachoth*, that is Kingdoms. For the author does not describe the Kingdoms of many nations, but that of one people, the people of Israel, which is comprised in the twelve tribes. The fifth is Isaiah, the sixth, Jeremiah, the seventh, Ezekiel, the eighth is the book of the Twelve Prophets, which is called among the Jews *Thare Asra*.

To the third class belong the *Hagiographa*, of which the first book begins with Job, the second with David, whose writings they divide into five parts and comprise in one volume of Psalms; the third is Solomon, in three books, Proverbs, which they call *Parables*, that is *Masaloth*, Ecclesiastes, that is *Coeleth*, the Song of Songs, which they denote by the title *Sir Assirim*; the sixth is Daniel; the seventh, *Dabre Aiamim*, that is, *Words of Days*, which we may more expressively call a chronicle of the whole of the sacred history, the book that amongst us is called First and Second Chronicles; the eighth, Ezra, which itself is likewise divided amongst Greeks and Latins into two books; the ninth is Esther.[14]

Unlike other contemporary Christian lists, Jerome's list is clearly Jewish.

According to Beckwith, "[Jerome], a Hebrew scholar instructed by Palestinian Jews,

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[14] This quotation is taken from W. H. Fremantle, G. Lewis, and W. G. Martley, trans., *The Principal Works of St. Jerome*, vol. 6, *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series*, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 489–90.

The Pentateuch	The Prophets	The Writings
Genesis	Joshua	Job
Exodus	Judges	Psalms
Leviticus	Ruth	Proverbs
Numbers	Samuel	Ecclesiastes
Deuteronomy	Kings	Song of Solomon
	Isaiah	Daniel
	Jeremiah	Chronicles
	Lamentations	Ezra/Nehemiah
	Ezekiel	Esther
	The Twelve	

Figure 3. Jerome's arrangement of the Old Testament

claims to be giving the Jewish canon, in its Jewish divisions, with the books arranged in the Jewish order."[15] Given Jerome's knowledge of the Hebrew language and Jewish traditions, the arrangement given in the quote above is a reliable witness for a Jewish arrangement of the Old Testament canon during the time of Jerome. Jerome's arrangement is given in figure 3.

Is There a Relationship between the Three Ancient Jewish Arrangements?

The question this thesis seeks to answer is, "why are there multiple arrangements of the Old Testament books if their arrangement is significant?" This thesis is proposing that multiple arrangements are needed in order to illustrate all the ways the Old Testament books could be arranged according to the compilational features inherent within them. If this is the case, then the need for multiple arrangements of the Old Testament (such as these the three arrangements presented in this chapter) arose during their compositional phase of some Old Testament books and multiple arrangements show that the arrangement of the Old Testament is more, not less, significant than a single arrangement would.

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[15] Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 198.

Is it possible, however, that the three oldest Jewish arrangements of the Old Testament were derived from one another using non-literary criteria (criteria guided by something apart from the biblical text)? If this were possible, it would not necessarily discredit the thesis of this dissertation but would nevertheless provide an alternative explanation for why multiple arrangements of the Old Testament emerged (it would not stem from the compositional phase of this material). This section, however, will show that this scenario is unlikely.

This section will consider whether any of the three orders given above could have been derived from one another using only non-literary criteria. If one of these orders was derived from another, the criterion used to make the necessary changes made should be identifiable and consistently applied. This section will consider these four non-literary criteria which could have been implemented: Liturgical, Size, Chronological-Author, and Chronological-Characters.[16] The Liturgical criterion stems from the grouping of the five *Megilloth*. Each of these books were associated with and read during one of the five festivals of the Jewish liturgical year.[17] The *Megilloth* are grouped together within the Masoretic arrangement.[18] The Size criterion proposes that books were arranged from largest to smallest. The Chronological-Author criterion proposes that books were arranged by their authors from the earliest to the latest. Of course, this criterion pertains

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[16] Beckwith refers to these criteria within his chapters on the structure of the Old Testament canon and the arrangement of the Old Testament. See Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 162, 209. Although he does not explicitly mention Chronological-Character, he does reference the concept. For example, concerning the Masoretic arrangement, Beckwith states, "Their order for the other books may also be intended to be historical, Chronicles coming first, as beginning with Adam and containing the history of David and Solomon, then Psalms and Proverbs, as works of David and Solomon, then the Megilloth, as containing two more of Solomon's works, and finally the exilic and post-exilic books of Daniel and Ezra–Nehemiah." Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 203. Another possible criterion could be genre, but if factored in, this criterion would not alter the results of the study below. Goswell also provides a list of criteria. See Greg Goswell, "The Order of the Books in the Hebrew Bible," *JETS* 51 (2008): 674–75.

[17] See Bradley C. Gregory, "Megillot and Festivals," in *DOTWPW*, ed. Tremper Longman and Peter Enns (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2008), 457–64.

[18] Although the five *Megilloth* appear together in the Masoretic arrangement, below I will dispute whether the arrangement of these books can actually be classified as a liturgical arrangement. If not, then the Liturgical criterion would be illegitimate.

to who the author was presumed to be by those responsible for these arrangements rather than modern, critical reconstructions. Thus, the Chronological-Author criterion relies upon Talmudic and rabbinical traditions. The Chronological-Characters criterion proposes that books were arranged by the characters within them, from earliest to latest.

As noted above, these proposed criteria must be consistently applied in order to explain how one arrangement was derived from the other. The consistent application of the proposed criterion does not demand that a single criterion explain every change made within an arrangement; Several criteria may be used to explain the changes made to the original arrangement so long as they are applied consistently. The consistent application of a criterion also allows for some changes to contradict the proposed criterion provided that another criterion can be shown to be the primary criterion used to make the changes between the two arrangements being examined. For example, the first examination below questions whether the Masoretic arrangement could have been derived from *Baba Bathra* 14b using these four criteria. In this scenario, moving the book of Isaiah from between Jeremiah and Ezekiel to the beginning of the Latter Prophets before Jeremiah reflects a Chronological-Author criterion, but moving Ruth from the beginning of the Writings before Psalms to between Proverbs and Song of Solomon would contradict a Chronological-Author criterion. Since it was believed that Samuel wrote Ruth and that Hezekiah and his men wrote Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, to move Ruth between Proverbs and Song of Solomon would put a book written by an earlier author (Ruth) after a book written by a later author (Proverbs) and interrupt a sequence of books written by the same author. The criterion needed to explain one of the changes is contradicted by another change (one requires Chronological-Author while the other denies it), but in this case, the application of this criterion is not inconsistent because the movement of Ruth can be explained by the Liturgical criterion which would be the primary criterion used in this scenario (see table 3).

The consistent application of a criterion does require that the proposed

criterion explain all the changes made between two arrangements. Since the hypothesis being examined is whether one of these arrangements could have been derived from another using these four non-literary criteria, then all of the changes must be explained. If a change between two arrangements cannot be explained on the basis of the proposed criteria, then the arrangement cannot have been derived from it based only on these non-literary criteria. The consistent application of a criterion also requires that all possible changes made within an arrangement based on that criterion be made. Otherwise, it is uncertain whether the criterion is a verifiable explanation for the other changes between two arrangements.

The subsections below will examine every possible way the arrangements of *Baba Bathra* 14b, the Masoretic text, and Jerome could have been derived from one another. Each subsection will begin by identifying the changes necessary to arrive at the proposed derived arrangement from the proposed original arrangement. These changes will then be examined to determine whether the criteria discussed above can provide an adequate explanation for them. This procedure will show that the existence of these three arrangements cannot be explained by claiming that they were derived from one another using non-literary criteria.

The Masoretic Arrangement Derived from *Baba Bathra* 14b

In order to arrive at the Masoretic arrangement from *Baba Bathra* 14b, five changes are necessary: (1) Isaiah must move from between Ezekiel and the Twelve to the beginning of the Latter Prophets and before Jeremiah; (2) Ruth must move from the beginning of the Writings before Psalms to between Proverbs and Song of Solomon; (3) Ecclesiastes and Song of Solomon must switch places; (4) Daniel and Esther must switch places; (5) Chronicles must move from the end of the Writings after Ezra-Nehemiah to the beginning of the Writings ahead of Psalms.

Table 2. Changes and criteria required for the Masoretic
arrangement to be derived from *Baba Bathra* 14b

Change	Criteria	Criteria denied
1. Isaiah must move from between Ezekiel and the Twelve to the beginning of the Latter Prophets before Jeremiah	Chronological-Author	Size
2. Ruth must move from the beginning of the Writings before Psalms to between Proverbs and Song of Solomon	Liturgical	Chronological-Author Size
3. Ecclesiastes and Song of Solomon must switch places	Chronological-Author (?)	Size
4. Daniel and Esther must switch places	Liturgical	Chronological-Characters
5. Chronicles must move from the end of the Writings after Ezra-Nehemiah to the beginning of the Writings before the Psalms	Chronological-Characters or Size	Chronological-Author

Changes 2 and 4 are Liturgical because they are needed in order to group the

five books of the Megilloth. This would be the primary criterion for this rearrangement.

Change 5 could be either Chronological-Character (since Chronicles begins with Adam)

or Size (since Chronicles is the largest book in the Old Testament by word count), but

Chronological-Character is needed in order for this reconstruction to be possible because

Size would be inconsistent with change 1. Chronological-Character would be the

secondary criterion for this rearrangement. Change 1 would be Chronological-Author

since Isaiah[19] was written before Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The criterion behind change 3 is

uncertain. It is possible that Ecclesiastes and Song of Solomon were switched based upon

the assumption that Solomon wrote Song of Solomon when he was young and wrote

Ecclesiastes when he was older.[20] This could be construed as Chronological-Author.

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[19] *Baba Bathra* 15a says that Isaiah was written by Hezekiah and his men. Regardless of whether authorship was attributed to these men or to the prophet himself, Chronological-Author still explains the change.

[20] See Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 203.

That the Masoretic arrangement was derived from *Baba Bathra* 14b is possible, but this assertion rests on the identification of the grouping of the *Megilloth* in the Masoretic arrangement as a liturgical arrangement. This explanation of the grouping of these books faces some significant challenges. First, if the arrangement of Ruth, Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, and Esther in the Masoretic arrangement is liturgically based, why does this arrangement in the Masoretic text not follow the order of the Jewish liturgical calendar?[21] The Jewish liturgical calendar began with Passover and the reading of Song of Solomon, not Pentecost and the reading of Ruth. Furthermore, the Ninth of Av and the reading of Lamentations comes before the festival of Tabernacles and the reading of Ecclesiastes in the Jewish liturgical calendar. Since the arrangement of these books does not follow the order in which they would have been read within the Jewish liturgical calendar, it is questionable whether the Masoretic arrangement of these books was based on their roles within Jewish liturgy. The claim requires that these books were grouped based upon their role within Jewish liturgy but also that this grouping stopped short of arranging the books according to their role within the Jewish liturgical calendar. Since the hypothesis that the Masoretic arrangement was derived from *Baba Bathra* 14b requires books to be moved into the grouping (Ruth and Esther) and within the grouping (Song of Solomon and Ecclesiastes), there is no reason these books could not have been arranged based upon the order they would have appeared in the Jewish liturgical calendar, if that was the purpose of the grouping. Furthermore, although it is possible that the arrangement of Song of Solomon and Ecclesiastes in the Masoretic arrangement was based on Solomon's age, it is questionable how obvious or important this would have been to someone rearranging *Baba Bathra* 14b based upon the use of these books within Jewish liturgy, which was identified as the primary criterion for this

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[21] Stone also notes this difficulty in his discussion of this issue. See Timothy J. Stone, *The Compilational History of the Megilloth*, FAT 59 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 105–10.

hypothesis. The logic would require that the books be grouped because of their role within the Jewish liturgical festivals but ordered by Chronological-Author.[22] While this is possible, since the primary criterion needed to transition from *Baba Bathra* 14b to the Masoretic arrangement was Liturgical, it is difficult to understand why the primary criterion would not have also been used to arrange the books into the order of the Jewish liturgical calendar, as was the case in later Jewish arrangements.[23]

Second, the grouping of Ruth, Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, and Esther in the Masoretic arrangement may predate the association of some of these books with their liturgical feast. The earliest undisputed reference to the use of Ecclesiastes during the Festival of Tabernacles is in the eleventh century when it appears in the services of Ashkenazic Jews.[24] This is around one hundred years after the Aleppo codex was copied. Although occurring prior to the Aleppo codex, the association between several of the other books and their liturgical feast does not substantially predate the Aleppo codex. The first mention of Lamentations in relation to the Ninth of Av occurs in the eighth century.[25] The first explicit mention of the public, liturgical reading of Ruth during Pentecost occurs in the eighth century, though there are earlier references to the private reading of the book during the festival.[26] Would the Massoretes have adapted their arrangement based upon such a recent development?[27] Of course, the liturgical use

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[22] This is what Beckwith argues. He states, "The Tiberian massoretes still observed chronology as far as they could, and arranged the Megilloth in the historical order Ruth–Song of Songs–Ecclesiastes–Lamentations–Esther, and not in the calendrical order Song of Songs–Ruth–Lamentations–Ecclesiastes–Esther, which is adopted in some later manuscripts." Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 203.

[23] For a list of orders grouping and arranging the *Megilloth* according to their use in Jewish liturgy, see Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 459–64.

[24] See Gregory, "Megillot and Festivals," 462.

[25] See Gregory, "Megillot and Festivals," 461.

[26] See Gregory, "Megillot and Festivals," 460.

[27] Beckwith acknowledges this difficulty but nevertheless concludes that they must have. Beckwith states, "By the tenth century, however, when the work of the Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali massoretes reached its climax, Ecclesiastes also had *evidently* come into liturgical use in Palestine, so that the five Megilloth could now be grouped together as a liturgical unity [emphasis mine]." Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 203. He later states, "Even at Tiberias, a liturgical order cannot have been adopted

of these books can (and probably did) occur prior to the first explicit reference to their liturgical use,[28] but given the antiquity of the Masoretic text, it is likely that the Masoretic arrangement also predates the Aleppo codex. If the grouping of these books in the Masoretic arrangement predates their liturgical function, then the arrangement cannot be explained by the role of these books in Jewish liturgy.

If the liturgical explanation for the Masoretic arrangement is denied, then there is little to support the idea that the Masoretic arrangement stems from *Baba Bathra* 14b. The resulting criteria for the movement of the books would be inconsistent.

Jerome Derived from *Baba Bathra* 14b

In order to arrive at Jerome's arrangement from *Baba Bathra* 14b, six changes are necessary: (1) Ruth must move from the beginning of the Writings before Psalms to between Judges and Samuel; (2) Isaiah must move from between Ezekiel and the Twelve to the beginning of the Latter Prophets before Jeremiah; (3) Lamentations must move from between Song of Solomon and Ecclesiastes to between Jeremiah and Ezekiel; (4) Job and Psalms must switch places; (5) Chronicles must move from the end of the Writings after Ezra-Nehemiah to between Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah; (6) Esther must move from between Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah to the end of the Writings after Ezra-Nehemiah.

Change 1 can be explained by an attempt to arrange the books chronologically according to their characters. Ruth 1:1 identifies the setting of the book with the period narrated in the book of Judges, which precedes Ruth in this order. Changes 2, 3, and 4 can be explained by an attempt to arrange the books chronologically according to their

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much before the tenth century, since in mid eighth-century Palestine only four of the Megilloth were as yet in liturgical use." Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 210.

[28] Stone overviews several discussions concerning when these books were associated liturgically with their festival. See Stone, *The Megilloth*, 106–9.

Table 3. Changes and criteria required for Jerome to be derived from *Baba Bathra* 14b

Change	Criteria	Criteria denied
1. Ruth must move from the beginning of the Writings before Psalms to between Judges and Samuel.	Chronological-Characters	
2. Isaiah must move from between Ezekiel and the Twelve to the beginning of the Latter Prophets before Jeremiah.	Chronological-Author	Size
3. Lamentations must move from between Song of Solomon and Daniel to between Jeremiah and Ezekiel.	Chronological-Author	
4. Job and Psalms must switch places.	Chronological-Author	Size
5. Chronicles must move from the end of the Writings after Ezra-Nehemiah to between Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah.		Chronological-Characters
6. Esther must move from between Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah to the end of the Writings after Ezra-Nehemiah.		Chronological-Characters Chronological-Author

authors. Jerome links Lamentations to the prophet Jeremiah in his statement quoted

above. The Talmud identifies Moses as the author of Job.[29] If Jerome's arrangement is

relying on this tradition and rearranging *Baba Bathra* 14b chronologically by author, then

this would explain why Job and Psalms was transposed.

Changes 5 and 6 are problematic for this hypothesis. Chronicles and

Ezra/Nehemiah are already grouped together according to author within *Baba Bathra*

14b, so something else must explain why Chronicles moved before Ezra-Nehemiah. This

change could easily be explained by an attempt to arrange these books by Chronological-

Character, but this then creates a problem for the Daniel-Chronicles sequence since most

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[29] See Roland Kenneth Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), 1022.

of the characters within Chronicles would predate the characters of Daniel. If Chronicles was moved in order to arrange these books chronologically according to their characters, then why was Chronicles placed after Daniel instead of before? The answer could be that the Chronological-Author principle was the primary criterion behind Jerome's arrangement, but this creates a further problem because change 6 denies Chronological-Author and Chronological-Character. Esther's characters lived during the reign of the Persian king Xerxes, who ruled from 486 BC to 465 BC.[30] This would place them chronologically between the characters in Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah. There are two traditions concerning the authorship of Esther. Josephus and some rabbis held that Mordecai was the author of the book.[31] According to *Baba Bathra* 15a, Esther stems from the men of the Great Synagogue,[32] who were also responsible for the book of Daniel. Neither authorship option allows for Jerome's arrangement to have arranged Esther chronologically according to the book's author. If Mordecai was understood to have been the author, Esther should have been placed before Chronicles (if Chronicles was written by Ezra and/or Nehemiah, as is stated in *Baba Bathra* 15a).[33] If both Esther and Daniel stem from the Great Synagogue, as claimed in *Baba Bathra* 15a, then Esther should have been placed alongside Daniel. If the goal of Jerome's arrangement was to arrange these books chronologically according to their authors, then Esther would not have moved from its location in *Baba Bathra* 14b.

Based on the four non-literary criteria established above, Jerome's order could

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[30] See Karen H. Jobes, "Esther 1: Book of," in Longman and Enns, *DOTWPW*, 160–61.

[31] Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 1088.

[32] The identity and nature of the "Great Synagogue" is disputed. See Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 277. Harrison cites an article by Abraham Kuenen, who argues "strongly [convincingly?]" that the Great Synagogue may be identified with the gathering in Ezra 8:1. See Abraham Kuenen, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Biblischen Wissenschaft*, ed. Karl Ferdinand Reinhard Budde (Freiburg, Germany: J. C. B. Mohr, 1894), 161.

[33] See Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 1169.

not have been derived from *Baba Bathra* 14b. Although some of the changes could be described by the Chronological-Character and Chronological-Author criteria, these criteria cannot consistently explain all of the changes necessary for Jerome's order to have been derived from *Baba Bathra* 14b.

Baba Bathra 14b Derived from the Masoretic Arrangement

In order to arrive at the arrangement in *Baba Bathra* 14b from the Masoretic arrangement, five changes are necessary: (1) Isaiah must move from the beginning of the Latter Prophets before Jeremiah to between Ezekiel and the book of the Twelve; (2) Ruth must move from between Proverbs and Song of Solomon to the beginning of the Writings before Psalms; (3) Ecclesiastes and Song of Solomon must switch places; (4) Esther and Daniel must switch places; (5) Chronicles must move from the beginning of the Writings before Psalms to the end after Ezra-Nehemiah.

Table 4. Changes and criteria required for the arrangement of *Baba Bathra* 14b to have been derived from Masoretic arrangement

Change	Criteria	Criteria denied
1. Isaiah must move from the beginning of the Latter Prophets before Jeremiah to between Ezekiel and the book of the Twelve	Size	Chronological-Author
2. Ruth must move from between Proverbs and Song of Solomon to the beginning of the Writings before Psalms.	Chronological-Author	Size
3. Ecclesiastes and Song of Solomon must switch places.	Size	
4. Esther and Daniel must switch places.	Size Chronological-Character	
5. Chronicles must move from the beginning of the Writings before Psalms to the end after Ezra-Nehemiah.	Chronological-Author	Size Chronological-Character

Changes 1, 3, and possibly 4 can be explained by size. Change 4 could also be explained by Chronological-Character. Changes 2 and 5 can be explained by Chronological-Author. The Talmud claims that Ruth was written by Samuel which explains why Ruth was placed before Psalms (Psalms could easily be understood to have been written by David).[34] Chronicles is frequently understood to have been written by Ezra within rabbinic traditions and therefore could be placed with Ezra-Nehemiah.

Based on the four criteria used in these discussions, the hypothesis that *Baba Bathra* 14b is derived from the Masoretic arrangement is implausible because none of the criteria required to make these changes can be shown to be the primary criterion guiding these changes. Chronological author is needed to explain changes 2 and 5 but is ruled out by change 1. Size is needed to explain changes 1 and 3 but is ruled out by 2 and 5. Chronological-Character could explain change 4 but is ruled out by change 5. None of the proposed criteria can consistently explain the changes needed for *Baba Bathra* 14b to have derived from the Masoretic arrangement.

Jerome Derived from the Masoretic Arrangement

In order to arrive at Jerome's arrangement from the Masoretic arrangement, six changes are necessary: (1) Ruth must move from between Proverbs and Song of Solomon to between Judges and Samuel; (2) Lamentations must move from between Ecclesiastes and Esther to between Jeremiah and Ezekiel; (3) Job must move from between Psalms and Proverbs to the beginning of the Writings before Psalms. (4) Ecclesiastes and Song of Solomon must switch places; (5) Esther must move from between Lamentations and Daniel to the end of the Writings after Ezra-Nehemiah; (6) Chronicles must move from the beginning of the Writings before Psalms to between Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah.

Changes 1 and 6 can be explained by Chronological-Character. Changes 2, 3,

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[34] See Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 1059.

and 6 can be explained by Chronological-author. Again, this is based on the traditions that Moses wrote Job, Jeremiah wrote Lamentations, and Ezra wrote Chronicles. Change 4 can be explained by size.

Table 5. Changes and criteria required for the arrangement
of Jerome to be derived from Masoretic arrangement

Change	Criteria	Criteria denied
1. Ruth must move from between Proverbs and Song of Solomon to between Judges and Samuel.	Chronological-Characters	
2. Lamentations must move from between Ecclesiastes and Esther to between Jeremiah and Ezekiel.	Chronological-Author	
3. Job must move from between Psalms and Proverbs to the beginning of the Writings before Psalms.	Chronological-Author	Size
4. Ecclesiastes and Song of Solomon must switch places.	Size	
5. Esther must move from between Lamentations and Daniel to the end of the Writings after Ezra-Nehemiah.		Size Chronological-Character Chronological-Author
6. Chronicles must move from the beginning of the writings before Psalms to between Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah.	Chronological-Author Chronological-Characters	Size

Esther's location at the conclusion of Jerome's arrangement is again problematic, as it was for the hypothesis that Jerome's order stemmed from *Baba Bathra* 14b. As in that case, Esther's location at the conclusion of Jerome's arrangement cannot be explained by the four criteria proposed above. Furthermore, since several of the proposed changes (3, 5, and 6) would indicate that size was not a factor in Jerome's arrangement, it seems unlikely that change 4 could be explained by this criterion. Since none of these four criteria can consistently explain the changes Jerome's arrangement

would have needed to make to the Masoretic arrangement, it is unlikely that Jerome's arrangement stems from the Masoretic arrangement based on non-literary criteria.

Baba Bathra 14b Derived from Jerome's Arrangement

In order to arrive at the arrangement in *Baba Bathra* 14b from Jerome's arrangement, six changes are necessary: (1) Isaiah must shift from the beginning of the Latter Prophets before Jeremiah to between Ezekiel and the Twelve; (2) Ruth must move from between Judges and Samuel to the beginning of the Writings before Psalms; (3) Job and Psalms must switch places; (4) Lamentations must move from between Jeremiah and Ezekiel to between Song of Solomon and Daniel; (5) Esther must move from the end of the Writings after Ezra-Nehemiah to between Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah; (6) Chronicles

Table 6. Changes and criteria required for the arrangement
of *Baba Bathra* 14b to be derived from Jerome

Shift	Criteria	Criteria denied
1. Isaiah must shift from the beginning of the Latter Prophets before Jeremiah to between Ezekiel and the Twelve.	Size	Chronological-Author
2. Ruth must move from between Judges and Samuel to the beginning of the Writings before Psalms.	Chronological-Author	Size
3. Job and Psalms must switch places.	Size	Chronological-Author (?)
4. Lamentations must move from between Jeremiah and Ezekiel to between Song of Solomon and Daniel.		Size
5. Esther must move from the end of the Writings after Ezra-Nehemiah to between Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah.		Chronological-Character Size
6. Chronicles must move from between Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah to the end of the Writings after Ezra-Nehemiah.		Size Chronological-Character

must move from between Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah to the end of the Writings after Ezra-Nehemiah.

That *Baba Bathra* 14b was derived from Jerome's order is implausible. Several of the changes needed follow none of the proposed criteria. Size could explain changes 1 and 3 but is denied by changes 2, 4, 5, and 6. Chronological-Author could explain change 2 (provided that Samuel is understood to have written Ruth and David is credited with writing the Psalms) but is denied by change 1.

The Masoretic Arrangement Derived
from Jerome's Arrangement

In order to arrive at the Masoretic arrangement from Jerome's arrangement, six changes are necessary: (1) Chronicles must move from between Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah to the beginning of the Writings before Psalms; (2) Job and Psalms must switch places; (3) Ruth must move from between Judges and Samuel to between Proverbs and Song of Solomon; (4) Song of Solomon and Ecclesiastes must switch places; (5) Lamentations must move from between Jeremiah and Ezekiel to between Ecclesiastes and Esther; (6) Esther must move from the end of the Writings after Ezra-Nehemiah to between Lamentations and Daniel.

Changes 1 and 2 can be explained by Size. Changes 3, 5, and 6 can be explained by Liturgical. Changes 4 and 6 could be explained by Chronological-Author if it were concerned with Solomon's age when he wrote these books (as noted above). The hypothesis that the Masoretic arrangement was derived from Jerome's order ultimately depends on whether the Masoretic arrangement can be adequately described as liturgical. As discussed above, the claim that the Masoretic arrangement prioritizes grouping the Megilloth together for liturgical purposes is problematic. Even apart from this difficulty, this hypothesis has several difficulties. Size is required to explain changes 1 and 2 but would be negated by change 4. Chronological-Author would explain change 4 but would be negated by change 1, 2, 3 (disrupts the grouping of Solomon's writings), and 5.

Table 7. Changes and criteria required for the Masoretic
arrangement to be derived from Jerome's order

Shift	Criteria	Criteria denied
1. Chronicles must move from between Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah to the beginning of the Writings before Psalms.	Size Chronological-Character (?)	Chronological-Author
2. Job and Psalms must switch places.	Size	Chronological-Author (?)
3. Ruth must move from between Judges and Samuel to between Proverbs and Song of Solomon.	Liturgical	Chronological-Author
4. Song of Solomon and Ecclesiastes must switch places.	Chronological-Author (?)	Size
5. Lamentations must move from between Jeremiah and Ezekiel to between Ecclesiastes and Esther.	Liturgical	Size Chronological-Author
6. Esther must move from the end of the Writings after Ezra-Nehemiah to between Lamentations and Daniel.	Liturgical Chronological-Author	Size Chronological-Character

Final Evaluation

The previous discussion considered whether any of the three Jewish arrangements identified earlier within this chapter could have been derived from another based on the following four non-literary criteria: Liturgical, Size, Chronological-Author, Chronological-Character. If it could be shown that at least two of these arrangements were derived from an original arrangement, then the thesis of this dissertation, that multiple arrangements are needed to account for the Old Testament's compilational features, would be unnecessary. The three arrangements of the Old Testament studied in this dissertation could be attributed to one of them being an original arrangement and the other two being subsequent arrangements derived from the original arrangement based on non-literary changes made by later compilers. The examination above concluded, however, that the four proposed non-literary criteria were insufficient to show that any of these arrangements were derived from one another. These three arrangements cannot be

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explained with the hypothesis that they were derived from one another using non-literary changes. The emergence of these three arrangements warrants another explanation. This conclusion is not denying that these arrangements could have been derived from one another. It is only stating that if this was the case, the explanation for these changes must be due to something more than the non-literary criteria offered above. This dissertation is proposing that the differences between the arrangements of the Masoretic tradition, *Baba Bathra* 14b, and Jerome stem from literary features inherent with the Old Testament text. A single arrangement was unable to express all the literary implications suggested by the text of the Old Testament books.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented arrangements stemming from the Masoretic tradition, *Baba Bathra* 14b, and Jerome. These three arrangements are the oldest witnesses concerning the arrangement of the entire Old Testament. Each arrangement follows a tripartite structure. The traditional groupings of Law, Prophets, and Writings are easily recognizable. Although *Baba Bathra* 14b does not discuss the arrangement of the Pentateuch, there is little reason to doubt that it followed that traditional order. The order of the book of the Twelve can only be determined from the Masoretic arrangement; *Baba Bathra* 14b does not offer enough evidence to determine the arrangement of all twelve prophets, and Jerome merely references the book of the Twelve prophets as a whole.

After presenting these three ancient arrangements of the Old Testament, this chapter considered whether or not they could have been derived from one another based on the non-literary explanations of Size, Chronological-Author, Chronological-Character, or Liturgical. It was determined that these four non-literary explanations were insufficient to account for the emergence of these three arrangements. One or more of these arrangements may have been derived from another, but the changes needed to arrive at

one arrangement from another warrant explanations beyond the four proposed non-literary explanations. This dissertation will argue that many of the differences between these arrangements stem from the compilational features within the books of the Old Testament.

CHAPTER 3

A METHOD FOR DISCERNING WHEN COMPILATION
INFLUENCED COMPOSITION

This dissertation is arguing that compilational criticism must consider multiple arrangements of the Old Testament because the composition of some Old Testament books was influenced by more than one arrangement. A single arrangement of the Old Testament books is unable to account for all the ways in which the composition of these biblical books was influenced by their compilation with other Old Testament books within an emerging Old Testament canon. But how can a compilational critic discern when the composition of a biblical text has been influenced by its compilation?

Such a claim is difficult to establish for at least two reasons. The first reason is related to the nature of compilational criticism itself. Compilational criticism acknowledges the integrity of the final form of the Old Testament books and at the same time acknowledges that these books have been compiled into a cohesive whole. Thus, compilational critics can recognize the book of Isaiah and also recognize that Isaiah is part of a larger compilation of prophetic books, often referred to as the Latter Prophets, which is part of the Old Testament. The compilation of the Old Testament does not completely absolve the integrity of its books. Since the integrity of the Old Testament books is recognized even though they are part of a larger compilation (the Old Testament), it is difficult to claim that the composition of an Old Testament book has been influenced by how it was compiled with other Old Testament books. This claim would necessitate the presence of an emerging Old Testament canon,[1] which influenced

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[1] This is why the concept of canon-consciousness is foundational for this discussion. See Ched Spellman, *Toward a Canon-Conscious Reading of the Bible: Exploring the History and Hermeneutics of*

the composition of some Old Testament books.[2]

To illustrate this difficulty, consider a jigsaw puzzle in which each piece not only contained a portion of a larger picture but also contained a complete picture by itself. How could someone looking an individual piece be convinced that they should also consider how that piece may contribute to a larger picture when each of the pieces are properly aligned? For a jigsaw puzzle, this may actually be quite easy. It would need to be demonstrated that the various pieces form a larger picture when they are properly aligned. That is precisely what would need to happen for literary texts as well and what is claimed when an arrangement of the Old Testament books is described as "literary".

The second reason it is difficult to claim that a text's compilation has influenced its composition concerns how to distinguish this possibility from its opposite counterpart: A text's composition may influence how it is compiled with other books. How could one discern when a compilation represents the work of a later compiler who worked with the texts as he received them versus when the person (or persons) responsible for the composition of a text was influenced by how he wanted that text to function within a larger corpus? Again, to illustrate this difficulty, consider a jigsaw puzzle in which each piece contained a portion of a larger picture and a complete picture by itself. How could it be shown that the larger picture influenced the smaller individual pictures? The best evidence would be to show that some detail or intricacy of the smaller piece is unlikely if it were not part of the larger project.

This chapter establishes a method for identifying the Old Testament's compilational features (or when a book's composition was influenced by its compilation).

the Canon, NTM 34 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2014).

[2] The possibility that later editors altered the Old Testament texts so that they would form a more cohesive whole when compiled together greatly alleviates the difficulties of this claim, however. Any alterations made are encompassed in the composition of these books. As noted in the introduction, the composition of the final form of the Old Testament books does not have to be limited to the concept of an original author.

If, as this thesis argues, some literary features may be traced to the compositional stage of some Old Testament texts and are not just the best efforts of later compilers, then there should be some indications of this compilational intent within these texts. Whoever was responsible for the composition and compilation of the Old Testament books being examined would want others to be aware of their compilational intentions. At the same time, however, a text's compilation was unlikely to ever have been the main priority for its composition, and thus there may have been some limitations to how well the composer of a text could make his compilational intentions clear. Furthermore, the composer of a later text would also be limited by the text(s) to which he is attempting to relate his own text compilationally, unless he alter those texts too. Any set of criteria must enable the compilational critic to account for such variables. A text's compilational features may not always be as clear as the person(s) who composed the text would have wanted or intended.

In order to provide these criteria, this chapter will begin by examining the criteria proposed by Timothy Stone, who has produced the most extensive discussion on what such a set of criteria may look like. After presenting Stone's criteria, this chapter will then evaluate and critique Stone's criteria. Finally, this chapter will present an adaptation of Stone's criteria to be utilized within this work.

Stone's Criteria

Stone develops his compilational criteria from previous studies discussing compilational criticism and studies which could be considered analogous to compilational criticism. These analogous studies include those examining the compilation of the Psalter, the compilation of the book of the Twelve, and studies discussing inner-biblical interpretation.[3] The compilation of the Psalter offers a unique comparison to the

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[3] What this dissertation calls "inner-biblical interpretation" sometimes coincides with the term "inter-textuality."

compilation of the Old Testament because the Psalter is a compilation of separate texts which have been compiled into a larger, meaningful whole. In addition to the Psalter, the book of the Twelve has also been proposed as an intentional compilation of individual books. Studies of inner-biblical interpretation are also relevant because compilational criticism could be considered a subset of this field. Inner-biblical interpretation seeks to determine an interpretive relationship between two texts. The meaning of one or both texts depends upon understanding this relationship. Compilational criticism merely extends this approach to claim that the textual relationship suggests reading these texts within a particular arrangement.

Criterion 1: Catchwords

Stone's first criterion for compilational criticism is the use of catchwords or catchphrases at the seams of contiguous books.[4] This refers to the repetition of words and phrases across the ending and beginning of juxtaposed books. The specific example he gives for this phenomenon is the phrase, "YHWH roars from Zion and raises his voice from Jerusalem," which appears in Joel 4:16 and Amos 1:2. The repetition of this phrase occurs within seven verses in the Masoretic arrangement but across two books.

Nogalski has used catchwords to argue for a purposeful compilation of the book of the Twelve.[5] Table 8 illustrates the use of catchphrases uniting and organizing the book of the Twelve as indicated by Nogalski. Nogalski's catchword scheme has been heavily criticized, in particular by Ehud Ben Zvi. For instance, Ben Zvi notes that Nogalski's catchword phenomenon relies upon commonly used words and that these words are not used in a contextually similar way.[6] According to Ben Zvi, "These

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[4] Timothy J. Stone, *The Compilational History of the Megilloth*, FAT 59 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 33.

[5] James D. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 217 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993), 21–57.

[6] See Ehud Ben Zvi, "Twelve Prophetic Books or 'The Twelve': A Few Preliminary Considerations," in *Forming Prophetic Literature*, ed. James W. Watts and Paul R. House, JSOTSup 235

Table 8. Nogalski's catchword analysis for the book of the Twelve

Catchwords at the conclusion of the first book in the sequence	Catchwords at the beginning of the second book in the sequence
Hosea 14:5–10	Joel 1:1–12
Joel 4:1–21	Amos 1:1–2:16
Amos 9:1–15	Obadiah 1–10
Obadiah 15–21	Micah 1:1–7
Obadiah 11–14, 15b	Jonah 1:1–8
Jonah 2:2–10	Micah 1:1–7
Micah 7:8–20	Nahum 1:1–8
Nahum 3:1–19	Habakkuk 1:1–17
Habakkuk 3:1–19	Zephaniah 1:1–18
Zephaniah 3:18–20	Haggai 1:1–4
Haggai 2:20–23	Zechariah 1:1–11
Zechariah 8:9–23	Malachi 1:1–14

observations and especially any interpretation of them that points to a unified understanding of the Twelve are based on a pre-ordinate conception of the unity of the Twelve."[7] For the purposes of this chapter, however, whether or not Nogalski's catchword scheme is valid is unimportant. What is important is that Nogalski and even his detractors recognize that the presence of catchwords would indicate that the compilation of these books has influenced their composition. Even Ben Zvi begins his criticisms of Nogalski by stating, "It seems that catchwords linking together subsequent books are perhaps the potentially most helpful feature that may indicate conscious editorial processes."[8] If the presence of catchwords would suffice as evidence demonstrating that the compilation of the book of the Twelve has influenced the composition of the books within it, then the presence of catchwords could also indicate the same kind of activity within the Old Testament canon.[9]

(Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 139–42. In addition to Ben Zvi's criticisms, see Paul L. Redditt, "Recent Research on the Book of the Twelve as One Book," *CurBS* 9 (2001): 53–54, and Barry Alan Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, SBLDS 149 (Atlanta: Scholars Press,1995), 38.

[7] Ben Zvi, "Twelve Prophetic Books," 142.

[8] Ben Zvi, "Twelve Prophetic Books or 'The Twelve'," 139.

[9] Stone remarks, "Nevertheless, Nogalski has successfully demonstrated that catchwords' *location* at the *beginning* or *end* of contiguous books in the MT, not merely their presence at any point in adjacent books or across the collection, vitally supports the conscious compilation of the Twelve [emphasis

Some scholars have noted the use of catchwords for organizing the Psalter. According to Erich Zenger, "The deliberate combination of psalms by means of keywords (concatenation) which are recognizable above all by reference to the opening or ending of consecutive psalms offers a subtle connection by association and meaning which the reflective reader may further deepen."[10] Howard has noted that Psalms 94 and 95 are united by the catchword "rock" in 94:22 ("Rock of my refuge") and 95:1 ("Rock of our salvation").[11]

Before moving forward to discuss other criteria, it should be acknowledged that some of these criteria will be more useful for discerning certain types of compilations than others. Catchwords and catchphrases are the most significant criterion for determining an intentional sequencing of two or more biblical books. Whereas thematic linkages (which will be discussed below) between books may be more subjective, the appearance of catchwords and catchphrases would indicate a specific attempt to sequence the material in question. Catchwords and catchphrases are less useful for identifying an intentional collection of books or the intentional placement of a book within a collection. Unless the catchwords and catchphrases extend throughout the collection, such as Nogalski argues for the book of the Twelve above, these phenomena would be unable to identify these compilations. For example, even if catchwords and catchphrases could demonstrate that A and B were intended to be read sequentially and C and D were intended to be read sequentially, without linkages between B and C or D and A, catchwords would not be able to indicate that A, B, C, and D belong to the same group, (if these books were in the same collection) indicate whether A or C began the collection,

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original]." Stone, The Megilloth, 21. Concerning the necessity of these words appearing at the "beginning or end of contiguous books," see below.

[10] Erich Zenger, "New Approaches to the Study of the Psalms," *PIBA* 17 (1994): 43.

[11] David M. Howard Jr., *The Structure of Psalms 93–100*, Biblical and Judaic Studies 5 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 175.

or whether B or D concluded the collection (A+B+C+D or C+D+A+B).

Criterion 2: Framing Devices

Stone's second criterion for compilational criticism is the use of framing devices such as an *inclusio*.[12] An *inclusio* frames a poem or prose passage by repeating words or phrases from its opening lines at the conclusion.[13] The use of an inclusio provides a unity and finality to a discourse, book, or, in the case of compilational criticism, a series of books.[14] Stone gives Hosea 1–3 and Malachi as an example of an inclusio. Only these places within the book of the Twelve focus upon God's love for Israel.[15]

There have been no framing devices suggested for the book of the Twelve aside from the Hosea 1–3 and Malachi framing device noted by Stone and Watts mentioned above.[16] Since the book of the Twelve is a single collection, there is only one opportunity for a framing device to be used, unless it could be demonstrated that the whole is made up of smaller segments. The Psalter, however, is made up of several collections and contains far more opportunities for framing devices to appear than the book of the Twelve. For example, David Howard has suggested that Psalm 95 and 100 share many lexical correspondences and themes and that these psalms form an inclusio

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[12] Stone, *The Megilloth*, 33.

[13] William W. Klein, Craig Blomberg, and Robert L. Hubbard, *Introduction to Biblical Interpretation* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2004), 303. *Inclusios* are among the most widely recognized literary devices within the ancient world, including the Bible. Mark Edward Taylor, for example, argues that each section of the New Testament letter James, as well as the letter as a whole, is demarcated by *inclusios*. See Mark Edward Taylor, *A Text-Linguistic Investigation into the Discourse Structure of James*, LNTS 311 (New York: T&T Clark International, 2006), 45–58.

[14] See Tremper Longman III, "Inclusio," in *DOTWPW*, ed. Tremper Longman and Peter Enns (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2008), 323.

[15] This argument stems from John D. W. Watts, "A Frame for the Book of the Twelve: Hosea 1–3 and Malachi," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, ed. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, SBLSymS 15 (Atlanta: The Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 209–17.

[16] Jakob Wöhrle discusses a framing device based on reuse of Exod 34 for a proposed earlier version of the book of the Twelve without Hosea. See Jakob Wöhrle, "A Prophetic Reflection on Divine Forgiveness: The Integration of the Book of Jonah into the Book of the Twelve," *JHS* 9 (2009): 11.

around Psalms 96–99, a group which focuses on the kingship of YHWH.[17] Gerald Wilson has suggested that the entire Psalter exhibits a double wisdom-royal covenant frame.[18] Psalm 2 is the first "royal psalm" and contrasts the nations rebelling against YHWH with the blessed people who take refuge in YHWH (Ps 2:12). Psalm 144, having been placed towards the end of book V, is the final "royal psalm". This psalm begins by exalting YHWH as the psalmist's refuge (Ps 144:1–3) and concludes by proclaiming how blessed are the people whose God is YHWH (Ps 144:15). Psalm 1 is a "wisdom psalm" and introduces the reader of the Psalter to the "two ways" which can be found throughout the book: the way of the righteous and the way of the wicked. Psalm 1:6 presents these two ways as antithetical by stating, "For the Lord knows the way of the righteous, but the way of the wicked will perish." This same antithetical description appears in Psalm 145:20 which states, "The Lord preserves all who love him, but all the wicked he will destroy." According to Wilson, these verses compose the outer frame or *inclusio* encompassing the entire psalter.[19] Derek E. Wittman has claimed that Psalms 2 and 149 form an inclusio around the Psalter through their portrayal of God as a royal figure and through their unflattering portrayal of foreign nations.[20] Again, for the purposes of this chapter, the validity of any of these claims is irrelevant. The matter of importance is that all of these authors recognize that framing devices can be used as a compilational tool. Since this is true for the compilation of the book of the Twelve and the Psalter, framing devices would also suggest the purposeful compilation of the whole Old Testament.

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[17] See Howard, *The Structure of Psalms 93–100*, 176.

[18] See Gerald H. Wilson, "Shaping the Psalter: A Consideration of Editorial Linkage in the Book of Psalms," in *The Shape and Shaping of the Psalter*, ed. J. Clinton McCann, JSOTSup 159 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 80–81. Wilson's observation treats Pss 146–150 as a concluding praise which extends beyond the framing device he notes.

[19] See Wilson, "Shaping the Psalter," 80–81.

[20] Derek E. Wittman, "Let Us Cast Off Their Ropes from Us: The Editorial Significance of the Portrayal of Foreign Nations in Psalms 2 and 149," in *The Shape and Shaping of the Book of Psalms: The Current State of Scholarship*, ed. Nancy L. deClaissé-Walford, SBLAIL 20 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), 53–69.

By its nature, an inclusio will clearly illustrate an intentional collection and an intentional placement of the first and last books of that collection. Since this feature only pertains to the first and last books within a collection, an inclusio cannot be used to indicate intentional contiguous sequencing.

Criterion 3: Superscriptions

Stone's third criterion for compilational criticism is the use of superscriptions. The repetition of a superscription or of a specific element of more complex superscriptions can indicate the conscious forming of a collection. For example, Psalms 3–41[21] contain "of David" within their superscriptions, indicating an intentional Davidic collection known as "Book 1" in the Psalter.

Superscriptions are typically believed to be a redactional attempt at compilation. The idea is that a later compiler has added words to the beginning of a work in an attempt to form the unity required for a collection. John D. W. Watts has argued that the superscriptions within the book of the Twelve reveal multiple redactional layers within the compilation of the Twelve.[22] That is to say, some of the books within the Twelve previously formed smaller collections and were joined through the implementation of similar superscriptions. When these smaller works were combined with others to form the book of the Twelve, the redactor often simply added another superscription upon the superscription already present. As with Nogalski's catchword scheme for the book of the Twelve noted above, the validity of Watts' study is irrelevant

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[21] Except for Pss 10 and 33, which contain no superscriptions at all. Many scholars believe the absence of superscriptions for these psalms indicates they were once part of the psalms preceding them. See Peter C. Craigie and Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 1–50*, WBC, vol. 19, 2nd ed. (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2005), 116, 270. Whether or not these Psalms were once part of their preceding psalms, Davidic superscriptions are so pervasive within this section of the Psalter that the absence of this superscription for only two Psalms provides little warrant for questioning whether Pss 3–41 was a Davidic collection. That Ps 33 has a Davidic superscription in the Old Greek traditions and at Qumran (4QPs) reinforces this conclusion.

[22] See John D. W. Watts, "Superscriptions and Incipits in the Book of the Twelve," in Nogalski and Sweeney, *The Book of the Twelve*, 110–24. Ben Zvi, however, examines these titles and concludes that nothing sets them apart from the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel.

for this present study. What is key for this study is that Watts recognizes the compilational nature of superscriptions.

Gerald Wilson, among others, has noted that the superscriptions of the Psalms often form collections based on authorship.[23] In addition to the Davidic collection noted in Psalms 3–41 above, the superscriptions identify additional Davidic collections from Psalms 51–65 and 68–70. The superscriptions of Psalms 42–49 indicate a collection attributed to the sons of Korah. The superscriptions of Psalms 73–83 reveal a collection authored by Asaph.

Concerning compilational criticism, superscriptions may only indicate intentional collections. The presence of superscriptions alone is insufficient to indicate an intentional placement of a book or to identify intentional contiguous sequencing.

Criterion 4: Thematic Continuation

Stone's fourth criterion for compilational criticism is the continuation of a specific theme in a similar manner or in a reversed manner across contiguous books.[24] Stone gives the "Day of the Lord" theme within the book of the Twelve as an example of this criterion. Stone states, "[The Day of the Lord's] *prominence* and *comprehensiveness* across most of the collection, contrasting with the rest of the canon generally and the three Major Prophets particularly, reveal the distinctive thematic coherence it provides for the entire collection."[25]

Thematic continuity is one of the main factors convincing many scholars to advocate for reading the book of the Twelve as a collection. Nogalski has noted the reoccurring "judgment through locusts" theme within several of the books within the

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[23] See Gerald H. Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, SBLDS 76 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985), 155.

[24] Stone, *The Megilloth*, 33.

[25] Stone, *The Megilloth*, 22.

Twelve.[26] Van Leeuwen has claimed that the use of Exodus 34:6–7 serves as a sort of wisdom theme that appears at key hermeneutical junctures within the book of the Twelve for the purposes of shaping "this prophetic scroll into a theological whole."[27] As mentioned above, Stone, as well as most authors writing on the Twelve, references the reoccurrence of a "day of the Lord" theme, but others have noted particular, reoccurring features of this broad theme. For instance, Rolf Rendtorff has noted that several of the books contain a "repentance and salvation complex" in the face of the "day of the Lord".[28] These particular thematic threads indicate that the book of the Twelve was an intentional collection of biblical books.

Several scholars have noted thematic organization within the Psalter, indicating purposeful compilation activity. Wilson states "The present arrangement is the result of purposeful editorial activity, and [this] purpose can be discerned by careful and exhaustive analysis of the linguistic and thematic relationships between individual psalms and groups of psalms."[29] J. Clinton McCann has claimed that the themes of lament and hope are repeatedly juxtaposed throughout Book III of the Psalter and across several Psalms.[30] John Walton has claimed that the five "books" comprising the Psalter each focus upon a specific theme.[31] For example, Walton believes that Book I of the Psalter contains psalms related to the theme of David's conflict with Saul. Again, the validity of

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[26] See James D. Nogalski, "Intertextuality and the Twelve," in Watts and House, *Forming Prophetic Literature*, 116–18.

[27] Raymond C. Van Leeuwen, "Scribal Wisdom and Theodicy in the Book of the Twelve," in *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie*, ed. Leo G. Perdue, Bernard Brandon Scott, and William Johnston Wiseman (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 32.

[28] See Rolf Rendtorff, "How to Read the Book of the Twelve as a Theological Unity," in Nogalski and Sweeney, *The Book of the Twelve*, 75–87.

[29] Gerald H. Wilson, "Understanding the Purposeful Arrangement of Psalms in the Psalter: Pitfalls and Promise," in McCann, *Shape and Shaping*, 48.

[30] See J. Clinton McCann, "Books I–III and the Editorial Purpose of the Hebrew Psalter," in McCann, *Shape and Shaping*, 93–107. The specifics of McCann's claim can be observed within table 2 in his essay.

[31] See John H. Walton, "Psalms: A Cantata about the Davidic Covenant," *JETS* 34 (1991): 24.

any of these studies is not the key issue for developing a methodology for compilational criticism. Wilson is highly critical of Walton's article.[32] The key issue for establishing a methodology for compilational criticism is that these authors all agree that thematic unity across juxtaposed works indicates intentional compilation of those works.

According to Stone, thematic unity and continuation is sufficient to demonstrate the presence of an intentional collection and may, though not necessarily, ensure a particular order within a collection.[33] For example, the appearance of a theme throughout a collection could indicate an intentional collection but the individual texts could occupy any place within that collection. Thus, in order to ensure a particular order through thematic unity, the theme must be unique to the two texts in question or the compilational critic must demonstrate that the texts in question utilize the theme in a unique way.

Evaluating Compositional Criteria

Stone has provided four helpful criteria for determining when a text's compilation with other Old Testament books has influenced its composition. His decision to apply principles used on compilations (the Psalms and the book of the Twelve) analogous to his particular project (the *Megilloth*) is well reasoned. It is possible, however, that limiting his investigation of compilational criticism to the Psalms and the book of the Twelve could omit some indicators of when a text's compilation has influenced its composition. Is it possible that additional compilational criteria could emerge if narrative texts were taken into consideration? Unlike the Major Prophets, which contain narrative sections and often embed prophetic oracles within a narrative frame, the book of the Twelve contains very little narrative. Stone's examination of

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[32] See Wilson, "The Purposeful Arrangement of Psalms," 43–45.

[33] See Stone, *The Megilloth*, 33.

similar compositions covers only one text which incorporates narrative extensively: Jonah. Thus, Stone's examination is dominated by poetic texts and does not consider what indications narrative texts could contain suggesting that a text's compilation has influenced its composition.

Narrative texts (especially the historical narratives found within the Old Testament), however, would seem to provide a more natural and perhaps even obvious venue within which compilational criticism could occur. Unlike the poetic and prophetic texts studied by Stone, narratives contain literary elements such as plot, characters, and setting which may be easily continued beyond a single text. In some sense, historical narratives are unable to provide a certain conclusion and demand to be continued by subsequent authors. Poetic texts do not offer the same inherent features.

For a modern example, in C. S. Lewis' *Chronicles of Narnia*, *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe* introduces the Pevensie children and the land of Narnia. This first book is a self-contained unit in that it brings its plot to a conclusion. The White Witch is defeated and the Pevensie children reign as kings and queens in Narnia before eventually finding their way back home. In a later novel, *The Magician's Nephew*, Lewis provides a prequel to his initial book which introduces the White Witch and describes the creation of Narnia. Even though *The Magician's Nephew* contains a complete plot, Lewis also creates a larger story. We cannot fully understand the significance of *The Magician's Nephew* without understanding it within the larger story concluded by *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe*. Subsequent books in the series continue with the same characters (though adding and subtracting certain characters throughout), in the same setting, and form a larger plotline than can be appreciated by reading any one of the books on its own. Lewis achieves the compilational unity of this series through the use of characters, setting, and plot, yet Stone's approach does not provide any criteria for evaluating how these narrative elements may be utilized by compilational critics.

In addition to neglecting narrative texts, Stone intends for his criteria to

identify instances of compilational activity within the Old Testament texts with certainty. His aim for certainty produces strict criteria. For example, concerning thematic continuity, Stone claims that themes must be prominent and comprehensive across most of the books in order to establish the presence of a collection.[34] Furthermore, Stone claims that this theme must not be prominent elsewhere in Scripture. For example, although the theme of judgment is prominent and comprehensive within the book of the Twelve, it is also prominent and comprehensive within other Old Testament books, most importantly the three Major Prophets, and would not be reason enough to claim that the book of the Twelve is an intentional collection. The literary description of judgment as "the day of the Lord", however, is unique enough to the book of the Twelve to make this claim. Concerning the formation of an inclusio or framing device, Stone demands that whatever element used to establish the inclusio (i.e. the appearance of a theme or the repetition of a phrase) only appear at the beginning and end of the compilation in question. Stone states, "These themes' location at the *beginning* and *end* of the collection and nowhere else — *not their mere presence at any point in the collection* — demonstrate collection consciousness."[35] Concerning catchwords, Stone demands that catchwords appear within the ending and beginning of consecutive works. Stone, referencing Nogalski, states, "[A] catchword's *location* at the *beginning* or *end* of contiguous books in the MT, not merely their presence at any point in adjacent books or across the collection vitally supports the conscious compilation."[36] Thus, for three of Stone's four criteria for compilational criticism, Stone is looking for very specific and exclusive features.

Stone's methodological approach mirrors recent trends within the discussion of

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[34] See Stone, *The Megilloth*, 21.

[35] Stone, *The Megilloth*, 22.

[36] Stone, *The Megilloth*, 21. Stone is referencing Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 12–57.

inner-biblical interpretation among Old Testament scholars. Some scholars have established very strict criteria for identifying instances of reuse of earlier biblical material by later biblical authors in order to remove as much subjectivity as possible. For example, Michael Fishbane has written, "There are instances where apparent verbal echoes of early texts in late sources may not constitute a *traditum-traditio* dynamic but rather point to a shared stream of linguistic tradition. In such cases, a common *Wortfeld* provides a thesaurus of terms and images shared and differently employed by distinct—though occasionally allied—literary circles."[37] Thus, according to Fishbane, the repetition of similar words would not necessarily constitute an instance of inner-biblical reuse because it is possible that the words in question stem from formulaic expressions which were available and frequently used by many writers. Richard Schultz agrees, adding "Given the fact that many if not most verbal parallels *could* have resulted from coincidental correspondence due to similarity of subject and the constraints of Hebrew (and Semitic) idiom, to assume accessibility on the *basis* of verbal parallels is a questionable procedure."[38] Thus, Fishbane and Schultz have demonstrated that simple verbal correspondence is insufficient evidence for establishing instances of inner-biblical reuse for at least two reasons: shared literary traditions and coincidence.

Other authors have arrived at these same conclusions. Lyle Eslinger, commenting on Jeremiah's use of Deuteronomy, says, "At the very least an argument beyond vocabulary parallels would be needed, since these are nicely accounted for by a theory of a common source (or tradition)."[39] Benjamin D. Sommer, in an article

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[37] Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 288. "*Traditum*" and "*Traditio*" are words Fishbane utilizes to refer to specific types of reuse. Fishbane, who holds to higher critical views of the dating of the Old Testament material, does not claim that the Prophets uses the Pentateuch because the Pentateuch was written later. Rather, the prophets are reusing an underlying tradition from which the Pentateuch was composed.

[38] Richard L. Schultz, *The Search for Quotation: Verbal Parallels in the Prophets*, JSOTSup 180 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 110.

[39] Lyle Eslinger, "Inner-Biblical Exegesis and Inner-Biblical Allusion: The Question of

critiquing Eslinger, states "One can account for similarities between two texts in many ways; parallels need not always lead to the conclusion that one author used another."[40] Later, Sommer states, "If two texts share vocabulary items that are commonplace in Biblical Hebrew, the parallel between them is most likely coincidental. If they share terms that often appear together in biblical or ancient Near Eastern texts, then there is a strong likelihood that they independently draw on traditional vocabulary clusters."[41] Robert L. Hubbard states, "In many of Fishbane's examples, the only connection between source and later text is shared vocabulary. The problem is that such recurrences may just as easily be explained as accidental or simply the use of common terminology on a given subject rather than as scribal exegesis per se."[42]

What evidence may establish inner-biblical reuse? Schultz, who is speaking specifically of quotation,[43] proposes that inner-biblical reuse be established by both verbal and syntactical correspondence and contextual awareness. By "verbal and syntactical correspondence", Schultz means that quotations will contain the same words with the same relationship to one another. The correspondence does not need to be exact. Schultz posits that there should be an inverse relationship between the length of the quotation and the correspondence. That is, shorter quotations require more exact verbal and syntactical correspondence whereas longer quotations require less.[44] This criterion

Category," *VT* 42 (1992): 55.

[40] Benjamin D. Sommer, "Exegesis, Allusion and Intertextuality in the Hebrew Bible: A Response to Lyle Eslinger," *VT* 46 (1996): 483.

[41] Sommer, "Exegesis, Allusion and Intertextuality," 484.

[42] Robert L. Hubbard, "Reading through the Rearview Mirror: Inner-Biblical Exegesis and the New Testament," in *Doing Theology for the Church: Essays in Honor of Klyne Snodgrass*, ed. Rebekah A. Eklund and John E. Phelan Jr. (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2014), 126–27.

[43] Schultz identifies three types of inner-biblical reuse: "verbal parallel," "verbal dependence," and "quotation." According to Schultz, "The first simply implies verbal correspondence, the second implies a determined direction of borrowing, and the third a conscious, purposeful reuse." Schultz, *The Search for Quotation*, 222.

[44] See Schultz, *The Search for Quotation*, 223.

demonstrates that verbal parallels consisting of common terms stem from intentional reuse rather than by chance. By "contextual awareness", Schultz means that the context of the quotation must show awareness of the context of the original source. This criterion distinguishes quotations from formulaic, idiomatic, and proverbial parallels, all of which would not constitute intentional reuse.[45]

The goal of these interpreters is to remove subjectivity and chance from the process of identifying instances of inner-biblical reuse. If a proposed instance of inner-biblical reuse can be explained by other factors, then the interpreter cannot be certain that the biblical author intended to reuse an earlier portion of Scripture.

The quest for methodological rigor and certainty by the authors above should be applauded, yet if these authors fail to distinguish between how an ancient author may have utilized a previous text and how we may know that the author has utilized a previous text, their efforts may inadvertently obscure the biblical author's message. For instance, one of the common objections of those seeking methodological certainty is that the appearance of common words is insufficient to establish inner-biblical reuse. This assessment is certainly correct, but the failure to establish inner-biblical reuse with certainty in these instances is insufficient to exclude the possibility that the author in question intentionally reused a previous biblical text which consisted of common words. In the search for certainty and methodological precision, we cannot assume that the biblical authors restricted themselves to the use of rare terms and expressions when intentionally utilizing a previous biblical text.[46] Likewise, if the author only intended for

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[45] See Schultz, *The Search for Quotation*, 224.

[46] Michael R. Stead acknowledges this when he poses the following question: "Why should we assume that, when the author of Zech 1–8 wanted to make an allusion, he limited himself to "rare" expressions?" Michael R. Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, LHBOTS 506 (New York: T & T Clark, 2009), 30. Stead continues, "It seems to me that much recent work on intertextuality has been shaped by the capabilities (or lack thereof) of our computer-based concordance software." Whereas Stead is specifically concerned with computer software, his objection is equally relevant to the distinction drawn above between our ability to recognize inner-biblical reuse with certainty and how a biblical author may have chosen to utilize previous Scripture within his work.

a thematic parallel, we cannot assume that he would have made use of the original

context. The question of certainty cannot completely eclipse the question of what a

biblical author intended.

Michael Stead illustrates the above point with the following parable:

> A father enters his son's room, to find the son on his hands and knees under the window. The son explains that he is searching for a coin that he dropped. The father joins in the search, but finds nothing. Eventually, he asks the son "Are you sure it fell here?" The son replies, "No, it rolled under my bed, but the light is better here."[47]

This parable nicely illustrates that if we limit our investigations of inner-

biblical reuse to instances that can be proven with certainty, we will exclude every

instance that fails to meet the criteria needed to establish certainty. Just as the coins under

the bed are worth no less than the coins in the light, these instances of inner-biblical reuse

are no less real and no less essential to understanding the author's point just because we

lack the evidence needed to establish them with certainty.[48] Sailhamer notes similarly,

"If, however, there is an authorially intended inter-textuality, then it stands to reason that

some loss of meaning occurs when one fails to view the text in terms of it."[49]

As noted above, Stone's discussion of methodological criteria for determining

when a book's compilation has influenced its composition shares an affinity with the

discussions concerning the methodology of inner-biblical reuse. Stone has established

very strict criteria in order to prove instances of intentional compilational activity within

the text of the Old Testament. As with those who attempt to remove subjectivity when

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[47] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah*, *1–8*, 30.

[48] Although the analogy established above may seem to break down quickly in that the boy knows that he has dropped the coin versus we cannot be certain that an author has elected to reuse earlier Scripture, every instance in which we can establish inner-biblical reuse with certainty gives us reason to believe that less certain instances are valid as well. That is, the more examples of inner-biblical reuse we can establish with certainty, the more likely it is that there are additional instances that cannot be established with certainty.

[49] John H. Sailhamer, *Introduction to Old Testament Theology: A Canonical Approach* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995), 213.

identifying instances of inner-biblical reuse, Stone's efforts are admirable, yet if we fail to distinguish between our ability to prove instances of intentional compilation activity within the text and how those responsible for the composition of the Old Testament texts may have compiled their works with one another, we risk obscuring the text's meaning by failing to see the intentional compilation between the two texts.

Towards a Methodological Solution
for Compilational Criticism

The above discussion has argued that the criteria needed to prove the presence of compilational features within the Old Testament books could possibly exclude legitimate compilational features. Since the goal of this chapter is to develop a method for recognizing the Old Testament's compilational features, a set of criteria which could exclude legitimate compilational features will not suffice. Both concerns are warranted when developing a method for identifying the Old Testament's compilational features. A method is needed which will allow compilational critics to recognize and limit the often-subjective nature of these discussions but also provide enough freedom to investigate how those responsible for the composition of the Old Testament books may have allowed their compilational intentions to influence their text.

Again, discussions of inner-biblical reuse may provide a way forward by way of analogy. Recognizing the similar dilemma within discussions of inner-biblical reuse, some scholars have proposed schematics which allow for the recognition of potential instances of inner-biblical reuse and while at the same time evaluating what level of certainty interpreters may have concerning the legitimacy of these instances.

Risto Nurmela, in his book *Prophets in Dialogue*, has devised a schematic by which he grades potential instances of inner-biblical reuse on a scale consisting of "sure", "probable", and "possible". Nurmela states,

> The main rule adopted here is, however, that the classification *sure* requires at least three instances of exclusive verbal similarity, verbal, thematic or synonymic similarity, or reversing a message of judgement in another Old Testament book. The

classification *probable* requires two instances, whereas one single instance indicates a *possible* allusion [emphasis mine].[50]

Nurmela's approach recognizes that while any one strand of evidence may be insufficient to demonstrate an instance of inner-biblical reuse, several strands of evidence can create a more convincing argument. This approach is certainly relevant for compilational criticism. If there are numerous textual indications that a compilation may have been intended, the cumulative effect is a higher probability that one or both works were composed to be read in relation to the other. This consideration does not appear in Stone's methodological discussion.

Derek Bass presents a similar approach to evaluating quotations and allusions within Hosea.[51] When discussing quotations, Bass ranks the probability of an authentic quotation based upon the presence of verbal and syntactical correspondence and the level of contextual awareness, which is the key element distinguishing intentional quotation from "fortuitous language parallels." Bass provides a table entitled "A gradation for analysis of quotation in Hosea" which is replicated in table 9.[52]

Table 9. Bass's gradation for the analysis of quotation

Quotation	Verbal and Syntactical Correspondence	+ Contextual Awareness
Definite	Yes	Significant (i.e., strong thematic and/or structural links)
Probable	Yes	Slight (i.e., some thematic or structural links)
Verbal Parallels	Yes	None

When discussing allusion, Bass ranks the probability of an authentic allusion

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[50] Risto Nurmela, *Prophets in Dialogue: Inner–Biblical Allusions in Zechariah 1–8 and 9–14* (Turku, Finland: Åbo Akademi University Press, 1996), 34. Nurmela continues to say that the presence of three and two instances of these phenomenon do not automatically indicate an allusion.

[51] See Derek Drummond Bass, "Hosea's Use of Scripture: An Analysis of His Hermeneutics" (PhD diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2008), 97–103.

[52] See Bass, "Hosea's Use of Scripture," 98.

based upon the presence of several types of linguistic correspondence and the level of contextual awareness, which is again the key element distinguishing authentic allusions. Bass provides a table entitled "A gradation for analysis of allusion in Hosea", which has been replicated in table 10.[53]

Table 10. Bass's gradation for the analysis of allusion

Allusion	Linguistic Correspondence	+Contextual Awareness
Definite	1. Rare Vocabulary	Significant thematic and/or structural links
	2. Clustered Vocabulary	Significant thematic and/or structural links
	3. Literary Prominence	Significant thematic and/or structural links
	4. Common Vocabulary	Significant thematic and structural links
Probable	1. Common Vocabulary	Significant thematic and/or structural links
	2. Numbers 1, 2, or 3 (above)	Slight contextual awareness
	3. Synonymous Language	Significant thematic and structural links
Inconclusive	1. Common Vocabulary	Slight contextual awareness

Bass's approach to the analysis of quotation and allusion provides freedom to investigate potential examples of quotation and allusion while recognizing that some of these instances are more certain than others. Again, this consideration is absent from Stone's methodological discussion.

A Methodological Proposal for Compilational Criticism

This section will utilize Stone's criteria and the insights drawn from Nurmela and Bass noted above in order to establish a schematic for evaluating whether a text's compilation has influenced its composition. Stone's criteria identified three types of compilational relationships: (1) an intentional sequence of books (sequencing), (2) an intentional placement of one book within a larger group of books (locative), and (3) an intentional grouping of books (associative). The discussions below will provide schematics for evaluating textual features which may indicate each of these three

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[53] See Bass, "Hosea's Use of Scripture," 101.

relationships. Each discussion will also include an example from a well-established

compilational arrangement in order to illustrate the compilational principle at work.

Identifying and Evaluating Sequencing
Compilational Features

A sequential arrangement of books may be indicated by the use of catchwords,

thematic similarities, and narrative continuation.

Catchwords. Catchwords may be employed to indicate an intentional

sequencing of two books. Three factors should be considered when evaluating

catchwords as a possible compilational feature. First, rarer terms provide more certainty

of an intentional compilational feature than common terms do. The appearance of a rare

term to indicate an intentional sequence is less likely to be incidental than the appearance

of a common term. Second, the use of a catchword cluster or phrase would provide more

certainty of an intentional compilational feature than an isolated term since the use of

multiple catchwords is less likely to be incidental. Third, the appearance of either of these

two features near the juxtaposition (the ending of one book and the beginning of the

other) of both books is a more certain indication that the sequencing of the works has

influenced their composition than their appearance at the juxtaposition of just one of the

books.[54]

Table 11. A schematic for the analysis of catchwords as a compilational feature

Analysis	Criteria
Probable indication of a sequencing compilational feature	(1) The use of a rare term
	(2) The use of cluster or phrase
	(3) The appearance of catchwords near the seam of both books
Possible indication of a sequencing compilational feature	(1) The use of a common term
	(2) The use of a single term
	(3) The appearance of catchwords near the seam of just one book

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[54] This is the key criterion when evaluating catchwords and themes as potential indicators of an intentional sequence between two books. If the first two features do not appear at the seam when the two books in question are sequenced, then there would be little reason to believe that the connection between them was intended to create a sequence as opposed to being a generic instance of inner-biblical reuse.

The books of Joshua and Judges have been sequenced through the use of catchwords which have influenced the composition of these works. The most obvious occasion of this compilational feature is Judges 2:8–9 which quotes Joshua 24:29–30.

Table 12. A catchphrase between Joshua and Judges

Joshua 24:29–30	Judges 2:8–9
ויהי אחרי הדברים האלה וימת יהושע בן־נון עבד יהוה בן־מאה ועשר שנים ויקברו אותו בגבול נחלתו בתמנת־חרס בהר־אפרים מצפון להר־געש:	וימת יהושע בן־נון עבד יהוה בן־מאה ועשר שנים ויקברו אותו בגבול נחלתו בתמנת חרס בהר אפרים מצפון להר־געש
After these things Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of the LORD, died, being 110 years old. And they buried him in his own inheritance at Timnath-serah, which is in the hill country of Ephraim, north of the mountain of Gaash.	And Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of the LORD, died at the age of 110 years. And they buried him within the boundaries of his inheritance in Timnath-heres, in the hill country of Ephraim, north of the mountain of Gaash.

With only minor changes in spelling[55] and syntax, these books have been linked sequentially with this quotation, which functions as a catchphrase between the two books. (2) The number of terms in the quotation would indicate that this is certainly a quotation and fulfill the second requirement listed above. (3) Since this quotation occurs at Judges 2:8–9, it could certainly be closer to the seam of the two books. Since, however, Judges is a relatively long book (21 chaps) and Judges 2:8–9 appears only forty-four verses into the book (there are 618 total verses in Judges), this quotation is positioned towards the beginning of the book which would be the seam created with Joshua. Since Joshua 24:29–30 appears only three verses from the end of Joshua, only forty-seven verses separate these two books when they are sequenced. Thus, even though it would be more certain if this quotation were nearer to the beginning of Judges, this quotation is a

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[55] According to Block, the difference between סרח and חרס is merely a correction in spelling. See Daniel I. Block, *Judges, Ruth*, NAC, vol. 6 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1999), 121.

probable attempt to sequence these two books.[56]

In addition to the extended quote above, these books are linked by the
repetition of a number of smaller quotes related to the Israelite conquest.

Table 13. Quotations shared between the Joshua and Judges conquest narrative

Joshua 15:13–14	Judges 1:10–15
Joshua 15:63	Judges 1:21
Joshua 15:63	Judges 1:29
Joshua 17:12–13	Judges 1:27–28

These quotations function as catchwords between the two books.[57] The
purpose of this sequence is not just to continue the story beginning in Joshua and carried
over from the Pentateuch, even though the sequence certainly does do that. According to
Gros Louis and Van Antwerpen, "Repetitions and echoes, words and phrases, characters
and action all form links that connect and unify the two books, that point us to common
and contrasting attributes of individual leaders and to the nature of the Israelite
community."[58] Thus, by linking these books sequentially, the reader is invited to evaluate
Israel's leadership during the time of Judges with what was seen in the Pentateuch and
Joshua.[59]

Narrative continuation. The continuation of a narrative may also indicate an
intentional sequencing of biblical books on the part of those who composed them. Three

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[56] None of the words used within this quotation are unique except for the place names. גַעַשׁ for
instance, is used only two other times outside of the two locations under consideration and one of these two
additional times appears to be a quotation of the other (2 Sam 23:30; 1 Chr 11:32).

[57] See the statement of David M. Gunn, "Joshua Judges," in *The Literary Guide to the Bible*,
ed. Robert Alter and Frank Kermode (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 103.

[58] Kenneth R. R. Gros Louis and Willard Van Antwerpen, Jr., "Joshua and Judges," in *A
Complete Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. Leland Ryken and Tremper Longman III (Grand Rapids:
Zondervan, 1993), 139.

[59] The LXX of Joshua contains an addition anticipating the Israel's apostasy as contained in
story of Judges. This addition affirms the conclusion that these books were intended to be arranged
sequentially.

factors should be considered when evaluating narrative continuation as a possible compilational feature. First, the continuation of the same plot between two books with little or no overlap would provide a better indication of an intentional sequence than the beginning of a new plot or a large overlap in plot between the two books. According to Leland Ryken, "The plot of a story is the arrangement of events. Three time-honored principles on which a plot is constructed are unity, coherence, and emphasis. A plot is not simply a succession of events but a sequence of related events possessing a beginning, a middle, and an end. In other words, a plot gives us one or more single or whole actions."[60] When a sequence of related events is extended from one book to another in a manner which creates a larger plot, it is probable that the texts were meant to be read sequentially. Second, the appearance of consistent characters between two books would provide a better indication of an intentional sequence between them than the absence of those characters. Since characters are essential elements of a plot, this feature is a subset of the previous feature, but it may nevertheless be helpful to distinguish between them. Third, a consistent setting between the two books provides a better indication that they are an intentional sequence than a change in setting.

The books of Samuel and Kings utilize narrative continuation to establish a sequence between them. At first glance, the transition in plot to discuss David's heir may seem abrupt since Samuel concludes with the story of David's census and God's resulting judgment on him. David's death, however, has been in view since at least 2 Samuel 23:1, and thus, the plot of Samuel continues into Kings without much interruption. Furthermore, Kings retains many of the same characters as found in the later portions of Samuel: David, Nathan, Bathsheba, Solomon, Zakok, Shimei (David's nephew), Joab, Abiathar, Benaiah, and Adonijah. Several of these characters (especially David's "mighty

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[60] Leland Ryken, *Words of Delight: A Literary Introduction to the Bible*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1992), 62.

Table 14. A schematic for the analysis of narrative
continuation as a compilational feature

Analysis	Criteria
Probable indication of a sequencing compilational feature	(1) Continuation of plot with little overlap
	(2) Appearance of the same characters
	(3)Appearance of the same setting
Possible indication of a sequencing compilational feature	(1) New plot or large overlaps
	(2) Absence of similar characters
	(3) New setting

men") appear in Kings with no explanation given of their identity. This is likely because
it is assumed that the reader will know these characters based upon their appearance in
Samuel. Thus, based upon the criteria established above, it seems probable that Samuel
and Kings were intended to be read sequentially.[61]

Sean M. McDonough offers another potential plot connection between the two
books. McDonough argues for an inner-biblical allusion which spans the gap between the
final chapter of Samuel and the first verse of Kings. The allusion spanning these two
books is made with Genesis 23:1–24:1. Genesis 23 narrates Abraham's purchase of a
field in which to bury his wife, Sarah. Genesis 24:1 begins, "Now Abraham was old, well
advanced in years (ואברהם זקן בא בימים)." Interestingly, 2 Samuel 24 contains a very
similar narrative in which David purchases a threshing floor and 1 Kings 1:1 begins,
"Now King David was old, well advanced in years (והמלך דוד זקן בא בימים)."[62] However
this inner-bibical allusion spanning Samuel and Kings was composed, it is clearly an

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[61] See Stephen Dempster, *Dominion and Dynasty: A Theology of the Hebrew Bible*, NSBT 15
(Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 147. See also Robert Alter, who states, "Although an
editor, several centuries after the composition of the story, placed this episode and the next one at the
beginning of the Book of Kings, and after the coda of 2 Saml 21–24, because of the centrality in them of
Solomon's succession, they are clearly the conclusion of the David story and bear all the hallmarks of its
author's distinctive literary genius." Robert Alter, *Ancient Israel: The Former Prophets* (New York: W. W.
Norton & Company, 2013), 597. Although his explanation of the history behind these texts may be
disputed (I see no reason the texts could not have originated in a manner similar to their final form), Alter
recognizes that the current form of Kings is narratively linked to Samuel.

[62] See Sean M. McDonough, "'And David Was Old, Advanced in Years': 2 Samuel XXIV 18–
25, 1 Kings I 1, and Genesis XXIII–XXIV," *VT* 49 (1999): 128–31. McDonough further establishes that in
both cases, the seller was a non-Israelite. In the first case, it was Ephron the Hittite, and in the second case,
it was Araunah the Jebusite. When lists of the nations inhabiting the Promised Land are given, the Hittites
are routinely the first nation mentioned and the Jebusites are the last nation mentioned.

indication that the two books should be read in sequence.[63] As McDonough states, "The above evidence should be sufficient to suggest the presence of a conscious and deliberate transition from 2 Samuel xxiv to 1 Kings i."

Thematic. A thematic correspondence between two books may also indicate that those responsible for their composition intend for them to be read sequentially. Four factors should be considered when analyzing the use of thematic correspondence as a possible compilational feature. First, the appearance of a unique or specific theme in both books would provide a better indication that the two were intended to be read sequentially than a common theme. Second, a similar portrayal of the theme between the two books is a better indication of intentional sequence than a variation between them. For example, the theme of strife between brothers is frequently found in Genesis, but in the case of Cain and Abel and Joseph and his brothers, the theme is portrayed similarly. One brother(s) kills the other (only apparently, in the case of Joseph) because of jealousy due to the approval of an authority figure (God, Jacob). In the case of Jacob and Esau, however, the theme of strife is apparent in the story, but the way that theme is portrayed is much different. The strife between Jacob and Esau is due to a dispute over family blessings and birth rites. Third, the use of an important theme from at least one of the books would provide a better indication of intentional sequence than an unimportant theme. Fourth, if the theme appears at the juxtaposition of both books, it is a more probable indication of an intentional sequence than if the theme appears at the beginning or ending of only one book.[64]

The books of Judges and Samuel are bound sequentially through the use of catchwords, narrative continuation, and thematic correspondence (see chapter 5). For the

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[63] McDonough, "'And David Was Old,'" 129.

[64] As noted above, this is the key criterion for evaluating whether an intentional sequence may have been established.

Table 15. A schematic for the analysis of thematic
correspondence as a compilational feature

Analysis	Criteria
Probable indication of a sequencing compilational feature	(1) Appearance of a unique or specific theme
	(2) Similar portrayal of a theme
	(3) Appearance of an important theme
	(4) The appearance of the theme at the seams of both books.
Possible indications of a sequencing compilational feature	(1) Appearance of a common theme
	(2) Variation of a theme
	(3) Appearance of an ancillary theme
	(4) The appearance of the theme at the seam of only one book

purpose of illustrating how to evaluate a sequencing compilational feature based on thematic correspondence, the following discussion will only address the thematic similarities suggesting an intentional sequence between the two books. Two themes potentially bind the books of Judges and Samuel into a sequential relationship. First, both books contain stories of barren women who receive children from God. Samuel begins with a narrative concerning a barren woman (Hannah) who receives a child due to the workings of God (1 Sam 1:19). The book of Judges also contains a narrative concerning a barren woman (the wife of Manoah) who receives a child due to the workings of God (Judg 13:3).[65] When evaluated by the criteria established above, this theme lacks the criteria needed to be confirmed as a probable link to sequence these two books and could only suggest a possible attempt. (1) This theme is not unique within the Old Testament. Several of the matriarchs were barren before receiving children through the intervention of God. Although not a unique theme, the fact that both the wife of Manoah and Hannah were barren does make this thematic correspondence more specific because the birth of their children overcomes their previous struggle with barrenness.[66] (2) These themes do

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[65] See Gunn, "Joshua Judges," 119–20.

[66] Adding to the specificity of this theme, the two stories even begin in the same manner, with Judg 13:2 beginning "there was a certain man (ויהי איש אחד)" and 1 Sam 1:1 beginning "there was a certain man (ויהי איש אחד)." The addition of "certain (אחד)" makes what would otherwise be a common phrase unique to these two passages in the Old Testament. I owe this insight to Robert Cole, my Old Testament professor at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary. This could also be construed as a catchword between the two books, which shows that the criteria given in this chapter may often overlap with one another.

not portray similar circumstances in the lives of these women. Manoah and his wife were old (similar to Abraham and Sarah), whereas rivalry between Hannah and Peninnah seems to be one of the primary causes of consternation for Hannah (similar to Rachel and Leah). (3) It could not be said that this is an important theme within Judges or Samuel. These are the only two occurrences of this theme within these books, and the theme does not appear to be essential within either book. (4) The theme appears at the beginning of Samuel but not at the end of Judges. Thus, using the criteria given in table 15, this theme could only be considered a possible indication that Judges and Samuel were intended to be sequenced. Without additional evidence (which I believe exists), it is difficult to claim that this theme is a compilational feature sequencing these two books.

The second theme suggesting a sequence between Judges and Samuel concerns the unfaithfulness of the Levites. According to Robert Bergen, Judges concludes with a failure of the Levites to faithfully fulfill their role as Israel's priest (Judg 17:1–18:31), sexual misconduct in Shiloh (Judg 21:15–24), and Levitical involvement in failed military endeavors.[67] Bergen further notes that all three of these themes are continued through Eli and his sons (Levitical priests): "1 Samuel opens with all three: spiritually dull Eli and his corrupt sons operate the Shiloh sanctuary contrary to the Torah guidelines (2:12–17); Hophni and Phinehas abuse the women serving at the Tent of Meeting (2:22); and ultimately, Eli's sons die in a catastrophic battle with the Philistines (4:10–11)."[68] When evaluated using the criteria given in table 15, this theme establishes a probable attempt to sequence Judges and Samuel. (1) Although not unique to these books (Lev 10;

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[67] See Robert D. Bergen, *1, 2 Samuel*, NAC, vol. 7 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1996), 57–58.

[68] Bergen, *1, 2 Samuel*, 58. Bergen actually classifies these as "narrative links." He says, "This introductory section of Samuel forms a semantically seamless narrative link with the conclusion of the Book of Judges, the book that immediately precedes 1 Samuel in the Hebrew Bible." Yet, the aspects he mentions seem more thematic as I have classified them than strictly narrative. For Bergen's purposes, there is probably little difference, but for my purposes, different criteria would be used depending on how these features were classified.

Hos 4:4; Mal 1:6–14), the unfaithfulness of the Levites to perform their duties is a specific theme. (2) As noted in Bergen's statement above, this theme is presented similarly in each book. (3) Since the two concluding chapters of Judges provide an evaluation of the spiritual condition of Israel during this period,[69] this theme is certainly important within Judges, and it is equally important for establishing the setting for Samuel. (4) Finally, the theme appears at the juxtaposition of both books. Thus, this theme is a probable indication of an attempt to sequence these books compositionally.

Identifying and Evaluating Locative
Compilational Features

A locative arrangement refers to the intentional placement of a book within a collection of books. This would typically be the first or last book in the collection. Locative arrangements may be indicated by framing devices, an inter-textual correspondence with a book in a similar position, and a sequential position with another book which demonstrates locative compilational features.

Framing devices. By far, the most reliable indication of a locative arrangement is a framing device. Framing devices as compilational features may be evaluated based on three factors. First, framing devices may be evaluated on how precisely the features appear at the beginning or ending of the text. The farther the proposed feature appears from the beginning or ending of the texts in question, the less likely it is that the book's locative placement influenced its composition. Second, framing devices consisting of unique words or themes are more likely to be intentional compilational features than consisting of common words or themes. Third, framing devices which consist of multiple words are a more probable indication of an intentional

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[69] Block states, "In the following chapters the narrator will offer the reader a series of glimpses at how ordinary Israelites fared in the dark days of the "judges" (governors). The effect will be to confirm the picture of a pervasively and increasingly Canaanized society." Block, *Judges, Ruth*, 473.

compilation than those which are based on only one or two words.

Table 16. A schematic for the analysis of framing
devices as locative compilational features

Analysis	Criteria
Probable indication of an intentional locative feature	(1) Framing device appears precisely at the beginning or end of one or both books in question
	(2) Framing device utilizes unique words or themes
	(3) Framing device utilizes multiple words
Possible indication of an intentional locative feature	(1) Framing device does not appear precisely at the beginning or end of one or both books in question
	(2) Framing device utilizes common words or themes
	(3) Framing device consists of one or two words

Perhaps the best example of a framing device in the Old Testament outside of what has been discussed in the section above (for the book of the Twelve) and will be discussed later within this dissertation is the theme of exile at the beginning and conclusion of the Former Prophets. The book of Joshua begins with the people outside of the Promised Land and waiting to enter. The book of Kings begins with the people inside of the Promised Land but then narrates how they were removed from the Promised Land. Thus, the book of Kings concludes the Former Prophets by narrating how the people who had conquered the land in Joshua found themselves in exile. The theme of exile is not unique within the Old Testament, but the sequencing of the Former Prophets, as discussed above, adds weight to this being an intentional compilational feature.

Additional locative features. As noted above, framing devices are by far the most reliable indication that a book was intended for a specific location within a canonical collection. Three additional locative compilational features deserve some consideration, however. First, if a book exhibits a sequential relationship with another book which has an established compilational location, then the sequential relationship may also establish a specific location for the other book as well. For example, a sequential relationship between Deuteronomy and Joshua would also indicate that Joshua

was intended to be the initial book of a new collection of books since Deuteronomy concludes the Pentateuch. The probability of such a feature would depend upon the probability of the sequential relationship of the two books and the locative features of one of them. Second, the presence of an inner-biblical link between books in similar locations within different canonical groupings could be an indication that the text of at least one of the books may have been influenced by its locative placement within the Old Testament. For example, the emphasis upon the word of God in Genesis 1, Joshua 1, and Psalm 1, each of which is found at the beginning of a division of the Old Testament, could be an indication that these books were intended to fill these roles within the Old Testament canon.[70] As with many of the other compilational features, the proximity of such features to the beginning or ending of a book, the uniqueness of the theme or words used, and the number of words used to create such an inner-biblical connection would establish how probable such a scenario may be. Finally, if a sequence could be established across several books, the sequence could indicate that the books at the beginning and/or the end of the sequence were influenced compositionally by their role in that sequence. Again, all of these additional locative features are extremely tenuous. If, however, there was a late editor who altered the text of these books for the purpose of forming them into an ordered collection, then some of the difficulties with these suggestions could be alleviated.

**Identifying and Evaluating Associative
Compilational Features**

An associative arrangement refers to a collection of biblical books. An associative compilational feature would indicate that a book was intended to be part of a collection, such as the book of the Twelve discussed above. Associative compilational features may include thematic correspondence, superscriptions, and sequential

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[70] See the discussion in Sailhamer, *Old Testament Theology*, 24, 248–50. See also Stephen Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact': Torah and Temple and the Contours of the Hebrew Canon, Part 1 and 2," *TynBul* 48 (1997): 23–56, 191–218. This will be discussed more extensively in chapter 7.

compilational features.[71]

Thematic correspondence. The presence of a particular theme common to a particular collection of books may indicate that a book was intended to be read as part of that collection. As with thematic correspondence for establishing a sequential link, the use of a theme to establish an association with a collection of books is more probable if the theme is rare and if it is a major theme within the books under consideration. Since the exact sequencing of the books is not relevant for forming a mere association, the thematic correspondence does not have to occur near the beginning or end of any of these books.

Table 17. A schematic for evaluating thematic correspondence
as an associative compilation feature

Analysis	Criteria
Probable indication of an associative grouping	(1) Appearance of a unique theme
	(2) Appearance of an important theme
Possible indication of an associative grouping	(1) Appearance of a common theme
	(1) Appearance of an ancillary theme

The best example of an associative compilational feature based on thematic correspondence in the Old Testament is the book of the Twelve which is discussed above. In addition to what Stone discusses above, Jason LeCureux has argued that the book of the Twelve is held together by the theme of "return."[72]

Superscriptions. Superscriptions may also indicate that a book was intended to be read as part of a collection of books. As a compilational feature, superscriptions may be evaluated based on the quantity of categories they contain and how many of those

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[71] This type of compilational arrangement will not be utilized in the subsequent chapters but is included here for a complete discussion.

[72] Jason T. LeCureux, *The Thematic Unity of the Book of the Twelve*, HBM 41 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2012).

categories are common within each book. The probability of superscriptions being used as an associative compilational feature increases correspondingly to the number of items included. Additionally, the quantity category is naturally dependent upon the commonality category. It would not matter how many superscriptions two books contained if they did not hold any of them in common.

Table 18. A schematic for evaluating superscriptions
as an associative compilational feature

Analysis	Criteria
Probable indication of an associative grouping	The superscription consists of common elements
	(1) The superscriptions consist of several elements
	(2) The superscriptions consist of the same elements
Possible indication of an associative grouping	(1) The superscription consists of few elements
	(2) The superscription consists of different elements

Aside from the book of the Twelve which is discussed above, this compilational feature does not appear to link multiple books within the Old Testament into an association.

Sequential links. Sequential links, discussed above, may also form an association between the books involved. The probability of these associations depends upon the probability of the sequential links. The sequential links between the Former Prophets noted above indicate that these books should be understood as an intentional collection of books. Furthermore, since Joshua is clearly linked sequentially to Deuteronomy, there is reason to read the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets as a single unit, stretching from Genesis to Kings. T. Desmond Alexander argues that this compilation is united by two themes: the promise of nationhood and the promise of a royal deliverer.[73]

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[73] T. Desmond Alexander, "Genesis to Kings," in *NDBT*, ed. T. Desmond Alexander and Brian S. Rosner (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000), 115–20. See also Alexander, "Royal Expectations in Genesis to Kings: Their Importance for Biblical Theology," *TynBul* 49 (1998): 191–212. As will be discussed in chapter 7, Hendrik Koorevaar argues for Genesis-Kings being the first canonical

Conclusion

       This section has discussed sequential, locative, and associative compilational features and provided schematics for evaluating how certain we may be that the composition of a biblical book was influenced by an attempt to establish one of these types of compilation. Although certainty may be impossible to establish, using these schematics will at least acknowledge and perhaps reduce the subjectivity of claims related to the compilation of the Old Testament while also providing the freedom to explore the compilational possibilities needed to establish this thesis.

<div align="center">

Conclusion

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       This chapter has provided schematics to help evaluate when a text's composition may have been influenced by its compilation with other biblical books. Timothy Stone has provided the most extensive proposal for identifying compilational criteria, but his proposal does not include narrative texts (since he is not dealing with narrative texts in his study) and the strictness of the criteria he does provide will cause some compilational features to be overlooked. Following developments occurring within studies of inner-biblical reuse, this chapter has devised several schematics which will be used in the remainder of this thesis to evaluate potential compilational features within the Old Testament books. The compilations to be discussed include sequential links between books and the locative placement of certain books within a collection. These schematics recognize and allow for some subjectivity when identifying the Old Testament's compilational features but also provide a critical methodology for the compilational critic to use when evaluating proposed compilational features.

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section. See Hendrik J. Koorevaar, "The Exile and Return Model: A Proposal for the Original Macrostructure of the Hebrew Canon," *JETS* 57 (2014): 501–12.

CHAPTER 4

NAHUM'S COMPILATIONAL PARTNERS

This thesis is arguing that multiple linear arrangements are needed in order to portray all of the Old Testament's compilational features. A single, linear arrangement will necessarily omit some of the ways in which the Old Testament could be arranged according to the compilational features inherent within its text.[1] In support of this argument, this chapter will examine two compilations involving the book of Nahum: a Micah-Nahum compilation (MT) and a Jonah-Nahum compilation (LXX).

These books are part of the book of the Twelve, otherwise known as the Minor Prophets. Several ancient witnesses confirm that the twelve shorter prophetic writings within the Old Testament came to be understood as a single book. For example, Ben Sira referred to the Minor Prophets as a group when he wrote, "May the bones of the Twelve Prophets send forth new life from where they lie, for they comforted the people of Jacob and delivered them with confident hope" (Sir 49:10). In Acts 7, Luke records Stephen quoting from Amos 5:25 with the introductory formula, "as it is written in the *book* of the prophets."[2] The use of "book" in the singular with "prophets" in the plural indicates that Amos was included among a collection of prophetic writings which were considered a single book.

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[1] A linear arrangement refers to an arrangement of the Old Testament books within a sequence. Compilational features refer to any instance in which the composition of an Old Testament book has been influenced by how it was compiled with another Old Testament book.

[2] Shepherd gives seven examples of historical evidence for the unity of the Twelve. See Michael B. Shepherd, *The Twelve Prophets in the New Testament*, Studies in Biblical Literature 140 (New York: Peter Lang, 2011), 2–3. See also Ched Spellman, *Toward a Canon-Conscious Reading of the Bible: Exploring the History and Hermeneutics of the Canon*, NTM 34 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2014), 69–71.

These ancient references to the book of the Twelve do not, however, elaborate on how the prophets were sequenced within the corpus. This must be determined from the manuscripts containing these prophets. The Masoretic manuscripts arrange these books in the order reflected in modern English translations: Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. The LXX manuscripts follow a different arrangement: Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zachariah, Malachi.[3]

Among the differences between these two arrangements of the book of the Twelve is which book should precede Nahum sequentially. The Masoretic manuscripts contain a Micah-Nahum sequence whereas the LXX contains a Jonah-Nahum sequence. This chapter will argue that these sequences are based upon the same compilational logic. If the compilational logic of these arrangements can be traced to the compositional level of these texts, then these sequences would verify the thesis of this dissertation: Both Micah and Jonah contain compilational features suggesting that they were intended to be read before Nahum, which would require multiple arrangements of these books.

Reflecting back upon the model for the Old Testament's production provided in chapter 1, this situation claimed here could have occurred through five different scenarios.[4] (1) Jonah was composed first. Nahum was composed second with the intention that it would follow Jonah. Micah was then composed third with the intention that it would precede Nahum. (2) Micah was composed first. Nahum was composed second with the intention that it would follow Micah. Jonah was composed third with the intention that it would precede Nahum. (3) Nahum was composed before both Jonah and

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[3] Scholars have debated whether one order is derived from the other. See Paul L. Redditt, *Introduction to the Prophets* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 201.

[4] As noted in the introduction, this dissertation is examining the final form of these texts and not attempting to differentiate between the work of an original author and the work of a later editor. If an editor altered one or more of these books with the intention of creating a compilation, then his work is what is being identified as the composition of the book(s) in question. The possibility of an editor also prohibits us from sorting through these scenarios by the dates of the prophets associated with these books.

Micah. Jonah and Micah were both composed later (independently) with the intention of following Nahum. (4) Both Jonah and Micah were composed before Nahum. Nahum was composed with the intention that it would be read after both books. (5) An editor altered the text of each book to create both sequences. For the purposes of this thesis, it is not necessary to determine which of these scenarios produced the compilational features linking these books, if indeed these books were linked at their compilational level (this chapter will ultimately determine that these are only possible compilational features, meaning that the data cannot verify that the composition of these books was influenced by their compilation even though this is a possible explanation of what can be seen in the text). It is enough to show that the text of these books suggest that multiple arrangements are needed to account for their compilational features.

This chapter will begin by explaining why the LXX has been incorporated in this chapter but omitted from the rest of the chapters in this dissertation. It will then discuss the formation of the book of the Twelve. After these two preliminary matters have been discussed, attention will be turned to the compilational features suggesting a Micah-Nahum sequence as found in the Masoretic manuscripts and a Jonah-Nahum sequence as found in the LXX manuscripts. It will determine that these features can only be regarded as possible compilational features. If, however, these are legitimate compilational features in both instances, then the thesis of this dissertation will be verified by these books. Even if a compilational critic determined that the composition of these books did not overlap with their compilation, this chapter will still show that the logic of this dissertation can be extended to just the compilational stage. That is, since these sequences are based on the same compilational logic, both multiple arrangements are required to account for all of the ways that the Old Testament could be arranged according to literary criteria and each of these arrangements may highlight important exegetical and theological insights into the Old Testament.

Why the LXX Arrangement?

Before discussing how Nahum and its compilational partners illustrate the thesis of this dissertation, an explanation is needed for why this chapter is including an arrangement from the LXX. In chapter 2, the arrangements provide by *Baba Bathra* 14b, Jerome, and the Masoretic text were described and presented as the main arrangements to be examined within this dissertation. These arrangements all preserve a tripartite structure, a feature common among Jewish arrangements of the Old Testament, and contain only canonical books. Thus, these arrangements contain some of the earliest compilations of the Old Testament and likely reflect how Jesus and the apostles encountered the Old Testament.

Concerning the book of the Twelve, however, these arrangements present a problem: We only know how the Masoretic tradition arranges the books within the book of the Twelve. Since the Masoretic arrangement stems from manuscripts, we can see how the individual books were arranged within the manuscripts, but both *Baba Bathra* 14b and Jerome only mention the book of the Twelve as a whole. This would be even more problematic if not for the manuscripts of the Minor Prophets discovered at Qumran. Several of these manuscripts verify the antiquity of the Masoretic arrangement (4QXII[a–c, e]; MurXII; 8HevXII gr), at least for the books which they contain. Without these manuscripts, the oldest Jewish witness concerning the arrangement of the book of the Twelve would stem from the tenth (Aleppo Codex) and the eleventh (Codex B19a) centuries.

In addition to the Masoretic arrangement, the order of the book of the Twelve contained within LXX manuscripts also stems from a very early date. As can be seen in Appendix 1, the earliest complete manuscripts of the LXX arrange the books of the Old Testament in a variety of ways.[5] Furthermore, these manuscripts include various non-

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[5] Appendix 1 contains the arrangement of Codex Sinaiticus, Codex Vaticanus, and Codex Alexandrinus. As can be seen there, the arrangements contained within these codices vary significantly after the book of Chronicles. Vaticanus has a Pentateuch–First History-Poetry/Wisdom-Second History-

canonical books. Although some of the compilations obviously stem from Jewish traditions (the Primary History is essentially left intact but includes Ruth), the arrangement and even extent of the LXX was seemingly fluctuating when these manuscripts were compiled. Thus, these manuscripts are generally less important for studying the arrangement of the Old Testament.

When limited to the book of the Twelve, however, a very different scenario emerges. Each of the oldest LXX manuscripts (see Appendix 1) contain the same arrangement for the books contained within the book of the Twelve. This reveals a level of continuity among these LXX manuscripts concerning the arrangement of these twelve specific books that does not exist for most of the remaining books of the Old Testament. Given the variations in arrangement for much of the rest of the Old Testament books, this continuity suggests that this arrangement of the book of the Twelve had become a fixed tradition, much like the arrangement of the Primary History, by the time these manuscripts were compiled. Thus, it is likely that the arrangement of the book of the Twelve given in these manuscripts is much older than the manuscripts themselves and therefore likely stems from Jewish sources or at least Christian communities that would have still been very aware of Jewish traditions regarding how to arrange the books of the Old Testament. Therefore, this chapter has included the LXX's arrangement of the book of the Twelve as a reliable witness for the arrangement of these books which differs from the Masoretic arrangement. The inclusion of the LXX in this chapter is also necessitated by the silence by *Baba Bathra* 14b and Jerome concerning the book of the Twelve.

The Formation of the Book of the Twelve

Before discussing the compilational features joining Jonah and Micah to

Prophets arrangement. Sinaiticus has a Pentateuch-History-Prophets-Poetry/Wisdom arrangement. Alexandrinus has a Pentateuch-First History-Prophets-Second History Poetry/Wisdom arrangement. There are several changes to the arrangement of books within these major divisions as well.

Nahum, a related issue should be discussed: the formation of the book of the Twelve. As noted above, several ancient witnesses affirm that the twelve prophets, typically known as the Minor Prophets, came to be understood as a single work. This association of these twelve prophetic writings has led to two related questions. First, is the unity among these books limited to their collection or are there features inherent within these books which suggest that they should be understood as a unified corpus? Second, if there is an inherent unity among these books, how did this unity come about? Both questions have received copious amounts of scholarly attention. Concerning the first question, most scholars who affirm some type of inherent unity within the Twelve at least acknowledge a thematic unity. For example, Nogalski notes four reoccurring themes within these twelve books: the day of YHWH, fertility of the land, the fate of God's people, and theodicy.[6] In addition to this thematic unity, several scholars have also suggested that these twelve prophets are connected compositionally, whether by their use of superscriptions[7] or through the implementation of catchwords.[8] Concerning the second question, most scholars have argued that these twelve books were linked at the compositional level by later editors. Some scholars have advocated for widespread redaction among the Twelve, as well as a conglomeration of earlier collections.[9] Others, however, seem content to say

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[6] See James D. Nogalski, "Recurring Themes in the Book of the Twelve: Creating Points of Contact for a Theological Reading," *Int* 61 (2007): 125–36.

[7] See John D. W. Watts, "Superscriptions and Incipits in the Book of the Twelve," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, ed. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, SBLSymS 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 110–24.

[8] For a brief overview of the proposed catchwords between these books, see Richard Alan Fuhr, Jr. and Gary E. Yates, *The Message of the Twelve: Hearing the Voice of the Minor Prophets* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman Academic, 2016), 43–47.

[9] The redaction of the Twelve has been a popular topic within publications and conferences over the past several decades. James D. Nogalski has published extensively on this topic. See James D. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 217 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993); Nogalski, *Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 218 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993). He has also recently published a collection of his essays. See Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve and Beyond: Collected Essays of James D. Nogalski*, SBLAIL 29 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017). See also the collection of papers in Nogalski and Sweeney, *The Book of the Twelve*. Jakob Wöhrle reviews much of this research before discussing how Jonah was integrated into the book of the Twelve. See Jakob Wöhrle, "A Prophetic Reflection on Divine Forgiveness: The Integration of the Book of Jonah into the Book of the

that only minor alterations and additions were made to the twelve books in order to form a unified composition.

Not every scholar, however, is convinced of the necessity of this editorial activity. James Hamilton has argued that the connections within the book of the Twelve do not point to "intense editorial activity."[10] Many of the catchwords which supposedly link some of the books are insignificant, such as the use of Edom to unite Amos and Obadiah. In other instances, no catchwords appear to link sequential books (such as the Jonah-Micah sequence in the Masoretic arrangement). If these twelve books were edited into a unified collection using catchwords, we should expect to find much *clearer* examples between *all* of the books. Approaching this issue from the opposite direction, many of these proposed catchwords have a logical function within the passages they appear.[11] These catchwords are not intrusions within the original text, as would be likely if they were later additions by someone seeking to unite the book of the Twelve. Hamilton suggests that a likelier scenario was that "any editorial activity that resulted in the arrangement of these prophecies appears to have dealt with the documents as they stood rather than to have altered them to tie them together."[12] To state this conclusion in another way, the compilation of these texts occurred after their composition. Ben Zvi

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Twelve," *JHS* 9 (2009): 2–17.

[10] James M. Hamilton, Jr., *God's Glory in Salvation through Judgment: A Biblical Theology* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2010), 230.

[11] This is similar to what Spronk concludes concerning Nah 1. See Klaas Spronk, "Nahum, and the Book of the Twelve: A Response to Jakob Wöhrle," *JHS* 9 (2009): 5. Nogalski, however, comes to the opposite conclusion. See James D. Nogalski, "The Redactional Shaping of Nahum 1 for the Book of the Twelve," in *Collected Essays of James D. Nogalski*, 27–31. Both authors mention an acrostic within Nah 1:3–8. See further Ralph L. Smith, *Micah–Malachi*, WBC, vol. 32 (Dallas: Word, 1998), 71–76; Duane L. Christensen, "The Acrostic of Nahum Reconsidered," *ZAW* 87 (1975): 17–30. The actual existence of an acrostic in these verses is doubtful, as should be apparent by the frequent use of the words "broken," "rearranged," "incomplete," and "missing" in these publications.

[12] Hamilton, *God's Glory in Salvation through Judgment*, 231. Nogalski acknowledges this possible solution to the arrangement of the book of the Twelve but believes the redaction model is better. He also states that a third possibility is that the catchwords between these books were accidental, a view which he states is least satisfying. See Nogalski, "The Redactional Shaping of Nahum 1," 25–26. This essay also appears in Philip R. Davies and David J. A. Clines, eds., *Among the Prophets: Language, Image, and Structure in the Prophetic Writings*, JSOTSup 144 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993).

arrives at a similar conclusion when he states, "The presence of isolated instances of catchwords within sequential prophetic books does not imply anything beyond that they may have had a limited role in the arrangement of the books," and "A trend towards catchwords may have influenced the ordering of the prophetic books within the Twelve."[13]

Hamilton's assessment provides the best path forward for understanding the book of the Twelve as a unified corpus. The thematic similarities and connections between these twelve prophets and the ancient witnesses suggesting that these twelve prophets are a single book certainly point to an intentional compilation of these twelve prophetic books into a collection, yet the absence of extensive compositional links throughout the collection suggests that the person(s) responsible for the complete collection were content to allow unity of these books to emerge from his arrangement of the texts as he received them. Most of the compilational sequencing within the book of the Twelve can be likely isolated to the compilational stage of these books. The formation of the book of the Twelve cannot be explained by widespread overlap between the composition and the compilation of these books.

This conclusion concerning the formation of the book of the Twelve as a whole does not, however, rule out the possibility that the composition and compilation of some books within the Twelve overlapped. In fact, since there are enough potential catchphrase linkages between these books that this theory for the formation of the Twelve is considered plausible at all, we should perhaps expect that the composition and compilation of some books within the twelve did overlap. The remainder of this chapter will investigate two possible instances in which the compositional and compilation stages

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[13] Ehud ben Zvi, "Twelve Prophetic Books or 'The Twelve': A Few Preliminary Considerations," in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts*, ed. James W. Watts and Paul R. House, JSOTSup 235 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 140, 142.

of these books did overlap. Since both of these instances concern which book should come before Nahum, it will be argued that these instances show that the consideration of multiple arrangements is necessary to study the Old Testament compilationally.

A Micah-Nahum Compilation

This section will examine the Micah-Nahum sequence found in the Masoretic tradition. It will begin by examining the compilational features used to sequence these books and then evaluate whether these compilational features were part of the compositional intention of the text. This section will conclude by considering the hermeneutical implications of this sequence.

Compilational Features

Micah and Nahum are arranged sequentially by thematic allusions to Exodus 34:6–7. In Exodus 34:6–7, YHWH reveals his character to Moses. These verses are alluded to in several Old Testament texts (Exod 20:5–7; Num 14:18; Deut 5:9–11; 7:9–10; Isa 63:7; Jer 32:18; Hos 2:19-20; Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2; Mic 7:18; Nah 1:2–3; Ps 86:15; 103:8; 111:4; 145:8; Neh 9:17; 9:31–32).[14] As can be seen from table 19, both Micah 7:18 and Nahum 1:2–3 allude to YHWH's revelation of his own character in Exodus 34:6–7. Can this compilational feature be traced to the composition of these texts? When these allusions are evaluated using table 15 in chapter 3, the results are inconclusive. (1) Exodus 34:6–7 is a major moment within the Old Testament and the passage is alluded to frequently enough that it should be described as a common theme, which is a less probable indication that the compilation of these books influenced their composition.[15] (4) These allusions appear precisely at the seam linking these books,

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[14] These references are from Hamilton, *God's Glory in Salvation through Judgment*, 134–36. Jakob Wöhrle reviews several articles and books on allusions to Exod 34:6–7 within the book of the Twelve. See Wöhrle, "A Prophetic Reflection," 2–17.

[15] Spronk affirms this conclusion when he states, "Another problem is that the grace formula is found no less than seven times completely and more than twenty times partly in the Old Testament as a whole and appears to be a very old and important tradition related to the praxis of prayer in the cult of

which is a more probable indication that the compilation of these books influenced their composition. Evaluating how this theme is portrayed by (2) and the importance of this theme within (3) these books is more complicated. In one sense, since each allusion highlights a different aspect of God's character as revealed in Exodus 34:6–7, it could be argued that these allusions do not give a similar portrayal of God's character and that neither allusion contains an important theme for understanding the corresponding book. It will be argued below, however, that this could be precisely the intent of the composition and compilation of these books: By themselves, each book presents only one dimension of God's character as presented within Exodus 34:6–7, but when taken together, the

Table 19. Allusions to Exodus 34:6–7 from Micah 7:18 and Nahum 1:2–3

Exodus 34:6–7	Micah 7:18	Nahum 1:2–3
ויעבר יהוה על־פניו ויקרא יהוה יהוה אל רחום וחנון ארך אפים ורב־חסד ואמת: נצר חסד לאלפים נשא עון ופשע וחטאה ונקה לא ינקה פקד עון אבות על־בנים ועל־בני בנים על־שלשים ועל־רבעים:	מי־אל כמוך נשא עון ועבר על־פשע לשארית נחלתו לא־החזיק לעד אפו כי־חפץ חסד הוא:	אל קנוא ונקם יהוה נקם יהוה ובעל חמה נקם יהוה לצריו ונוטר הוא לאיביו: יהוה ארך אפים וגדול־ כח ונקה לא ינקה יהוה בסופה ובשערה דרכו וענן אבק רגליו:
The LORD passed before him and proclaimed, "**The LORD, the LORD**, a **God** merciful and gracious, *slow to anger*, and abounding in *steadfast love* and faithfulness, keeping steadfast love for thousands, *forgiving iniquity and transgression* and sin, but **who will by no means clear the guilty**, visiting the iniquity of the fathers on the children and the children's children, to the third and the fourth generation."	Who is a God like you, pardoning iniquity and *passing over transgression* for the remnant of his inheritance? He does not *retain his anger forever*, because he delights in *steadfast love*.	**The LORD** is a jealous and avenging **God**; the LORD is avenging and wrathful; **the LORD** takes vengeance on his adversaries and keeps wrath for his enemies. **The LORD** is **slow to anger** and great in power, and **the LORD will by no means clear the guilty**. His way is in whirlwind and storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet.

Israel. One could easily imagine that the different authors of the books . . . referred to this tradition independently from each other." Sronk, "Nahum," 4.

books offer a complete portrayal of God's character and actions. Nevertheless, since these criteria are ambiguous and criteria one and four lead to separate conclusions, it is ultimately uncertain whether the composition of these books was influenced by how they were compiled within an emerging prophetic corpus.[16]

Some authors have proposed that Micah and Nahum were sequenced by the use of catchwords. Nogalski notes thirteen words appearing at the seam created when these books sequenced.[17] These proposed catchwords may be found in table 20.

Table 20. Nogalski's Micah-Nahum catchwords

Word in common	Micah	Nahum
Enemy (איב)	7:8, 10	1:2, 8
Darkness (חשך)	7:8	1:8
Day (יום)	7:11, 14, 15, 20	1:7
River (נהר)	7:12	1:4
Sea (ים)	7:12	1:4
Mountain (הר)	7:12	1:5
Land (ארץ)	7:13, 15, 17	1:5
Inhabitants (ישב)	7:13	1:5
Carmel (כמרל)	7:14 (LXX)[18]	1:4
Bashan (בשן)	7:14	1:4
Dust[19]	7:17 (אפר)	1:3 (אבק)
Passing Over (עבר)	7:18	1:8
Anger (אף)	7:18	1:6

When these proposed catchwords between Micah 7 and Nahum 1 are evaluated using the criteria in table 11 in chapter 3, they indicate a less probable indication that the

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[16] Spronk believes that Nahum was written as a sequel to Micah and suggests the phrase of "city of blood," which appears in Nah 3:1 and Mic 3:10, unites the two books. See Spronk, "Nahum," 6. While Spronk could be correct in asserting that Nahum was written as a *sequel*, the evidence he provides is insufficient to show that the author of Nahum intended for his book to be read *sequentially* after Micah within an emerging Old Testament canon. The phrase "city of blood" mentioned above does not occur at the seam of either book.

[17] See Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 37–39.

[18] The reading "Carmel" stems from the LXX. The MT reads Gilead (גלעד).

[19] Nogalski notes that the words אפר and אבק are synonymous. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 39.

composition of these books was influenced by their compilation. Although the number of words held in common (2) may seem to indicate a high probability of an intentional sequence, the high number of common terms is mitigated by their commonality (1). Most of these proposed catchwords actually appear throughout the books in question (3). As table 21 shows, most of the proposed catchwords between these two books are very common and occur in several places within these books, not just at the seam between the books as Nogalski's presentation would seem to indicate. Furthermore, all of these words are common within the rest of the Old Testament (1).

Table 21. Additional uses of proposed catchwords uniting Micah and Nahum

Word in common	Micah	Nahum	Total Uses in OT
Enemy (איב)	2:8; 4:10; 5:9; 7:6	3:11, 13	283
Darkness (חשך)	3:6		80
Day (יום)	1:1; 2:4; 3:6; 4:1, 6; 5:2, 10; 7:4	2:3, 3:17	2,304
River (נהר)	6:7	2:6	118
Sea (ים)		3:8	396
Mountain (הר)	1:4; 3:12; 4:1, 2; 6:1, 2	2:1; 3:18	557
Land (ארץ)	5:5, 6, 11; 6:4	3:13	2,504
Inhabitants (ישב)	1:11, 12, 13, 15; 6:12, 16		1,080
Carmel (כמרל)			22
Bashan (בשן)			60
Dust (אפר)	1:10		110
Dust (אבק)			6[20]
Passing Over (עבר)	1:11; 2:8, 13	1:15	584
Anger (אף)	5:15		410

The best evidence for a catchword between the two books is the phrase "Bashan and Carmel (בשן וכרמל)". The combination of these place names could be considered rare and occurs only at the seams of both books, but, as noted above, the word

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[20] Although this word is rare enough to establish a sequential connection, it does not appear in Micah. This instance argues against widespread editing of the material. Since the more common synonym appears in Micah, a later compiler could have changed אפר in Mic 7:17 to אבק in order to make this sequence more obvious to a reader. Instead, the compiler left the text as he received it.

"Carmel" does not appear in the MT (the tradition maintaining this sequence) but in the LXX (the tradition not linking these books). Without any further contextual similarities in the use of the words in table 21, these catchwords should be considered a less probable indication that the composition of these books was influenced by their compilation.

Since both the thematic correspondence and catchwords shared between Micah and Nahum yield uncertain results when evaluated by the criteria proposed in chapter 3, we cannot be certain that the composition of these books overlapped with their compilation into the order preserved in the Masoretic tradition. It is possible that this sequence is the work of a later compiler who realized the appropriateness of this compilation based on the composition of these books as they were received. Such an evaluation would still render significant results since they would help compilational critics understand the theological motivations of those responsible for the Masoretic arrangement, but if the compilation of these books was isolated from their composition, then the compilations studied within this chapter could not contribute towards the argument of this thesis, which requires an overlap between these two stages of a book's production.

The Theological Emphasis of a Micah-Nahum Sequence

What may have been the theological motivation, regardless of whether this compilation can be traced to the composition of these books, for creating a Micah-Nahum sequence? As noted above, both books contain a reference to Exodus 34:6–7, yet each book focuses on only one aspect of God's character as revealed in these verses. Micah focuses upon YHWH's love and willingness to forgive sin. Nahum focuses upon the certainty of YHWH's judgment. When read sequentially, the combined witness of these books alludes to both aspects of YHWH's character as described in Exodus 34:6–7. It is not as though the witness of either book is incorrect. It is perfectly legitimate to highlight certain aspects of God's character if an occasion warrants it. But when read in this

sequence, the witness of Micah and Nahum balance each other in a way that would not be obvious if these books were isolated from one another.

In addition to a full allusion to Exodus 34:6–7, the final verse of Micah establishes an additional theological context for Nahum's judgments upon Nineveh. Micah 7:20 states, "You will give faithfulness to Jacob and steadfast love to Abraham, which you swore to our fathers from ancient days." By mentioning God's faithfulness and steadfast love which he swore to the patriarchs, Micah intends to evoke memories of the patriarchal promises. Even after Israel's apostasy and God's judgment, Micah still holds hope for Israel because of God's promises to the patriarchs.[21]

The patriarchal promises begin with Genesis 12:1–3, which serve as a "programmatic agenda" for the remainder of the patriarchal promises.[22] In these verses, God promises to make Abram into a great nation, to bless him, to bless those who bless him, and curse those who make little of him. Micah 7:20 emphasizes God's intent to continue blessing Abraham's offspring. The creation of a Micah-Nahum sequence associates the judgments against Nineveh in Nahum with the curses upon those who would belittle the descendants of Abraham, as stated in Genesis 12:3. YHWH's judgment against Nineveh was more than the judgment of a random sinful nation: it was in some measure a response to the city's (and Assyria's) actions against God's people. At the time of Nahum, Nineveh was the capital of Assyria, Judah's primary enemy. As Chisholm states, "For Judah, the fall of Nineveh, one of the major cities of the Assyrian Empire, meant freedom from the oppressive hand of Assyria. No more would Judah have to go through the humiliating and economically draining experience of paying tribute to a

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[21] Allen notes that warnings of judgment in Micah (1:1–2:11; 3:1–12; 6:1–7:7) are followed by promises of salvation (2:12–13; 4:1–5:15; 7:8–20). See Leslie C. Allen, *The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, and Micah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 257–60. See also Fuhr and Yates, *The Message of the Twelve*, 186.

[22] See Paul R. Williamson, *Sealed with an Oath: Covenant in God's Unfolding Purpose*, NSBT 23 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2007), 77.

demanding and ruthless foreign tyrant."[23]

This extended context (stemming from Mic 7:20) for the judgments within Nahum is corroborated by statements within Nahum itself. Nahum contrasts the fall of Nineveh with the restoration of Israel (2:2 [1]). The author is associating the judgment of Nineveh with the city's assault on Israel. YHWH will reverse the fortunes of these nations. Nahum's name, which means "comfort", is another indication that Nineveh's judgment was related to the fortunes of God's people. Nineveh's judgment would provide comfort for Judah. There will be no comfort for Nineveh (3:7).[24] The creation of a Micah-Nahum sequence suggests an additional theological explanation of the judgments against Nineveh contained in Nahum. God will judge Nineveh because of its own sin but also because of its actions against Abraham's descendants.

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A Jonah-Nahum Compilation

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This section will examine the Jonah-Nahum sequence as found in the LXX. It will begin by examining the compilational features used to sequence these books and evaluating whether this sequence could have been part of the compositional intent of these books. It will then consider the hermeneutical and theological implications of a sequential arrangement between the two books.

Compilational Features

As with the Micah-Nahum sequence discussed above, Jonah and Nahum both contain allusions to Exodus 34:6–7 at their seam when they are sequenced. Also, as noted with the Micah-Nahum sequence, the Jonah-Nahum sequence yields uncertain results when evaluating whether this compilation could have been part of the compositional

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[23] Robert B. Chisholm, Jr., *Handbook on the Prophets* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 428.

[24] See Spronk, "Nahum," 5. Spronk suggests that "Nahum" was a pseudonym for a nameless prophet responsible for these prophecies. This could be, but an equally valid explanation is that God providentially worked to ensure that a prophet named "Nahum" delivered these oracles.

intent of these books. Considering the criteria discussed in table 15, (4) the location of these allusions to Exodus 34:6–7 in these books (near the conclusion of Jonah [4:2] and at the beginning of Nahum [1:2–3]) is a probable indication that the compilation of these books influenced their composition. (4) Allusions to Exodus 34:6–7, however, are relatively common, which makes this a less certain indication of a compositional attempt to sequence these books. As with the Micah-Nahum sequence, evaluating (2) the implementation of this theme and (3) the theme's importance within these books is complicated since each allusion highlights a different aspect of God's character as revealed in Exodus 34:6–7. These variations in the theme could be part of the intention behind the sequencing of these books: when sequenced in this manner, the books offer a complete portrayal of God's character and demonstrate how God's actions for (Jonah) and against (Nahum) Nineveh are completely consistent with his revealed character. Nevertheless, as with the Micah-Nahum sequence, evaluating this sequence with the criteria provided in table 15 yields uncertain results. The allusions to Exodus 34:6–7 would certainly suggest a literary sequencing of these books, but we cannot be certain that this literary sequence stems from the compositional stage of the production of these books.

The Theological Emphasis of a Jonah-Nahum Sequence

As with a Micah-Nahum sequence, a Jonah-Nahum sequence conjoins two books based upon their allusions to Exodus 34:6–7 but with each book focusing upon a different aspect of God's character as revealed in Exodus 34:6–7. Jonah 4:2 alludes to the gracious elements of God's character in Exodus 34:6–7 in order to explain why the prophet disobeyed God's commission to prophesy to the city and why Nineveh was spared from judgment.[25] Nahum 1:2–3 alludes to the wrathful elements of God's

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[25] See Chisholm, *Handbook on the Prophets*. 414. Daniel Timmer notes that no quotations of Exod 34:6–7 limit God's behavior to Israel. Jonah was evidently aware of this reality and could not bear to

Table 22. Allusions to Exodus 34:6–7 from Jonah 4:2 and Nahum 1:2–3

Exodus 34:6–7	Jonah 4:2	Nahum 1:2–3
ויעבר יהוה על־פניו ויקרא יהוה יהוה אל רחום וחנון ארך אפים ורב־חסד ואמת: נצר חסד לאלפים נשא עון ופשע וחטאה ונקה לא ינקה פקד עון אבות על־בנים ועל־בני בנים על־שלשים ועל־רבעים:	ויתפלל אל־יהוה ויאמר אנה יהוה הלוא־זה דברי עד־היותי על־אדמתי על־כן קדמתי לברח תרשישה כי ידעתי כי אתה אל־חנון ורחום ארך אפים ורב־חסד ונחם על־הרעה:	אל קנוא ונקם יהוה נקם יהוה ובעל חמה נקם יהוה לצריו ונוטר הוא לאיביו: יהוה ארך אפים וגדול־כח ונקה לא ינקה יהוה בסופה ובשערה דרכו וענן אבק רגליו:
The LORD passed before him and proclaimed, "**The LORD, the LORD**, a **God** merciful and gracious, *slow to anger*, and abounding in *steadfast love* and faithfulness, keeping steadfast love for thousands, *forgiving iniquity and transgression* and sin, but **who will by no means clear the guilty**, visiting the iniquity of the fathers on the children and the children's children, to the third and the fourth generation."	And he prayed to the Lord and he said, "Now, O *Lord*, was this not my word while I was in my country, when I first rose to flee to Tarshish because I knew that you were a *gracious God and compassionate, slow to anger and great in steadfast love* and relenting from evil.	**The LORD** is a jealous and avenging **God**; the LORD is avenging and wrathful; **the LORD** takes vengeance on his adversaries and keeps wrath for his enemies. **The LORD** is **slow to anger** and great in power, and **the LORD will by no means clear the guilty**. His way is in whirlwind and storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet.

character in Exodus 34:6–7 in order to ground Nineveh's judgment in God's righteous character. Taken together, the two allusions to Exodus 34:6–7 comprise a complete presentation of God's character in response to human sin. As Conroy notes, neither Jonah nor Nahum should be allowed to marginalize the other. Taken together, the two books maintain the dialectical emphasis of Exodus 34:6–7.[26]

Taking a broader look at the arrangement of the LXX offers an additional clue to the role of the Jonah-Nahum compilation.[27] A compilational analysis of the LXX's

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see God's mercy extended to the Ninevites. See Daniel C. Timmer, *A Gracious and Compassionate God: Mission, Salvation and Spirituality in the Book of Jonah*, NSBT 26 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2011), 122. Timmer depends upon Wolff. See Hans Walter Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah: A Commentary*, CC, trans. Margaret Kohl (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986), 167.

[26] Charles Conroy, "Jonah and Nahum in the Book of the Twelve: Who has the Last Word?," *PIBA* 32 (2009): 20–23

[27] This paragraph offers an analysis of the arrangement of these books in the LXX, similar to what Shepherd has done for the MT's arrangement of the book of the Twelve. See Michael B. Shepherd,

Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, and Nahum sequence reveals a concern for exploring God's actions among the nations. It is unlikely that this compilation can be traced to the compositional stages of these books (though I am open to this possibility for Jonah and Nahum). Nevertheless, the compilation of these books at a later time suggests a purposeful and literary attempt to arrange these books at the compilational level of their production. Joel concludes with the desolation of the nations on behalf of Judah and Jerusalem (Joel 3:1–21 [4:1–21 LXX]). After Joel anticipates a desolation of the nations concurring with the restoration of Judah, Obadiah focuses on God's judgment on the nation of Edom because of their actions against Judah (Obad 10–14). These books are additionally connected by Joel's reference to Edom's destruction near the conclusion of his book (Joel 3:19 [4:19 LXX]).[28] Following Obadiah, the LXX turns its attention to Nineveh with a Jonah-Nahum sequence. Nahum focuses upon God's judgment of Nineveh, much like Obadiah does Edom. As noted above, Nahum's prophecy against Nineveh is likely due to its actions against God's people, again much like Obadiah's prophecy against Edom.

Since Jonah focuses upon God's patience and grace towards a foreign nation, the book's placement within the LXX's "judgment on the nations" sequence may at first seem out of place. The Jonah-Nahum sequence in the LXX, however, shows that God's judgment of the nations is not unjust. Just as Israel is given an opportunity to repent of their actions and turn towards God, Nineveh is offered the same opportunity.[29] When they repent of their sins, as Nineveh does in Jonah,[30] God relents from the judgment he

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"Compositional Analysis of the Twelve," *ZAW* 120 (2008): 184–93.

[28] The LXX refers to Edom as Ἰδουμαία in both Joel and Obadiah.

[29] See Wöhrle, "A Prophetic Reflection," 14. The opportunity for Nineveh to repent is implicitly stated in Nah 1:3 when it includes "slow to anger" in the description of YHWH. The phrase "slow to anger" refers to God's patience with unfaithfulness, but, as Wöhrle notes, in the context of Nahum, "slow to anger" emphasizes the limits of God's patience rather than the grace showed to those who repent.

[30] The nature of Nineveh's repentance is unclear. John Walton argues that the Ninevites' repentance was shallow, which is why Jonah was upset with God's relenting from the judgment he had pronounced against the city. See John H. Walton, "The Object Lesson of Jonah 4:5–7 and the Purpose of the Book of Jonah," *BBR* 2 (1992): 47–57. Fuhr and Yates, however, have demonstrated that the Ninevites'

would have otherwise shown them. Yet, when they relapse into their former sins (again, as was often the case for the Israelites), they will be subjected to God's judgment, as in Nahum. Although never mentioned within Jonah or Nahum, Nineveh's relapse into sin is the most logical explanation of Nahum's prophecy of their coming judgment.[31] Thus, within the LXX's "judgment on the nations" sequence, the Jonah-Nahum sequence shows that God's judgment against the foreign nations should not be understood apart from his willingness to relent if they repent of their sin. But if the nation relapses into sin, they are again subjected to the judgment of God. Past repentance never guarantees God's favor, neither for the Israelites or the nations.[32] Regardless of when this compilation was created (pre/post-exilic) this would have been an important lesson for Israel.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the Micah-Nahum sequence found in the Masoretic

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actions reflect exactly the kind of repentance God wanted from his people. Note the parallels between Joel 2:12–17 and Jonah 3:4–10. Joel calls for fasting (2:12); the Ninevites fast, along with their animals (3:5, 7). Joel calls for mourning (2:12–13); the Ninevites wear sackcloth and sit in ashes (3:5–6, 8). Joel calls for the people to turn to the Lord (2:12–13); the Ninevites turn from their sinful ways (3:8, 10). Joel expresses the possibility of divine mercy (2:14); the king of Nineveh expresses the possibility of divine mercy (3:9). Joel gives Exod 34:6–7 as the basis for why God would relent from the coming disaster (Joel 2:13); Jonah reference Exod 34:6–7 as the basis for why God relented from the disaster coming to Nineveh (4:2). Fuhr and Yates, *The Message of the Twelve*, 50. Spronk concurs with this evaluation by stating "The people of Nineveh are doing exactly what Joel asked from his own people." Spronk, "Nahum," 8. Even though it appears as though the Ninevites did repent of their sin, Walton's point may still hold some validity. It seems unlikely that the Ninevites, even with their repentance, ever converted to Yahwehism, which could explain the prophet's resentment.

[31] Ego has noted several attempts within Jewish exposition to alleviate the tension between Jonah and Nahum, including Nineveh's relapse into sin. For example, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan states in Nah 1:1, "Previously Jonah the son of Amittai, the prophet from Gath-hepher, prophesied against her and she repented of her sins; and when they sinned again, there prophesied once more against her Nahum of Beth Koshi, as is recorded in this book." Beate Ego, "The Repentance of Nineveh in the Story of Jonah and Nahum's Prophecy of the City's Destruction—A Coherent Reading of the Book of the Twelve as Reflected in the Aggada," in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart, BZAW 325 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 155–64. A relapse into sin is certainly the correct explanation of the "tension" between the books of Jonah and Nahum. To say that a "tension" exists between the two books due to YHWH's judgment of Nineveh in Nahum after relenting from judgment in Jonah would seem odd since God's relenting of judgment is certainly predicated upon a continued or even increased (if Walton's interpretation is valid) attitude of repentance.

[32] Wöhrle, who believes the allusions to Exod 34 within the book of the Twelve are a later redaction, believes this was the point the redactor was seeking to make. He states, "Therefore, according to the Grace-Corpus, repentance is not a single act, but a continuous turning to Yhwh." Wöhrle, "A Prophetic Reflection," 16.

manuscripts and the Jonah-Nahum sequence found in the LXX manuscripts. It was

determined that although these arrangements are based upon literary and theological

criteria, we cannot be certain that the composition of any of these books was influenced

by either of these compilations. If, however, a compilational critic was convinced that

these two sequences stemmed from the compositional stage of these texts, then these

compilations would verify the thesis of this dissertation. If a compilational critic were to

determine that these compilations were isolated to the compilational stage of the Old

Testament, this chapter would still show that the logic of this thesis must at least be

extended to the compilational stage of the Old Testament's production. That is, since

both of these compilations are based on the same literary compilational logic,

compilational critics must admit that there are multiple ways to arrange the Old

Testament in a literarily significant way.

This chapter has also illustrated the importance of considering a text's

compilation for interpretation. The Micah-Nahum sequence affirms that God will act

consistently according to the revelation of his own character in Exodus 34:6–7.

Furthermore, since Micah concludes with a reference to the patriarchal promises, the

sequencing of Micah and Nahum in the Masoretic manuscripts creates an additional

context from which to understand God's judgment against Nineveh. Since God had

promised to curse those who belittled Abraham and his descendants (Gen 12:3), Nahum's

prophecy against Nineveh may be understood as a fulfillment of what God had promised

to Abraham. The Jonah-Nahum sequence found in the LXX manuscripts also presents

both sides of God's righteous character as presented in Exodus 34:6–7. Furthermore, this

Jonah-Nahum sequence shows that God is willing to relent from judgment provided that

the offending party repent. We should not assume, however, that past repentance

guarantees God's future mercies.

CHAPTER 5

THE BOOK OF RUTH AND ITS
COMPILATIONAL PARTNERS

The previous chapter studied two compilations involving the book of Nahum and argued that if the allusions to Exodus 34 which the beginning of Nahum shares with the conclusions of both Jonah and Micah were valid compilational features, then these compilations would verify the thesis of this dissertation: Both a Jonah-Nahum and a Micah-Nahum sequence are needed to account for the compilational features within the text of these books. This chapter will examine the book of Ruth and its compilational partners within the three arrangements of the Old Testament noted in chapter 2. It will conclude that the most likely explanation of the text of these books is that the compilational features contained within them will require multiple arrangements of these books in order to be accounted for in linear arrangements of the Old Testament canon. As will be discussed in the next paragraph, the book of Ruth is found in three locations within the witnesses studied in this dissertation. Thus, understanding how the book of Ruth was compiled with the rest of the Old Testament could be a crucial step towards confirming the thesis of this dissertation: multiple arrangements are needed to account for the compilational features within the Old Testament.

The three arrangements discussed in chapter 2 each differ concerning the placement of Ruth within the Old Testament canon. *Baba Bathra* 14b places Ruth at the beginning of the Writings, ahead of the book of Psalms. The Masoretic manuscripts place Ruth in the fifth position of the Writings, following Chronicles, Psalms, Job, and Proverbs and preceding Song of Solomon. In this position, it is often understood to be

part of the *Megilloth* (scrolls) in Hebrew tradition.[1] Jerome places Ruth between the books of Judges and Samuel. This arrangement was also adopted by the LXX manuscripts and probably in most instances when the books of the Old Testament were numbered as twenty-two (counted with Judges as a single book).[2] The multiple positions for the book of Ruth has led Stephen Dempster to refer to it as "a wandering Moabite".[3]

As noted in the Introduction, the location of Ruth within the Old Testament canon was the central issue in a recent exchange between Stephen Dempster and Timothy Stone. Stephen Dempster believes that the arrangement of *Baba Bathra* 14b is the oldest arrangement of the Old Testament canon and thus contains Ruth's original location within the Old Testament. Therefore, this location, ahead of Psalms, should be prioritized over the other two locations.[4] Timothy Stone, however, believes that the book of Ruth originated between Judges and Samuel and then migrated to its subsequent positions.[5]

Should one position for the book of Ruth be favored among the other positions contained within these ancient witnesses? If only one of these compilations influenced the composition of Ruth and/or the other books involved, then a single linear sequence could account for all of the compilational features related to Ruth and a single position could be favored. Ruth's position in the remaining arrangements would be merely the

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[1] The *Megilloth* consists of Ruth, Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, and Esther. These books were a frequent cause of much debate among Jewish communities due to their seeming incongruence with the remaining books of the Hebrew Bible. The solution within Judaism was to adopt these five books into their lectionary as readings for their five major festivals. See Barry G. Webb, *Five Festal Garments*, NSBT 10 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000), 13–14.

[2] See Roger T. Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church and Its Background in Early Judaism* (London: SPCK, 1985), 252–63 (especially the table on 254 and Beckwith's conclusion on 261).

[3] Stephen Dempster, "A Wandering Moabite: Ruth—A Book in Search of a Canonical Home," in *The Shape of the Writings*, ed. Julius Steinberg and Timothy Stone, LTHS 16 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 87–118.

[4] See Dempster, "A Wandering Moabite," 115–16.

[5] See Timothy J. Stone, *The Compilational History of the Megilloth*, FAT 59 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 118–39 and Stone, "The Compilational History of Ruth," in Steinberg and Stone, *The Shape of the Writings*, 175–85.

opinions of later compilers who were not involved in the composition of the Old Testament text. On the other hand, if it were shown that the composition of these biblical books was influenced by more than one compilation, then multiple linear arrangements would be required to account for the compilational features within them. No one arrangement could be favored over the others because that would require us to neglect the compositional intent of the books involved.

This chapter will argue that the text of the Old Testament books has been influenced by at least three and possibly four compilations related to the book of Ruth. Therefore, multiple arrangements are needed in order to account for the compilational features within these books. In order to make this argument, this chapter will investigate several sequences utilizing the book of Ruth and one additional sequence in order to determine whether any of these compilations influenced the composition of these books. This chapter will also discuss the hermeneutical and theological implications of these sequences. It will conclude that the texts of several of these books have been influenced by how they were compiled with other Old Testament books, thus affirming the thesis of this dissertation. Multiple arrangements are needed to explain the words of the biblical text.

A Judges-Samuel Sequence

This section will argue that Judges and Samuel contain compilational features suggesting a sequential arrangement between them. Although this initial compilation to be studied in this chapter does not include the book of Ruth, it will be argued in the next section that these books and Ruth also contain compilational features suggesting a Judges-Ruth-Samuel sequence. If this is the case, then at least two arrangements are needed to account for the compilational features in these books (a Judges-Samuel sequence and a Judges-Ruth-Samuel sequence), thus validating the thesis of this dissertation. This section will conclude by considering the theological implications of a

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Judges-Samuel sequence. It will be argued that Samuel further defines the hope Judges places on the emergence of the Israelite monarchy.

A Judges-Samuel sequence could have emerged from three scenarios. (1) Judges was composed first.[6] Samuel was then composed second with the intention that it would follow Judges. (2) Samuel was composed first. Judges was then composed second with the intention that it would precede Samuel. (3) An editor altered the text of both books to form the connection. Determining which of these scenarios produced this sequence is unnecessary for this dissertation. It is enough to show that these books have been linked textually.

Establishing a Judges-Samuel Sequence

Judges and Samuel are linked sequentially by common themes, narrative continuation, and catchphrases. The thematic similarities joining these books were discussed in chapter 3 as an example of this kind of compilational feature. Judges and Samuel were joined sequentially using two themes. The first theme uniting these books is the promise of children to barren mothers (Judg 13:2–3; 1 Sam 1:1, 17). When evaluated by the criteria given in table 15, we cannot be certain whether this theme indicates a compositional attempt to sequence these two books. (1) Though miraculous, there are several other instances of previously barren mothers having children and at least one other instance in which God promised beforehand to do so (Gen 17:16). (2) Although these themes are generally the same, there is at least one substantial difference. Whereas the difficulty for Manoah and his wife is that they are old, the difficulty for Hannah is a rivalry with Peninnah. (3) This theme is rather insignificant within these books. (4) Although this theme appears at the beginning of Samuel, it is several chapters from the

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[6] It is important to keep in mind that "composition" can include both the original production of the work and any editing needed to achieve the final shape of this material. Thus, these initial two options allow for the compilational features to have stemmed from the original production of the later book or from the work of a later editor.

end of Judges, at least as the text stands. Thus, as noted in chapter 3, while this theme would not provide the evidence needed to establish a compositional attempt to sequence between the two books on its own, it can supplement the remaining discussion below.

The second theme uniting these two books concerns the unfaithfulness of the Levites. As discussed in chapter 3, (1) although this theme is not unique, it is specific and (4) occurs near the junction of the two books. (2) This theme is presented in a similar manner: the moral corruption of the Levites, the tribe which was charged with overseeing the nations most sacred matters, is symptomatic of the moral decline within the nation as a whole. Furthermore, the unfaithful actions occurring in Judges 17–21 are related to the actions of Hophni and Phinehas.[7] (3) As an illustration of the religious and moral decline which pervaded the Israelites as a whole during this period, this is a significant theme within both books. Judges narrates the nation's descent into this moral chaos, and Samuel looks to the Davidic covenant as a sign that God will one day deliver the nation from these circumstances. As concluded in chapter 3, this thematic link between these books is a likely attempt to sequence them compositionally.

Judges and Samuel are also joined through narrative continuation. (1+2) Although the book of Samuel does not carry over the same characters and plot, (3) it does emphasize continuity in setting. The final two narratives in Judges focus upon events occurring in the hill country of Ephraim (Judg 17:1; 18:2; 19:1). Samuel begins by telling a story about a family from the hill country of Ephraim (1 Sam 1:1).

The connection is more detailed, however, than merely the name of the location. This continuity in setting is created through the repetition of a textual pattern spanning both books. The well-known refrain echoing throughout the conclusion of Judges ("In those days there was no king in Israel") occurs four times: 17:6; 18:1; 19:1

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[7] This point stemmed from Robert D. Bergen, *1, 2 Samuel*, NAC, vol. 7 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1996), 57–58.

and 21:25. The first three of these occurrences are closely followed by references to events in the hill country of Ephraim (17:8; 18:2; 19:1). The final occurrence of this refrain concludes the book (21:25) and thus obviously omits the reference to the hill country of Ephraim. The first verse of Samuel, however, completes this pattern by referencing Elkanah who was from the hill country of Ephraim.[8] In addition to the setting of Ephraim, Judges concludes by saying that the desolated tribe of Benjamin kidnapped wives who were participating in the annual feast held at Shiloh (Judg 21:19–21). Samuel begins by focusing on the priesthood of Eli and his sons in Shiloh (1 Sam 1–4).[9] Although these narratives do not continue with the same plot or characters, the manner in which the setting is continued from Judges into Samuel is a likely indication of an attempt to link these books at the compositional level.

Judges and Samuel are also joined together by catchphrases. The phrase "worthless fellows/sons of Belial (בני־בליעל)" appears at Judg 19:22, Judg 20:13, and 1 Sam 2:12. When evaluated by the criteria listed in table 11, this phrase is only a possible attempt to link these books compositionally. (1) This phrase occurs at several other places (Deut 13:14; 1 Sam 10:27; 25:17; 1 Kgs 21:10,13; 2 Chr 13:7), so it is not rare. (2) Since this is a phrase rather than a single word, it is a positive indication that this may be an attempt to link these books compositionally. (3) This phrase appears towards the end of Judges and the beginning of Samuel, but it could certainly be closer. If the appearance of "worthless woman/daughter of Belial (בת־בליעל)" in 1 Samuel 1:16 is included with the occurrences of "worthless fellows/sons of Belial (בני־בליעל)", then the phrase appears in the last two stories of Judges and the first two stories of Samuel. This symmetry could

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[8] I owe this observation to Robert Cole, one of my Old Testament professors at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary.

[9] See Stephen G. Dempster, *Dominion and Dynasty: A Theology of the Hebrew Bible*, NSBT 15 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 134. See also, William J. Dumbrell, "'In Those Days There Was No King in Israel; Every Man Did What Was Right in His Own Eyes': The Purpose of the Book of Judges Reconsidered," *JSOT* 25 (1983): 24.

point to a compositional attempt to link these books and explain why these phrases do not occur precisely at the end and beginning of these books. Those responsible for the composition of these books may have assumed that readers would notice this symmetry.

Timothy Stone notes another catch-phrase connecting these two books.[10] (3) Stone notes that the phrase מימים ימימה (lit. day by day) appears in both Judges 21:19 and 1 Samuel 1:3. (1) This phrase is used in only three other places in the Old Testament (Ex 13:10; Judg 11:40; 1 Sam 2:19), but none of these additional occurrences appear in close proximity to Shiloh. Furthermore, in Judges 21:19 and 1 Samuel 1:3, the phrase is an oddity because the context clearly demands that the phrase mean "year by year" in these texts even though the word יום is typically translated "day". Typically, the phrase שנה בשנה is used to refer to the concept of "year after year" or "annually". This more prominent way of writing "year after year" is used in 1 Samuel 1:7, just four verses after the phrase מימים ימימה is used to relate this same idea.[11] What could explain the rare use of מימים ימימה (lit. "day by day") in 1 Samuel 1:3 when the text uses the typical phrase שנה בשנה ("year by year") to refer to the same concept just four verses later? The most likely explanation is that the phrase is intended to be a compositional link sequencing these books.

Theological Effect of the Judges-Samuel Compilation

What could have been the motivation to create this sequence? It is commonly recognized that the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings form a continuous narrative. These books are often referred to as the Former Prophets, and when these books are considered with the Pentateuch, they form a continuous story recording the

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[10] Stone, *The Megilloth*, 89.

[11] Robert Alter also notes the importance of this phrase. See Robert Alter, *Ancient Israel: The Former Prophets* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2013), 241.

history of Israel from the creation of the cosmos to the nation's exile. The examples used to illustrate various forms of compilational criticism in chapter 3 stem from the Former Prophets and suggest that the compilation of these books was part of their compositional intent.

How does the Judges-Samuel sequence function within this history? The book of Judges narrates Israel's steady "canaanization"[12] after the death of Joshua and his generation. Some of the initial judges lead Israel well (e.g., Othniel, Shamgar), but as the book progresses, the nation unravels both politically and morally. Samson, the book's final main figure, is representative of the nation as a whole.[13] Just as Samson did what was right in his own eyes (Judg 14:3, 7), so did the nation (Judg 18:1; 19:1). Moses warns against this (Deut 12:8), but nevertheless, Israel's unfaithfulness to YHWH has resulted in a precipitous moral decline.

Judges concludes with a recurring refrain acknowledging the extent of Israel's moral decline: "In those days Israel had no king. Everyone did what was right in his own eyes" (Judg 17:6; 21:25). This refrain at the end of Judges points toward the cause (at least to some extent) for this moral decline: Israel's ineffectual leadership. In identifying the cause, the book also concludes by identifying a solution. The book looks forward to the emergence of a godly leader who will function as an "expression of God's rule over the nation rather than a leader who will interfere with God's rule."[14] Although several different types of leaders emerge during this period (elders, judges, generals, prophets),

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[12] This is the term used by Daniel Block. See Daniel I. Block, *Judges, Ruth*, NAC, vol. 6 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1999), 58. See also, Block, "The Period of the Judges: Religious Disintegration under Tribal Rule," in *Israel's Apostasy and Restoration: Essays in Honor of R. K. Harrison*, ed. Avraham Gileadi (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1988), 39–58.

[13] See Block, *Judges, Ruth*, 426. Hamilton makes a similar observation when he states, "The lack of restraint in Israel is illustrated by two stories that show how the sins of several judges have gone to seed," and uses Samson's actions as an example. See James M. Hamilton, Jr., *God's Glory in Salvation through Judgment: A Biblical Theology* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2010), 157.

[14] Mary L. Conway, "Monarchy in Judges: Positive or Negative?" *JBTS* 4 (2019): 33. Conway attributes this expression to a lecture from Iain Provan.

the refrain identifies this leader as a king.[15] This refrain points to the benefits of a king

who will rule as YHWH's vice-regent and restrain evil within the nation.[16] Thus, the

book of Judges concludes by looking forward to the emergence of a king who will

reverse the moral decline within the nation.

The Judges-Samuel sequence allows for this emphasis at the conclusion of

Judges to be continued and further defined in Samuel. Samuel extends Israel's story by

narrating the rise of Israel's monarchy.[17] Samuel's portrayal of Israel's monarchy may be

somewhat unexpected, however. Rather than providing the needed political and moral

stability, Israel's first king, Saul, behaves strikingly similar to Jephthah, one of the most

unfaithful leaders within Judges. Jephthah tries to manipulate God by making a rash vow

(Judg 11:30–31) endangering the life of his daughter (Judg 11:34–35) who is willing to

die so that her father may fulfill his vow (Judg 11:36). Saul, likewise, makes a rash vow

(1 Sam 14:24) endangering the life of his son (1 Sam 14:44–45), who is willing to die so

that his father may fulfill his vow (1 Sam 14:43).

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[15] Scholars debate whether Judges is pro- or anti- monarchy. See Block, *Judges, Ruth*, 57; Dumbrell, "The Purpose of Judges Reconsidered," 23–33; William J. Dumbrell, *The Faith of Israel: A Theological Survey of the Old Testament*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002), 79–80. These authors believe the book of Judges is critical of the monarchy. Gideon's refusal to be made king (Judg 8:22–23) is one of the primary texts used to argue for an anti-monarchial reading of Judges, but at this point, the character of Gideon is filled with ambiguity. Although he refuses to be Israel's king, he requested a sort of tribute from those he protected (Judg 8:24–28), much as a king would have. In this case, Gideon wants the *rights* of a king without accepting the *responsibilities* of a king. Additionally, Gideon names his son "my father is king (Abimelech)." Conway offers a slightly different evaluation of Gideon's actions. She suggests that the request to make Gideon king makes him realize what a tyrant he has become. He responds by rejecting the legitimacy of a monarchy within Israel and instead assumes the role of a priest (a role for which he is certainly unqualified). By unduly abdicating his appointed role, Israel's kingship is usurped by an even worse tyrant, Gideon's son Abimelech. See Conway, "Monarchy in Judges," 32–34. Whatever the case, there is certainly reason to question whether Gideon's words in Judg 8:22–23 represent the book's view of Israel's monarchy.

[16] See Hamilton, *God's Glory in Salvation through Judgment*, 157. Hamilton summarizes these verses concerning Israel's need of a king with the statement "No King, No Restraint." See also T. Desmond Alexander, *The Servant King: The Bible's Portrait of the Messiah* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 1998), 47; Dempster, *Dominion and Dynasty*, 133; Roland Kenneth Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), 692; Marc Brettler, "The Book of Judges: Literature as Politics," *JBL* 108 (1989): 395–418; Marvin A. Sweeney, "Davidic Polemics in the Book of Judges," *VT* 47 (1997): 517–29.

[17] Dempster notes that Samuel begins with the birth of the "king-maker in Israel" which he acknowledges is an answer to Hannah's prayer and the refrain of Judges. See Dempster, *Dominion and Dynasty*, 134.

David, typically regarded as Israel's greatest king, also behaves in a manner strangely reminiscent to what is seen in Judges. Judges contains two stories in which women are abused (Judg 19:25–26; 21:23). In both cases, the men who should have objected to this treatment of the women under their leadership do nothing about it (Judg 19:24–25; 21:22[18]). This is similar to the story of Amnon and Tamar. Amnon rapes Tamar (2 Sam 13:14), and David did nothing about it (2 Sam 13:21).[19] In the aftermath of one of these instances in Judges, Israel fights a civil war (Judg 20). Similarly, in the aftermath of Amnon's rape of Tamar (2 Sam 13), Israel fights a civil war (2 Sam 15–18).[20] Given these comparisons, Israel's kings have not provided political and moral stability but have instead continued the course towards Israel's Canaanization! Israel's first two kings are in many ways paradigmatic of Israel's later kings (both the southern and northern kingdoms). [21] Although there were some exceptions, the institution of Israel's monarchy was a subversion of YHWH's rule over the people.

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that Samuel opposes the hope contained within the last verse of Judges. Instead, Samuel invests this hope in a future king who will bring the stability and covenant loyalty needed within Israel. The key text

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[18] In this final case, the abuse of these women is actually endorsed by the leaders of Israel (Judg 21:16–21)

[19] This verse does say that David was angry. The LXX fills in some information for the reader by stating, "But (David) did not grieve the spirit of his son because he loved him because he was his firstborn."

[20] These final two instances are suggested by Philip Satterthwaite. See Philip E. Satterthwaite, "'No King in Israel': Narrative Criticism and Judges 17–21," *TynBul* 44 (1993): 88. Obviously, although the book of Samuel acknowledges David's failures, the overall presentation of David is positive. He is a king after God's own heart (1 Sam 13:14), and God establishes an eternal covenant with him, as will be discussed below. Furthermore, despite David's failures, he never turned away from YHWH but instead repented of his transgressions. See Conway, "Monarchy in Judges," 40. Jason DeRouchie states, "The negative elements of David's life were probably retained to emphasize the need for one greater than David—a divine royal son (2 Sam 7:14; Ps 2:7, 12; cf. Luke 1:32), 'chosen' of God (Isa 42:1; cf. Luke 9:35; 23:35; 1 Pet 2:4), whose faithfulness would be complete (Isa 55:3; cf. 1 Pet 2:22–24) and whose kingship would never end (2 Sam 7:16; cf. Luke 1:33)." Jason DeRouchie, "The Heart of YHWH and His Chosen One in 1 Samuel 13:14," *BBR* 24 (2014): 487.

[21] Sailhamer notes that the author of Samuel lived during a time when Israel's monarchy led the nation away from God. See John Sailhamer, *NIV Compact Bible Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), 217.

affirming this outlook is 2 Samuel 7:8–16. These verses narrate God's covenant with David and establish hope for a future descendant of David who will usher in a messianic age. Although some elements of the covenant described in these verses apply to Solomon as an immediate historical referent, certain aspects of this covenant blessing can only be applied to a future descendant of David who had yet to arise within Israel, especially the promise that "the throne of his kingdom will be established forever" (2 Sam 7:13b).[22] In Samuel, the king who will bring the political stability and covenantal faithfulness which is longed for in Judges (Judg 17:6; 21:25) is identified as a future, messianic heir of David's throne.

The hope for a future king who will bring stability and covenant loyalty is further accentuated by the poetic framework encompassing Samuel. Hannah's song (1 Sam 2:1–11) and David's last words (2 Sam 23:1–7) contain clear verbal and thematic links between them,[23] and these links express a hope for a future king who will rule with God's favor (1 Sam 2:10; 2 Sam 22:51–23:7). Although David's failures have been well documented in Samuel, the author elevates him in these texts to an ideal king, and it is this ideal king that the author looks to with hope. Satterthwaite sums up the effect of this poetic frame by stating, "The future aspect of the Last Words of David also seems to introduce an implicit note of hope, as much as to suggest: this is the kind of king Israel longs for. As this hope concerns an anointed figure, it is hard to deny that, in one sense of the words, these poetic texts express a messianic hope."[24]

The Judges-Samuel sequence aides the reader in understanding the hope

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[22] See Bergen, *1, 2 Samuel*, 339–41. See also Michael McKelvey, "1–2 Samuel," in *A Biblical-Theological Introduction to the Old Testament: The Gospel Promised*, ed. Miles V. Van Pelt (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2016), 214.

[23] See Philip E. Satterthwaite, "David in the Books of Samuel: A Messianic Hope?," in *The Lord's Anointed: Interpretation of Old Testament Messianic Texts*, ed. Richard S. Hess, Philip E. Satterthwaite, and Gordon J. Wenham (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2012), 43–47.

[24] Satterthwaite, "David in the Books of Samuel," 47.

expressed within the repeated refrain at the conclusion of Judges. This hope, as defined by Samuel, rests upon a future eschatological figure associated with David. In critiquing Israel's first two kings (and by extension, the rest of the Israelite monarchies in both the northern and southern kingdoms), Samuel does not contradict or nullify the theological outlook of Judges but rather acknowledges that it will be fulfilled by a future ruler from David's line. This future king will serve as an extension of YHWH's rule over Israel (1 Sam 13:14) and will attain the political stability and covenant faithfulness envisioned in the refrain of Judges.

A Judges-Ruth-Samuel Sequence

The previous section argued that the books of Judges and Samuel form a sequence that is traceable to the compositional level of one or both books (depending upon which scenario presented above underlies the sequence). This section will argue that the book of Ruth contains compilational features suggesting that it was intended to be read between Judges and Ruth. If this is the case, then it would validate the thesis of this dissertation because the composition of these texts show an intentional Judges-Samuel sequence and an intentional Judges-Ruth-Samuel sequence. Multiple linear arrangements are needed to account for the compositional and compilational intent underlying these books. This discussion will begin by examining the compilational features suggesting a Judges-Ruth-Samuel sequence. It will then consider the theological motivation for the creation of this sequence.

Before beginning, it may be helpful to consider the various scenarios which could have led to the sequencing of these books. There are six options. (1) Judges and Samuel were composed before Ruth. Ruth was then composed with the intention that it would be read between these books. (2) Judges was composed first. Ruth was composed second with the intention that it would be read after Judges. Samuel was composed last

with the intention that it could be read after both Ruth or Judges.[25] (3) Samuel was

composed first. Ruth was composed second with the intention that it would be read

before Samuel. Judges was composed last with the intention that it could be read before

both Ruth or Samuel. (4) Ruth was composed first. Judges was composed second with the

intention of preceding Ruth. Samuel was composed last with the intention that it could be

read after both Ruth or Judges. (5) Ruth was composed first. Samuel was composed

second with the intention that it would be after Ruth. Judges was composed last with the

intention that it could be read before both Ruth and Samuel. (6) A later editor (someone

after the original composition of these books) adjusted the texts of these books to create

this scenario. For all of these scenarios except for the first, it would be required for at

least one of the books to have been composed with the intention that it would be read in

multiple locations, thus showing that the thesis of this dissertation (that multiple

arrangements are required to account for the compilational features inherent with the Old

Testament text) was not a chance occurrence but intended by the composition of some of

the biblical books. This would also be the case for the first scenario unless whoever was

responsible for the composition of Ruth was unaware that Judges and Samuel formed a

pre-existing sequence.

**Establishing a Judges-Ruth-Samuel
Sequence**

Ruth is linked with Judges through several catchwords and thematic links. The

most obvious link is the chronological marker placed in Ruth 1:1: "in the days when the

judges ruled." This statement locates the historical setting of Ruth at the time described

by the book of Judges and may be an indication that Ruth was intended to be read after

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[25] Scenarios in which either Judges or Samuel were composed last require that the person(s) responsible for the composition of that final book intended for it to fit in more than one location related to the other two books. This is necessary to keep these scenarios consistent with those discussed above for the Judges-Samuel sequence.

Judges. If so, Ruth would be a continuation of the Judges narrative. Since this feature appears in the first verse of Ruth, it would indicate a probable attempt to link these books by the author of Ruth.

The chronological marker on its own, however, is insufficient to claim that Judges and Ruth were intended to be a sequence. Identifying the historical setting during which the events of a book took place does not demand that the book be read in conjunction with other biblical books covering that historical time frame. Furthermore, Schipper notes that outside of the book of Judges, the term "judge" is typically associated with local legal proceedings (Deut 1:16–17; 16:18; 17:0, 12; 19:17–18; 21:2; 25:2; 1 Sam 8:1–2; 2 Chr 19:5–6) rather than with the military endeavors discussed in the book of Judges. Schipper believes Ruth's portrayal of judges is better suited to this more frequent biblical meaning than with the warlord/chieftain meaning found in the book of Judges.[26] Thus, the word "judge" in Ruth 1:1 may not even fit as a reference to the book of Judges. More evidence is needed to show the compilation of these books influenced their composition. If more evidence for this sequence can be established, however, then this feature may still be considered as a supplementary indication of an attempt to link these two books.

In support of the evidence provided by the chronological marker, there are additional indications that the sequencing of Judges and Ruth influenced the text of one or both books. Timothy Stone notes that the chronological connection is matched by a geographical connection; the phrase "from Bethlehem of Judea" occurs at the beginning of Ruth (Ruth 1:1, 2) and at several points at the conclusion of Judges (Judg 17:8, 9; 19:1, 2, 18). Evaluating this catchphrase linking Judges and Ruth with the criteria given in table 11 yields positive results. This is a cluster of three terms (2). Apart from the

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[26] See Jeremy Schipper, *Ruth: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB, vol. 7D (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 12.

instances noted here, this phrase is only used one time in the Old Testament (1 Sam 17:12). Thus, this phrase is almost unique to these two books (1). Furthermore, this phrase occurs at the seam between these two books (3). Thus, this catchphrase is a probable indication that the composition of these books was influenced by an intention to sequence them.[27]

The idiom נשׂא נשׁים in Ruth 1:4 also serves as a catchphrase sequencing these two books. The typical word used for "taking" a wife is לקח, and this word appears several times in Judges (14:3; 15:6; 19:1; 21:22). In Judges 21:23, however, the term נשׂא is used to describe how the Benjaminites obtained their wives. Ruth also uses the term נשׂא in this unusual sense in Ruth 1:4 when describing how Mahlon and Chilion obtained their Moabite wives. Later in the book (Ruth 4:13), the usual term לקח is used to express how Boaz obtained Ruth as his wife. Thus, the use of the unusual idiom נשׂא נשׁים appears to be an attempt to sequence Judges and Ruth.[28]

When this catchphrase is evaluated by the criteria found in table 11, this appears to be a likely attempt to sequence these books. This is a cluster of two terms, נשׂא and נשׁים (2). The use of this idiom is very rare and instances in which it could have been used but was not appear in both books (1). This idiom appears at the seams of both books (3).

Edward Campbell has noted several additional features shared between the two books which may be attempts to sequence them compositionally.[29] When evaluated by

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[27] See Stone, *The Megilloth*, 120–21.

[28] Stone notes this compilational feature and also points out that the use of the unusual term נשׂא cannot be explained contextually. See Stone, *The Megilloth*, 121–23. See also John R. Wilch, *Ruth*, Concordia Commentary (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2006), 17, Edward F. Campbell, *Ruth: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary*, AB, vol. 7 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975), 35; Tod Linafelt, *Ruth*, in Tod Linafelt and Timothy K. Beal, *Ruth, Esther*, Berit Olam: Studies in Hebrew Narrative & Poetry (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1999), xix. See also Peter H. W. Lau and Gregory Goswell, *Unceasing Kindness: A Biblical Theology of Ruth*, NSBT 41 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2016), 24. Lau and Goswell note that this idiom only occurs in 2 Chr 11:21; 13:21; 24:3; Ezra 9:2, 12; 10:44; Neh 13:25.

[29] See Campbell, *Ruth*, 35. Campbell includes several other potential links not mentioned here.

the criteria in table 11, none of them could be taken as likely attempts to sequence these two books, but they are included here to supplement the two catchphrases discussed above. The Hebrew negative אַל is used independently in Judges 19:23 and Ruth 1:13. These are two of only six times this occurs in the Old Testament (1). The word הנה is used as an expression of surprise in Judges 20:40 and Ruth 2:4 and 4:1 (1). The verb יטב followed by a suffixed form of the noun לב is found in Judges 19:6 and 22 and in Ruth 3:7 (2). Again, these connections must be supplementary in nature, but if valid, then they show an awareness of several textual features shared between the two books.

The clearest compilational link between Ruth and Samuel is a grammatically similar catchphrase pertaining to the value of sons. In Ruth 4:15, the women of Bethlehem declare to Naomi that Ruth is "worth more to you than seven sons (היא טובה לך משבעה בנים)." The phrase is very similar to 1 Samuel 1:8, in which Elkanah says to Hannah "Am I not worth more to you than ten sons (אנכי טוב לך מעשרה בנים)?" When evaluated by the criteria in table 11, this is a likely instance in which the compilation of these texts influenced their composition. These phrases are very similar (2) and rarely used in the Old Testament (1). Both instances of this phrase occur at the seam joining these two books (3). As Stone notes, these catchphrases contain only minor variations and are only sixteen verses apart if Samuel follows Ruth.[30] The repetition of these similar phrases near the ending of Ruth and the beginning of Samuel is a strong indication that the composition of these books was intended to form an intentional sequence.

In addition to this catchphrase, Tod Linafelt has drawn a connection between Ruth and Samuel based upon the concluding genealogy in Ruth (Ruth 4:17–21).[31] Genealogies within the Old Testament typically introduce key figures in the subsequent

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[30] See Stone, *The Megilloth*, 125. Daniel Block also acknowledges this similarity. See Block, *Judges, Ruth*, 729.

[31] See Linafelt, *Ruth*, xviii–xxv.

stories, yet the genealogy in Ruth concludes the book. Linafelt proposes that the

incorporation of this genealogy at the conclusion of Ruth is intended to point readers to

the narrative in Samuel, wherein David, the figure concluding the genealogy, has a

significant role.[32] This genealogical link could qualify as an instance of narrative or

thematic continuation. When evaluated by the criteria in tables 14 and 15 from chapter 3,

the genealogy could only be considered as a possible indication that the composition of

Ruth was influenced by an attempt to sequence it with Samuel. Although the occurrence

of David's name links the two books, Ruth and Boaz do not appear in Samuel.

Furthermore, neither the plot nor the setting obviously carry over from Ruth to Samuel

except in a very general sense. David certainly acquires thematic importance as the Old

Testament develops, but this theme is too broad to claim for certain that David's

genealogy at the conclusion of Ruth is an attempt to link Ruth specifically with Samuel.

As will be discussed below, the genealogy could be used equally well to suggest that the

composition of Ruth was influenced by an attempt to create a sequence with Psalms.

Nevertheless, the genealogy may supplement the catchphrase discussed above.

Stephen Dempster expresses doubt whether a Judges-Ruth-Samuel sequence

has influenced the composition of these books, but he does acknowledge that this

possibility has merits. According to Dempster,

> While this view certainly has its merits, it needs to posit two canonical redactions
> that required textual changes: one that updated and changed the earlier one.
> [Dempster is referring the Ruth being located between Judges and Samuel and Ruth
> being located within the Writings] Would this have been likely—that is, changing
> the text to provide for another canonical order—if it had already been done to secure
> the original order? The process was no doubt complex and one must assume that it
> took quite a long period of time, but it seems to suggest dissatisfaction with a
> previous canonical redaction—or ignorance of it—and an attempt to create another

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[32] Linafelt also attempts to connect Ruth and Samuel by demonstrating that the narrative
structure of Ruth matches the literary structure of 2 Sam 5:13–8:18. Such an abstraction, however, would
not seem intuitive for the original author nor reader. Furthermore, the location of this material within
Samuel would make it an uncertain indication of the text's composition being influenced by its
compilation. See Stone, *The Megilloth*, 124–25 for an additional critique of Linafelt's proposal.

one. While this is possible, it seems unlikely.[33]

Dempster finds it "unlikely" that the text of the Old Testament would have been altered to form an intentional sequence if an original sequence were already in place. This dissertation, however, has attempted to show that what Dempster describes as "unlikely" may describe the textual composition of several books. If this is indeed the case, then perhaps the negative frame which Dempster constructs for this situation needs to be reevaluated. Why would multiple arrangements of the Old Testament books automatically mean that the later compilers of the Old Testament were *dissatisfied* or *ignorant* of previous arrangements? Could they not have just been *open to* or even *eager to embrace* the theological and hermeneutical implications provided by a limited number of arrangements? The emergence of multiple arrangements of the Old Testament canon does not have to suggest dissatisfaction with or ignorance of any of these arrangements but only that either a later editor/compiler wished to continue this original work by adding another arrangement of these books or that these multiple arrangements were created by a single compiler (or a single group) who produced multiple ways to arrange the material. If the Old Testament is as canon-conscious as Dempster would seemingly think,[34] then why would it be "unlikely" for multiple arrangements to have influenced the text of the Old Testament?

Furthermore, if Dempster is intent on there being only one original order which was secured by editing the text of the Old Testament books, then I find his solution difficult to accept. Dempster is denying that a Judges-Ruth-Samuel arrangement has influenced the text of one or more of these books in favor of the arrangement for Ruth

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[33] See Dempster, "A Wandering Moabite," 112.

[34] Dempster frequently focuses upon making biblical-theological connections within the Old Testament in his writings. His book, *Dominion and Dynasty*, for instance, is an attempt to show how prominent those two themes are within the Old Testament. I find Dempster's work in these areas to be very informative. For a discussion of "canon-consciousness," see Ched Spellman, *Toward a Canon-Conscious Reading of the Bible: Exploring the History and Hermeneutics of the Canon*, NTM 34 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2014).

found in *Baba Bathra* 14b, which is a Ruth-Psalms sequence. As will be discussed below, although there may be some indication that a Ruth-Psalms sequence could have influenced the text of either Ruth or Psalms, this is certainly by far the least likely of the compilations for Ruth studied in this chapter to have influenced the text of the books involved. Dempster is rejecting what is, in my judgment, a much more probable instance of compilation influencing composition (the Judges-Ruth-Samuel sequence) in favor of one that is possible but hardly substantial (the Ruth-Psalms). Dempster's commitment to the originality of *Baba Bathra* 14b is leading him astray in this matter, in my opinion.

Theological Rationale for a Judges-Ruth-Samuel Sequence

What could have been the reasoning for creating a Judges-Ruth-Samuel sequence? Ruth concludes with a genealogy of David, who is a descendant of Ruth and Boaz. By concluding in this manner, the book reveals a significant concern for David and his descendants. This concern for David reflects an awareness of the Davidic covenant narrated in Samuel. The Davidic covenant provided hope for faithful Israelites during Israel's apostasy and eventual exile from the land. Their hope was that God would continue to uphold the covenant he made with David (2 Sam 7:1–17) even after the nation rebelled against God and was exiled. This Davidic hope can be found throughout the prophetic literature (Amos 9:11–12; Isa11:1–5; 9:1–7; Jer 23:5–6; 30:8–9; Ezek 34:23–24) and in the Psalms (Pss 18:50; 132:10–17).[35]

Given the prominent place Ruth gives to David at the culmination of the book's concluding genealogy, it is likely that David is the key figure for understanding the rationale behind a Judges-Ruth-Samuel sequence. Concerning Judges, several commentators discussing the Judges-Ruth sequence acknowledge that the characters and

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[35] For a discussion of this theme, see Alexander, *The Servant King*, 97–130, and M. L. Strauss, "David," in *NDBT*, ed. T. Desmond Alexander and Brian Rosner (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000), 435–43.

events in Ruth form clear contrasts with those in Judges, especially those in the concluding chapters of Judges. Ostriker notes that the plot of Judges turns upon relentless violence whereas the plot of Ruth focuses upon familial relationships and life.[36] Moore describes the characters of Judges as fickle whereas the characters of Ruth are loyal. Micah's Levite abandons him without any thought (Judg 18:18–20), while Ruth refuses to abandon Naomi (Ruth 1:16–18). The concubine's husband drags her needlessly into a dangerous situation, something which one could not imagine Boaz doing to Ruth (Ruth 2:8–9).[37] Sakenfeld identifies many of these contrasts and also notices that an attempt to preserve familial lines in Judges leads to increased violence and the exploitation of females whereas the preservation of familial lines in Ruth reveals righteous conduct from Boaz and the protection of female characters.[38]

These contrasts certainly highlight the righteous character of Ruth and Boaz, yet as mentioned above, Ruth's concluding genealogy places the book's theological focus upon David and the messianic hope centered upon the covenant God established with him. The book of Ruth highlights the moral uprightness of David's ancestors in contrast to the covenantal unfaithfulness of their historical context. In doing so, Ruth also highlights the positive elements of David's character narrated in Samuel and increases the anticipation for the arrival of David's heir mentioned within the Davidic covenant. Just as the faithfulness of Ruth and Boaz was influential for the arrival of Israel's greatest king, the Israelites who are enduring a similar decline in political and moral stability among their people must continue in faithfulness to God as they yearn for the arrival of David's heir.[39] Thus, in a manner similar to how a Judges-Samuel sequence places Israel's hope

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[36] See Alicia Ostriker, "The Book of Ruth and the Love of the Land," *BibInt* 10 (2002): 346. Ostriker classifies Ruth as pastoral.

[37] See Michael S. Moore, "To King or Not to King: A Canonical-Historical Approach to Ruth," *BBR* 11 (2001): 38.

[38] See Katharine Doob Sakenfeld, *Ruth*, IBC (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1999), 8.

[39] The historical background of Ruth is difficult to establish. See Lau and Goswell, *Unceasing*

upon the individual within the Davidic covenant, the Judges-Ruth-Samuel sequence also anticipates the arrival of this descendant of David (and by extension, the descendant of faithful Ruth and Boaz).

A Proverbs-Ruth Sequence

In the previous two sections, I have argued that the Judges-Samuel and the Judges-Ruth-Samuel sequences have influenced the composition of one or more of the biblical books within these sequences. In this section, I will argue that a Proverbs-Ruth sequence has also influenced the composition of one or more of these books. As with the previous section, if this proposal is true, then it will verify the thesis of this dissertation because there are two sequences involving the book of Ruth (a Judges-Ruth-Samuel sequence and a Proverbs-Ruth sequence), each of which has influenced the composition of the biblical text. Therefore, multiple arrangements are needed to account for the compilational features embedded within the Old Testament text. A single arrangement of the Old Testament books will be unable to contain all of the compilations which influenced the composition of these texts.

Before discussing the evidence in favor of these books being linked sequentially by compilational features, the various scenarios which may have produced this sequence should be identified. There are three possible scenarios. (1) Ruth was composed first. Proverbs was composed second with the intention that it would precede Ruth. (2) Proverbs was written first. Ruth was written second with the intention that it would follow Proverbs. Depending on the solution to the Judges-Ruth-Samuel sequence (if Ruth was the second or third composition within that sequence), this scenario may also demand that the composition of Ruth not only forms a sequential link with Proverbs but also either Judges or Samuel or all three. (3) The books may have been joined by a

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Kindness, 5–18. But apart from some brief periods, the nation typically trended more and more unfaithful to YHWH.

later editor or altered the text of both books to form the sequence.

Establishing a Proverbs-Ruth Sequence

Proverbs and Ruth are linked sequentially by catchwords which also point to a broader thematic correspondence between the two books. Proverbs 31:10–31 is an acrostic dedicated to describing a wise or virtuous woman.[40] This acrostic begins by asking, "Who can find a virtuous woman (אשת חיל מי ימצא)?" The acrostic concludes in Proverbs 31:31 by stating "Her deeds will praise her in the gates (ויהללוה בשערים מעשיה)." These two phrases also appear within the book of Ruth. In Ruth 3:11, Boaz tells Ruth that all his people at the gate (שער) know that she is a virtuous woman (אשת חיל).[41] Thus, words at the beginning and end of the acrostic in the final chapter of Proverbs appear within Ruth 3:11. Furthermore, since these words are used in the praise of women, these words are used in a contextually similar way.

When evaluated by the criteria in table 11, this proposed catchword yields mixed results. (2) This catchword connection consists of a cluster of terms which is a probable indication that the sequencing of these books influenced their composition. (1) Although none of the terms are rare by themselves, the only other occurrence of the phrase "virtuous woman (אשת חיל)" in the Old Testament is at Proverbs 12:4. The rare use of this phrase used in conjunction with the words "gate (שער)" and "elders (זקנים)" is unique to Proverbs 31:10–31 and Ruth 3. Therefore, this is a rare and contextually aware use of this phrase. (3) Although this catchword appears at the end of Proverbs, it appears in the midst of Ruth, which is a less certain indication that the compilation of these books

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[40] One of the main themes of Proverbs is contrasting wisdom and folly. In order to illustrate this theme, Proverbs often presents each trait as a lady. Lady wisdom is admired as one who will bring joy to her husband (Prov 9:1–6, 11). Lady folly, however, serves as the counterpart to lady wisdom (Prov 9:13–18) and leads her followers to destruction. See Tremper Longman III, *How to Read Proverbs* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2002), 28–36.

[41] See Sailhamer, *The NIV Compact Commentary*, 213; Sailhamer, *Introduction to Old Testament Theology: A Canonical Approach* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995), 213; Stone, *The Megilloth*, 133; Lau and Goswell, *Unceasing Kindness*, 41.

influenced their composition. The words do, however, appear at a prominent place in Ruth. Since compilation was unlikely to have been the only or even main factor in a book's composition, the location of this proposed catchword in the middle of Ruth is not detrimental.

Although they recognize the above catchwords linking Proverbs and Ruth, Lau and Goswell conclude that this linkage was "a post-authorial phenomenon."[42] Undoubtedly, the main reason these authors reach this conclusion is due to their pre-commitment that the Old Testament's compositional and compilational stages never overlapped. This is what Goswell means when he describes the order of the Old Testament as a paratextual feature.[43] Lau and Goswell also note, however, that there are some differences between the woman described by the acrostic in Proverbs 31:10–31 and Ruth. Whereas the woman described in Proverbs 31 is an upper-class Israelite, Ruth was a poor Moabite. According to Lau and Goswell, "This would support the view that neither text has influenced the other, but the two are of entirely separate origins. There is nothing to suggest that the author of Proverbs 31 had Ruth in mind, nor is there evidence that the book of Ruth was influenced by the portrait of Proverbs 31."[44] While compilational critics should avoid focusing on features drawing texts together to the exclusion of their differences, Lau and Goswell's skepticism in this instance exceeds reason. First, the similarities between Ruth and the Proverbs 31 woman far outweigh the differences between them, in both number and importance. Lau and Goswell note several of these similarities:

> Both women are energetic and active (e.g. Prov. 31:15, 27; Ruth 2:2, 7, 17); both work to supply the needs of their households (Prov. 31:15, 21; Ruth 2:18); both show 'kindness' (*ḥesed*; Prov. 31:26; cf. 31:20; Ruth 3:10); both are praised as

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[42] See Lau and Goswell, *Unceasing Kindness*, 42–43.

[43] See the review of Goswell's work in the introduction.

[44] Lau and Goswell, *Unceasing Kindness*, 42–43.

superior by their husbands and by others (Prov. 31:28–29; Ruth 3:10–11; 4:15); both work hard (Prov. 31:13, 27; Ruth 2:2, 17, 23); and both women are God-fearing (Prov. 31:30; Ruth 1:16; 2:12).[45]

Second, as Lau and Goswell acknowledge, the two differences between Ruth and the Proverbs 31 woman may be resolved by the end of the book. By marrying a wealthy Israelite landowner, Ruth is certainly no longer poor nor an alien outsider.[46] Third, to claim that Proverbs 31:10–31 was influenced by Ruth (or vice-versa) does not require the woman described in Proverbs to be identified as Ruth, as Goswell and Lau seem to think. It only requires that she be exemplified by Ruth. The differences posed by Goswell and Lau would certainly not this rule out. Since the differences between the virtuous woman and Ruth proposed by Lau and Goswell do not rule out a relationship between these two women at the compositional level of the text, one must consider whether the proposed catchwords in this section indicate that the composition of one or both of these books was influenced by this compilation. Given the uniqueness of the catchwords and catch phrases and the artistic way in which they are used (Ruth is connected to the first and last lines of the acrostic), it is likely this was the case.

Stephen Dempster has also questioned whether this catchword stems from the influence of a Proverbs-Ruth sequence. Dempster states, "I think the evidence for canonical redaction creating verbal links is less persuasive; these links are created more as a result of placement rather than editing."[47] In my judgment, Dempster's skepticism on this point is unwarranted. He limits the creation of this catchphrase to the compilational stage of the Old Testament, but this would require either that the author of Ruth just happened to describe Ruth in a manner that uses words from the first and last line of the Proverbs 31:10–31 acrostic or that the author of Proverbs 31:10-31 just happened to

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[45] Lau and Goswell, *Unceasing Kindness*, 42.

[46] Lau and Goswell, *Unceasing Kindness*, 43, 141. See also Sakenfeld, *Ruth*, 62.

[47] Dempster, "A Wandering Moabite," 114.

begin and conclude his acrostic with words that are attributed to Ruth in one sentence.

This is possible, but I think a more likely explanation is that the sequencing of these two

books has influenced their composition.

**Theological Purpose of a
Proverbs-Ruth Sequence**

This section has argued that a Proverbs-Ruth sequence has influenced the

composition of one or both of these books. What could have been the motivation for

creating this sequence? Many scholars consider the theology of the book of Proverbs to

be problematic because the book contains what is often considered to be secular advice

and seems to have few connections to much of the rest of the Old Testament. Tremper

Longman states, "Indeed, the theology of the book of Proverbs has often been

approached more as a problem than anything else."[48]

Thankfully, some recent scholars have questioned this assumption. Daniel

Estes, for instance, has argued that Proverbs is based upon a biblical worldview in which

the world was created by YHWH and continues by his will (Prov 16:4).[49] James

Hamilton has noted that the concept of fearing God, so prevalent within Wisdom

Literature, is informed by the holiness of God displayed throughout the rest of the Old

Testament.[50] Hamilton later states, "The one who obeys Proverbs will not be enticed by

murderers and *thieves* who *covet* the possessions of others (1:9–19, esp. 11, 13, 19). He

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[48] Tremper Longman III, "Reading Wisdom Canonically," in *Canon and Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Craig G. Bartholomew et.al., Scripture and Hermeneutics Series, vol. 7 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2006), 354. Longman also notes that since Proverbs has so few connections with the larger Old Testament story, some scholars have concluded that references to YHWH within Proverbs are a sign of a late editor attempting to create a religious context more appropriate for canonical Scripture. See Tremper Longman III, "Book of Proverbs 1," in *DOTWPW*, ed. Tremper Longman and Peter Enns (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2008), 549. Longman is referencing studies by Whybray and McKane. See R. N. Whybray, *Wisdom in Proverbs: The Concept of Wisdom in Proverbs 1–9*, SBT 45 (London: SCM Press, 1965), 72; William McKane, *Proverbs: A New Approach*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), 1–22.

[49] See Daniel J. Estes, *Hear, My Son: Teaching and Learning in Proverbs 1–9*, NSBT 4 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press), 19–39.

[50] See Hamilton, *God's Glory in Salvation through Judgment*, 272.

will be delivered from the *adulteress* (2:16). He will *honor his father and mother* (1:8; 10:1). He will not *bear false witness* (6:16–19). He will not profane the *name* of Yahweh (18:10; 30:9, italics here highlighting correspondence to the Ten Commandments)."[51] Hamilton also contends that Solomon, Israel's king, is being obedient to following the Torah as demanded in Deuteronomy 17 and to instructing his son as commanded in Deuteronomy 6.[52] Jonathan Akin has argued that Proverbs contains a future hope centered around the descendants of David.[53] This hope is consistent with the future hope presented in the rest of the Old Testament. Richard Belcher, speaking of wisdom literature in general, argues that "there are many reasons to see areas of similarity and common concern that lead to a more unified approach to creation, wisdom and salvation history."[54]

When considering how Proverbs and Ruth may interact with one another theologically, the most logical place to start is with the virtuous woman described by the acrostic in Proverbs 31:10–31 and Ruth, one of the main figures of the book bearing her name. As argued above, these two books were sequenced by forming a connection between these two women. Ruth is an embodiment of the virtuous woman. Ruth models the characteristics of this woman. That Ruth is associated with the virtuous woman in Proverbs 31 is even more impressive if this association may be extended through the virtuous woman of Proverbs 31 to Lady Wisdom, the other highly esteemed woman within the book of Proverbs.[55] Lady Wisdom is essentially a personification of God's

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[51] Hamilton, *God's Glory in Salvation through Judgment*, 273.

[52] See Hamilton, *God's Glory in Salvation through Judgment*, 257.

[53] See Jonathan David Akin, "A Theology of Future Hope in the Book of Proverbs" (PhD diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2012), 16–20.

[54] Richard P. Belcher Jr., *Finding Favour in the Sight of God: A Theology of Wisdom Literature*, NSBT 46 (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2018), 12. Additionally, see Graeme Goldsworthy, "Proverbs," in Alexander and Rosner, *NDBT*, 208–211; Bruce K. Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 1:1–15:29*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 64–65.

[55] Several scholars have connected these two women in the book of Proverbs. Longman states, "She is the human embodiment of God's wisdom; a flesh-and-blood personification of Woman Wisdom."

wisdom.[56]

As noted previously, a strong concern for the Davidic covenant is
communicated by concluding Ruth with a genealogy of David. The book of Ruth is
anticipating the arrival of David's descendant at the center of this covenant and building
anticipation for the arrival of this figure by narrating elements of this individual's family
heritage. By connecting Ruth and, by extension, David's future heir with the virtuous
woman in Proverbs 31 and Lady Wisdom in Proverbs 1–9, this Proverbs-Ruth sequence
highlights the nature of the heir at the center of the Old Testament's Davidic hope. He
will act in accordance with the principles found throughout the book of Proverbs. He will
have integrity (3:28–35). He will flee from illicit relationships (Prov 2:16–19; 5:1–23).
He will dwell in the land (Prov 2:21, 22; 10:30). He will depend fully upon YHWH (3:5–
6). He will essentially be a model of God's wisdom as he rules over God's people. His
reign will be an expression of God's reign over his people.

A Ruth-Psalms Sequence

Before concluding this chapter, the positioning of Ruth within *Baba Bathra*
14b must be discussed. In *Baba Bathra* 14b, Ruth is found at the beginning of the
Writings, ahead of Psalms. Several scholars have argued that this was the original
canonical position for Ruth,[57] and they have presented several connections between Ruth

Longman, *How to Read Proverbs*, 141. Lucas states, "Rather, while Woman Wisdom personifies wisdom,
the Strong Woman typifies wisdom by incarnating some of its characteristics' [emphases original]." Ernest
C. Lucas, "The Book of Proverbs: Some Current Issues," in *Interpreting Old Testament Wisdom Literature*,
ed. David G. Firth and Lindsay Wilson (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2016), 50. Belcher states,
"The personification of Wisdom as a woman allows the father to exhort the son to seek wisdom and to
embrace her. She offers blessings associated with the joys of life and her characteristics are exemplified in
the wise and virtuous wife described in Proverbs 31:10–31." Belcher, *Finding Favour*, 35. Belcher also
notes that Wilson lists several parallels between Lady Wisdom and the woman described in Prov 31:10–31.
See Lindsay Wilson, *Proverbs: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity
Press, 2017), 319.

[56] See Belcher, *Finding Favour*, 29–37. Belcher emphasizes the importance of Lady Wisdom
being a personification of God's wisdom rather than being equivalent to God in some manner.

[57] As with the other sequences involving only two books, there are three scenarios which could
account for this sequence. (1) Ruth was composed first. Psalms was composed second with the intent that it
would follow Ruth. (2) Psalms was composed first. Ruth was composed second with the intent that it would

and Psalms in order to verify this point. This section will present these connections and evaluate them based upon the criteria developed in chapter 3 in order to determine whether a Ruth-Psalms sequence may have influenced how these books were composed.

Stephen Dempster argues that Ruth, as the first book in the Writings, functions as an important introduction to the Psalter and also establishes the importance of the Davidic hope at the outset of the Writings.[58] Furthermore, Dempster notes that Ruth ends with a genealogy of David and Chronicles begins with a genealogy of David. This feature forms an inclusio or frame around the Writings.[59] When analyzed with the criteria given in table 16, this frame appears less likely to have been a compilation feature which influenced the composition of the text. (1) Rather than at the beginning of the first book and the conclusion of the last book, these genealogies appear at the end of the first book and at the beginning of the last book. (2) A genealogy concluding with David could be considered as a specific or unique theme, but Chronicles includes additional genealogies beyond David's.[60]

Lau and Goswell have argued that a Ruth-Psalms sequence is based on the reoccurrence of three words across the books: refuge, wings, and kindness.[61] Boaz claims that Ruth has taken refuge in God in Ruth 2:12. According to Lau and Goswell, the sequencing of Ruth and Psalms highlights the importance of this theme within Psalms

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precede Psalms.

[58] See Dempster, "A Wandering Moabite," 99–102, 109–113. See also Stephen Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact': Torah and Temple and the Contours of the Hebrew Canon, Part 2," *TynBul* 48 (1997): 201–04.

[59] Dempster gives four arguments in favor of Ruth's position in *Baba Bathra* 14b as the book's original position in the Old Testament canon. See Dempster, "A Wandering Moabite," 109–111. Aside from the evidence noted above, most of his discussions focus on ruling out other possibilities. None of the remaining arguments are textual in nature.

[60] Furthermore, the genealogy in Ruth 4:18–22 is a different type than in 1 Chr 2:4–15. Ruth gives a linear genealogy (X gave birth to Y, Y gave birth to Z), but the genealogy in Chronicles resembles a segmented genealogy: (A gave birth to B, C, and D. B gave birth to E, F, G, etc.). For a discussion of the two types of genealogies, see T. Desmond Alexander, *From Paradise to the Promised Land: An Introduction to the Pentateuch*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 135–36.

[61] See Lau and Goswell, *Unceasing Kindness*, 60–64.

(5:11 [MT 5:12]; 17:7; 18:30 [MT 18:31]; 31:19 [MT 31:20]; 34:8, 22 [MT 34:9, 23]; 36:7 [MT 36:8]; 37:40). Furthermore, this term is placed at the beginning of several Psalms (7:1 [MT 7:2]; 11:1; 16:1). According to Lau and Goswell, this confirms that seeking refuge in God as Ruth did is a key organizing feature of Book One of the Psalter.[62] Also in Ruth 2:12, Boaz evokes an image of YHWH's protecting wings. Again, this metaphor appears several times in the Psalter (17:8; 36:7 [MT 36:8]; 57:1 [MT 57:2]; 61:4 [MT 61:5]; 63:7 [MT 63:8]; 91:4). Lau and Goswell conclude, "Again, this thematic link between Boaz's description of Ruth and the book of Psalms that follows in the book order in *Baba Bathra* 14b presents the heroine Ruth as a model of the piety of the Psalter."[63] Lau and Goswell also note that Ruth and Boaz both demonstrate divine kindness (1:8; 2:20; 3:10) and this kindness results in the preservation of the family line leading to David. Divine kindness is also an important theme within the Psalter, often in reference to David and his seed (18:50 [MT 18:51]; 21:7 [MT 21:8]; 100:5; 106:1; 107:1; 118:1–4; 136).[64]

When evaluated by the criteria listed in table 11, these catchwords are only possible indications that the composition of one or both of these books was influenced by this sequence. (1) Both "refuge"[65] and "kindness"[66] are common terms. "Wing" is a common term, but the metaphor of seeking protection under God's "wing" is rare. (2) These are all singular terms rather than a phrase or cluster. (3) None of these words occur at the seam when Ruth and Psalms are sequenced together. It is important to remember

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[62] Lau and Goswell are following Creach for this point. See Jerome F. D. Creach, *Yahweh as Refuge and the Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, JSOTSup 217 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).

[63] Lau and Goswell, *Unceasing Kindness*, 62. Lau and Goswell are following Kwakkel for this point. See Gert Kwakkel, "Under Yahweh's Wings," in *Metaphors in the Psalms*, ed. A. Labahn and P. Van Hecke, BETL 231 (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 141–65.

[64] Lau and Goswell also note that both Ruth and Psalms move from lament to praise. Lau and Goswell, *Unceasing Kindness*, 64–67. This same move is observable in several OT books, however.

[65] The root for "refuge (חסה)" occurs 64 times in the Old Testament.

[66] The root for "kindness (חסד)" occurs 286 times in the Old Testament.

that although Goswell and Lau provide these connections between Ruth and Psalms, Goswell never allows for an overlap between a text's composition and compilation.[67] Thus, he would concur with this evaluation.

The main feature suggesting a Ruth-Psalms sequence is Davidic genealogy at the conclusion of Ruth. As noted multiple times within this chapter, this genealogy emphasizes the importance of David within the book of Ruth. David's importance within the Psalter is also readily apparent, both as an author[68] and as a subject. Thus, the conclusion of Ruth and the Psalms are united by a common interest in David.

When evaluated by the criteria listed in table 15, it is uncertain whether the composition of Ruth and Psalms was influenced by an attempt to sequence them together based upon a common interest for David. (1) This interest in David is not unique or specific. A similar interest in David and the covenant YHWH established with him appears in many other places within the Old Testament. (2) Since David's genealogy is appended to Ruth, it is difficult to say what role David plays within Ruth beyond that the book illustrates the noble conduct of his ancestors. Since a similar interest is absent from the Psalms, the books do not offer a similar portrayal of this theme. (3) This theme does appear near the seam when these books are sequenced together. The name "David" appears in the superscription of Psalm 3. Since the book of Psalms contains 150 chapters, this is sufficiently near the beginning of the book. Furthermore, it will be argued in chapter 7 that Psalms 1 and 2 form a unit which anticipate the arrival of the figure at the center of the Davidic covenant.

Regardless of whether a Ruth-Psalms compilation has influenced the

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[67] See the review of Goswell's material in chapter 1.

[68] The name "David" first appears in a superscription in Ps 3 and occurs regularly in the superscriptions thereafter. Of course, not all scholars are convinced that the superscriptions were originally part of the text of Psalms. For a discussion of this issue, see D. A. Brueggeman, "Psalms 4: Titles," in Longman and Enns, *DOTWPW*, 613–21. If one were to conclude that the superscriptions should not factor into this discussion, the earliest David is mentioned within the Psalms is Ps 18:50, well after the seam of Ruth and Psalms.

composition of these texts, this sequence shows that the logic of this thesis must be extended to when the compilational stage of the Old Testament's production is isolated from its compositional stage. These connections between Ruth and Psalms would warrant their sequencing by a later compiler of the Old Testament based on their literary affinities.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined four compilations related to the book of Ruth (Judges-Samuel, Judges-Ruth-Samuel, Proverbs-Ruth, and Ruth-Psalms) and argued that two or more of these compilations influenced the text of one or more of these books. This study validates the thesis of this dissertation. Multiple arrangements are needed to illustrate the compilational features contained within these books. A single, linear arrangement cannot account for all the of possible locations of Ruth within an arrangement of the Old Testament canon.

CHAPTER 6

THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE HEBREW BIBLE

The previous two chapters have examined compilations involving several Old Testament books and argued that multiple arrangements are needed to account for the compilational features suggested by these arrangements. The books of Jonah and Micah both contain possible compilational features with the book of Nahum which suggest both a Jonah-Nahum sequence and a Micah-Nahum sequence. The book of Ruth contains compilational features suggesting that it could read between Judges and Samuel, two books which also share compilational features suggesting that they could form a sequence without Ruth. Furthermore, Ruth shares possible compilational features with Proverbs (suggesting a Proverbs-Ruth sequence) and Psalms (suggesting a Ruth-Psalms sequence). Thus, these chapters have concluded that multiple arrangements of the Old Testament are needed to account for the compilational features within these books. This chapter will extend this argumentation by examining the books of Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah.

The argumentation of this chapter will be that while we cannot know for certain, there are multiple indications that the book of Chronicles was composed with the intention of concluding the Old Testament. If this is the case, then this would be an example of a locative compilation as described in chapter 3. The book of Ezra/Nehemiah, however, contains compilational features suggesting that it should be read following Chronicles. If both of these scenarios are true, then multiple arrangements of the Old Testament canon are needed to account for these compilational features since Chronicles cannot conclude the Old Testament and be followed by Ezra/Nehemiah. Thus, in order to understand the compilational features present within both books, compilational critics must consider multiple arrangements of the Old Testament.

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There are two possible scenarios which could account for this compilational development. (1) Chronicles was composed first with the intention that it would be the last book within an emerging Old Testament canon. Ezra/Nehemiah was composed later with the intention that it would be read after Chronicles. This scenario should not be too difficult to imagine. As will be reviewed below, many modern scholars recognize that Chronicles reads like an interpretive recapitulation of the Old Testament. Since the work of the restoration period recorded in Ezra/Nehemiah was very significant for the Jewish community, however, we should not be surprised if an attempt were made to suffix a historical account of this period to an Old Testament canon that concluded with Chronicles. (2) It is possible that the compilational features suggesting these two arrangements stem from a single entity (whether an individual or a group). That may seem strange to us, but it is possible that this entity wanted to establish multiple arrangements of the Old Testament canon to address the multiple theological needs of the believing community. Some needs could be addressed by an arrangement of the Old Testament ending in Chronicles and other needs could be addressed by a Chronicles-Ezra/Nehemiah sequence.

This chapter requires two parts. First it will argue that Chronicles contains possible compilational features indicating that it was intended to conclude the Old Testament. In order to make this argument, this chapter will begin by reviewing and evaluating the work of previous scholars who have argued for and against this claim. It will then use the compilational criteria developed in chapter 2 to examine features within Chronicles which may suggest that it was composed for the purpose of concluding the Old Testament. Second, this chapter will argue that Ezra/Nehemiah contains compilational features suggesting that it was intended to be read after Chronicles. In order to make this part of the argument, this chapter must first discuss two matters of Old Testament introduction: (1) the dating of Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah and (2) whether Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah were originally intended to be a single work known as the

Chronicler's History. This chapter will then discuss the compilational features suggesting that Ezra/Nehemiah should be read after Chronicles.

Chronicles as the Conclusion of the Hebrew Bible

This section will begin by reviewing and evaluating the work of previous scholars who have argued for and against the idea that Chronicles was composed for the purpose of concluding the Old Testament canon. This idea has generated some discussion over the past few decades, with some authors arguing in favor of Chronicles being composed deliberately to conclude the Old Testament but others arguing that although Chronicles may be an appropriate conclusion to the Old Testament, there is nothing to suggest that it was composed for this function. After reviewing and evaluating the arguments from the contributors to this debate, I will then use the compilational criteria developed in chapter 3 to show that Chronicles contains several possible compilational features suggesting that it was composed for the purpose of concluding the Old Testament canon.

History of Scholarship: Chronicles as the Conclusion to the Old Testament

The authors arguing that Chronicles concludes the Old Testament in some sense include Roger Beckwith, Georg Steins, and Hendrik Koorevaar. Authors contesting this point include Edmon Gallagher and Greg Goswell. In addition to these two authors, R. Laird Harris and H. G. L. Peels contested whether Matthew 23:29–36 and Luke 11:37–52 allude to an arrangement of the Old Testament concluding with Chronicles. Since their contributions to this debate mainly concern the point argued by Beckwith, their contributions to this discussion have been included with Beckwith.

Roger Beckwith. Roger Beckwith argues that the earliest arrangement of the Old Testament is contained in Baba Bathra 14b, a portion of the Babylonian Talmud.[1] In the arrangement given in Baba Bathra 14b, Chronicles concludes the Old Testament. Although the Talmud did not reach its present form until the fifth or sixth century AD, Beckwith argues that the tradition contained in Baba Bathra 14b extends back to the period of Judas Maccabaeus. Part of his argument concerns the placement of Chronicles at the end of the Old Testament.[2] Based on a statement made by Jesus in Matthew 23:29–36 and Luke 11:37–52, Beckwith argues that there was an arrangement of the Old Testament which concluded with Chronicles at the time of Jesus. Beckwith believes this arrangement is what is given in Baba Bathra 14b and that this statement verifies the antiquity of the arrangement.

Matthew 23:29–36 and Luke 11:37–52 both contain a rebuke given by Jesus to the scribes and Pharisees. At the end of this rebuke, Jesus claims that these leaders are responsible for the blood of every prophet killed from Abel until Zechariah who perished between the altar and the sanctuary (Matt 23:35; Luke 11:51). Beckwith claims that Jesus' statement alludes to the Hebrew canon of his day because historically, Uriah the son of Shemaiah of Kiriath-jearim was martyred (Jer 26:20–23) much later than Zechariah. Zechariah's martyrdom, however, is found in 2 Chronicles 24:18, near the end of the Old Testament if Chronicles is the last book, as stated in *Baba Bathra* 14b. Thus, Jesus is saying something like "all the martyrdoms from one end of the Jewish Bible to

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[1] See his discussion in Roger T. Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church* (London: SPCK, 1985), 181–234.

[2] The other part of Beckwith's argument concerns the tripartite structure of *Baba Bathra* 14b. He argues that the tripartite structure of the Old Testament can be traced at least as early as the time of Julius Maccabaeus and that the arrangement in *Baba Bathra* 14b is one of the earliest examples of a tripartite canon. See Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 121–27. His discussion mainly concerns whether the arrangements given by Jerome and *Baba Bathra* 14b are earlier than Josephus', which is also a tripartite structure. Since this part of the argument does not help determine the actual location of the biblical books within the tripartite structure, it does not pertain to the present discussion.

the other."[3] Beckwith thus believes that Jesus' statement shows that the Old Testament concluded with Chronicles during his day.

The main issue with this interpretation of Jesus' statement is that in Matthew, Jesus identifies Zechariah as the son of Barachiah (Matt 23:35) whereas the Zechariah in 2 Chronicles 24:18 is called the son of Jehoiada. The sixth century prophet Zechariah is the only Zechariah known as the son of Berechiah (Zech 1:1),[4] but there is no indication in the biblical text or in Jewish tradition that this prophet died a violent death as a martyr as Jesus' statement implies. Zechariah son of Jehoiada, however, was killed "in the court of the house of the Lord" because he confronted the apostasy of Joash and the princes of Judah (2 Chr 24:17–22). Not only did Zechariah die as a martyr, he also died in a manner very similar to what Jesus is describing ("between the sanctuary and the altar"). As Beckwith notes, since Jesus' main theme in this passage is not the paternity of the prophets but their suffering and martyrdom, the Zechariah of 2 Chronicles 24:17–22 is much more relevant to Jesus' point and the more likely candidate.[5] Thus, to identify Zechariah in Jesus' rebuke with the figure by that name in 2 Chronicles 24:18 seems to be the best option despite the discrepancy with the patronym.

Concerning the difficulty of the patronym, Beckwith gives two possible explanations. Beckwith's first possible explanation claims that since the priest Jehoiada reached age 130 (2 Chr 24:15), it is possible that Zechariah was actually his grandson and that the patronym in 2 Chronicles 24:20 skips Zechariah's actual father in order to identify Zechariah more closely with his grandfather Jehoiada who was a major figure in the preceding narrative (2 Chr 23). In this solution, Zechariah's actual father might have

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[3] Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 215.

[4] "Berechiah" is another spelling of "Barachiah." Beckwith also mentions a Zechariah son of Jeberechiah (Is 8:2) and a Zechariah son of Bariscaeus, but neither of these figures exactly fit the patronym "son of Berechiah" or died in the manner Jesus described. See Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 212–13.

[5] See Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 215.

been named Berechiah, and Jesus could be referring to a tradition he knew of that preserved his name.[6] This solution perhaps gains credibility since the patronym "son of Berechiah" appears only in Matthew's Gospel and not Luke's. If Matthew was writing for a Jewish audience who would have been more familiar with their own traditions than Luke's audience, he could have included Jesus' mention of the patronym Berechiah without confusing them.[7]

In his second possible explanation, Beckwith suggests that the Zechariah of 2 Chronicles 24:18 is being identified with Zechariah the prophet.[8] Although this may seem odd to modern Westerners, this type of literary occurrence appears often in Jewish writings as a sort of homiletic device. When Jewish interpreters saw that two significant figures held several things in common, they began to refer to them by the same name. Beckwith cites the discussion in Z. H. Chajes' *The Student's Guide through the Talmud*:

> [The Rabbis] adopted as one of their methods that of calling different personages by one and the same name if they found them akin in any feature of their characters or activities or if they found a similarity between any of their actions. Even where there was only some resemblance in the names of different persons, they blended the two in one . . . . The main reason for this method is to be found in the chief principle which the Rabbis laid down as a cornerstone or basis for their exegetical expositions, viz. that the lecturer may in all possible ways enhance the praise of righteous and pious men, and wherever he finds reference in Holy Writ to the worthiness of a particular righteous man he should attribute any other virtue to him which is found in any other outstanding personality, if only this can be given Biblical support, however far-fetched.[9]

Beckwith provides an example of the above practice stemming from Targum Neofiti, which states: "And Melchizedek king of Jerusalem (he is Shem the great)

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[6] See Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 216.

[7] See R. T. France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 15–18. Bauckham, however, argues that the Gospels were not originally written for any particular audience. See Richard Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses: The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006).

[8] This entire discussion is following Beckwith. See Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 217–20.

[9] Zebi Hirsch Chajes, *The Student's Guide through the Talmud*, trans. Jacob Shachter (New York: Philipp Feldheim, 1960), 174.

brought forth bread and wine" (Gen 14:18). In this instance, Melchizedek is identified with Abraham's ancestor, Shem (Gen 11:10).[10]

Significantly, the connection between Zechariah son of Jehoiada and Zechariah the son of Berechiah seems to be made elsewhere. The Targum on Lamentations paraphrases Lamentations 2:20 as: "Is it right to kill in the house of the sanctuary of Jehovah the priest and the prophet, as they slew Zechariah the son of Iddo, the high priest and faithful prophet, in the house of Jehovah's sanctuary on the Day of Atonement, because he restrained you from doing evil before Jehovah?" Zechariah 1:1 identifies the prophet as the grandson of Iddo, just as the Targum does, but the rest of the passage suggests that the figure being discussed is actually Zechariah son of Jehoiada. The passage says that Zechariah was a priest and that he was killed because he restrained the people from doing evil. Although the tradition in the Targum and Matthew could have arisen independently, the Targum nevertheless proves that identifying Zechariah son of Jehoiada with Zechariah son of Berechiah is a plausible explanation for the patronym difficulty in Matthew 23:35.[11]

Thus, Beckwith concludes that Jesus' rebuke in Matthew 23:29–36 and Luke 11:37–52 alludes to an arrangement of the Old Testament canon concluding with Chronicles. This arrangement matches the arrangement of *Baba Bathra* 14b and establishes that this order existed at least as early as the writing of these Gospels.

Beckwith's analysis of Matthew 23:29–36 and Luke 11:37–52 has had several detractors.[12] R. Laird Harris agrees with Beckwith concerning an early date for the

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[10] See Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 218.

[11] Hagner concurs with this assessment. See Donald A. Hagner, *Matthew 14–28*, WBC, vol. 33B (Dallas: Word, 1998), 677. Hagner's conclusion concerning the patronym difficulty is worth noting: "To suppose that this verse refers to yet another Zechariah, who was the son of Barachiah, who was also murdered in the temple, one altogether unknown to us but known to the evangelist (thus esp. Ross), is needlessly to grasp at a straw."

[12] It must be noted that this evaluation of these passages does not solely belong to Beckwith. Many commentators have come to similar conclusions. For Matthew, see: Hagner, *Matthew 14–28*, 677; France, *Matthew*, 880; France, *Matthew: An Introduction and Commentary*, TNTC, vol. 1 (Downers Grove,

closing of the Old Testament canon but challenges Beckwith's position that a tripartite

order ending with Chronicles emerged during the second century B. C.[13] Harris' main

point of contention is Beckwith's analysis of Matthew 23:29–36 and Luke 11:37–52.

Harris begins by noting that Jesus obviously did not say "from Genesis to Chronicles"

and contends that Jesus' statement should be understood historically based on the

statement "from the foundation of the world" rather than canonically, as Beckwith takes

it. Furthermore, Harris objects to Beckwith's identification of Zechariah son of Jehoiada

as the Zechariah Jesus is discussing in his rebuke and suggests that Jesus is referring to a

more recent Zechariah killed during the intertestamental times.[14] Harris also objects to

Chronicles being the final book of the Hebrew Bible since several important textual

witnesses (the Aleppo codex and codex B19a) do not place Chronicles last and because

he thinks that Ezra-Nehemiah should clearly come after Chronicles.[15]

Despite Harris' concerns, his objections to Beckwith's understanding of

Matthew 23:29–36 and Luke 11:37–52 should not cause much concern. His distinction

between canon and history was probably not nearly as obvious to Jesus' audience as it is

to modern Westerners. For Jesus' audience, the stories found within their sacred canon

was their history. Harris' main point of contention concerns the identification of

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IL: InterVarsity Press, 1985), 334; Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 21–28: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 2005), 155; Leon Morris, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), 590. For Luke, see: Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 475; Robert H. Stein, *Luke*, NAC, vol. 24 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1992), 343; Leon Morris, *Luke: An Introduction and Commentary*, TNTC, vol. 3 (Downers Gove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1998), 224–25; I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1978), 506; John Nolland, *Luke 9:21–18:34*, WBC, vol. 35B (Dallas: Word, 1998), 668–69. Nolland states, "The former is the very first murder (the voice of whose blood is said to cry out from the ground [Gen 4:10]) and comes from the first book of the OT, while the second probably gives us the earliest indication that, as was true later, 2 Chronicles (the priest Zechariah's murder is reported in 2 Chr 24:20–22) already came last in the Hebrew OT." See also Zipora Talshir, "Several Canon-Related Concepts Originating in Chronicles," *ZAW* 113 (2001): 399.

[13] See R. Laird Harris, "Chronicles and the Canon in New Testament Times," *JETS* 33 (1990): 75–84.

[14] Harris, "Chronicles and the Canon," 79.

[15] Harris, "Chronicles and the Canon," 80.

Zechariah, but his objections neglect much of the evidence Beckwith gives (noted above) to support identifying the two Zechariahs. Furthermore, Harris' solution (that Jesus is referring to some unknown Zechariah during the recent past) is far from satisfying.[16] Harris' objections concerning the positioning of Ezra-Nehemiah will be considered further below, but nothing in Harris' article should cause us to doubt Beckwith's conclusion that Jesus' statement alludes to a canon ending with Chronicles.

H. G. L. Peels has also disputed Beckwith's analysis of Matthew 23:29–36 and Luke 11:37–52.[17] Peels does not object to Beckwith's identification of the Zechariah in Jesus' statement as the Zechariah in 2 Chronicles 24:18.[18] The similarities between the two are too great in his opinion to doubt that designation, and he also notes that almost every commentator agrees on this point. Peels does, however, object to Beckwith's conclusion that these two figures were chosen based on their appearance at either end of the Old Testament canon at this time. According to Peels, "[the words 'from Abel to Zechariah'] do not so much have a temporally delimiting as an explicative and descriptive function."[19] That is, Peels believes Abel and Zechariah are chosen in this text because they are two figures who exemplify the tragedy of the murder of God's servants.[20] Both were working in the service of God and were killed for that reason.

Some scholars find Peels' argument convincing,[21] but his argument seems lexically implausible. At one point, Peels states, "Based on the preceding discussion, we

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[16] Gregory Thellman agrees with this assessment. See Gregory Thellman, "The Incorporation of Jesus and his Emissaries in a Tripartite Canonical Framework (Luke 11:45–53)," *KEJT* 11 (2017): 22.

[17] H. G. L. Peels, "The Blood from Abel to Zechariah (Matthew 23,35; Luke 11,50f.) and the Canon of the Old Testament," *ZAW* 113 (2001): 583–601.

[18] Peels, "The Blood from Abel to Zechariah," 594–95.

[19] Peels, "The Blood from Abel to Zechariah," 600.

[20] Peels, "The Blood from Abel to Zechariah," 599.

[21] See, for instance, Edmon L. Gallagher, "The End of the Bible? The Position of Chronicles in the Canon," *TynBul* 65 (2014): 196

can now say that the expression from Abel to Zechariah, *while it has a temporal aspect (considering the combination of prepositions ἀπο and ἑως which together suggest a centuries-long history)*, is in fact intended to say more than that."[22] But then Peels tries to downplay the significance of this temporal phrase by saying that Abel and Zechariah are examples of what Jesus is saying. The problem is that ἀπο and ἑως cannot mean what Peels claims. BDAG gives five possible usages of ἑως[23] and of these five uses, only one could possibly fit Peels' interpretation and only if Abel and Zechariah are understood to be at opposite ends of some spectrum, such as the severity of their death.[24] This seems very unlikely in these passages and is not what Peels is arguing anyway. The phrase clearly points to a continuum[25] and the context of both passages demands some kind of continuum as well. Matthew states, "*all the righteous blood shed* on the earth," and Luke states, "the blood of *all the prophets*." Since Zechariah would be a very odd conclusion for a temporal continuum beginning with Abel, the best option is to understand these two figures as marking a continuum spanning a common arrangement of the Old Testament as Jesus knew it.[26]

Beckwith provides a compelling case from Jesus' words that there was an Old Testament arrangement during the first century AD that ended with Chronicles. The fact that Chronicles assumed this position at an early date suggests that others recognized that it was well-suited to fill this role, but is there any evidence from within the text of Chronicles that it was composed precisely to fill this role? Although his argument points

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[22] Peels, "The Blood from Abel to Zechariah," 597 (emphasis mine).

[23] BDAG, s.v. "ἑως." The five possible meanings given are (1) to denote the end of a period of time, (2) to denote contemporaneousness, (3) a marker of limit reached, (4) marker of order in a series, (5) marker of degree and measure. Number 3 does not fit at all and numbers 2 and 4 would seem to require a temporal meaning in context. Number 5, while possible is ruled out above. Thus, "to denote the end of a period of time" seems to be the best fit.

[24] BDAG describes this usage as "marker of degree and measure, denoting the upper limit."

[25] This is the conclusion of Thellman as well. See Thellman, "Jesus and his Emissaries," 22.

[26] This explanation uses the fourth meaning of ἑως given above.

towards this possibility, Beckwith himself does not claim this, and his argument is based entirely on evidence external to Chronicles. The argument proposed in this chapter and needed for this thesis is that Chronicles was composed for the role which Beckwith argues it did serve. Steins and Koorevaar made these arguments.

Georg Steins. Georg Steins has argued that Chronicles contains intrinsic features intended to close the Old Testament.[27] Steins supports this function for Chronicles with four observations. First, Chronicles draws more on other canonical literature than any other book.[28] This is especially the case within the Writings. The widespread utilization of Scripture was clearly part of the formation of Chronicles and hints at how it was to be received. Chronicles should be received as an interpretation of Israel's Scriptures.[29] According to Steins, the widespread use of Scripture in Chronicles presupposes an advanced stage in the canonization process when most of the canon had been closed. The need for a conclusion had arisen.

Second, Steins argues for a very late date for the composition of Chronicles. According to Steins, Chronicles was written during the 2nd Century BC at the time of the Maccabean revolt. Steins dates Chronicles to this time because he believes this era best fits the Chronicler's purposes.[30] Although a late date would not prove that the author intended for Chronicles to conclude the Hebrew canon, such a late date makes this function possible.

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[27] Georg Steins, "Torah-Binding and Canon Closure: On the Origin and Canonical Function of the Book of Chronicles," in *The Shape of the Writings*, ed. Julius Steinberg and Timothy Stone, LTHS 16 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 237–80. This article is a translation of an earlier German article. See Georg Steins, "Torabindung und Kanonabschluß: Zur Entstehung und kanonischen Funktion der Chronikbücher," in *Die Tora als kanon für Juden und Christen*, ed. Erich Zenger (Freiburg, Germany: Herder, 1996), 213–56. See also Georg Steins, *Die Chronik als kanonisches Abschlußphänomen*, BBB 93 (Weinheim, Germany: Beltz Atheräum, 1995).

[28] See Steins, "Torah-Binding," 238–44.

[29] See Steins, "Torah-Binding," 239.

[30] See Steins, "Torah-Binding," 246–49.

Third, Steins discusses a concept he refers to as "Torah-Binding".[31] According to Steins, the word "Torah" had much more extensive meaning for the Chronicler than its typically literary reference. In addition to this literary reference, the word "Torah" provides "the basis or framework for a self-conception and behavior with which all individual decisions and actions should be integrated."[32] One can see the Chronicler's "Torah principle" throughout his work. Kings who are evaluated positively are said to have followed the Torah. Thus, the Chronicler presents all of Israel's history from the perspective of Torah. The Chronicler's work is the most comprehensive effort to join several threads of Israel's tradition into what Steins calls "The First Theology of the Old Testament". Thus, according to Steins, "Chronicles holds a unique position in the canon of the Old Testament."[33]

Finally, Steins discusses Chronicles as a canonical-closure phenomenon.[34] In discussing Chronicles in this manner, Steins is assuming an early date for the closure of the Hebrew canon and that Chronicles' original position was at the end when the Hebrew canon was closed. According to Steins, recognizing Chronicles' position at the conclusion of the Hebrew canon gives its synthesizing and integrating character a new significance. Steins states, "The difficult task of closing the canon by shaping the collection of the Writings as a third canonical division is solved by Chronicles in an impressive way: Chronicles recapitulates the whole history of Israel, from its beginning until Cyrus—focused on the definition of Israel (thus the 'genealogical vestibule,' 1 Chr 1–10) and on the period of the First Temple (thus the main part 1 Chronicles 11–2

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[31] See Steins, "Torah-Binding," 249–71.

[32] Steins, "Torah-Binding," 256.

[33] Steins, "Torah-Binding," 270. Steins notes that William Johnstone comes to a similar conclusion. See William Johnstone, "Which is the Best Commentary? The Chronicler's Work," *ExpTim* 102 (1990–1991): 6–11.

[34] See Steins, "Torah-Binding," 271–76.

Chronicles 36)."[35] Chronicles, as the final book in the Writings, connects the Writings to the Law and the Prophets. Steins concludes his article by stating, "Several features that are unique to Chronicles—such as its interest in shaping history, the intensity with which the traditions are joined together, and the dominance of the Torah topic—are appropriately explained as being due to the concluding character of Chronicles."[36]

Although this chapter depends upon one point for which Steins is arguing, his argumentation will not allow for the conclusion sought in this chapter. In addition to arguing that Chronicles was composed in order to be the final book of the Old Testament, Steins also argues that Chronicles closed the Old Testament canon. The closure of the Old Testament canon would not allow for subsequent books, such as Ezra/Nehemiah, to be included within the Old Testament canon as argued for in this chapter. Unfortunately, these two ideas are often linked within Steins' arguments to such a degree that this chapter cannot follow Steins. For example, Steins argues that Chronicles was written far after the remaining books of the Old Testament (2nd century BC). If Chronicles was written this late, then it is unlikely that Ezra/Nehemiah could have been written after it with the intention that it would follow Chronicles sequentially.

Regardless of whether Steins' argumentation can coincide with this thesis, his argument faces several difficulties. Almost no other scholar dates Chronicles as late as Steins does, and it is hard to imagine that the book was composed so late within Israel's history without clear evidence. Furthermore, most of Steins' arguments are related to the reuse of Scripture within Chronicles, whether by a recapitulation of Israel's history or as a moral framework for life (Torah-Binding). While these insights are certainly essential for understanding the theology of the book, none of these insights demand that Chronicles was composed in order to be the final book of the Old Testament nor that the

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[35] Steins, "Torah-Binding," 275.

[36] Steins, "Torah-Binding," 275.

composition of Chronicles officially closed the canon.[37]

Hendrik Koorevaar. Hendrik Koorevaar has also argued that Chronicles was composed to conclude the Old Testament.[38] Koorevaar's argument contains several external features. He discusses the authority of the Palestinian canon (which places Chronicles within the third division of the canon) over the Alexandrian canon (which places Chronicles within the second division of the canon). He also argues for the independence of Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah and that the Old Testament originally ended with Chronicles.[39] In addition to these external arguments, Koorevaar also notes that the view that Chronicles concludes the Old Testament has had wide acceptance in recent scholarship.[40]

Concerning internal evidence, Koorevaar begins by noting that the Biblical writers often left their goals and motives for writing unstated. These must be inferred from the rhetoric and structure of the books themselves, and Koorevaar believes the rhetoric and structure of Chronicles suggests that it was composed to conclude and seal the Old Testament canon. Koorevaar states, "The Chronicler's primary intent was to summarize and abstract the message of the Old Testament in order to seal the collection of Holy Scriptures as the canon."[41]

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[37] See Greg Goswell, "Putting the Book of Chronicles in Its Place," *JETS* 60 (2017): 295–97. See also Gallagher, "The End of the Bible," 185–6.

[38] See Hendrik J. Koorevaar, "Chronicles as the Intended Conclusion to the Old Testament Canon," in Steinberg and Stone, *The Shape of the Writings*, 207–35. This essay is an expansion of an earlier essay. See Koorevaar, "Die Chronik als intendierter Abschluß des alttestamentlichen Kanons," *JET* 11 (1997): 42–76.

[39] See Koorevaar, "Chronicles as the Intended Conclusion," 208–18.

[40] Koorevaar cites the following scholars: S. J. De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, FOTL, vol. 11 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 10–11, H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, NCB (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 5, J. M. Myers, *1 Chronicles*, AB, vol. 12 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), xvii, Leslie. C. Allen, *1, 2 Chronicles*, The Communicator's Commentary Series: Old Testament (Dallas: Word, 1987), 16; T. Willi, *Chronik*, BKAT (Neukirchen-Vluyn, Germany: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), 5; and Steins, *Die Chronik als kanonisches Abschlussphänomen*, 509.

[41] Koorevaar, "Chronicles as the Intended Conclusion," 222.

The first element of Koorevaar's argument is that the Chronicler does not discuss anything new.[42] According to Koorevaar, the Chronicler utilizes three theological themes which are integral to the Old Testament Canon and relevant for his own time.[43] In doing so, the author addresses his audience by pointing them back to the entirety of their Scriptures. (1) The Chronicler emphasizes the significance of David and the dynasty promised to him. In response to God's promise of an enduring house, David looks forward to a distant future for his people (1 Chr 17:17) and their eternal blessing (1 Chr 17:27). (2) The Chronicler also devotes much space to the temple and its universal significance.[44] The worship at the temple, its preparation, its building, and its dedication encompass a large portion of Chronicles (1 Chr 15–17; 21–26; 28:1–29:19; 2 Chr 2–8). In addition to emphasizing the Davidic dynasty and the temple, (3) the Chronicler also sets Israel's history within a universal framework. Although some scholars have disregarded the importance of 1 Chronicles 1–9, others have recently argued that these chapters form the foundation upon which the rest of the book is built.[45] Chronicles opens with Adam's name (1 Chr 1:1), which grounds Israel's roots in Adam and his task to govern the whole world.[46] Chronicles concludes with the words of Cyrus, who is identified as the ruler of all the kings of the earth, requesting that Israel return from exile to rebuild God's house in Jerusalem (2 Chr 36:22–23). According to Koorevaar, "Thus,

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[42] Koorevaar, "Chronicles as the Intended Conclusion," 222–23. Koorevaar does qualify this statement by noting that the Chronicler does present some exclusive material but this is not his main goal.

[43] Koorevaar, "Chronicles as the Intended Conclusion," 218–23.

[44] Koorevaar, "Chronicles as the Intended Conclusion," 220–21.

[45] Koorevaar mentions Rothstein as someone who disregards the significance of these chapters. See J. W. Rothstein, *Das erste Buch der Chronik*, KAT (Leipzig: Deichertsche Verlag, 1927), 2–3. Koorevaar gives T. Willi as a representative of the newer views on Chronicles. See Willi, *Chronik*, 9.

[46] Although Koorevaar does not mention them, the concept of Adam as king is also found in T. Desmond Alexander, *From Eden to the New Jerusalem: Exploring God's Plan for Life on Earth* (Nottingham: InterVarsity Press, 2008), 76–79 and G. K. Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission: A Biblical Theology of the Dwelling Place of God*, NSBT 17 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 81–87.

Israel's history is framed by the non-Israelite, universal ruler Adam and the non-Israelite, worldwide ruler Cyrus. This frame points to the fact that Israel, with the Davidic Dynasty and David's temple, is not the final goal but the center."[47]

Koorevaar believes the Chronicler's reuse of these themes provides evidence that the Chronicler intended to conclude the Old Testament. Koorevaar arrives at this conclusion by posing a question: "Why would a book [Chronicles] be added to the canon if it had nothing new to add?"[48] Koorevaar concludes that the reuse of theological material must be connected to the Chronicler's intent. The Chronicler revives each of these three theological themes because he thinks them of integral importance in the canon and relevant to Israel's future, which is his contemporary time. By concluding his book with these themes, he creates a sense of tension and expectation concerning what God will do for Israel in the future. Thus, he intentionally concludes Israel's story by looking forward to what God will do.

Koorevaar's second argument that the author of Chronicles intended to conclude the Old Testament with his book is that Chronicles was written in order for Israelite religion to be granted approval within the Persian courts.[49] The Chronicler clearly establishes Persian authorization for Israel's return and for the reestablishment of the Israelite religion. After Zerubbabel rebuilt the temple, Ezra returned with a second group of exiles and he worked for spiritual reform in Israel (Ezra 7–10). This movement continued when Nehemiah returned to reconstruct Jerusalem's walls (Neh 1–7).

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[47] Koorevaar, "Chronicles as the Intended Conclusion," 221.

[48] Koorevaar, "Chronicles as the Intended Conclusion," 222. Koorevaar's concern on this point is reflected in the title of Chronicles in the LXX, "The things Left Out (*paraleipomenōn*)". The LXX title treats Chronicles as a supplementary work with little to contribute. See R. K. Duke, "Books of Chronicles," in *DOTHB*, ed. Bill T. Arnold and H. G. M. Williamson (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005), 161.

[49] Koorevaar, "Chronicles as the Intended Conclusion," 224–25. Koorevaar is modifying an idea developed by Erich Zenger, who claimed that the Pentateuch functioned as the needed document for Persian ratification. See Erich Zenger, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1995), 39–42. Koorevaar's reason for this modification is that Chronicles contains a "Persian seal" which the Pentateuch does not.

According to Koorevaar, "The movement was completed when Ezra and Nehemiah acted together on the spiritual reorganization of the nation (Neh 8–13). Crowning their efforts was the binding of the religious Scriptures in a canon." This binding was accomplished with the writing of the book of Chronicles, which reviews all of Israel's history up to their reorganization by Cyrus' rule.

Koorevaar's third argument is that Chronicles is structured in order to seal the Old Testament canon. It forms this seal in at least two ways. First, as noted above, Chronicles begins with Genesis starting with Adam as the first name of the book and concludes with Ezra-Nehemiah by ending with Cyrus' decree, which is the opening of the book of Ezra. According to Koorevaar, "This expresses his awareness of the whole Old Testament that comes before . . . . In writing Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah (mostly Nehemiah) completes the task given them by God and the Persian king; Chronicles is the summation and seal of their work."[50] Second, Koorevaar believes the larger purposes of each section of the canon are reiterated in Chronicles. The Law begins with Genesis and concludes with Kings.[51] The main message of the Law is for Israel to be a priestly nation on behalf of all nations. The Prophets begin with Jeremiah and conclude with Malachi. The Chronicler reiterates the warning of Jeremiah to the returned exiles (that they could be removed from the land as those Israelites who were exiled were) and restates the conclusion of Malachi (that the Lord would come to the temple). The Writings begin with Ruth, a foreigner related to David and conclude with another foreigner, Cyrus, who, like David, is called by the title "anointed one" (Isa 45:1).[52]

As with Steins, although the point for which Koorevaar is arguing is needed in

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[50] Koorevaar, "Chronicles as the Intended Conclusion," 227–28. The reference in this quote to Ezra and Nehemiah refers to a tradition discussed by Koorevaar that they authored the book together.

[51] Koorevaar has argued in a previous article that the first section of the Hebrew Canon actually extends from Genesis to Kings. See Hendrick J. Koorevaar, "The Exile and Return Model," *JETS* 57 (2014): 501–12.

[52] Koorevaar, "Chronicles as the Intended Conclusion," 228–29.

order for the argument of this chapter to be true, at least one of the ways by which he argues that Chronicles was composed to conclude the Old Testament would rule out the second claim of this chapter, which is that Ezra/Nehemiah was written to be read after Chronicles. Koorevaar presents as evidence that Chronicles begins with a reference to the first book of the Old Testament (Adam), which is Genesis, and concludes with a reference to the beginning of the last book of the Old Testament (the edict of Cyrus), which is Ezra/Nehemiah. The implication drawn from this is that by referencing the beginning and ending of the Old Testament, Chronicles positions itself to be read as the seal and conclusion of the Old Testament. If this was part of the compositional strategy of the book of Chronicles, then Ezra/Nehemiah could not have been composed with the intention of being read after Chronicles. This part of Koorevaar's argument is problematic, however, because what he is proposing is something akin to an inclusio type structure for Chronicles which would correspond to an inclusio structure for the entire Old Testament. This claim, however, ultimately does not work out because the structure utilizes the *beginning* of the proposed last book (Ezra 1:1–4 [Edict of Cyrus]). If the author were trying to form an inclusio-like structure, we should expect him to begin with the beginning of the first book (as he does) and end with the *conclusion* of the last book. Why would the author of Chronicles utilize the beginning of Ezra-Nehemiah to form his inclusio and thus exclude the rest of Ezra-Nehemiah's content from his inclusio? Could the features Koorevaar notes be meant to reference the entire book? This seems unlikely since neither Adam or Cyrus' edict would seem to be a suitable reference for the remainder of their respective books. Furthermore, Koorevaar's proposal excludes Chronicles itself from the structure of the Old Testament. Thus, Koorevaar's evidence does not fit the point which he draws from it.

The remainder of Koorevaar's argument contains some problematic elements as well. Similar to Steins, Koorevaar argues that the reuse of previous Old Testament material is a way of summing up the Old Testament and moving towards its conclusion.

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Again, the reuse of this material is important for understanding the theology of Chronicles but is insufficient to prove that Chronicles was composed for the purpose of being read as the end of the Old Testament. The same thing could be said concerning Koorevaar's "seal" analogy. Although ancient writers were certainly capable of abstract thought, it must be acknowledged that this a very abstract way of thinking about the role of Chronicles among the remaining biblical books. Regardless, what is the justification for equating a seal upon a letter with its conclusion? The final thing an author of a letter would do would be to seal it, but the first thing the recipient would do would be to remove the seal. Thus, it would seem that even if Chronicles was understood to seal the Old Testament, it could just as well be understood as the first book of the Old Testament rather than the last (closure and conclusion may coincide but not necessarily). Furthermore, for Christians, since the seal upon God's revelation was eventually reopened (to include the New Testament), it is uncertain how helpful or appropriate this analogy is. Once opened, what is the purpose of a letter's seal?

Edmon Gallagher. Edmon Gallagher published an article questioning each of the above studies and claiming that we cannot know Chronicles occupied the final position in the Old Testament until the Rabbinic period.[53] Gallagher recognizes that arguments concerning Chronicles' position at the end of the Old Testament may be divided between those based on external evidence (Beckwith) and those based on internal evidence (Steins and Koorevaar).[54]

Concerning the internal evidence, Gallagher concludes, "The internal evidence fails to establish that Chronicles does in fact close the canon at this early period."[55]

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[53] Gallagher, "The End of the Bible," 181–99.

[54] Gallagher, "The End of the Bible," 183.

[55] Gallagher, "The End of the Bible," 185. By "this early period," Gallagher means any period before the Rabbinic period.

Gallagher claims that much of what Steins and Koorevaar identify as "closure phenomenon" are only intertextual links that would still exist regardless of whether Chronicles concludes the Old Testament or not. For example, concerning the idea that the Chronicler sums up Israel's history, Gallagher agrees but then poses the following question: "Can this show that Chronicles was intended to have a specific position in the canon?"[56] For another example, Gallagher concedes a possible echo between Genesis 50:24 and 2 Chronicles 36:23 based on the appearance of the words עלה and פקד, but then questions whether this connection must be an *inclusio* proving that Chronicles concludes the Old Testament by stating, "Even if the Chronicler is harkening back to this particular passage in Genesis, it is still not clear that the intertextual echo depends on the location of Chronicles in the canon. Would there not still be an echo even if Chronicles were located after Kings, as in the LXX, or at the beginning of the Ketuvim rather than its end?"[57] Intertextual features do not prove that the author of Chronicles intended to conclude the Old Testament canon.

Gallagher continues by arguing that it is far from certain that Chronicles should be in the Writings. Recent scholarship on Chronicles has demonstrated that Chronicles is far more than a repetition and expansion of Deuteronomistic History,[58] but this does not demonstrate that the Greek order, which places Chronicles after Samuel and Kings, should be viewed as incorrect. Such an arrangement could just as easily highlight

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[56] Gallagher, "The End of the Bible," 186. As noted above in the critiques of Steins and Koorevaar, I concur with Gallagher on this point.

[57] Gallagher, "The End of the Bible," 187. Gallagher briefly discusses some other proposed suggestions of intertextual links suggesting that Chronicles concluded the canon.

[58] For just a few examples, see Eugene H. Merrill, "The Theology of the 'Chronicler': What Difference Does It Make," *JETS* 59 (2016): 691–700, Richard L. Pratt, Jr., "First and Second Chronicles," in *A Complete Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. Leland Ryken and Tremper Longman III (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1993), 193–205. Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought*, trans. Anna Barber (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009); Steven L. McKenzie and Gary N. Knoppers, eds., *The Chronicler as Theologian: Essays in Honor of Ralph W. Klein* (New York: Continuum, 2003); and Isaac Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005).

the differences between the books as it does their similarities.[59] Thus, the internal

evidence cannot even prove that Chronicles belongs in the final section of the Hebrew

canon.

Gallagher concludes his article by addressing arguments based upon external

evidence. Gallagher states that those who argue that Chronicles concludes the Old

Testament based on external evidence do so based on "the assumption that the

arrangement judged to be best or most hermeneutically satisfying or theologically

profound must be the earliest arrangement." It would be just as likely, Gallagher

concludes, that later Jewish compilers altered the arrangement of the material in order to

bring order to a loosely arranged collection of canonical books. This conclusion would be

supported by the variety of different orders found in extant lists and manuscripts.[60]

Gallagher also argues that the external evidence is insufficient to prove that

Chronicles concluded the Old Testament. The existence of a tripartite arrangement of the

Old Testament does not prove that every tripartite arrangement concluded with

Chronicles. Thus, evidence given in favor of a tripartite arrangement does not prove that

the Old Testament ended with Chronicles. Gallagher acknowledges that many Hebrew

manuscripts conclude with Chronicles but also notes that many manuscripts, including

the Aleppo Codex and the Leningrad Codex, do not. Concerning ancient lists of Old

Testament books, Gallagher notes that while *Baba Bathra* 14b does conclude the Old

Testament with Chronicles, many other ancient lists do not. Thus, none of this material

proves that the Old Testament concluded with Chronicles. Concerning Luke 11:51 and

Matthew 23:35, Gallagher appeals to Peel's article discussed above. Thus, Gallagher

concludes there is not enough evidence to demonstrate that Chronicles was understood to

conclude the Old Testament until the twelfth century A. D. and that this was not even

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[59] See Gallagher, "The End of the Bible," 190–91.

[60] See Gallagher, "The End of the Bible," 192.

universally the case at that date.[61]

Several of Gallagher's critiques of Steins and Koorevaar coincide with the critiques offered above, but his level of skepticism on other points seems unwarranted. Although Gallagher is correct to distinguish between internal and external evidence regarding this issue, an analysis of his article shows that he divides these two types of evidence in a manner that neither Steins nor Koorevaar does. Steins and Koorevaar both present arguments based on internal evidence, but neither does so to the exclusion of external evidence. Their articles are written from a perspective which affirms Chronicles is the last book of the Old Testament based upon external evidence. Since that is the case, Steins and Koorevaar question whether there is any internal evidence which suggests that this compilational placement could be traced to the compositional level of the text. When Gallagher classifies all internal evidence as inter-textual echoes, he is dividing the external and internal evidence in a manner that is helpful for him but does not address the full reality of what Koorevaar and Steins are discussing. If the Old Testament consisted of twenty-four unordered books, then Gallagher would be correct to deny that an inter-textual connection between Genesis 50:24 and 2 Chronicles 36:23 is evidence of their intentional placement. But this is not the claim that is being made. Since Gallagher disputes the external evidence offered by Beckwith, he would certainly remain skeptical of any internal evidence suggesting that Chronicles was intended to be the conclusion of the Old Testament, but if Beckwith is correct in arguing that there was an early arrangement of the Old Testament which concluded with Chronicles (and I believe he is, as noted above), then Gallagher's skepticism of whether an inter-textual link between Genesis and Chronicles could be an intended *inclusio* framing the Old Testament is unwarranted.

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[61] See Gallagher, "The End of the Bible," 197–98.

Greg Goswell. Greg Goswell has also expressed his reservations over whether Chronicles was composed with the intention of concluding the Old Testament but from a much different perspective than Gallagher. Goswell's argument contains two main components. First, Goswell argues that the placement of Chronicles in alternative locations also offers valuable exegetical insights into both Chronicles and also the books with which it is associated. Second, Goswell engages with the evidence Steins gives for Chronicles being the final book of the Old Testament.

The alternative placements for the book of Chronicles to which Goswell refers are its position in the Greek order after Kings and its position in the Aleppo Codex and Codex B19A at the beginning of the Writings. Concerning the Kings-Chronicles arrangement in Greek manuscripts, Goswell begins by arguing that this sequence, whether it was intentional or not,[62] suggests the compatibility of these two books and demands that Chronicles not be seen as only a history of the Southern Kingdom, as some previous scholars had indicated.[63] Goswell then continues by arguing that this Kings-Chronicles sequence highlights the role of prophetic figures within Kings.[64] Although the title may lead a reader to suspect that Kings is mainly about the institution of kingship, the book of Kings also devotes large blocks of material to prophets. In fact, the center of the narrative (1 Kgs 17–2 Kgs 13) focuses upon the ministry of the prophets Elijah and Elisha. Goswell then argues that this emphasis on the prophets in the book of Kings is reinforced by the Chronicler. The Chronicler does not devote narrative space to detailing the deeds of any prophet but does contain numerous references to written prophetic works, some of which exist today and others that have been lost in history. These references reinforce a prophetic outlook for the book of Kings and for Chronicles itself:

[62] As noted in the introduction, Goswell views a book's positioning relative to other books as a paratextual and thus reader-oriented phenomenon.

[63] Goswell, "Putting Chronicles in Its Place," 285–86.

[64] Goswell, "Putting Chronicles in Its Place," 286–89.

"The writing of history is viewed by the Chronicler as an essentially prophetic activity."[65]
Thus, the Kings-Chronicles sequence highlights the Chronicler's own understanding of
the written prophetic word.

Goswell also argues that the placement of Chronicles at the beginning of the
Writings has an important hermeneutical effect. According to Goswell, positioning
Chronicles at the beginning of the Writings creates a bridge from the Prophets to the
Writings because of Chronicles' similarities to the book of Kings.[66] Additionally, since
Chronicles shares many themes with the subsequent books in the Writings, Chronicles at
the beginning of the Writings helps to set the agenda for this division of the Hebrew
canon.[67] For example, Chronicles emphasizes the importance of David and Solomon.
Solomon's importance in the Writings is obvious due to the three wisdom books
associated with him. Psalms, the next sequential book in this arrangement after
Chronicles, highlights the role of David in many of the Psalms. David's interest in
Israel's liturgy is especially seen in Chronicles (1 Chr 23–26; 2 Chr 7:6; 23:18; 20:25–30;
35:15). Goswell also notes that 1 Chronicles 16 shows a close relationship to Psalms 96,
105, and 106. Furthermore, David serves an important role in Ezra-Nehemiah. David is
again recognized as an organizer of corporate worship (Ezra 3:10; 8:20; Neh 11:23;
12:24, 36, 45, 46). Additionally, David is recognized in these books as a great figure in
Jerusalem's past (Neh 3:25–26; 12:37). With these connections, Chronicles and Ezra-
Nehemiah form a frame around the Writings. According to Goswell, the reality of this
frame is accentuated by the absence of messianic themes and the lack of interest in the
future of David's house in Ezra-Nehemiah, which coincides with the rest of the
Writings.[68]

[65] Goswell, "Putting Chronicles in Its Place," 287–88.

[66] Goswell, "Putting Chronicles in Its Place," 289.

[67] Goswell, "Putting Chronicles in Its Place," 290.

[68] This emphasis in Goswell's article is peculiar. Given that he believes these features are

Goswell acknowledges that *Baba Bathra* 14b places Chronicles at the

conclusion of a tripartite canon and that the book has a significant function in this

position.[69] He argues that Chronicles integrates the Law and the Prophets and that the

appearance of "Adam" at both ends of the Tanak establishes an *inclusio* for the entire Old

Testament. He also acknowledges the *inclusio* created between Genesis 50:24–25 and 2

Chronicles 36:23 based on the verbs עלה and פקד. Goswell then, however, turns his

attention towards denying that any of these features created by the placement of

Chronicles in this position show that Chronicles was written to intentionally conclude the

Old Testament canon. According to Goswell, all of the evidence provided would hold the

same significance if Chronicles held the first position in the Writings instead of the last.[70]

Concerning Steins claim that Chronicles was purposefully composed as a

conclusion for the Writings, Goswell identifies three foundations upon which Steins'

claim rests: (1) an early second-century BC dating for Chronicles, (2) the idea that

Chronicles is a rewritten Bible, and (3) the existence of a tripartite Old Testament

canon.[71] Concerning Steins' late dating of Chronicles, Goswell notes that Steins' position

departs from the majority of scholarship by a wide margin. Most scholars would date the

completed book of Chronicles to the fourth-century B. C. Furthermore, Goswell notes

that Koorevaar has come to similar conclusions as Steins but with a much earlier date.[72]

Concerning Steins' second claim, Goswell notes that it is anachronistic to claim that

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formulated by later compilers of Scripture, Goswell seems to be saying that a lack of interest in the Davidic house is what motivated this arrangement, but it would hardly seem that compilational features such as this would be built around the absence of a theme rather than the presence of a theme. Goswell's view in this matter may be shaped by his own interests in these books. See Greg Goswell, "The Absence of a Davidic Hope in Ezra-Nehemiah," *TJ* 33 (2012): 19–31.

[69] See Goswell, "Putting Chronicles in Its Place," 293–95.

[70] See Goswell, "Putting Chronicles in Its Place," 295.

[71] See Goswell, "Putting Chronicles in Its Place," 296.

[72] See Goswell, "Putting Chronicles in Its Place," 296. Goswell is referring to the Koorevaar article cited above.

Chronicles is a "rewritten Bible". Even though Chronicles does draw on a wide range of biblical material, this does not mean that the book was written as late as the second century. Concerning an established tripartite division of the Old Testament canon, Goswell claims that this cannot be established as early as even Steins' late dating of Chronicles would require. Goswell's discussion on this matter is essentially a review of Beckwith's argument and those who have critiqued Beckwith noted above.

When it is realized that Goswell's critique of the suggestion that Chronicles was composed to conclude the Old Testament canon is based upon an entirely different methodology to compilational criticism than what is offered by Steins and Koorevaar, his critique becomes rather unsubstantial. In fact, Goswell's methodological approach excludes this possibility before it could even be considered. Goswell is explicitly unconcerned with authorial intent. Goswell makes this clear in one of his earliest articles on the subject when he states, "I am not concerned with genetics but with the effect on the reader of the present arrangement of biblical books, however that arrangement may have been produced."[73] Since this is the case, how could any argument Goswell constructs based upon his own approach to these issues sufficiently negate a claim concerning the compositional intent of Chronicles?

Goswell's critique has additional issues as well. Perhaps the most glaring weakness in the article above could be the failure to distinguish between a possible hermeneutical effect and a likely hermeneutical effect. Goswell's explanation of how a Kings-Chronicles arrangement could highlight the theological emphases of both books is a nice thought. Unfortunately, the effect of this arrangement as he explains it is not the effect the arrangement actually produces. Most scholarship on Chronicles would admit that the book's location after Kings in modern Bibles is unfortunate.[74] The repetition of

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[73] Greg Goswell, "The Order of the Books in the Hebrew Bible," *JETS* 51 (2008): 673–74.

[74] See, for instance, authors in n. 57 on p. 168.

so much material in a small literary space leads to the neglect of Chronicles, not the mutual highlighting of the theological themes of both books, as Goswell claims.

Perhaps a more alarming issue with Goswell's article is the separation he makes between the compositional intent of the biblical text and the reception of the biblical text. How a reader encounters and understands a text should provide a window to how an author intended for that text to be read. If it does not, there is a failure in the communication process. Yet, Goswell would regard this failure to communicate as irrelevant to interpretation of the biblical text, as evident when he states, "Irrespective of whether or not it was the intention of the biblical author, Chronicles in final position can be understood as assisting to integrate the canonical sections Torah and Prophets into an overall theological conception."[75] Goswell makes that statement despite earlier having warned against doing this very thing when he states, "There is no cause to set biblical author against pious reader as hermeneutical competitors."[76] If the reader encounters features in Chronicles that lead to the hermeneutical effect Goswell claims but without the intent of the author, then the reader and the author are competitors in the arena of textual interpretation.

The reason for this inconsistency in Goswell's article stems back to his insistence that compilational features are paratextual features and cannot be traced to the compositional level of the text. This puts Goswell in a bind because the obvious question which arises when a reader discovers these elements in the text is "How did they get there?" Goswell wants to say that it does not matter and then warn us, in the final half of the quote found above, that "just as unfortunate, to confuse and merge author and reader, for the distinction between a biblical book and the paratextual frame of that book (e.g.

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[75] Goswell, "Putting Chronicles in Its Place," 293–94.

[76] Goswell, "Putting Chronicles in Its Place," 284.

book order or book titles) is the difference between text and commentary on the text."[77] Obviously, author and reader are different members of a communication process, but the overall goal of honest communication is for what the reader understands to coincide with what an author intends to communicate. To extend the analogy Goswell establishes, the goal of a commentary is to help the reader understand what is being communicated, and if that commentary is part of what is being communicated, it seems impossible to distinguish this commentary from the compositional intent of the text.

This point brings to bear a problem in Goswell's overall approach to studying compilational criticism. All the arrangements he studies come from somewhere. Goswell is not suggesting that a modern reader is free to encounter the biblical material in whatever order he chooses and to formulate any hermeneutical judgments that may stem from how he encounters the biblical text. Goswell insists that biblical order is a post-author phenomenon and that it is the result of later compilers.[78] But as long as Goswell points to any feature within the text (which cannot be classified as a paratext) he must encounter an author. The feature must stem from the author of the text, an editor who has altered the text, or the providence of God, the greatest author of all. Goswell's attempt to exclude the author from his approach to compilational criticism will demand that the most significant elements of the Old Testament's compilation are void of their significance. Goswell has ignored what makes the "extraordinary fact" (as Stephen Dempster calls it) extraordinary.[79] There are points at which the Old Testament's compilational stage overlaps with its compositional stage.

[77] Goswell, "Putting Chronicles in Its Place," 284.

[78] See Goswell, "Putting Chronicles in Its Place," 284.

[79] See Stephen G. Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact', Torah and Temple and the Contours of the Hebrew Canon, Part 1," *TynBul* 48 (1997): 23–56 and Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact': Torah and Temple and the Contours of the Hebrew Canon, Part 2," *TynBul* 48 (1997): 191–218.

Evaluating the State of the Discussion

This section has surveyed contributions considering whether the book of Chronicles could have been composed to be read as the conclusion to the Old Testament. Beckwith argues that there was an early arrangement of the Old Testament canon which did conclude with Chronicles, and he believes this arrangement to be the earliest arrangement of the Old Testament. Beckwith's arguments, however, only consider external evidence, and Beckwith does not make any claims concerning the text of Chronicles. Steins and Koorevaar both argue that Chronicles was composed to be read at the end of the Old Testament, but neither author adequately discusses what type of evidence would lead to this conclusion. Although some of what they present could be suggestive of the point they wish to prove, their arguments fall short of their claim because of the ambiguity of the evidence. Gallagher and Goswell both argue against the idea that Chronicles was composed to be read at the end of the Old Testament, but they have, wrongly in my estimation, rejected the helpful external evidence presented by Beckwith. Furthermore, they also fail to discuss what type of evidence would lead to the conclusion they are contesting. One wonders if they would be convinced by anything short of an explicit claim from the text itself.

**Was Chronicles Composed to Conclude
the Old Testament?**

If Chronicles was formed with the intention of concluding the Old Testament, then this should be evident from compilational features within the text. This section will use the compilational criteria presented in chapter 3 to evaluate the possible compilational features which could suggest this role for Chronicles. To claim that Chronicles was composed to conclude the Old Testament is to make a claim concerning the book's specific location within a larger collection. As noted in chapter 3, such a claim would demand a significantly developed understanding of the Old Testament canon. It was argued in chapter 3 that this type of compilation could be indicated by framing

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devices indicating the first and last books of a collection, similarities with other books functioning in a similar role, or through a series of sequential compositional links.

This section will propose several possible compilational features suggesting that Chronicles was composed to conclude the Old Testament. It will also evaluate these features with the compilational criteria proposed in chapter 3. The compilational features to be examined are the inclusios Chronicles forms with Genesis (first book of the Old Testament) and Psalms (first book of the Writings), when Chronicles is placed as the last book of the Old Testament. These inclusios suggest that the author of Chronicles intended for his book to form a frame for the entire Old Testament and around the Writings, the third and final section of the Old Testament.

Inclusios with Genesis. Chronicles contains three features which could form inclusios with Genesis. Such an inclusio would form a frame around the entire Old Testament (the location of Genesis at the beginning of the Old Testament is uncontested as far as I am aware) and would suggest that the author of Chronicles intended for his book to conclude the Old Testament. This section will review these inclusios and evaluate them utilizing the compilational criteria for framing devices provided in chapter 3.

The first potential inclusio between Chronicles and Genesis concerns the genealogy in 1 Chronicles 1:1–27 and specifically the appearance of Adam at the opening of Chronicles. This genealogy begins with Adam and extends to Abraham. Thus, it covers the entirety of the Primeval History in Genesis 1–11. That Chronicles begins with a genealogy beginning with Adam and the remaining figures from Genesis 1–11 is quite remarkable. As a historical reflection on the history of Israel, one would have expected Chronicles to begin with Abraham or Jacob. By beginning with Adam and his descendants, the Chronicler (the person(s) responsible for the final form of Chronicles)

sets Israel's history within the context of all human history.[80] God's interactions with Israel have world-wide implications. This indicates that Genesis is a key resource for the beginning of Chronicles.[81] By beginning in this manner, the Chronicler also forms a frame between his work and Genesis which encompasses the rest of the Old Testament. Chronicles, the last book of the Old Testament, begins where Genesis, the first book of the Old Testament, begins, with Adam and his descendants. If Chronicles concludes the Old Testament, Adam and his descendants appear at the beginning of the Old Testament and at the end of the Old Testament.

In chapter 3, it was argued that a proposed framing device could be evaluated based on three criteria: (1) how precisely the device appears at the beginning of the first book and at the conclusion of the second, (2) whether the device employed unique words or themes, and (3) whether the device consisted of multiple words or contained a major theme. Applying these criteria to the inclusio proposed above yields mixed results. (1) While the figures in this genealogy appear at the beginning of Genesis, this genealogy does not appear at the end of Chronicles but at the beginning. While not decisive, this variation make it less certain that the genealogy in 1 Chronicles 1:1–27 was an attempt to create a frame with Genesis 1–11 around the Old Testament. The other two criteria, however, lead to more favorable results. (2) Since the figures in Genesis 1–11 are not prominent within the Old Testament, their appearance in 1 Chronicles 1:1–27 would provide a unique and identifiable reference to Genesis and the beginning of the Old Testament. The appearance of Adam emphatically underlines this point. Aside from Genesis 1–5 and 1 Chronicles 1:1, Adam is not referenced nor used as a personal name in

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[80] John A. Thompson, *1, 2 Chronicles*, NAC, vol. 9 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1994), 47.

[81] Braun states, "[Verses] 1–23 are closely related to the genealogical data of Gen 1–10, all of which is in fact included in vv 1–23 with the exception of the genealogy of Cain in Gen 4:17–24." Roddy L. Braun, *1 Chronicles*, WBC, vol. 14 (Dallas: Word, 1998), 15.

the rest of the Old Testament.[82] (3) The appearance of these names in genealogical form creates an easily identifiable link with Genesis, which also contains genealogies of the same figures. The appearance of these figures in a genealogy could constitute a major shared theme between Genesis and Chronicles.

How should the different criteria be weighted in this instance? It is possible that the Chronicler could have intended to create a framing device around the Old Testament using these figures from Genesis 1–11 at the beginning of his book, but if this was his intention, we cannot be certain of it. If the author wanted to create an identifiable frame around the Old Testament, then there should be some indication of this near the conclusion of his book. It must be remembered, however, that while the Chronicler may have intended for his book to be placed at the end of the Old Testament, this was certainly not his only purpose. The author may have been restricted in this instance by additional purposes for his work. Nevertheless, the genealogies shared between Genesis 1–11 and 1 Chronicles 1:1–27 could only establish a possible framing compilational feature. Additional evidence would help establish the Chronicler's intentions.

Several scholars have recognized that the final verse of Chronicles contains two words, עלה and פקד (2 Chr 36:23), which are also used at the conclusion of Genesis (Gen 50:24–25).[83] The use of these words could be an attempt by the Chronicler to form another inclusio around the entire Old Testament. Again, applying the criteria proposed in chapter 3 to this proposal yields mixed results but with the opposite problem noted above. (1) While these words appear at the very end of Chronicles, they appear at the end of Genesis rather than at the beginning. Again, this proposal does not exactly fit what we would expect of a framing device. As noted above, however, the Chronicler did have

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[82] Richard S. Hess, "Adam," in *DOTP*, ed. T. Desmond Alexander and David W. Baker (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 21.

[83] Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact,' Part 2," 210–11; Nahum Sarna and David Sperling, "Bible," in *EncJud*, 2nd ed. (Farmington Hills, MI: Thomson Gale, 2007), 3:582; Jean-Louis Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 13.

other purposes which may have constrained or altered how he was able to form a potential framing device with Genesis. (2) This proposed inclusio includes two words, which is a more probable indication of an intentional compilational feature, though the words are not used consecutively. (3) The words עלה and פקד are common, but it should be noted that these words could be considered theologically significant when used in passages discussing a return to the land. Thus, even though עלה and פקד are common words, their use in this specific context could be considered unique.

When considered on their own, the two inclusios proposed above yield mixed results when evaluated by the criteria in chapter 2. If evaluated together, however, these proposed inclusios show that the beginning and ending of Chronicles (the last book of the Old Testament) shares links with the corresponding parts of Genesis (the first book of the Old Testament). Even though neither inclusio creates a perfect framing device around the Old Testament on its own, when considered together, they form a stronger indication that the Chronicler wanted to create a frame around the Old Testament with his book. This type of literary artistry cannot always be accounted for with standard criteria.

A third possible inclusio between Genesis and Chronicles stems from Beckwith's arguments concerning Matthew 23:35 and Luke 11:51. As noted in the discussion of Beckwith above, Peels suggests that the connection between Abel (Gen 4:8–10) and Zechariah (2 Chr 24:17–22) is the shedding of the righteous blood of God's servants.[84] It was determined that Peels' explanation did not sufficiently explain the syntax of the passage, but his observation does identify a connection between these two figures. Andreas Köstenberger suggests that the appearance of these two figures at the beginning and at the end of the Old Testament canon could be an attempt to establish an inclusio around the entire Old Testament.[85] The shedding of innocent blood forms a

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[84] Peels, "The Blood from Abel to Zechariah," 599.

[85] Andreas Köstenberger, "Hearing the Old Testament in the New: A Response," in *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter McMaster New Testament Studies (Grand

frame around the Old Testament.

Applying the compilational criteria in chapter 3 to this proposed inclusio yields somewhat favorable results. (1) The story of Cain and Abel is merely four chapters into the Old Testament. The story of Zechariah occurs twelve chapters from the conclusion of Chronicles. This element could be closer to the end of Chronicles, but this distance is not that great considering that Chronicles contains sixty-five chapters. Furthermore, if the Chronicler did wish to create an inclusio around the Old Testament with these figures, his narration of Jerusalem's demise and inclusion of Cyrus' edict would move the Zechariah element of this inclusio away from the end of his book. (2) Concerning the uniqueness of this connection, the shedding of righteous blood is certainly a specific theme even if it is somewhat common. (3) If Köstenberger is correct in perceiving a messianic dynamic in this inclusio (murder of innocent blood), this could be considered a major theme within the Old Testament. Beyond the evaluation by this thesis' compilational criteria, this inclusio has the additional support of being recognized by Jesus and the New Testament authors. If Beckwith's evaluation of this evidence is correct, then we can be more certain in recognizing this inclusio. It is possible that the inclusio was unintended by the Chronicler and only recognized after the fact, but a second allusion to Genesis 9:5 in 2 Chronicles 24:22 helps strengthen the connection between this passage in the early chapters of the Old Testament. Furthermore, since this material is unique to the Chronicler (it does not appear in Kings), its inclusion within the book is tightly tied to the Chronicler's purpose.[86] Overall, when evaluated with the compilational criteria provided in chapter 3, this proposed inclusio would be considered as possible, but some of these other mitigating factors make it more probable that the Chronicler was attempting to create an inclusio with Genesis in his book.

Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 263.

[86] See the discussion in Pratt, "First and Second Chronicles," 193–205.

Inclusio with Psalms. In addition to these suggested inclusios with Genesis, Chronicles also contains several passages from the Psalms, which, at an early date, likely filled the first position in the Writings.[87] These quotes may indicate an attempt to create a framing device around the Writings. Since the Writings is the third division of a tripartite structure of the Old Testament, then the conclusion of the Writings would also coincide with the conclusion of the Old Testament. Thus, evidence suggesting that the Chronicler intended for his book to conclude the Writings would also suggest that he intended it to conclude the Old Testament.

First Chronicles 15–16 overviews how David moved the ark of the covenant to Jerusalem and then appointed Asaph and his family to minister before the ark. This account concludes by recording the psalm that Asaph and his brothers sang (1 Chr 16:8–36). The psalm, as the Chronicler records it, is a conglomeration of three Psalms: 1 Chronicles 16:8–22 is Psalm 105:1–15; 1 Chronicles 16:23–33 is Psalm 96:1–13; 1 Chronicles 16:35–36 is Psalm 106:47–48.

Second Chronicles 6 contains Solomon's dedication of the temple and concludes with a psalm of praise. This concluding praise in 2 Chronicles 6:41–42 is a reprisal of Psalm 132:8–10.

Applying the compilational criteria from chapter 3 reveals that these are possible attempts to create an inclusio around the Writings. (1) While there can be no doubt that the Chronicler is using material from the book of Psalms, (2) the psalms utilized are not from the beginning of the Psalter. Psalms 105 and 106 are at the conclusion of book four and Psalm 132 is in the middle of book five. Furthermore, none of this material occurs near the end of Chronicles. (3) These Psalms do, however, appear

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[87] This will be a significant claim in the next chapter, and a more thorough discussion of this claim will be included there. To summarize what will be discussed, there are several pieces of evidence which reference a tripartite Old Testament canon and refer to the third section as a whole with a reference to the Psalms (e.g., Luke 24:44). The best explanation of this practice is that the third section began with Psalms.

at significant moments in the narrative of Chronicles. While the reuse of this material from Psalms may only be judged as a possible attempt to create an inclusio around the Writings, it must be remembered, as in most scenarios discussed within this thesis, that the Chronicler was bound by history and his additional goals in writing his book.

Conclusion

Did the author of Chronicles compose his work to conclude the Old Testament canon? For those who believe that the idea of canon is a late phenomenon and deny that the compilation of the Old Testament books influenced their composition, the evidence presented above will ultimately prove to be inconclusive. For those who are open to the possibility that the Old Testament's compositional and compilational stages overlapped, the evidence presented above suggests that Chronicles was composed to conclude the Old Testament. When coupled with the external evidence provided by *Baba Bathra* 14b and the Gospels (Matt 23:35; Luke 11:50), it is reasonable for such scholars to conclude that Chronicles was composed to conclude the Old Testament.

A Chronicles-Ezra/Nehemiah Sequence

The previous section has argued that there are good reasons to believe that Chronicles was composed to conclude the Old Testament and in fact filled that role within some historical contexts. For scholars who are convinced that the concept of canon emerged earlier rather than later, the evidence presented above points towards this conclusion. This chapter, however, is also arguing that Ezra/Nehemiah contains compilational features suggesting that it should be read after Chronicles. If these arguments are affirmed, then the thesis of this dissertation would be verified: since Chronicles cannot simultaneously conclude the Old Testament and be followed by Ezra/Nehemiah, then multiple arrangements of the Old Testament books are needed to account for the compilational features within the Old Testament text. This does not negate the compilational features of either book but instead shows that a limited number

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of arrangements is an indication that the arrangement of the Old Testament is more significant rather less.

Several steps are necessary in order to argue that the composition of Ezra/Nehemiah contains an attempt to create an intentional Chronicles-Ezra/Nehemiah. The first two steps concern matters of Old Testament introduction. First, although the view has lost favor recently, many scholars believe that Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah were originally composed as a single volume. If this is the case, however, then the thesis of this chapter is unlikely. If these books were originally composed as a single project, it would make little sense to say that Chronicles was composed to conclude the Old Testament or that Ezra/Nehemiah was intended to be read after Chronicles. Thus, this chapter will begin by reviewing the arguments against the view that these books were originally a single composition. Second, since one of the scenarios which could account for the thesis of this chapter would require Chronicles to have been written before Ezra/Nehemiah, this section will show that the dating of these books allows for that scenario. If Ezra/Nehemiah was composed with the intention of following Chronicles, then Chronicles must have been composed before Ezra/Nehemiah. Finally, this section will present the compilational features suggesting an intentional Chronicles-Ezra/Nehemiah sequence and evaluate these features using the criteria from chapter 3. This section will conclude by considering the theological implications of a Chronicles-Ezra/Nehemiah sequence.

Old Testament Introduction Issues

Before examining the compilational features suggesting a Chronicles-Ezra/Nehemiah sequence, two matters of Old Testament introduction need to be addressed in order to validate the possible scenarios leading to the thesis of this chapter. (1) Were these books originally a single composition (often known as "the Chronicler's History") and (2) could Ezra/Nehemiah have been composed subsequent to Chronicles?

In order for the scenarios which could account for the thesis of this chapter to be true, the first question must be answered "no" and the second question must be answered "yes."

The Chronicler's history? Starting with Zunz in 1832, a consensus among scholars developed that Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah were originally one work. These scholars referred to these books as "the Chronicler's History".[88] This section, however, is arguing that Ezra/Nehemiah was composed in order to be read sequentially after Chronicles. While this claim would produce a situation similar to the idea of the Chronicler's history, the two ideas would ultimately be incompatible. In order for these works to be compiled together, they must have been originally composed separately. Otherwise, the thesis of this chapter would be unsustainable.

H. G. M. Williamson outlines four arguments proposed in favor of viewing Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah as a single work.[89] First, most scholars have assumed that the final sentence of Chronicles and the first sentence of Ezra/Nehemiah was replicated at the ending and beginning of these books to indicate that what was originally a single composition had been divided. Second, 1 Esdras, which overlaps significantly with Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah, begins with material parallel to 2 Chronicles 35 and moves into material parallel to Ezra/Nehemiah with no interruption and with only a single occurrence of Cyrus' edict. It is presumed that 1 Esdras represents an earlier stage in the development of these books. Third, both books exhibit a similar style and

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[88] It is important to note that this idea often goes hand-in-hand with the idea that these books were written by the same author, but the authorship question is not necessarily what is being contested in this section. If the same author or group composed Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah, the thesis argued for in this chapter could still be sustained as long as these books were not originally a single composition. Furthermore, the idea that these books were originally composed as a single work is frequently signified by the word "unity." While this section would deny the "unity" of these works in a compositional sense, this should not be taken to mean that they contradict one another theologically. In fact, this section will conclude that both books endorse a similar theological outlook concerning the situation among the Israelites who returned from exile.

[89] H. G. M. Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 5–6. Martin Noth adds a fifth argument: an analogy with the Deuteronomistic History. See Martin Noth, *The Chronicler's History*, JSOTSup 50, trans. H. G. M. Williamson (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987), 97.

vocabulary. Forth, both books contain similar outlooks, interests, and theology.

Although this view had prevailed for over a hundred years, Williamson and Sara Japhet have contested this consensus with the result that it is no longer a consensus or even the majority view among scholars. Japhet's initial article addresses the similarities in style and vocabulary between the two books. She recognizes that although there are some points of similarity, scholars holding to the consensus view had only taken the similarities between Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah into consideration and neglected the vast stylistic and lexical differences between the two books.[90] She concludes that these books could not have been written by the same author.

In another article, Japhet produces a similar argument concerning the common theology between Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah.[91] While the books share some of the same theological themes, each book also contains unique theological interests. These unique theological interests do not rule out the possibility of an originally unified composition[92] but show that this claim cannot be sustained based on the theological outlooks of these books. It again appears that the notion of the Chronicler's history rests upon acknowledging the similarities between these books while failing to consider what makes them unique.

Although Japhet's discussions concerning the stylistic and theological differences between Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah do not rule out the possibility that these books originated as a single composition,[93] she does show the evidence in favor of

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[90] Sara Japhet, "The Supposed Common Authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah Investigated Anew," *VT* 18 (1968): 330–72.

[91] Sara Japhet, "The Relationship between Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah," in *Congress Volume: Leuven, 1989: International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament*, ed. J. A. Emerton, VTSup 43 (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 298–313.

[92] See the discussion in Paul L. Redditt, "The Dependence of Ezra-Nehemiah on 1 and 2 Chronicles," in *Unity and Disunity in Ezra-Nehemiah*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Paul L. Redditt, HBM 17 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2008), 222–25.

[93] Concerning theology specifically, I will argue below that Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah share the same outlook on the state of the post-exilic community, but, as Japhet argues, this does not demand or even really suggest that they were originally one book. Would not we expect some theological

this view to be unsubstantial. Given that Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah were accepted and preserved as distinct works, the stylistic and theological similarities between them should never have been sufficient to conclude that they originated as a single work. The final form of these books must be given more weight than such a conclusion would give.

Concerning the relationship between Chronicles, Ezra/Nehemiah, and 1 Esdras, numerous features of 1 Esdras suggest that it is a secondary work derived from the biblical texts rather than an earlier stage of the biblical texts. These include the omission of 1 Esdras 3:1–5:6 within Ezra, the rearrangement of some material in Esdras (Esdras 2:15–25), and the Esdras awareness of Nehemiah 1–7 which he omits.[94] Ultimately, the relationship between these books is too complex to utilize 1 Esdras as evidence of an originally unified composition.

This section will provide an alternative explanation concerning the two occurrences of Cyrus' edict, which is the final point often presented as evidence that Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah were originally composed as a single work. Overall, the case for an originally unified work consisting of Chronicles and all (or part[95]) of Ezra/Nehemiah is unsubstantial. Although some authors have attempted to revitalize this theory,[96] there is little undisputable evidence in favor of it. Furthermore, the thesis of this chapter offers an equally valid explanation of the continuity between these books, as will be discussed below.

Could Chronicles have been composed prior to Ezra/Nehemiah? This chapter began by proposing two scenarios which could account for the thesis of this

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overlap between two texts derived from similar contexts?

[94] See the discussions in Williamson, *Israel in Chronicles*, 12–36; Redditt, "The Dependence of Ezra–Nehemiah," 225–28, and Martin. J. Selman, "The Chronicler's History," in Arnold and Williamson, *DOTHB*, 158.

[95] Some authors believe the original work concluded with Ezra 6.

[96] See the discussion of Blenkinsopp below.

chapter, which is that Chronicles contains compositional features suggesting it was composed to conclude the Old Testament and that Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah share compilational features suggesting that they formed a sequence. The first scenario suggested that Chronicles was written first with the intention that it would conclude the Old Testament and Ezra/Nehemiah was composed later to be read sequentially after Chronicles. Some scholars, however, have suggested a very late date for the composition of Chronicles (so late that it would essentially have to be composed after Ezra/Nehemiah). If this were the case, then this first scenario would not be possible. Thus, in order for this scenario to be true, Ezra/Nehemiah must have been written after Chronicles.

Generally, dating the composition of Old Testament books is difficult to do with precision, and this is true for Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah.[97] Therefore, this discussion will not seek to prove that Chronicles was written before Ezra/Nehemiah but merely establish this possibility. If this is the case, then the first proposed scenario would be plausible.

The key passage for determining the earliest possible date for the composition of Chronicles is 1 Chronicles 3:19–24. This passage contains a list of Zerubbabel's descendants which extends to his two grandsons.[98] Zerubbabel was born in Babylon and led a group of exiles back to Jerusalem. It is debated whether he led the first group of exiles returning to the land in 538 BCE or a secondary group closer to 520 BCE.[99] This uncertainty creates an eighteen-year window within which the following calculations must be made. Zerubbabel's age at the time of his return to Jerusalem is not recorded, but

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[97] Concerning the difficulties of Chronicles, see the discussion in Roland Kenneth Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), 1153–57.

[98] Edward J. Young, *An Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapid: Eerdmans, 1949), 383.

[99] For a discussion, see W. H. Rose, "Zerubbabel," in Arnold and Williamson, *DOTHB*, 1017. Rose believes Zerubbabel led the first return from exile.

he was old enough to be considered a leader among the people, perhaps at least thirty years old. If it is estimated that each generation spans 30 years and that Zerubbabel's grandsons, Pelatiah and Jeshaiah, were infants when Chronicles was composed, then Chronicles could not have been written earlier than about 508 to 490 B. C.

Many scholars believe that 1 Chronicles 3:19–24 actually contains six generations stemming from Zerubbabel, which would push the earliest date for the composition for Chronicles to about 388 to 370 B. C. The Hebrew text, however, does not support this larger number of generations for this genealogy. Concerning Zerubbabel's descendants, it only contains his sons, Meshullam and Hananiah (1 Chr 3:19), and Hananiah's sons, Pelatiah and Jeshaiah (1 Chr 3:21). The rest of the people in these verses (the sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, the sons of Obadiah, the sons of Shecaniah) are not descendants from Zerubbabel but are additional families in Jerusalem related to David. The issues arise from the LXX which presents these additional families as descendants of Zerubbabel.[100]

Establishing the latest event within a book does not demonstrate that the book was written at that time. Chronicles may have been written at a later period.[101] The key issue for this section, however, is whether Chronicles could have been written prior to Ezra/Nehemiah. Since Nehemiah 12:22 mentions Darius the Persian, who should probably be identified with Darius II (423–405 BCE),[102] Ezra/Nehemiah could not have been written before the last few decades of the fifth century BCE. Thus, those responsible for composing Ezra/Nehemiah could have known of the book of Chronicles, and the first

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[100] The difference can be easily seen by comparing the ESV, which follows the LXX, with the NASB, which follows the Hebrew text.

[101] Steins, for instance, believes there is no evidence against dating Chronicles in the Maccabean period. See Steins, "Torah-Binding," 247. As noted above, Steins' extremely late date has not been widely accepted.

[102] See Derek Kidner, *Ezra and Nehemiah: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC, vol. 12. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1979), 19, 136.

scenario is plausible.

A Chronicles-Ezra/Nehemiah Sequence

This section will argue that Ezra/Nehemiah was composed with the belief that it would be

read sequentially after Chronicles. It will begin by discussing the edict of Cyrus (2 Chr

36:22–23; Ezra 1:1–4), which joins the two books together. The compilational criteria

discussed in chapter 3 will be applied to these texts in order to argue for an intentional

sequencing between these two books. In addition to the edict of Cyrus as the primary

compilational feature linking these books, this section will present some additional

evidence from scholars suggesting that these books were originally composed as a single

unit, in contrast to the position taken above. While not demanding that these books were

originally composed as a single work, this evidence nevertheless suggests some kind of

relationship between these books. One explanation of this evidence is that these are

Table 23. The edict of Cyrus

2 Chronicles 36:22–23	Ezra 1:1–4
In the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, that the word of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the LORD stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, so that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom and also put it in writing: "Thus says Cyrus king of Persia, 'The LORD, the God of heaven, has given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he has charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whoever is among you of all his people, may the LORD his God be with him. Let him go up.'"	In the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, that the word of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the LORD stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, so that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom and also put it in writing: "Thus says Cyrus king of Persia: The LORD, the God of heaven, has given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he has charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whoever is among you of all his people, may his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and rebuild the house of the LORD, the God of Israel—he is the God who is in Jerusalem. And let each survivor, in whatever place he sojourns, be assisted by the men of his place with silver and gold, with goods and with beasts, besides freewill offerings for the house of God that is in Jerusalem."

compilational features suggesting that these books should be read sequentially.

Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah are united sequentially by the edict of Cyrus, which concludes Chronicles and begins Ezra/Nehemiah. When the compilational criteria given in chapter 3 are applied to these verses (contained in table 23), it appears very probable that this is an intentional attempt to arrange these books sequentially. Although the edict does not contain rare terms, it extends for several lines with very few alterations (except for the extension in Ezra/Nehemiah).[103] Furthermore, it appears precisely at the end of Chronicles and at the beginning of Ezra/Nehemiah.

In addition to meeting the compilational criteria discussed in chapter 3, numerous other authors have recognized that the edict of Cyrus creates a sequential arrangement between Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah. As was noted in the discussion of Chronicles above, this compilational feature is one of the reasons Harris doubts whether Chronicles concluded the Old Testament until a very late period. Harris states "The end of Chronicles clearly shows that its original position was not at the end of the OT books but was just before Ezra-Nehemiah as it is in our English Bibles . . . . The end of Chronicles and the beginning of Ezra-Nehemiah exhibit the use of a catchline, a device used in ancient writing to direct a reader from one tablet or scroll to the next in order."[104] This thesis agrees with Harris' comments concerning Ezra/Nehemiah but disagrees with the implications he draws from this concerning Chronicles. Harris has not allowed for the thesis of this dissertation, which is illustrated very well by these books: multiple arrangements are needed (one ending with Chronicles and one in which Chronicles is followed by Ezra/Nehemiah) to account for the compilational features within the Old Testament. Douglas Green also attributes Cyrus' edict as an attempt to create a sequence

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[103] Paul Redditt discusses four minor differences between the two instances of Cyrus' edict. Redditt concludes by stating, "Clearly, somebody copied from someone." Redditt, "The Dependence of Ezra-Nehemiah on Chronicles," 229.

[104] Harris, "Chronicles and the Canon," 80. See also Menaham Haran, "Explaining the Identical Lines at the End of Chronicles and the Beginning of Ezra," *BRev* 2 (1986): 18–20.

between these books. He states, "[Although they were not written by the same author] I do not deny the possibility of reading Ezra-Nehemiah as a sequel to Chronicles. Even if the two works come from completely different hands, the repetition of 2 Chronicles 36:22–23 in Ezra 1:1–3a functions on a literary level as a signal that the two books can, and indeed should be read together."[105] As noted elsewhere, Dempster believes the Old Testament originally concluded with Chronicles, as recorded in *Baba Bathra* 14b. Yet even he acknowledges that the beginning of Ezra/Nehemiah indicates that it was meant to follow Chronicles. Dempster states, "It is clear from a study of the literary evidence that Ezra-Nehemiah was intended as a sequel to Chronicles as the former follows the latter chronologically."[106]

Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah also share numerous religious and theological interests. While this material could not establish a sequential compilation on its own, it may supplement the evidence provided above concerning Cyrus' edict. The previous section discussed the old consensus that Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah were originally a single composition and concluded that there is little evidence supporting this view. Although the opinion of most scholars has shifted away from viewing these books as an originally unified composition, several scholars have been reluctant to jettison this view, such as Joseph Blenkinsopp. Blenkinsopp is aware of the arguments of Japhet and Williamson discussed above but believes that these differences may be overemphasized and could be explained by other considerations. In order to further establish the similarities of the two books, Blenkinsopp identifies seven areas in which these books

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[105] Douglas Green, "Ezra-Nehemiah," in Ryken and Longman, *Literary Guide to the Bible*, 207. Green references concurring statements by Peter Ackroyd and Joseph Blenkinsopp. See Peter R. Ackroyd, "Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah: The Concept of Unity," *ZAW* 100 (1988): 199–200; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1988), 48–49.

[106] Dempster "An 'Extraordinary Fact,' Part 2," 202. Dempster does not explain why the compilational intentions of Ezra/Nehemiah were not followed.

share the same religious interests and ideology.[107] These are listed in table 24.

Table 24. Shared religious interest between Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah

Shared interest and ideology	Chronicles	Ezra
Preparations for building the first and the Second Temple	1 Chronicles 22:2, 4, 15; 2 Chronicles 2:9, 15–16	Ezra 3:7
Setting up an alter before the construction of the temple in order to ward off danger	1 Chronicles 21:18–22:1	Ezra 3:2
Both temples are endowed by the heads of ancestral houses (2 Kgs 12:18 only speaks of a royal endowment)	1 Chronicles 26:26	Ezra 2:68
Both show great interest in the sacred vessels	1 Chronicles 28:13–19 2 Chronicles 5:1	Ezra 1:7; 7:19; 8:25–30, 33–34
Both record the order of sacrifices (enumerated practically identically)	2 Chronicles 2:3; 8:13 (1 Chr 29:21; 2 Chr 29:21, 32)	Ezra 3:4–6 (Ezra 6:9, 17; 7:22; 7:17–18; 8:35–36)
The description of liturgical music and instruments	1 Chronicles 15:19; 16:5–6; 25:1	Ezra 3:10 (Neh 12:35)
Liturgical prayer	1 Chronicles 16:34; 2 Chronicles 5:13; 7:3	Ezra 3:11

Blenkinsopp also notes a recurring structure in Chronicles that is continued by Ezra/Nehemiah.[108] The last part of Chronicles follows a religious infidelity-renewal and reform-Passover pattern (2 Chr 28:22–30; 34:22–35:19). This pattern is continued in Ezra 1–6 (cf. 6:19–22). John Wright has also argued similarly that Ezra/Nehemiah continues the narrative structure of Chronicles.[109] He argues that the return to Jerusalem narrated in Ezra/Nehemiah completes a recurring pattern started in Chronicles.

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[107] See Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 53.

[108] Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 54.

[109] John W. Wright, "The Fabula of the Book of Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, ed. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 263 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 152–54.

These arguments have not led many scholars to reconsider whether Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah were originally a single work, but they do suggest that someone has attempted to draw these books together into a sequential arrangement. These observations supplement the repetition of the edict of Cyrus as compilational features uniting these works into a sequence. Given these similarities, inherent within the biblical text, it is unlikely that one could claim that the repetition of Cyrus' edict at the location it is in is a chance occurrence.

Theological Implications of a Chronicles-Ezra/Nehemiah Sequence

What could have been the purpose of establishing a Chronicles-Ezra/Nehemiah sequence? Ezra/Nehemiah continues the narrative found in Chronicles, but the narration of subsequent events, by itself, would not necessitate an intentional sequencing of this material. The events narrated in Ezra/Nehemiah could also continue the narrative found in the Former Prophets, but the sequential connection was formed with Chronicles. What were the theological implications of a Chronicles-Ezra/Nehemiah sequence? This section will argue that the establishment of a Chronicles-Ezra/Nehemiah sequence creates a shared theological outlook between the two books: although the people have returned to the land of Palestine, they are still waiting for God to act in a way that will end their exile from the Promise Land.

It will be argued in the next chapter that by concluding with the edict of Cyrus, the book of Chronicles is anticipating the arrival of a future descendant of David who will rebuild the temple and bring an end to Israel's exile from the Promised Land. Such a perspective, however, may have been hard to accept because Chronicles was written after Israel had already returned to the land under Zerubbabel. What does such an outlook on Israel's future reveal about the present situation of those who had returned?

The Chronicles-Ezra/Nehemiah allows for the theological outlook established within Chronicles to be carried into Ezra/Nehemiah. Although God had been faithful to

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allow Israel to return to the land and to aid those who had returned, Ezra/Nehemiah

expresses a yearning for God to act in a greater way among his people.[110] This yearning

is evident from three aspects of Ezra/Nehemiah. First, although the Israelites had returned

to the land, they did so while remaining subject to foreign authorities. Although their

relationship with Persia was amicable, it is evident at several points that the Israelites saw

their subjection to Persia as a burden (Ezra 4:6–23, 6:22; Neh 9:32) and as a sign that

they remained under God's judgment (Ezra 9:6–7; Neh 9:36–37; cf. Isa 10).[111] Second,

Israel's reinstitution of their cultic worship fell short of the full restoration for which they

had hoped. This can be most clearly seen in their reaction when the foundations of their

new temple were laid: although some were genuinely joyful, others wept (Ezra 3:11–13).

Whatever the reason for this weeping, the implication is clear: although the occasion was

momentous, many in the congregation could not help but to acknowledge that it was not

as good as it could have been.[112] Third, Ezra/Nehemiah shows that the Israelites were still

quite prone to sinful behavior. This was especially the case concerning mixed marriages,

a problem which persists throughout the book. An emphasis on these recurring problems

show that although Israel was back in the land, they were still in danger of enduring

God's judgment for their sins.[113]

       This yearning for God to act among his people was not expressed entirely in

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[110] This is similar to a thesis proposed by Gordon McConville. See J. Gordon McConville, "Ezra-Nehemiah and the Fulfillment of Prophecy," *VT* 36 (1986): 205–24. McConville actually states that Ezra/Nehemiah reveals a dissatisfaction with Israel's present situation. The way I have stated this above allows for a more positive evaluation of the biblical text and reflects the hope which concludes Chronicles and, in my proposal for this chapter, is the foundation upon which Ezra/Nehemiah was written. This discussion stems from McConville's insights in his article.

[111] For a further explanation of these points, see McConville, "Ezra-Nehemiah," 207–10.

[112] See McConville, "Ezra-Nehemiah," 210; Most scholars seem content to assume that there was something inferior about this temple. See F. Charles Fensham, *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 64–65; Edwin M. Yamauchi, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, in vol. 4 of *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, ed. Tremper Longman III and David E. Garland (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2010), 407; Mervin Breneman, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther*, NAC, vol. 10 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1993), 93; H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, WBC, vol. 16 (Dallas: Word, 1998), 48–49.

[113] See McConville, "Ezra-Nehemiah," 211–13.

negative terms. In addition to the three points above, McConville also shows that

Ezra/Nehemiah is interested in showing that previous Old Testament prophecies are

being fulfilled through Israel's return. This can be easily seen through the numerous

verbal parallels between Ezra/Nehemiah and Israel's prophets. These verbal parallels are

presented in table 25.

Table 25. Vocabulary affinities between Ezra and the Prophets

English (Hebrew) word	Location in Prophets	Location in Ezra
Remnant (שארית)	Jer 31:7	9:14
Gather (קבץ)	Jer 31:8, 10	8:15
Good (טוב)	Jer 31:12, 14	8:22
Enemy (אויב)	Jer 31:16	8:22, 31
I was ashamed and I am confounded (בשתי וגם־ נכלמתי)	Jer 31:19	9:6
Straight path (בדרך ישר)	Jer 31:9	8:21
Sacred (קדש)	Jer 31:40	9:8
Ascend (עלה)	Jer 31:6	7:9
Ascend (עלה)	Isa 2:3	7:9
Straight path (בדרך ישר)	Isa 40:3	8:21
Holy seed (זרע קדש)	Isa 6:13	9:2
Survivor (פליטה)	Isa 10:20	9:8, 13
Ruins (חרבה)	Isa 49:19	9:9
Iniquity (עון)	Isa 40:2	9:6, 7, 13

These allusions show that while Israel's return from Babylon was a step

towards the fulfillment of these prophecies, Israel still looked forward to a day when God

would act to bring about their complete fulfillment. McConville states,

> [Ezra/Nehemiah] show evidence of a careful interpretation of particular prophetic
> texts so as to allow for a continuing hope that prophecy may be completely fulfilled,
> while deliberately avoiding the claim that this has already occurred. Such fulfilment
> can occur only when the throwing off of the imperial yoke demonstrates the reality
> of the exiles' abandonment of sin.[114]

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[114] McConville, "Ezra-Nehemiah," 223–24. Hamilton also emphasizes that Ez/Ne contains an outlook anticipating the fulfillment of these promises. See James M. Hamilton, Jr., *Exalting Jesus in Ezra and Nehemiah*, Christ-Centered Exposition (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2014), 227–41. See also James M. Hamilton, Jr., *God's Glory in Salvation through Judgment: A Biblical Theology* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2010), 338–39.

By creating a sequential link with Chronicles, Ezra/Nehemiah affirms the theological perspective at the conclusion of Chronicles and provides a witness to how this theology operated among the returning exiles. The portrayal of the situation is negative only in so far as many within the post-exilic community recognized that their situation could be better and that God's promises awaited a complete fulfillment. Ezra/Nehemiah acknowledges that God had already acted marvelously on behalf of his people by bringing a remnant of his people back from exile. He graciously sustained those who had returned through the various hardships they faced upon entering the land. Nevertheless, Israel awaited a time when God would act to fully renew the people's hearts, rid them from the burden of sin (both from their sin and from the sin of those around them), and bring the exile completely to an end.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that multiple arrangements are needed to account for the compilational features within Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah. Although it cannot be known for certain, Chronicles contains several features indicating that it was composed to be read at the end of an emerging Old Testament canon. It appears as though it filled this role at a very early date. Ezra/Nehemiah, however, contains a compilational feature (the edict of Cyrus) which suggests that it was composed with the idea that it would be read sequentially after Chronicles. If one concludes that Chronicles was composed to conclude the Old Testament, then multiple arrangements are needed to account for the compilational features of these books. A single, linear sequence will be unable to account for the compilational features within Chronicles and Ezra/Nehemiah.

CHAPTER 7

MACRO CANONICAL STRUCTURES

This thesis has argued that multiple arrangements are needed to account for the compilational features within the Old Testament because multiple arrangements appear to have influenced the text of some books within the Old Testament. Those who were responsible for the textual formation of some of the Old Testament books included compilational features within their works revealing how they intended for their books to be read with other books within an emerging Old Testament canon. Multiple arrangements developed either because those responsible for the composition of some books had different conceptions of how the Old Testament was taking shape or because those responsible for the composition of some books wanted to establish multiple ways in which the Old Testament books could be arranged. Those who continued to compile the Old Testament canon (after the compositional stage concluded) into linear arrangements utilized these compilational features within the Old Testament books in order to create literary arrangements of the Old Testament books.[1] Thus, the multiple arrangements present within ancient witnesses to the arrangement of the Old Testament books stem from the compilational features within the Old Testament itself rather than being an indication that the arrangement of the Old Testament books is inconsequential. Multiple arrangements of the Old Testament indicate a greater concern for the arrangement of the Old Testament on the part of those who composed and compiled it.

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[1] As discussed in the introduction, distinguishing between the compositional and compilational stages of a text's development does not demand that these two stages occurred separately. It is possible that those responsible for compiling the Old Testament edited the texts they were receiving and were the ones responsible for the text's compilational features. But in doing so, the compilers of the Old Testament have also become the composers of the text and were guided by their own compilational features which they put into the text.

The previous chapters examined the compilation of individual Old Testament books in order to provide evidence needed to support this thesis. One of the implications of this thesis is that all the compilational features related to a book are relevant for understanding that book theologically. Since some Old Testament books could fit in multiple locations within the Old Testament, each of these arrangements offer important interpretive and theological insights because they preserve part of the book's compilational message.[2] For example, it is important to recognize that Chronicles (at the very least) contains several features which make it an appropriate conclusion to the Old Testament, yet it is also important to recognize that Ezra/Nehemiah forms a sequel to the Chronicler's work by narrating the efforts of those returning from exile to reestablish their national identity as YHWH's people. Thus, the previous chapters examined multiple locations of individual books within the Old Testament canon in order to understand their full compilational message.

If this thesis is true, then another implication arises concerning the arrangement of the Old Testament canon on the macro level: If the textual composition of the Old Testament books allows for multiple ways to arrange the individual books of the Old Testament, then there may also be multiple ways to arrange the Old Testament at the macro level. By "macro level" of the Old Testament, I am referring to the arrangement of the Old Testament as a whole (with all twenty-four books represented).[3] Just as the structure of an individual book serves as a hermeneutical framework for the interpretation of the book and contributes to the overall meaning of the book,[4] the macro structure

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[2] In this respect, Greg Goswell's recent contributions to the subject are helpful. Whereas Goswell emphasizes the affect these arrangements would have on a reader, however, I would emphasize the authorial role of the composer and compilers. See Greg Goswell, "The Order of the Books of the Hebrew Bible," *JETS* 51(2008): 673–88, as well as his other articles on individual books listed in the bibliography.

[3] Aside from considering whether Chronicles could have been intended to conclude the Old Testament, this dissertation has only considered compilations on a "micro level" or how individual books were arranged with other books.

[4] Gentry states, "The arrangement and form or literary shape of the statements in the text are as important for interpretation of a communication as the meaning of the actual individual sentences." Peter J.

(arrangement) of the Old Testament can provide a hermeneutic framework for the interpretation of individual books and contribute to the theological message of the Old Testament.[5]

Several authors have studied the macro structure of the Old Testament and determined that it was intentionally arranged in order to emphasize certain theological themes.[6] Such studies, however, are beset by the same difficulty encountered when studying the arrangement of individual books: Ancient witnesses arrange the Old Testament in multiple ways. Since this is the case, it would be easy to conclude that the arrangement of the Old Testament as a whole is insignificant.[7] Why is the Old Testament's arrangement inconsistent among the ancient witnesses if its arrangement is significant? Thus, authors who see significance in the arrangement of the Old Testament must explain why there are multiple arrangements among the ancient witnesses.

One approach to the difficulty created by the multiple arrangements of the Old Testament is to argue that one arrangement should be prioritized over the others. This is the approach taken, for example, by Hendrik Koorevaar. Koorevaar has written two articles concerning the macro structure of the Old Testament.[8] His second article, in

Gentry, *How to Read and Understand the Biblical Prophets* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2017), 19.

[5] Goswell states, "In almost every case, the location of a biblical book relative to other canonical books, whether in terms of the grouping in which it is placed, or the book(s) that follow or precede it, has hermeneutical significance for the reader who seeks meaning in the text." Goswell, "The Order of the Hebrew Bible," 688.

[6] For some examples, see Hendrik J. Koorevaar, "The Exile and Return Model: A Proposal for the Original Macrostructure of the Hebrew Canon," *JETS* 57 (2014): 501–12; Stephen G. Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact', Torah and Temple and the Contours of the Hebrew Canon, Part 1," *TynBul* 48 (1997): 23–56 and Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact': Torah and Temple and the Contours of the Hebrew Canon, Part 2," *TynBul* 48 (1997): 191–218; John H. Sailhamer, *Introduction to Old Testament Theology: A Canonical Approach* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995), 239–49.

[7] Consider, for instance, the statement made by Thomas Schreiner. Schreiner states "The fact that the Writings are not in the same order in every list indicates that the order is not as crucial as some claim." Thomas Schreiner, *The King in His Beauty: A Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013), xv–xvi n20.

[8] Hendrik J. Koorevaar, "The Torah Model as Original Macrostructure of the Hebrew Canon: A Critical Evaluation," *ZAW* 122 (2010): 64–80 and Koorevaar, "The Exile and Return Model," 501–12.

which he discusses what he calls the "Exile-Return Model" of the Old Testament's arrangement, will be discussed further in section one of this chapter. In preparation for this article, Koorevaar's first article offers a critical evaluation of what he calls the "Torah Model" of approaching the Old Testament's macro structure. Part of his critique argues that the arrangement he utilizes for his Exile-Return Model, which is *Baba Bathra* 14b, is earlier than the arrangement used for the Torah Model (a modified version of the Masoretic arrangement) and should thus be favored.[9]

In his articles studying the macro structure of the Old Testament, Stephen Dempster also argues for the priority of *Baba Bathra* 14b.[10] In Dempster's case, he argues for the Torah Model (to use Koorevaar's terminology) but does so while using the arrangement Koorevaar uses for his Exile-Return Model (*Baba Bathra* 14b). This is problematic because, as will be discussed below, the Torah Model recognizes Psalms as the first book of the third division of the Old Testament but in *Baba Bathra* 14b, the third division begins with Ruth. Dempster addresses this difficulty by claiming that Ruth is a Davidic preface to the Psalms.[11] Thus, Dempster treats Psalms as the first book of the third division even though the third division begins with Ruth. Dempster's approach is difficult for me to accept. Either the Writings begin with Ruth, in which case the Torah Model proposed by Dempster does not work, or the Writings begin with Psalms, in which case the arrangement being used is not the one attested to in *Baba Bathra* 14b. It makes little sense for Dempster to ignore an entire book in order to make the Torah Model work

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[9] See Koorevaar, "The Torah Model," 68–70. Koorevaar's claim that the arrangement of *Baba Bathra* is older than the Masoretic arrangement is based upon the classification of the *Megilloth* as liturgical, which I have argued in chapter 2 is uncertain. The liturgical function of the *Megilloth* may have been subsequent to their grouping within the Masoretic arrangement. Furthermore, some elements of the Masoretic arrangement could be explained with literary features.

[10] See Stephen G. Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact', Part 1," 23–56 and Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact', Part 2," *TynBul* 48 (1997): 191–218. See also Stephen G. Dempster, *Dominion and Dynasty: A Biblical Theology of the Hebrew Bible*, NSBT 15 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 32–33.

[11] See Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact', Part 2," 202–3.

with his preferred arrangement.

This thesis allows for an alternative approach to the study of the Old Testament's macro structure. Instead of the multiple arrangements of the Old Testament being an obstacle to explain for scholars studying the macro structure of the Old Testament, if this thesis is true, we should expect the emergence of multiple arrangements of the Old Testament and be prepared to acknowledge the unique contribution offered by each arrangement. Rather than negating the significance of the Old Testament's arrangement, each arrangement of the Old Testament exhibiting signs of intentional structuring on the macro level shows the arrangement of the Old Testament to be more significant.

As suggested in chapter 2, linear depictions of how the Old Testament books are arranged are analogous to the use of maps to depict the earth's surface.[12] Just as each type of map accurately depicts some features of the earth's surface while distorting others, each linear arrangement of the Old Testament can accurately depict some compilational features while distorting others. Just as the creation of multiple types of maps does not mean that maps are incapable of helping us understand the layout of the earth's surface, the fact that there are multiple arrangements of the Old Testament books does not mean that the arrangement of the Old Testament books is insignificant. Furthermore, just as there is no reason to prioritize one type of map for all occasions, there is no reason to prioritize one arrangement of the Old Testament over all others, as Koorevaar and Dempster do. Each arrangement may helpfully depict some aspects of the Old Testament's compilation even though others are neglected.

The remainder of this chapter will illustrate the value of this thesis by examining two models for arranging the Old Testament canon. Koorevaar proposes that

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[12] As defined in the introduction, linear arrangements refer to sequences of the Old Testament books with out duplication.

the arrangement found in *Baba Bathra* 14b emphasizes the themes of exile and return from exile. He calls his model "The Exile-Return Model". The other model to be examined will be called the "Messiah Model". It is a modification of what Koorevaar calls the "Torah Model". These models for studying the macro structure of the Old Testament show that the Old Testament may be compiled in order to emphasize specific themes and thus the arrangement of the Old Testament books contributes to our understanding of the Old Testament's theological message. In the approach advocated by this thesis, these models are complementary rather than exclusive of one another.

The Exile-Return Model

Koorevaar argues that the arrangement of the Old Testament given in *Baba Bathra* 14b can best be explained by what he calls the Exile-Return Model. These two themes appear at the junctures of the canonical divisions within *Baba Bathra* 14b and at the beginning and conclusion of each division. Thus, the arrangement of *Baba Bathra* 14b emphasizes two of the key theological themes of the Old Testament. The remainder of this section will provide an overview of Koorevaar's discussion.

Priest Canon (Gen–Kgs)		Prophet Canon (Jer–Mal)		Wisdom Canon (Ruth–Chr)	
Gen 1–3	2 Kgs 24:17–25:30	Jer 1:1–19	Mal 4:1, 5–6	Ruth 1:1–5; 19–22	2 Chr 36:22–23
Arrival/exile	Exile	Threatened exile	Threatened exile	Voluntary exile/return	Voluntary return

Figure 4. Koorevaar's Exile-Return Model

One key aspect of Koorevaar's discussion is that he alters the traditional divisions within the arrangement of *Baba Bathra* 14b.[13] Instead of dividing between the

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[13] See Koorevaar, "The Exile and Return Model," 502–4.

Law and the Prophets at the Deuteronomy-Joshua juncture, he treats Genesis through Kings as the first unit of the Old Testament canon. This move incorporates the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets into a single literary unit, often referred to as the "Henneateuch" or "Great Primary History". Koorevaar believes this division better reflects the original intention of the arrangement.[14] Koorevaar also renames his new canonical sections. He refers to Genesis–Kings as the "Priest Canon", Jeremiah–Malachi as the "Prophet Canon", and Ruth–Chronicles as the "Wisdom Canon".

In Koorevaar's restructuring of *Baba Bathra* 14b, the junctures between the canonical divisions occur at Kings and Jeremiah and at Malachi and Ruth. Koorevaar notes that the theme of exile occurs at each of these junctures.[15] The last book of Koorevaar's Priest Canon, Kings, concludes with the fall of Jerusalem, the exile of its people, and the release of their exiled king, Jehoiachin (2 Kgs 24:17–25:30). Although Jehoiachin is released, there is no indication given that he is allowed to return. The first book of Koorevaar's Prophet Canon is Jeremiah. Judah's exile is referenced two times early within Jeremiah. In the heading of the book (Jer 1:1–3), the list of the kings during whose reigns Jeremiah ministered concludes with the nation's exile. In the next passage, Jeremiah 1:4–19, God reveals that he is going to call the kingdoms of the North and that they will set their thrones in the gates of Jerusalem. This prophecy envisions the downfall of Jerusalem, which is precisely where the book of Kings concludes. The last book of the Prophet canon is Malachi. In Malachi, the people have returned from exile but the book concludes with the threat of exile. In Malachi 4:1 [3:19 MT], the prophet threatens an exile which will be worse than before (neither root nor branch will be left!), and in

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[14] In doing this, Koorevaar is breaking from *Baba Bathra* 14b which clearly divides the books between the traditional categories of Law, Prophets, and Writings. Koorevaar believes the arrangement of these books in *Baba Bathra* 14b is older than the divisions among them. Others have noted that Genesis–Kings forms a literary unit. See T. Desmond. Alexander, "Genesis to Kings," in *NDBT*, ed. T. Desmond Alexander and Brian S. Rosner (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000), 115–20.

[15] Koorevaar, "The Exile and Return Model," 504–5.

Malachi 4:5–6 [3:23–24 MT], God announces that the day of the Lord is coming. Unless the people repent, he will come and strike the land with utter destruction. These threats of God's judgment portend exile. The first book of the Wisdom Canon is Ruth. It begins with the voluntary exile of Elimelech and his family due to the famine in Bethlehem. In the Old Testament, famines were a sign of God's judgment and precursor to the people's exile (Lev 26:14–39; Deut 28:15–68). Although Elimelech and his sons die in exile, Naomi returns from exile with Ruth to Bethlehem.[16]

In addition to the junctures between the canonical units, Koorevaar also shows that the themes of exile and return appear at the beginning and end of each canonical unit. The Priest Canon begins with Genesis. In Genesis, Adam appears in the Garden of Eden (Gen 1–2) but is quickly exiled out of the garden due to his disobedience of God's command. There is apparently no option for return because the cherubim are barring the way to the tree of life with a flaming sword (Gen 3:24). As noted above, the book of Kings, which concludes the Priest Canon, concludes with the exile of the nation of Judah (2 Kgs 24:17–25:30). Even though King Jehoiachin is released from prison, he is not permitted to return to the land (2 Kgs 25:27–30). In Jeremiah, which begins the Prophet Canon, God threatens the nation of Judah with exile because of their sin (Jer 1:4–19). At the conclusion of the Prophet Canon, God threatens those living in the land with exile (Mal 4:1, 5–6 [3:19, 23–24 MT]). At the beginning of the Wisdom Canon, Elimelech and his family go into voluntary exile in order to escape the famine in Bethlehem (Ruth 1:1), yet Naomi voluntarily returns from that exile with Ruth (Ruth 1:19–22). At the conclusion of the Wisdom Canon, Chronicles concludes with God's people in exile, but they are given an opportunity to voluntarily return from exile to the land (2 Chr 36:22–

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[16] Koorevaar notes that although he is not concerned with the secondary break between Deuteronomy and Joshua, the themes of exile and return are also present at this division. Deuteronomy concludes with Israel still in (voluntary) exile due to the famine at the time of Joseph (Gen 45:5–8; 46:2–4; cf. Gen 15:13–16). In Joshua, the people return to the land. See Koorevaar, "The Exile and Return Model," 507–8.

23).[17]

Koorevaar also notes two further important connections between the end of the canon and the beginning of the two preceding canonical blocks.[18] Chronicles concludes with the edict of Cyrus in which Cyrus summoned the Jewish nation to return to their land and rebuild their temple. This is a fulfillment of the words of Jeremiah (2 Chr 36:22; cf. Jer 29:10; 33:10–11, 14), whose book occupies the first spot of the Prophet Canon. Furthermore, in Jeremiah 1:15, God is "calling all the families of the North" to set their thrones in the gates of Jerusalem. This prophecy portends Jerusalem's judgment and exile. In 2 Chronicles 36:23, God has given Cyrus "all the kingdoms of the earth" and charged him to build a house in Jerusalem. The judgment prophesied in Jeremiah is over and people are returning to Jerusalem in order to rebuild. These connections link the beginning of the Prophet Canon (Jeremiah) with the conclusion of the Old Testament (Chronicles).

The beginning of the Priest Canon (Genesis) is linked with the conclusion of the Old Testament (Chronicles) through the figures of Adam and Cyrus. These two figures are linked within the book of Chronicles. Adam is the first member of the first genealogy beginning Chronicles (1 Chr 1:1), which means that the first word of Chronicles is "Adam." Chronicles concludes with Cyrus and his edict (2 Chr 36:22–23). These figures also link the beginning of the Old Testament with the conclusion of the Old Testament. In Genesis 1–2, God establishes Adam as his vice-regent over the whole earth (Gen 1:28). In 2 Chronicles 36:23, Cyrus claims that YHWH, the God of heaven, gave him all the kingdoms of the earth. Both Adam and Cyrus are world rulers. Adam's rule ends in failure when he is exiled from the Garden of Eden and barred from returning

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[17] Koorevaar also points out that the corollary of these observations is that the themes of exile and return also appear at the beginning of each canonical block and at the conclusion of each canonical block. See Koorevaar, "The Exile and Return Model," 509–10.

[18] See Koorevaar, "The Exile and Return Model," 508–9.

(Gen 3:23–24). The results of Cyrus' rule are left uncertain: Will he succeed in fulfilling God's command?[19] These connections between the beginning of the Priest Canon and the beginning of the Prophet Canon show that Chronicles is not only an appropriate conclusion for the Wisdom Canon but for the entire Old Testament as well.

Koorevaar concludes his article by discussing the theological implications of his Exile-Return Model.[20] The themes of exile and return are two of the most important theological subjects within the Old Testament. These two themes occur at the junctions of each canonical block and at the beginning and end of each canonical block within the arrangement of *Baba Bathra* 14b. The emphasis on exile and return at these strategic locations within this arrangement of the Old Testament highlight the important role of these themes within the overall message of the Old Testament. Furthermore, the appearance of these themes at these locations invite comparisons between humanity's (in their representative, Adam) exile from the garden (Gen 3) and Israel's exile from their land (2 Kgs). Adam and his exile function paradigmatically for Israel and its exile. Just as Adam is exiled from the garden at the beginning of the Priest Canon, the Israelites are exiled from their land at the conclusion of the Priest Canon. Therefore, Israel's

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[19] Although Koorevaar does not make this connection, the link between Adam and Cyrus is further strengthened by their role in constructing the temple. Cyrus' connection to the temple is clear within 2 Chr 36:22–33. Several scholars have noticed similarities between the Garden of Eden (and even creation as a whole) and later Israelite sanctuaries, including the temple. See Gordon J. Wenham, "Sanctuary Symbolism in the Garden of Eden Story," in *I Studied Inscriptions from before the Flood*, Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies, ed. R. S. Hess and D. T. Tsumara (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1994): 19–24; John H. Walton, "Garden of Eden," in *DOTP*, ed. T. Desmond Alexander and David W. Baker (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 204–6; G. K. Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission: A Biblical Theology of the Dwelling Place of God*, NSBT 17 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 66–80; T. Desmond Alexander, *From Eden to the New Jerusalem* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2008), 20–31. Since this is the case, Adam's labor to work and keep the garden (Gen 2:15) could be understood as the construction and upkeep of an archetypical temple. Several of the scholars mentioned above go on to argue that humanity's role was originally to expand and develop the garden into a sanctuary like city. See Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission*, 81–82. Alexander quotes Beale approvingly. See Alexander, *From Eden to the New Jerusalem*, 25. See also T. Desmond Alexander, *The City of God and the Goal of Creation*, SSBT (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2018), 20–22. I have discussed these observations and their implications for human work. See Casey K. Croy, "Humanity as City-Builders: Observations on Human Work from Hebrews' Interpretation of Genesis 1–11," *JBTS* 2 (2017): 32–41.

[20] See Koorevaar, "The Exile and Return Model," 510.

anticipated return to the land at the conclusion of the Old Testament may be paradigmatic of humanity's expected return to the place God had prepared for them to inhabit. In the book of Ruth (at the beginning of the Wisdom Canon), Ruth's voluntary return brings worldwide blessing in the form of David and his messianic kingship. In the same way (at the conclusion of the Wisdom Canon), Israel's voluntary return out of exile to their land may anticipate worldwide blessing in humanity's return from exile through a Davidic heir.

The Messiah Model

Another approach to the macro study of the Old Testament utilizes the arrangement of books found in *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (*BHS*). Koorevaar calls this model the "Torah Model" because those who discuss this model typically emphasize the appearance of Torah at significant locations within this arrangement.[21] This section will present a modification of what Koorevaar describes as the "Torah Model", which will be called the "Messiah Model". In addition to the emphasis on obedience to the Torah, this model also anticipates the arrival of prophets like Moses and Elijah and an Israelite leader who will lead Israel out of exile in order to rebuild God's temple.[22] When these features of the arrangement are considered together, they are best understood as an expression of Israel's hope in a coming Messiah. But before discussing the details of the Messiah Model, this section must first address the difficulty presented by the arrangement of *BHS*.

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[21] See Koorevaar, "The Torah Model," 65. Koorevaar notes the following authors who discuss the "Torah Model": Chrisoph Dohmen and Manfred Oeming, *Biblischer Kanon, Warum und Wozu?* Quaestiones Disputae 137 (Freiburg, Germany: Herder, 1992); Sailhamer, *Old Testament Theology*, 239–49; Erich Zenger, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1995), 24–26. To these should be added Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact', Part 1," 23–56 and Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact', Part 2," 191–218. As noted above, Koorevaar is critical of this model for several reasons. This thesis and the modifications within this section to what he describes as the Torah Model address the deficiencies he sees within this approach to studying the Old Testament's macro arrangement.

[22] Other authors presenting what Koorevaar refers to as the "Torah Model" make these same connections. See Sailhamer, *Old Testament Theology*, 239–50.

Can the Writings Begin with Psalms?

As noted above, the arrangement of books to be utilized within the Messiah Model stems from the arrangement of *BHS*. This could be problematic, however, because the arrangement of *BHS* does not match the arrangements of *Baba Bathra* 14b, the Masoretic manuscripts (Aleppo Codex and B19a), or Jerome's order. The arrangement of *BHS* essentially follows the arrangement of the Masoretic manuscripts with the exception of moving Chronicles from the beginning of the Writings to the end of the Writings. Concluding the Writings with Chronicles is a feature of *Baba Bathra* 14b, and this makes the arrangement of *BHS* a hybrid of these two ancient arrangements.

What makes the arrangement of *BHS* unique from the three ancient Jewish arrangements utilized within this thesis is that the Writings begins with Psalms. In the arrangements of *Baba Bathra* 14b, the Masoretic Manuscripts, and Jerome, Psalms occupies the second position of the Writings. Is there any evidence of an ancient arrangement of the Writings beginning with Psalms?

At the outset of this discussion, it must be emphasized that although Psalms does not begin the Writings in the three arrangements utilized in this dissertation, only one modification would be required for any of these arrangements to arrive at this result. This is because, as noted above, Psalms fills the second position in each of these arrangements. Thus, it would have been very easy for an arrangement of the Writings beginning with Psalms to have either emerged from one of these three arrangements or for one of these three arrangements to have emerged from an arrangement in which Psalms did begin the Writings. Although Psalms does not begin the Writings in these three arrangements, the fact that it is located in the second position in all three arrangements makes it easy to imagine a scenario in which Psalms did begin the Writings at an early date.

The earliest manuscript in which the Writings begins with Psalms does not

occur until the twelfth century.[23] Nevertheless, a case can be made that a tripartite

arrangement of the Old Testament books in which the Writings began with Psalms was

known in antiquity. The clearest evidence of this arrangement stems from the words of

Jesus in Luke 24:44: "And he said to them, 'These were my words which I spoke to you

while I was still with you, that it is necessary to fulfill all the things having been written

concerning me in the law of Moses and in the Prophets and Psalms.'" The reference to

the law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms is often acknowledged to be a reference to

the three divisions of the Old Testament.[24] "Psalms" is probably being used as a title for

the third division of the Old Testament because it was known to be the first book of that

division.[25]

      Some scholars are hesitant to affirm that the use of "Psalms" is a reference to

the entire third division of the Old Testament and claim that this usage may merely be

referencing the book of Psalms as a primary source of messianic texts.[26] This assertion,

however, does not match the statement as well as the claim that Psalms is being used as a

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[23] See Roger T. Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church* (London: SPCK, 1985), 452–64.

[24] In affirmation of this view, see Walter L. Liefeld and David W. Pao, *Luke*, in vol. 10 of *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, ed. Tremper Longman III and David E. Garland (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2007), 352; Leon Morris, *Luke: An Introduction and Commentary*, TNTC, vol. 3 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1988), 361; Robert H. Stein, *Luke*, NAC, vol. 24 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1992), 620.

[25] See Stein, *Luke*, 620. Stein states, "The first (in the Hebrew arrangement) and largest book in this section is the Psalms." See also, Michael B. Shepherd, *A Commentary on the Book of The Twelve*, KEL (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2018), 14. Dempster agrees with this assessment but believes that Ruth could have still been the first book of the Writings if it was seen as a prefix to the Psalms. See Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact', Part 2," 202. As noted in the introduction to this chapter, I do not find this to be convincing. It seems to be an imposition of *Baba Bathra* 14b into the evidence even though it does not fit. It is unlikely that Luke 24:44 refers the arrangement of the Old Testament books that begins with Ruth, as found in *Baba Bathra* 14b. This assessment does not mean that the arrangement of *Baba Bathra* 14b was not known prior to this time or negate the value of the arrangement.

[26] See John Martin Creed, *The Gospel according to St. Luke: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Indices* (London: MacMillan, 1930), 300; I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 905. Bock is inconsistent on this point. He begins his discussion by stating, "To underline the comprehensiveness of the fulfillment, the three divisions of the OT are noted: law, prophets and psalms." Yet later, he states, "It is not certain that this reference to the Psalter is intended to stand for the other writings in the Jewish canon outside of Moses and the prophets. It may simply refer to the Book of Psalms as a key contributor to these themes." Darrell L. Bock, *Luke: 9:51–24:53*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1996), 1936–7.

shorthand reference to the entire third division. Since "law of Moses" and "the Prophets" refer to the first and second divisions of the Old Testament, why would Jesus not refer to the entire third division but only a single book from the third division? As Beckwith argues, the claim that Jesus was referring only to the book of Psalms because Psalms was a source of messianic texts makes little sense because Jesus regularly utilized other books (e.g., Daniel) within the third division to refer to himself.[27] The omission of the rest of the books in the third division within Jesus' statement would be difficult to explain. Since there is already evidence of a tripartite arrangement at this time from Ecclesiasticus,[28] Jesus' statement probably reflects the various designations for the third division used during this time. The similarities between Jesus' statement and Philo's statement (which will be discussed in the next paragraph) are a further indication that the third division of the Old Testament could be designated as "Psalms", and this was probably due to the position of Psalms as the first book of the third division of the Old Testament.

A similar statement to Jesus' is found in Philo's *On the Contemplative Life* (24–25). Philo states,

> In each house there is a consecrated room which is called a sanctuary or closet and closeted in this they are initiated into the mysteries of the sanctified life. They take nothing into it, either drink or food or any other of the things necessary for the needs of the body, but the *Laws* and the Oracles delivered through the mouth of *Prophets*, and the *Psalms* and anything else which fosters and perfects knowledge and piety [Emphasis mine].

Philo's statement in this passage references the three divisions of the Old Testament canon and refers to the third section by "Psalms". As with Jesus' statement above, "Psalms" is probably being used as a title for the third division of the Old Testament because it was known to be the first book of that division.[29] Unlike Jesus'

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[27] See Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 111–12.

[28] See the discussion in Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 110–11; Ched Spellman, *Toward a Canon-Conscious Reading of the Bible: Exploring the History and Hermeneutics of the Canon*, NTM 34 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2014), 88–90;

[29] See Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 117. Beckwith has an extensive discussion on the authenticity of *On the Contemplative Life* and concludes that it was written by Philo. Dempster also

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statement, Philo's statement cannot be attributed to the messianic texts within Psalms. When these two statements are considered together, the best interpretation of this use of "Psalms" is that the third division of the Old Testament was occasionally referred to in this fashion.

How could "Psalms" function as a title for the third division of the Old Testament? While it is possible that this title was used due to the importance of the book of Psalms or its length, the most likely explanation for this development is that it reflects an arrangement in which third division began with Psalms. When 1 and 2 Chronicles are considered as a single book (which is likely how these books would have been known when the statements examined above were made), the Psalms are not the longest book within the third division. To say that the third division could be referred to simply as "Psalms" due to the importance of the book is subjective. Was Psalms so much more important than the rest of the books within this division that it would be an obvious title?

These statements from Jesus and Philo use "Psalms" to refer to the third division of the Old Testament, which indicates that this division began with Psalms. To this evidence should be added the use of "David" to refer to the third division of the Old Testament. This is the case in 2 Maccabees 2:13, which reads, "The same things are said concerning the writings and archives according to Nehemiah, and how he founded a library and gathered together the books concerning kings and prophets and the [*books*] *of David* and the letters of kings concerning votive offerings." This statement may refer to the Old Testament canon apart from the Pentateuch. The reference to the "books of David"[30] in the plural is most likely a reference to the division of the Psalms into five

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acknowledges this quote from Philo as evidence that the Writings began with Psalms. See Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact', Part 2," 202.

[30] Although "books (βιβλία)" is absent before "David", it should be supplied with the plural τὰ before "David". See Daniel R. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 166. See also Timothy H. Lim, "The Alleged Reference to the Tripartite Division of the Hebrew Bible," *RevQ* 20 (2001): 34.

books. If this is the case, then this is another instance of referring to the third division of the Old Testament as "Psalms", which is possible because it was the first book within the Writings.[31]

One further instance in which "David" may be used to refer to the Psalms and then to the third division of the Old Testament is found in the Halakhic Letter from Qumran (4QMMT). Part of the text for the passage in question in this letter must be reconstructed. Martínez's translation of the reconstructed text reads "To you we have wr[itten] that you must understand the book of Moses [and the words of the pro]phets and of David [and the annals of eac]h generation."[32] In Martínez's reconstructed text, this passage appears to reference a tripartite Old Testament canon and uses "David" to refer to the final division. As with the reference from 2 Maccabees 2:13, the most likely explanation for the use of "David" to refer to the third division of the Old Testament canon is that "David" is a reference to the book of Psalms (Psalms is typically associated with Davidic authorship), which may stand for the entire third division because it was the first book within that division. This reconstruction of the text of 4QMMT has been questioned by several authors, however.[33]

The discussion above has argued that there was likely an ancient arrangement of the Old Testament which began with Psalms in a manner similar to *BHS*. If this was the case, the one remaining issue with the arrangement of *BHS* would be the location of Chronicles. As with the Writings beginning with Psalms, a case can be made for placing

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[31] Schwartz states, "Moreover, it seems quite likely, given Luke 24:44 ('everything written about me in the law of Moses and the Prophets and the psalms must be fulfilled') together with ibid. v. 27, and given Philo's *Contemplative Life* 25 ('laws . . . prophets . . . psalms and the other [books]'), that David's books are the Psalms, mention *pars pro toto* to represent the whole of the third division of the Hebrew Bible." Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 166.

[32] Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*, 2nd ed., trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 79.

[33] See Lim, "The Alleged Reference," 23–37. See also E. Ulrich, "The Non-attestation of a Tripartite Canon in 4QMMT," *CBQ* 65 (2003): 202–14.

Chronicles at the conclusion of the Writings and thus, of the Old Testament. This is the

placement of the book in *Baba Bathra* 14b. Furthermore, as discussed in the previous

chapter, Jesus' statement recorded in Matthew 23:35 and Luke 11:51 is best explained by

an arrangement of the Old Testament concluding with Chronicles.

Although the arrangement of *BHS* is not affirmed by an ancient list or

manuscript (earlier than the twelfth century), only one change is required to the Masoretic

arrangement in order to arrive at the order in *BHS* (Chronicles is moved from the

beginning of the Writings to the end of the Writings). This one change results in two

features which are affirmed by evidence which predates the lists and manuscripts

supporting the three arrangements of the Old Testament discussed in chapter 2. Thus, the

arrangement of *BHS*, upon which the Messiah Model is based, may be equally as ancient

as the three orders found in chapter 2. Figure 5 presents the arrangement of *BHS*.

The Pentateuch	The Prophets	The Writings
Genesis	Joshua	Psalms
Exodus	Judges	Job
Leviticus	Samuel	Proverbs
Numbers	Kings	Ruth
Deuteronomy	Isaiah	Song of Solomon
	Jeremiah	Ecclesiastes
	Ezekiel	Lamentations
	The Twelve	Esther
		Daniel
		Ezra/Nehemiah
		Chronicles

Figure 5. The arrangement of the *BHS*

Although the Torah/Messiah Model is typically based upon the arrangement of

BHS, it is also compatible with another proposed ancient order. Concerning the number

of canonical books, some ancient witnesses number the books of the Old Testament as

twenty-four and others number them as twenty-two. In Beckwith's discussion of this issue, he concludes that the difference between the two numbers probably stemmed from different combinations of books rather than differences concerning which books were or were not considered canonical.[34] Beckwith also concludes that the most likely books which were combined to arrive at the number of twenty-two were Judges with Ruth and Jeremiah with Lamentations. If the numeration of twenty-two books is achieved by appending Ruth to Judges and Lamentations to Jeremiah within the arrangement of *Baba Bathra* 14b, as Beckwith claims, then all of the necessary features needed of an arrangement for the Messiah Model are present. The third section would begin with Psalms and end with Chronicles. Beckwith states,

> The second remark is that, since the numeration 22 developed from the numeration 24, and since the change of number is achieved simply by moving Ruth and Lamentations to their new position as appendices to Judges and Jeremiah, without rearranging the other books chronologically, there may well have been an interim form of the numeration in which no other changes were made than the moving of Ruth and Lamentations (as has already been pointed out in the previous chapter).[35]

The arrangement of Beckwith's proposal for adapting *Baba Bathra* 14b to twenty-two books is presented in figure 6.[36] Since the Writings begins with Psalms and ends with Chronicles in this arrangement, the adaptation of *Baba Bathra* 14b to twenty-two books also coincides with the evidence discussed above concerning the arrangement of *BHS*.

The Details of the Messiah Model

In the arrangements of *BHS* and *Baba Bathra* 14b adapted to twenty-two books, the third division of the Old Testament canon begins with Psalms and concludes with Chronicles. Along with the more stable features of the first two divisions of the Old

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[34] See Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 235–63.

[35] Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 261.

[36] Beckwith presents this order as order II in his second appendix. See Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon*, 450–52.

The Pentateuch	The Prophets	The Writings
Genesis	Joshua	Psalms
Exodus	Judges-Ruth	Job
Leviticus	Samuel	Proverbs
Numbers	Kings	Ecclesiastes
Deuteronomy	Jeremiah-Lamentations	Song of Solomon
	Ezekiel	Daniel
	Isaiah	Esther
	The Twelve	Ezra/Nehemiah
		Chronicles

Figure 6. *Baba Bathra* 14b adapted to twenty-two books

Testament,[37] these two features allow for these arrangements of the Old Testament canon to emphasize Israel's (and humanity's) hope in a coming Messiah who will lead them out of spiritual exile.

Exile appears at key locations. At the outset of presenting the Messiah Model, it must be acknowledged that this model also shares an emphasis with the Exile and Return Model in that the theme of exile appears at prominent locations within this arrangement. At the beginning of this arrangement, humanity (under Adam's headship) is exiled from the Garden of Eden (Gen 3:24).[38] At the midpoint of this arrangement, Israel is exiled from the Promised Land (2 Kgs 25). At the conclusion of this arrangement, God's people remain in exile (2 Chr 36:17–23), though the hoped-for return to the land and rebuilding of the temple seems near. In concluding the Old Testament with Chronicles, these arrangements offer an analysis of Israel's historical return which was narrated in Ezra/Nehemiah. Although the exiles have returned to the Land, the Old

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[37] In all of the Jewish arrangements studied in this dissertation, the first division of the Old Testament (the Law or the Pentateuch) begins with Genesis and ends with Deuteronomy, and the second division (the Prophets) begins with Joshua and ends with the book of the Twelve. Within these divisions, the only differences are the positioning of Isaiah (either at the beginning of the Latter Prophets [the Masoretic arrangement and Jerome] or after Jeremiah and Ezekiel [*Baba Bathra* 14b]) and the inclusion of Ruth and Lamentations within the Prophets (Jerome and *Baba Bathra* 14b adapted to twenty-two books).

[38] See Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact', Part 1," 49–50.

Testament concludes with Israel in exile. Thus, although Israel has returned to the land, they remain, in some sense, exiled from God. Given that the first exile within the Old Testament concerns all of humanity (Gen 3:24) and that this first exile is paradigmatic for Israel's own exile, it could be argued that the Old Testament concludes with Israel and all of humanity in exile from God's presence.

Law	Prophets		Writings
	Former	Latter	

Genesis 3
Humanity is exiled
from the garden.

2 Kings 25
Israel is exiled from the
Promised Land.

2 Chronicles 36:22–23
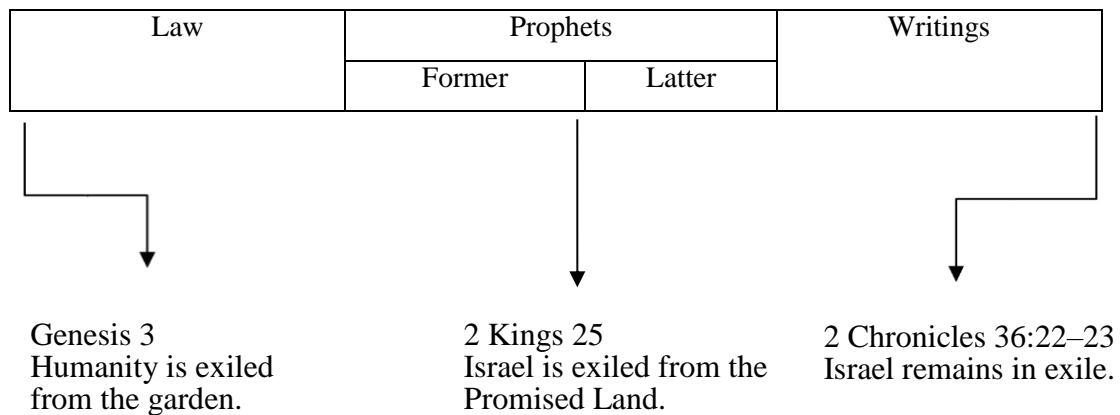Israel remains in exile.

Figure 7. The emphasis on exile within the Messiah Model

What hope is there for these exiles? The Messiah Model offers an answer for humanity's plight by highlighting Israel's hope in a coming Messiah who would lead Israel and humanity out of exile and into God's presence. These arrangements present this hope by beginning each section with themes concerning obedience and devotion to God's written word and by concluding each section with themes which anticipate the coming of prophetic and royal figures. When these themes are joined together at the seams between the three divisions of the Old Testament, they coalesce into the anticipation of a coming figure who will lead Israel and humanity out of exile.

Anticipatory figures at the conclusion of each section. In the Messiah Model, the three sections of the Old Testament end by anticipating the coming of prophetic and royal figures. Deuteronomy 34:10 concludes the first division of the Old

Testament by stating, "A prophet has not arisen since in Israel like Moses, who YHWH knew face to face." This verse is more than a comparison between Moses and the subsequent prophets in Israel's history. Earlier within Deuteronomy, Moses predicts that a prophet like him will arise from within Israel. Deuteronomy 18:15 states, "YHWH your God will raise up a prophet like me from your midst, from your brothers. You shall listen to him." Deuteronomy 18:18 states, "I will raise up a prophet like you from the midst of their brothers. And I will put my words in his mouth and he will speak to them all which I command him." Deuteronomy 34:10 is a reflection upon these promises and an acknowledgment that this prophetic figure has not yet arisen.[39] Thus, Deuteronomy 34:10 concludes the first division of the Old Testament by anticipating the appearance of a prophet like Moses.[40]

Several authors have noted that Deuteronomy 34:10 seemingly reflects on an extensive period of prophetic activity within Israel. This statement should not be taken as a negative evaluation of Israel's prophets.[41] The statement merely acknowledges that the promised Moses-like prophet has yet to appear. In this manner, Israel's other prophets may be viewed positively in that they are found within a succession of faithful Israelite prophets leading up to the arrival of the prophet like Moses. Each faithful prophet not only functions as a prophetic witness in his own time but also functions as a harbinger to the Moses-like prophet anticipated in Deuteronomy 34:10. This is especially evident when the ministries of these prophets are patterned after Moses' ministry, as is the case

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[39] See Sailhamer, *Old Testament Theology*, 247; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon: A Contribution to the Study of Jewish Origins*, Studies in Judaism and Christianity 3 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977), 86; Peter C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 406–7. J. Gordon McConville, *Deuteronomy*, AOTC, vol. 5 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2002), 477; Duane L. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 21:10–34:12*, WBC, vol. 6B (Dallas: Word, 2002), 873.

[40] See Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact', Part 1," 55–56.

[41] See Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact', Part 1," 54.

for Elijah and Elisha.[42]

Just as with Deuteronomy 34:10 at the conclusion of the first division of the Old Testament, Malachi 4:5–6 [3:23–24 MT] concludes the second division of the Old Testament by anticipating the arrival of a prophet. These verses state, "Behold! I am sending to you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and awesome day of the Lord. He will turn the heart of fathers upon their sons and the heart of sons upon their fathers, lest I come and I strike the land with a destruction." This coming, Elijah-like figure may also be referenced in Malachi 3:1a, which states, "Behold, I am sending my messenger and he will prepare the way before me."[43]

It is possible that there is an intentional connection between the anticipated Elijah-like figure appearing in Malachi 4:5–6 [3:23–24 MT] and the Moses-like figure anticipated in Deuteronomy 34:10. Malachi 4:4 commands the reader to "remember the Law of Moses, my servant, whom I commanded in Horeb concerning all Israel, statutes and judgments."[44] The "Law of Moses" would include the promise to send Israel another

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[42] See Dale C. Allison, Jr., *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2013), 39–45; R. P. Carroll, "The Elijah-Elisha Sagas: Some Remarks on Prophetic Succession in Ancient Israel," *VT* 19 (1969): 408–14; Thomas Renz, "Elijah," in Alexander and Rosner, *NDBT*, 454–56; Iain W. Provan, "Elisha," in Alexander and Rosner, *NDBT*, 456–58. A similar comparison could be made between Jeremiah and Moses. Like Moses, Jeremiah is hesitant to obey God's command to take up a prophetic ministry. See John A. Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 148; Brevard S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004), 54; Peter C. Craigie, *Jeremiah 1–25*, WBC (Dallas: Word, 1998), 11; F. B. Huey, *Jeremiah, Lamentations*, NAC, vol. 16 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1993), 51. Furthermore, God puts his words in Jeremiah's mouth (Jer 1:9), which is a reference to the anticipated prophet (Deut 18:18). See Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact', Part 2," 195. For a discussion concerning the literary dependence on these two phrases, see Leslie C. Allen, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), 27. Although some commentators claim that Jeremiah sees himself as the fulfillment of Deut 18:18 and 34:10, it is just as likely that he saw himself within a prophetic succession as noted above.

[43] See Pieter A. Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 340; Eugene H. Merrill, *Malachi*, in vol. 8 of *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, ed. Tremper Longman III and David E. Garland (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2008), 857–58; Andrew E. Hill, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC, vol. 28 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2012), 364; E. Ray Clendenen, *Malachi*, in Richard A. Taylor and E. Ray Clendenen, *Haggai, Malachi*, NAC, vol. 21 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2004), 455; Shepherd, *The Book of The Twelve*, 507.

[44] The phrase "my servant" is also significant for understanding the messianic implications of the coming Moses-like prophet. See Stephen G. Dempster, "The Servant of the Lord," in *Central Themes in Biblical Theology: Mapping Unity in Diversity*, ed. Scott J. Hafemann and Paul R. House (Grand Rapids:

prophet like Moses (Deut 18: 15, 18) and the statement that no prophet like Moses had arisen in Israel's history (Deut 34:10). Furthermore, Malachi 3:1 shows that the Elijah-like prophet promised in Malachi 4:5–6 [3:23–24 MT] would prepare the people for another messenger: a "messenger of the covenant" in whom the people would delight. Since this Elijah-like prophet (like the actual prophet Elijah) will be part of the sequence of Israelite prophets who were not like Moses but anticipated the coming of the Moses-like prophet promised in Deuteronomy, the coming of this Elijah-like prophet may be seen as preparing the way for the coming of the Moses-like prophet.[45] The coming of this Elijah-like prophet would be followed soon after by the coming of a Moses-like prophet for whom Israel had been looking. Thus, the second division of the Old Testament also concludes by anticipating the arrival of a prophet like Moses. This succession of prophets leading up to the arrival of a Moses-like prophet ultimately culminates in the person of Jesus, the Messiah.[46]

The third division of the Old Testament (in the arrangement of BHS and *Baba Bathra* 14b adapted to twenty-two books) also concludes by anticipating the coming of a unique individual. 2 Chronicles 36:23 concludes with the statement, "Whoever among you from all his people; YHWH his God is with him. Let him go up." This phrase is part of the edict of Cyrus in which Cyrus announces his intention to release the exiled Israelites from their captivity and allow them to return to Jerusalem in order to rebuild God's temple (2 Chr 36:23; Ezra 1:2–4).

The rendition of the edict of Cyrus concluding Chronicles is written in such a way as to focus the reader's attention upon a singular figure from the lineage of David. The use of third masculine singular verbs and suffixes within the wording of Cyrus' edict

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Baker Academic, 2007), 128–78.

[45] See Sailhamer, *Old Testament Theology*, 249.

[46] See Christensen, *Deuteronomy 21:10–34:12*, 873.

allows for the passage to focus upon an individual Israelite. Furthermore, by concluding the edict with the phrase "Let him go up," the book concludes by focusing on the actions of this singular Israelite and avoids widening the focus beyond this individual, as is the case in the book of Ezra (Ezra 1:3–4).[47]

When this focus upon a singular individual who will arise in order to build God's temple is read within the broader context of the book of Chronicles, the messianic outlook of the phrase becomes more apparent. A focus upon a singular individual from the line of David who will build God's house occurs earlier within Chronicles. 1 Chronicles 17:11–13 emphasizes the temple-building work of David's offspring by stating,

> When your days are fulfilled to walk with your fathers, I will raise up your offspring after you, one of your own sons, and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build a house for me, and I will establish his throne forever. I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son. I will not take my steadfast love from him, as I took it from him who was before you, but I will confirm him in my house and in my kingdom forever, and his throne shall be established forever.

Although these verses find an immediate fulfillment in the temple-building work of Solomon, the fate of the nation after Solomon shows that this statement in 1 Chronicles 17:11-13 is not exhausted by Solomon's life and deeds.[48] By concluding with

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[47] Several scholars acknowledge that the way in which Chronicles ends is significant. See Frederick J. Mabie, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, in vol. 4 of *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, ed. Tremper Longman III and David E. Garland (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2010), 336. Martin J. Selman, "Chronicles," in Alexander and Rosner, *NDBT*, 194. Rather than emphasizing the role of a singular, messianic individual, some authors prefer to apply this conclusion to the readers of the book in that they are the ones who will participate in the rebuilding of God's temple. See Mabie, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 336; Selman, "Chronicles," 194; Brian E. Kelly, *Retribution and Eschatology in Chronicles*, JSOTSup 211 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 189. Schreiner quotes Kelly approvingly. See Schreiner, *The King in His Beauty,* 207. As noted above, the text allows for either possibility. It is possible that the conclusion was intended to fulfill several functions. Selman, for instance, advocates both positions. See his statement in footnote 48 below.

[48] See John H. Sailhamer, *The Meaning of the Pentateuch: Revelation, Composition, and Interpretation* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2009), 173; Sailhamer, *First and Second Chronicles*, Every Man's Bible Commentary (Chicago: Moody Press, 1983), 49; Sailhamer, "Biblical Theology and the Composition of the Hebrew Bible," in *Biblical Theology: Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Scott J. Hafemann (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2002), 35; Martin J. Selman, *2 Chronicles: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC, vol. 11 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1994), 572. Selman states, "In fact, the extract that is quoted from the edict includes a reinterpretation of God's original promises to David in 1 Chronicles 17:4–14 and 2 Chronicles 7:12–21. 'To build him a house' (v. 23, NRSV, RSV, REB, NEB; cf. Ezra 1:2) is a deliberate echo of the central promise of the Davidic covenant (cf. 1 Chr. 17:11–12; 22:10; 28:6; 2 Chr. 6:9–10). Cyrus of course is thinking only of the house in Jerusalem, but in the Chronicler's

a focus upon an individual Israelite who will arise to build God's house, Chronicles ends by anticipating the arrival of a Davidic king who will lead the nation out of exile and establish the place of God's presence on earth. Since Chronicles was written after the rebuilding of the temple by Zerubbabel, this statement looks beyond the historical events of Israel's return to the arrival of a messianic age anticipated by 1 Chronicles 17:11-13.[49] The third division of the Old Testament (and thus, the Old Testament as a whole) concludes by anticipating the arrival of this individual from David's line and the work which God will accomplish through him (2 Chr 7:12–16).

Thus, in the arrangements of the Old Testament canon which reflect the Messiah Model (*BHS* and *Baba Bathra* 14b adapted to 22 books), each division concludes by anticipating the coming of a messianic figure. Deuteronomy 34:10 anticipates the coming of a Moses-like prophet. Malachi 4:5–6 anticipates the coming of an Elijah-like prophet who will precede the "messenger of the covenant" (Mal 3:1). 2 Chronicles 36:23 anticipates the arrival of an individual descendant of David who will rebuild the temple.[50]

Obedience to God's word at the beginning of each section. While each of the three divisions within the Messiah Model conclude by focusing upon an anticipated Israelite figure, each division begins by focusing upon obedience to God's word. Genesis begins with the creation of the world through obedience to God's spoken word (Gen 1).

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thought this phrase is inevitably connected with both houses of the Davidic covenant, the dynasty as well as the temple." See also Bruce K. Waltke and Charles Yu, *An Old Testament Theology: An Exegetical, Canonical, and Thematic Approach* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2007), 760.

[49] Sailhamer makes this same point by stating, "To arrive at that dramatic conclusion, the Chronicler had to omit nearly two verses from the original edict in Ezra-Nehemiah. Those verses link the edict to the historical events of the return from exile. Without them, the fulfillment of the Tanak's final words is left open to the future." Sailhamer, *The Meaning of the Pentateuch*, 173.

[50] Stephen Chapman discusses the importance of the Deut 34:10-12 and Mal 4:5–6 [MT 3:22–24] as intentional links between the conclusions of the first two divisions of the Old Testament. See Stephen B. Chapman, "A Canonical Approach to Old Testament Theology? Deuteronomy 34:10–12 and Malachi 3:22–24 as Programmatic Conclusions," *HBT* 25 (2003): 121–45.

Law	Prophets	Writings

Deuteronomy 34:10
The coming of a
Moses-like prophet

Malachi 4:5–6
The coming of an
Elijah-like prophet

2 Chronicles 36:22–23
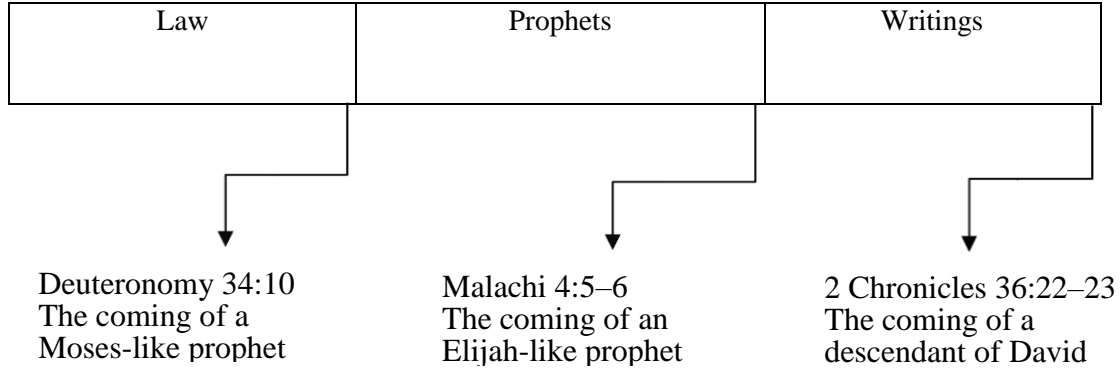The coming of a
descendant of David

Figure 8. Each division concludes by anticipating a messianic figure

In Genesis 1, God gives ten commands for the purposes of establishing his creation (Gen 1:3, 6, 9, 11, 14 (2xs), 15, 20, 24, 26) and each of these ten commands is followed by a statement indicating that God's command was followed (Gen 1:3, 9, 11, 15 [covers 14–15], 24) or that there was no resistance to his creative activity (Gen 1:7, 21, 27). Creation was established through obedience to God's word.[51]

The second division of the Old Testament also begins with an emphasis on obedience to God's words, but in this instance, it is not the primordial elements of creation which are to observe God's word but Joshua, the chosen leader of God's people. Joshua 1:7–8 states,

> Only be courageous and very strong in order to keep and to do according to all the Torah which Moses, my servant commanded you. Do not turn from it, right or left so that you may succeed in all which you walk. This book of Torah shall not depart from your mouth and you will meditate on it day and night so that you may keep (it) in order to do everything written in it because then you will succeed (in) your way and then you may have success.

This text clearly links Joshua's success in leading Israel in the conquest of the Promised Land to Joshua's commitment to the Torah.[52] This fact alone at the beginning of the second division of the Old Testament would emphasize the importance placed on

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[51] See Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact', Part 1," 49.

[52] See Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact,' Part 2," 191–92.

obedience and devotion to God's word within the Old Testament, yet the presentation of Joshua as a character within the book of Joshua invites the reader to contemplate whether there may be something more than just a generic call to commitment to God's word within Joshua 1:7–8. The reader is meant to see that it is Joshua as a type of Israel's Messiah who is completely devoted to following God's word.

The presentation of Joshua as a type of Israel's Messiah begins with the correlations the book establishes between him and Moses. Just as Moses sent spies to give a report on the land (Num 13), Joshua begins Israel's invasion by sending two spies to the Promised Land (Josh 2).[53] Just as Moses led Israel through the Sea of Reeds on dry ground after God heaped up the water (Exod 14), Joshua leads Israel through the Jordan River on dry ground after God heaped up the water (Josh 3).[54] God does this so that the Israelites will know that he is with Joshua just as he was with Moses: "And YHWH said to Joshua, 'This is the day I will begin to exalt you in the eyes of all Israel, so that they may know that as I was with Moses, so I am with you'" (Josh 3:7). In Joshua 5:2–9, Joshua circumcises all of the "sons of Israel". This act is reminiscent of the circumcision of Moses' son (Exod 4:24–26).[55] Joshua's encounter with the commander of YHWH's army (Josh 5:13–15) is similar to Moses' encounter with the burning bush (Exod 3:1–17). Joshua must remove his sandals (5:15) just like Moses (3:5) because they were standing on holy ground. God used Joshua to overthrow the hard-hearted Canaanite kings (Josh 11:14) just as he used Moses to overthrow hard-hearted Pharaoh (Exod 3–14).[56] Just as

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[53] Howard states, "Joshua acted as a leader on God's behalf, in Moses' *mold*, by ordering the same thing [emphasis mine]." Since only two of Moses' spies (Joshua himself and Caleb) were faithful to YHWH (Num 14:6–9), it is fitting that Joshua only sent two spies. See David M. Howard, Jr., *Joshua*, NAC, vol. 5 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1998), 98.

[54] See Dempster, *Dominion and Dynasty*, 128. Dempster also notes several of these other comparisons.

[55] See James M. Hamilton, Jr., *God's Glory in Salvation through Judgment: A Biblical Theology* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2010), 148. Hamilton notes several of these other correlations as well.

[56] See Patrick D. Miller, "The Story of the First Commandment: The Book of Joshua," in *The Way of the Lord: Essays in Old Testament Theology*, FAT 39 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 84.

Moses received the special designation "servant of the Lord" at the end of his life (Deut 34:5; Josh 1:2), so does Joshua (Josh 24:29).[57]

These correlations invite the reader to view Joshua in terms of the Moses-like prophet which Israel was anticipating (Deut 18:15, 18). Although Joshua himself was not the Moses-like prophet which was promised within Deuteronomy (Deut 34:10), Joshua is presented in the book of Joshua in such a way as to resemble this Moses-like prophet. In this sense, Joshua embodies Israel's hope for the coming of the Moses-like prophet. It is Joshua's role as a prefiguration of Israel's coming Moses-like prophet that gives Joshua 1:7–8 a messianic focus. The coming Moses-like prophet will be devoted to God's word.[58]

The way in which Joshua is portrayed as a royal figure may also be an attempt to characterize him as a prefiguration of Israel's Messiah.[59] Although Joshua is never acknowledged as a king, he occasionally behaves in a royal manner or is described by the narrator in such a way as to indicate that he is filling a royal role within Israel. For example, in Joshua 1:7–8, Joshua is told to meditate on God's word. In Deuteronomy 17:14–20, Moses writes what is known as the law of the king, part of which states, "And

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[57] See Richard S. Hess, "Joshua," in Alexander and Rosner, *NDBT*, 171. Hess also provides several other ways in which Joshua can be seen as a prefiguration of Jesus Christ. See also Richard S. Hess, *Joshua: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC, vol. 6 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1996), 73–74, 341.

[58] The emphasis placed on Joshua as an embodiment of Israel's hoped for, Moses-like prophet who obeys God's word provides a much different evaluation of how Josh 1:7–8 (and Pss 1–2) functions within this macrostructure of the Old Testament than is provided by Sailhamer. For Sailhamer, the absence of the Moses-like prophet indicates a secession of prophecy until his arrival and the emphasis on obedience to God's word found in Josh 1:7–8 and Pss 1–2 shows how faithful Israelites are to live in the intermediary time. See Sailhamer, *The Meaning of the Pentateuch*, 218. Nevertheless, Sailhamer still maintains a messianic emphasis in his evaluation of this macrostructure. See, Sailhamer, *The Meaning of the Pentateuch*, 56. Sailhamer states, "The canonical composition of the Pentateuch (*Endgestalt*) was shaped by, and grounded in, a developed messianic hope already embodied in the Mosaic Pentateuch at a 'grassroots' level. Not only do the comments about a future prophet in Deuteronomy 34 reflect on and interpret Deuteronomy 18, but also they are echoed by the same kind of comments lying along the seams of the Tanak as a whole. Those seams are found in Joshua 1; Malachi 4 (3 in HB); Psalms 1–2; 2 Chronicles 36."

[59] See Richard D. Nelson, "Joshua," in *DOTHB*, ed. Bill T. Arnold and H. G. M. Williamson (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005), 561.

when he sits on the throne of his kingdom, he shall write for himself in a book a copy of this law, approved by the Levitical priests. And it shall be with him, and he shall read in it all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the LORD his God by keeping all the words of this law and these statutes, and doing them" (Deut 17:18–20). Thus, God's instruction to Joshua resemble the instructions provided in the Torah for future Israelite kings.

The royal overtones of Joshua 1:7–8 become even more evident when compared to King David's instructions to his son Solomon (1 Kgs 2:1–4). The similarities between these two passages can be seen in table 26. Both Joshua and Solomon are instructed to be strong and to be devoted to God's word as revealed in the law of Moses. Their success depends upon how closely they depend upon God's word. Beyond these verbal similarities, the contextual similarities shared between the two men should also be noted. Both men are being entrusted with the leadership over Israel following the death of a previous leader (Moses and David). Furthermore, both men are

Table 26. Comparison of Joshua 1:1–9 and 1 Kings 2:1–4

Joshua 1:6–9 (ESV)	1 Kings 2:1–4 (ESV)
"*Be strong* and courageous, for you shall cause this people to inherit the land that I swore to their fathers to give them. Only be strong and very courageous, being careful to do according to all *the law that Moses* my servant commanded you. Do not turn from it to the right hand or to the left, *that you may have good success wherever you go.* This Book of the Law shall not depart from your mouth, but you shall meditate on it day and night, so that you may be careful to do according to all that is written in it. For then you will make your way prosperous, and then you will have good success. Have I not commanded you? Be strong and courageous. Do not be frightened, and do not be dismayed, for the LORD your God is with you wherever you go."	When David's time to die drew near, he commanded Solomon his son, saying, "I am about to go the way of all the earth. *Be strong*, and show yourself a man, and keep the charge of the LORD your God, walking in his ways and keeping his statutes, his commandments, his rules, and his testimonies, as it is written in *the Law of Moses, that you may prosper in all that you do and wherever you turn*, that the LORD may establish his word that he spoke concerning me, saying, 'If your sons pay close attention to their way, to walk before me in faithfulness with all their heart and with all their soul, you shall not lack a man on the throne of Israel.'"

facing enormous tasks at the outset of their leadership. Joshua must lead Israel into the Promised Land: Solomon must construct God's temple within Jerusalem, which will be the location of God's presence among his people.

In addition to the similarities between King Solomon and Joshua, Joshua shares multiple connections with another king: Josiah.[60] The book of Kings routinely evaluates the reigns of Israel and Judah's kings. In 2 Kings 22:2, Josiah receives a positive evaluation of his reign and the narrator states, "[Josiah] did not turn aside to the right or to the left." This same statement is also associated with Joshua (Josh 1:7; 23:6). Josiah leads the people in the observance of the Passover (2 Kgs 23:21–23). Likewise, Joshua leads God's people in the observance of the Passover (Josh 5:10–12). Josiah gathers God's people and leads the people in a covenant renewal with God (2 Kgs 23:2–3). Joshua also leads the assembly of Israel in the renewal of the covenant between them and God (Josh 8:30–35). Again, Joshua is never said to be king over Israel, but these similarities between Joshua and an Israelite king contribute to the royal portrayal of Joshua.

These royal undertones used to present Joshua obtain their messianic implications when read against the background of the Pentateuch's anticipation of a royal descendant from the seed of Abraham. As Desmond Alexander has noted, Genesis has been carefully crafted in order to highlight the importance of a single-family lineage from Adam through Jacob's sons.[61] This lineage includes primeval figures such as Seth and

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[60] See Richard D. Nelson, "Josiah in the Book of Joshua," *JBL* 100 (1981): 531–40.

[61] See T. Desmond Alexander, *From Paradise to the Promised Land: An Introduction to the Pentateuch*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 134–45. See also T. Desmond Alexander, "The Regal Dimension of the תולדות יעקב: Recovering the Literary Context of Genesis 37–50," in *Reading the Law: Studies in Honour of Gordon J. Wenham*, ed. J. G. McConville and Karl Möller, LHBOTS 461 (London: T & T Clark, 2007), 196–212; Alexander, "Messianic Ideology in the Book of Genesis," in *The Lord's Anointed: Interpretation of Old Testament Messianic Texts*, ed. Richard S. Hess, Philip E. Satterthwaite, and Gordon J. Wenham (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1995), 19–39; Alexander, "Royal Expectations in Genesis to Kings: Their Importance for Biblical Theology," *TynBul* 49 (1998): 191–212.

Noah as well as the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Furthermore, there are several features within the text of Genesis which lead to the conclusion that this family lineage is actually the lineage of a royal family. The royal nature of this family is implied when God promises Abraham and Jacob that kings will be descended from them (Gen 17:6, 16; 36:11). Furthermore, although the Patriarchs are never explicitly referred to as kings, they sometimes act in such a manner. Abraham battles and defeats a coalition of kings (Gen 14) who endangered his family (Gen 14:12). The patriarchs make treaties with surrounding kings (Gen 21:22–34; 26:26–31). Abraham is even given a title, "prince of God", by the Hittites. Finally, Isaac's blessing which he bestows upon Jacob clearly implies kingship: "May God give you of the dew of heaven and of the fatness of the earth and plenty of grain and wine. Let peoples serve you, and nations bow down to you. Be lord over your brothers, and may your mother's sons bow down to you. Cursed be everyone who curses you, and blessed be everyone who blesses you" (Gen 27:28–29).

In addition to this emphasis on the royal lineage of the Patriarchs in Genesis, the Pentateuch also anticipates the arrival of a royal descendant from the patriarchs at the "end of days". In Genesis 49:1, Jacob summons his sons and tells them what will happen at the "end of days (באחרית הימים)". Jacob's message takes the form of an address to each of his twelve sons. In his address to Judah, Jacob hints at a royal descendant from Judah when he states, "your father's sons will bow down to you" (Gen 49:8c). Jacob's hint in Genesis 49:8 is then fully expressed in Genesis 49:10 when Jacob associates a scepter and ruling staff with Judah.[62] Furthermore, this future monarch's dominion is characterized by prosperity and abundance (Gen 49:11).

A royal figure arriving at the "end of days" is also anticipated in Balaam's final oracle concerning the nation of Israel (Num 24:14–25). In Numbers 24:17, Balaam

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[62] See Alexander, "Messianic Ideology in Genesis", 32–37. See also the discussion in James McKeown, *Genesis*, THOTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 186.

prophesies, "I see him, but not now. I look carefully at him, but he is not near; a star will come from Jacob and a scepter will arise from Israel." Balaam also states, "[One] from Jacob will rule." (Num 24:19). Both Genesis 49:8–12 and Numbers 24:17–19 emphasize many of the same features, including this coming ruler's triumph over Israel's enemies.

Although Joshua is never identified as a king over the Israelites, the royal undertones of his character likely mean that he should be understood as a prefiguration of both Israel's monarchy and the Pentateuch's anticipated royal figure from the seed of Abraham who will arrive at the "end of days". The text of Joshua presents him in this fashion, and later biblical texts, specifically the book of Kings, make use of his character as a type of model Israelite king.

Joshua's role as a prefiguration of the Moses-like prophet and of the royal figure anticipated in the Pentateuch are significant when evaluating the emphasis on obedience to God's word found at the beginning of each division of the Old Testament. Although Joshua was a faithful Israelite leader, the way in which he is described in the biblical book bearing his name indicates that he represented more than that. He is presented as an embodiment of Israel's messianic hope. Thus, the second division of the Old Testament begins with a messianic figure who is devoted to knowing and following God's word.

As with the first two divisions of the Old Testament, the third division of the Old Testament begins by focusing on obedience to God's word. Psalm 1 introduces the

Table 27. Comparison of Joshua 1:8 and Psalm 1:2

Joshua 1:8 (Beginning of the 2nd division)	Psalm 1:2 (Beginning of the 3rd division)
This Book of the **Law** shall not depart from your mouth, but you shall **meditate on it day and night**, so that you may be careful to do according to all that is written in it. For then you will make your way prosperous, and then you will have good success.	but his delight is in the **law** of the LORD, and on his **law he meditates day and night**.

Psalter by describing the "blessed man". This man is characterized by his refusal to associate with those who oppose God (Ps 1:1) and by his commitment to God's word. Psalm 1:2 reads, "Rather, his delight is in the Torah of YHWH, and upon his Torah he meditates day and night." The verbal connections between the blessed man in Psalm 1:2 and Joshua in Joshua 1:8 are clearly evident. Both characters meditate (הגה) on the Torah day and night.[63]

As with the second division of the Old Testament, this emphasis on obedience to God's word at the beginning of the third division of the Old Testament carries messianic implications. In this case, the connections stem from an integrated reading of Psalms 1 and 2.

Many authors have recognized a relationship between Psalms 1 and 2.[64] Unlike most Psalms in Books I–III, neither Psalm 1 nor Psalm 2 begin with a superscription.[65] This has led several scholars to the conclusion that these Psalms were intentionally placed at the beginning of the Psalter as an introduction. Furthermore, there are numerous lexical connections between the two Psalms. Particularly significant is the occurrence of "blessed (אשרי)" at Psalm 1:1 and Psalm 2:12. The occurrence of "blessed (אשרי)" at the beginning of Psalm 1 and at the end of Psalm 2 creates an envelope effect binding these two Psalms together. Another significant verbal link between these two psalms concerns those who will "perish (אבד)" on their "way (דרך)". Psalm 1 (1:6) concludes by stating that the way of the wicked will perish, and Psalm 2 (2:12) concludes by proclaiming that

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[63] See Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact,' Part 2," 204–6. See also Jones, who states, "The expression "he murmurs [the Torah] day and night" in Ps 1:2 has obvious connections to Josh 1:8 which speaks of the Pentateuch as 'the book of this Torah' and commands the people to 'murmur it day and night.'" Scott C. Jones, "Psalm 1 and the Hermeneutics of Torah," *Bib* 97 (2016): 538.

[64] See Robert L. Cole, "(Mis)Translating Psalm 1," *JBMW* 10 (2005): 37. Cole lists several authors, both ancient and modern, who have treated Pss 1 and 2 as a unity. See also William H. Brownlee, "Psalms 1–2 as a Coronation Liturgy," *Bib* 52 (1971): 321–22. One of the most interesting ancient witnesses is the Western Text of Acts 13:33, which cites Ps 2 as the "first" Psalm. This reading was defended by several church fathers.

[65] See Robert L. Cole, "An Integrated Reading of Psalms 1 and 2," *JSOT* 98 (2002): 77.

all those who refused to subject themselves to the reign of the son will perish in their way. The juxtaposition of these two Psalms also contrasts the "muttering (הגה)" of the blessed man upon God's Torah and the "muttering (הגה)" of the peoples against the Lord and his anointed.[66]

If Psalms 1 and 2 are to be read together in this manner, this suggests that the blessed man in Psalm 1 may be identified with the anointed king in Psalm 2.[67] This suggestion may be supported by several features within these Psalms. As noted above, the fate of the wicked in Psalm 1 (1:6) is the same fate as those who refuse to subject themselves to God's anointed king in Psalm 2 (2:12). This suggests that these groups should be identified with each other in these Psalms, and if this is the case, then the figure who does not associate himself with them (Ps 1:1) may be the same individual who is anointed king in Psalm 2 (2:2, 7) and sits in judgment over them (2:9, 12).

The blessed man in Psalm 1 and the anointed king in Psalm 2 are also linked by the theme of kingship. The royal nature of the anointed son in Psalm 2 is made explicit in Psalm 2:6. There is good reason to suspect that the blessed man in Psalm 1 is also a royal figure. As was noted above with Joshua, the blessed man's delight in and meditation upon God's Torah (Ps 1:2) is what is required of Israelite kings in Deuteronomy 17:18–20. Like Joshua (1:8), the devotion to God's word leads to the blessed man's prosperity in his "way" (Ps 1:3, 6). Based on these observations, Cole concludes, "An analysis of how Psalms 1 and 2 are integrated reveals that both have as their central theme the identical royal and Joshua-like figure who is given absolute

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[66] Cole includes a chart of additional verbal parallels. See Cole, "(Mis)Translating Psalm 1," 41.

[67] For others making this claim, see Gerald T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct: A Study of the Sapientializing of the Old Testament*, BZAW 151 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), 142–43; Cole, "An Integrated Reading," 75–88; Patrick D. Miller, "The Beginning of the Psalter," in *The Shape and Shaping of the Psalter*, ed. J. Clinton McCann, JSOTSup 159 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 48. Brownlee, "Psalms 1–2 as a Coronation," 321–36.

victory in battle."[68]

As with the second division of the Old Testament, the third division begins with a royal-like messianic figure who is devoted to and delights in God's word. Since the Old Testament begins with all of creation coming into existence through obedience to God's word, each division of the Old Testament begins with an emphasis on obedience to God's word.
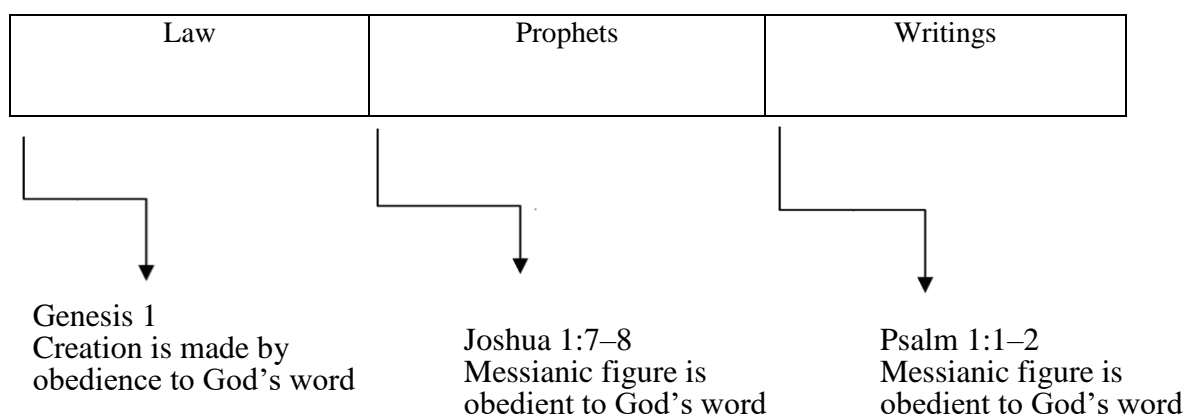
Law	Prophets	Writings

Genesis 1
Creation is made by
obedience to God's word

Joshua 1:7–8
Messianic figure is
obedient to God's word

Psalm 1:1–2
Messianic figure is
obedient to God's word

Figure 9. Each division begins by emphasizing obedience to God's word

The emphasis at the seams. In the order of BHS and Baba Bathra 14b adapted to twenty-two books, the conclusion of each division of the Old Testament contains a reference to an anticipated Israelite figure, and the beginning of each division of the Old Testament emphasizes obedience to God's word. Of course, the appearance of these themes at these locations means that these two themes are juxtaposed at the seams between the first and second divisions and between the second and third divisions. Following these arrangements, one would encounter a hope for the coming of an anticipated Moses-like prophet immediately before encountering a royal figure who is characterized by his devotion to God's word. The confluence of these themes at these locations suggests a perspective which views the anticipated Moses-like prophet and the

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[68] Cole, "An Integrated Reading of Psalms 1 and 2," 75.

Joshua-like royal figure as a single individual. Such a figure could only be described as messianic. Given that the Old Testament (in the arrangement of BHS and Baba Bathra 14b adapted to twenty-two books) concludes by calling for an individual from David's line to arise to build God's temple (2 Chr 36:23), these arrangements reflect an eschatological hope for Israel's Messiah to arrive in order to usher in an age characterized by God's presence, similar to Adam's experience in the Garden of Eden at the beginning of the Old Testament. The hope for Israel's and humanity's return from exile is placed upon the arrival of Israel's Messiah.[69]

Law	Prophets	Writings

Deuteronomy 34:10 (prophet) and Joshua 1:7–8 (king) both anticipate the arrival of messianic figures.

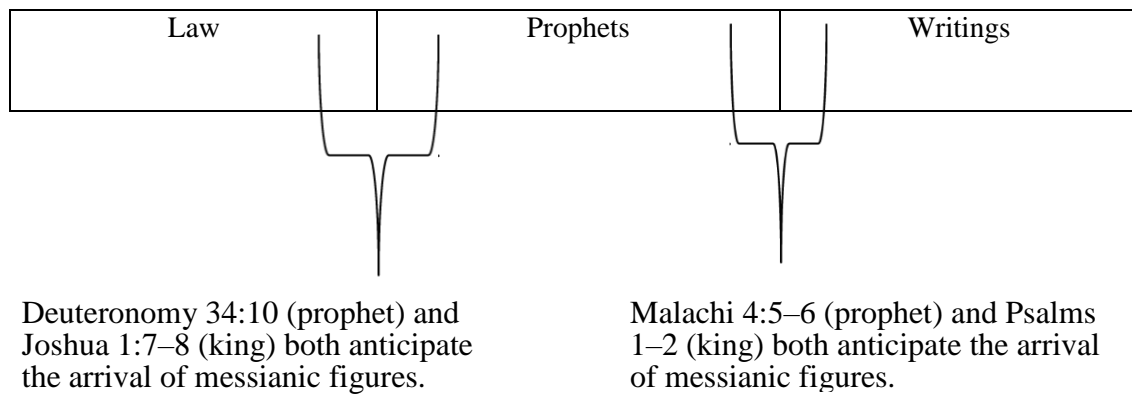Malachi 4:5–6 (prophet) and Psalms 1–2 (king) both anticipate the arrival of messianic figures.

Figure 10. The confluence of messianic expectations at the canonical seams

Conclusion

The two macro structures studied in this chapter both yield exciting results concerning the theological outlook of those responsible for these arrangements. Both structures highlight important themes within the Old Testament and suggest ways in which different themes of the Old Testament may be integrated into a unified message. Compilational criticism can provide a helpful window into the theological worldview of

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[69] Dempster reaches a similar conclusion. See Dempster, "An 'Extraordinary Fact,' Part 2," 211–16. Dempster states, "Israel, then like Adam and Eve, lies East of Eden, far off in Babylon. But the barriers have been torn down. The flaming sword has been sheathed (Gn. 3) or perhaps it will fall on David's house (1 Ch. 21)."

those responsible for arranging the Old Testament both on the macro level, as studied in this chapter, and on the micro level, as examined within the previous chapters of this thesis.

This thesis has argued that multiple arrangements are needed to account for the compilational features within the text of the Old Testament. If this is indeed the case, then compilational criticism need not prioritize one arrangement over another, as suggested by Koorevaar and Dempster. Any arrangement of the Old Testament will be able to highlight some compilational features but not others, similar to the way in which a map is able to highlight some features while distorting others. No one arrangement is able to encapsulate every aspect of how the Old Testament could be arranged. Thus, compilational critics must be open to studying multiple arrangements of the Old Testament's canon in order to account for all the ways the Old Testament could be arranged according to its compilational features. Furthermore, to have a limited number of arrangements means that the arrangement of the Old Testament canon is more significant, not less, than a single arrangement would be. The method for compilational criticism argued for in this thesis suggests an alternative approach in which the compilational critic may simultaneously affirm the value of multiple arrangements of the Old Testament text while maintaining the historical nature of compilational criticism.[70]

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[70] Although Goswell affirms the value of multiple arrangements of the Old Testament, he sacrifices the historical nature of compilational criticism by making it a reader-initiated approach.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has argued that multiple arrangements of the Old Testament's books are needed to account for all of the compilational features within its text. Another way this thesis could be stated is that the composition of the Old Testament has been influenced by multiple arrangements of its books. If this thesis is true, then compilational criticism must consider multiple linear arrangements of the Old Testament in order to account for all of the compilational features contained within the Old Testament. A single, linear arrangement cannot account for every compilational feature within the Old Testament. In order to establish this thesis, this dissertation argued that the text or wording of several Old Testament books was influenced by more than one arrangement of the Old Testament canon.

Summary

Chapter 1 presented the need for this project. Although studies addressing the compilation of the Old Testament have proliferated following the emergence of Brevard Childs' canonical approach, these studies have often followed wide ranging methodologies. One of the main methodological issues which compilational critics have not widely addressed is how to account for the multiple ancient arrangements of the Old Testament. Some scholars favor one arrangement over the others, but other scholars examine multiple arrangements. While a single-arrangement approach or a multiple-arrangement approach is typically adopted, very few scholars have argued for why one of these approaches should be favored over another. Several scholars have not even acknowledged this issue or at least done so only implicitly. This dissertation argues that

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multiple arrangements are needed to account for the compilational features within the Old Testament and thus, compilational critics should adopt a multiple-arrangement approach. Chapter 1 concluded by addressing several preliminary matters and then by defining several key terms within this study.

Chapter 2 presented the three main ancient Jewish arrangements from which all but one of the compilations studied in this dissertation stem. These arrangements include the list found in *Baba Bathra* 14b, the list provided by Jerome in the preface to his translation of Samuel into Latin, and the Masoretic tradition evident in the Aleppo Codex and in manuscript B19a. Although linear compilations of the Old Testament such as the ones provided by these three witness cannot present all of the compilations suggested by the Old Testament's compilational features, these three ancient Jewish arrangements provide an important historical verification of the compilations studied within this dissertation. All of the compilations studied within this dissertation have been recognized by someone responsible for compiling the Old Testament books. This chapter also considered whether any of these arrangements could have been derived from another based only on non-literary criteria, such as common authorship or size. If this were the case, it could provide an alternative explanation to the question pursued by this thesis, which is why multiple arrangements of the Old Testament emerged. It was determined that these three arrangements could not have derived from one another based only upon non-literary criteria. This does not mean that the arrangements were not derived from one another but only that the changes made were probably literary in nature. These three arrangements developed because of features inherent within the text of the Old Testament.

Chapter 3 provided a methodology for evaluating whether a book's compilation within the Old Testament influenced its composition. The most extensive discussion of this issue was provided by Timothy Stone in his monograph, *The Compilational History of the Megilloth*. He developed his method from previous

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compilational studies focusing on the Psalms and the book of the Twelve, as well as other studies related to inner-biblical reuse, and derived four criteria for identifying compilational features. Stone, however, does not address narrative texts in his methodology, and the strictness of his criteria could easily rule out legitimate compilational features. Following the lead of discussions concerning inner-biblical reuse, this chapter created several schematics which allow compilational critics the freedom needed to consider the implications of compilational features while acknowledging the inherent subjectivity in identifying these features. Schematics were provided for sequential compilations, locative compilations, and associative compilations. These schematics provide a way for compilational critics to evaluate whether a text's composition was influenced by its compilation.

Chapter 4 examined two compilations containing the book of Nahum. In the Masoretic tradition, Nahum is preceded by Micah. This Micah-Nahum compilation was established through allusions to Exodus 34:6–7, which creates a thematic link between the two books. In addition to providing a complete description of God's character as revealed in Exodus 34:6–7 (Micah focuses upon God's willingness to overlook transgression while Nahum focuses upon God's commitment to judge transgression), this compilation invites the reader to consider an additional explanation of God's judgment of Nineveh: Nineveh's judgment was due, in some measure, to the city's actions against Abraham's descendants. God had promised to curse those who cursed Abraham (Gen 12:3), and his judgment against Nineveh appears to have been an instance in which he fulfilled this promise. In the Septuagint tradition (which, for the book of the Twelve at least, likely represents a very early tradition), Nahum is preceded by Jonah. This Jonah-Nahum compilation was also established through allusions to Exodus 34:6–7. This compilation provides a larger context in which to view God's judgment of Nineveh: God's judgment of Nineveh was not unjust because they had been provided with an opportunity to repent. It was inconclusive whether either of these compilations had

influenced the composition of these books. If the compilational critic were to be convinced that this was the case, however, then these compilations would support the thesis of this dissertation. A single linear arrangement could not contain both a Micah-Nahum and a Jonah-Nahum compilation: multiple arrangements are needed to account for all of the compilational features within these books.

Chapter 5 investigated compilations related to the book of Ruth. This chapter began by examining a Judges-Ruth compilation and argued that this was a probable instance in which the compilation for these books influenced their composition. This compilation draws attention to how the hope placed in the emergence of an Israelite monarch at the end of Judges is continued within Samuel, which also anticipates the arrival of an Israelite monarch who is mentioned within the Davidic covenant. Chapter 5 continued by considering a Judges-Ruth-Samuel compilation and argued that the composition of these texts was likely influenced by this compilation. This Judges-Ruth-Samuel compilation also emphasizes the arrival of the figure anticipated within the Davidic covenant. This figure will exhibit the righteous character of David's ancestors, Ruth and Boaz, rather than the character of the judges. A Proverbs-Ruth compilation was then considered. It was argued that the composition of these books was also likely influenced by this compilation. This Proverbs-Ruth compilation also emphasizes the nature of the Davidic heir promised in the Davidic covenant. This heir will live and rule according to the principles and virtues found in Proverbs. His reign will be an expression of how God would rule over his people. Chapter 5 concluded by considering the Ruth-Psalms compilation found in *Baba Bathra* 14b. It was determined that it was inconclusive whether this compilation influenced the composition of these books, but if this were the case, it would provide further support in favor of this thesis. If all or as few as two (depending on which ones) of these compilations influenced the composition of the books involved, this chapter verifies the thesis of this dissertation.

Chapter 6 addressed compilations involving the book of Chronicles and began

by reviewing and evaluating arguments related to the positioning of Chronicles at the conclusion of the Old Testament. This chapter then presented several compilational features suggesting that Chronicles was intended to be at the end of the Old Testament but determined that the evidence in favor of this conclusion was ultimately inconclusive. This chapter then examined a Chronicles-Ezra/Nehemiah sequence and argued that this compilation influenced the text of these books. If a compilational critic were convinced that the composition of Chronicles contains an attempt to conclude the Old Testament, then this conclusion in conjunction with the Chronicles-Ezra/Nehemiah compilation would verify the thesis of this dissertation.

Chapter 7 considered the implications of this thesis for studies concerning the macro structure of the Old Testament. The study of the macro structure of the Old Testament creates the same problem as the study of individual compilations: if the arrangement of the Old Testament is significant, then why did multiple arrangements emerge? Those considering the macro structure of the Old Testament have sometimes addressed this problem by arguing that one compilation should be preferred over others, usually because it was the earliest compilation. But if the composition of the Old Testament demands that compilational critics consider multiple arrangements of the Old Testament, then compilational critics do not need to prioritize one macro arrangement of the Old Testament above others: each ancient arrangement contains valuable information regarding the interpretation of the Old Testament. This chapter then discussed two significant explanations of the Old Testament's macro structure: the Exile-Return Model, which is based on the arrangement of *Baba Bathra* 14b and developed by Hendrick Koorevaar and the Messiah Model, which was based upon arrangements in which the third division began with Psalms and concluded with Chronicles.

Answering Compilational Criticism's
Methodological Questions

This dissertation will conclude by considering some of the implications of this

study for future studies of the Old Testament's compilation. This will be done by providing answers to the five methodological questions posed in the introduction.

Why Are There Various Arrangements of the Old Testament books?

In some cases, such as those presented in chapters 4 through 6, the text of the Old Testament has been influenced by multiple compilations. Therefore, we should expect multiple arrangements of the Old Testament to have emerged among different communities (and even at different points in time within those communities) as they were influenced by different compilational features. Furthermore, the necessity for multiple arrangements in these instances likely allowed for greater freedom when the compilers were considering the arrangement of other books. Those responsible for compiling the Old Testament were often guided by the various literary connections they intended to make between the Old Testament books and the theological shape they wished to produce for the Old Testament as a whole.

What Principles Guided Those Responsible for Compiling the Old Testament?

Any compilation of the Old Testament books likely reflects a variety of organizing principles.[1] It is also possible that certain arrangements were based upon previous arrangements and thus these organizing principles could be left intact in some instances but violated when the secondary arrangement made an alteration to the earlier arrangements based upon an alternative principle. The most significant principles in regards to Old Testament interpretation are literary in nature and the most significant of these literary principles are those in which it appears that a text's composition may have

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[1] Goswell gives a list of eight principles. See Greg Goswell, "The Order of the Books of the Hebrew Bible," *JETS* 51 (2008): 674–75. In addition to the principles noted here, it should also be noted that when considering manuscript evidence, the physical and financial limitations of the mediums used to reproduce the text of the Old Testament could also influence how the Old Testament is arranged.

been influenced by its compilation. For evangelicals who believe in the inspiration of Scripture, this means that, to some degree, the inspired message of some Old Testament books is tied to recognizing their arrangement with other books. Thus, we cannot ignore compilational criticism.[2] Furthermore, the overall shape of an arrangement may have been influenced by the theological interests of those responsible for compiling it. This was the case for the arrangements in chapter 7, and these arrangements are also literary in nature.

How Did the Compilation of the Old Testament Take Place?

The compilation of the Old Testament was a complex process that occurred over a period of time and at different stages. For some books, it appears as though their compilation was part of their production. That is, these books were composed with the intention that they would fill a certain role within a compilation of the Old Testament. This indicates an almost immediate adoption into the Old Testament canon and that those responsible for these books were aware that they were writing Scripture.[3] For other Old Testament books, it appears as though they were compiled with the rest of the Old Testament well after their composition and incorporated using one of the principles alluded to above. As a whole, the arrangement of the Old Testament books likely shifted several times as different communities either employed different organizing principles or

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[2] Since the doctrine of inspiration applies to the very words of Scriptures, we must conclude that when the words of an Old Testament book have been influenced by its compilation, then that compilation is part of the inspired message of Scripture. John Sailhamer arrives at a similar conclusion. See John H. Sailhamer, "The Canonical Approach to the OT: Its Effect on Understanding Prophecy," *JETS* 30 (1987): 315. Sailhamer distinguishes between an original author and a later redactor responsible for the wording of the text. As noted in the introduction, I have chosen not to differentiate between the two but to only consider what conclusions the final form of the text suggests. See also Michael B. Shepherd, *Daniel in the Context of the Hebrew Bible*, Studies in Biblical Literature 123 (New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 123. For a defense of inspiration applying to the very words of Scripture, see Millard J. Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1998), 238–45. See also, Wayne A. Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Biblical Doctrine* (Grand Rapids: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 73–89.

[3] Laird Harris also recognized this possibility and attributed this immediate adoption into the Old Testament canon to an acknowledgement of divine inspiration. See R. Laird Harris, "Chronicles and the Canon in New Testament Times," *JETS* 33 (1990): 78.

employed the same organizing principles differently. In some cases, communities employed these principles in such a way that the overall structure of the Old Testament canon highlighted a theological ideal important to the community.

What Did the Compilers Hope to Accomplish By Compiling the Old Testament in a Specific Way?

When guided by non-literary principles (such as size or date of composition), the compilers of the Old Testament were likely only concerned for providing order for their canonical books. When guided by literary principles, however, the compilation of the Old Testament books was inevitably intending to influence how the books were read, which would also influence how the books were understood theologically. This is true for both micro and macro arrangements of the Old Testament canon. For example, several of the compilations studied in this dissertation revealed a concern for the Davidic covenant, especially concerning the future descendant of David whose kingdom will be established forever by God. Other compilations revealed a concern for the Abrahamic covenant and the conclusion of the exile. Taken together, these compilations reveal an underlying messianic hope within Israel. Many of the micro and macro compilations of the Old Testament point its readers to the descendant of David who will bring an end to Israel's exile and who will exercise God's rule over God's people in God's land for eternity. For another example, many scholars have recognized that when the Old Testament books are compiled together, a metanarrative emerges which extends beyond what any one book contains.[4] The emergence of this metanarrative is certainly supposed to influence how

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[4] There are numerous authors advocating for the presence of a grand narrative in Scripture. These include: Craig G. Bartholomew and Michael W. Goheen, *The Drama of Scripture: Finding Our Place in the Biblical Story*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014); Ched Spellman, *Toward a Canon-Conscious Reading of the Bible: Exploring the History and Hermeneutics of the Canon*, NTM 34 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2014), 140; Miles V. Van Pelt, "Introduction," in *A Biblical-Theological Introduction to the Old Testament: The Gospel Promised*, ed. Miles V. Van Pelt (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2016); Graeme Goldsworthy, *According to Plan: The Unfolding Revelation of God in the Bible* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 1991); James M. Hamilton, Jr., *God's Glory in Salvation through Judgment: A Biblical Theology* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2010); Leland Ryken, *Literary Introductions to the Books of the Bible* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2015); Christopher J. H. Wright, *The Mission of God:*

readers of the Old Testament understand all of history and their role within God's developing story.

How Were Arrangements of the Old Testament Preserved?

Arrangements of the Old Testament were preserved by external and internal means. External means refers to the production of manuscripts and lists such as those described in chapter 2. These are important witnesses to how the Old Testament has been arranged historically and preserved the internal features studied in this dissertation. Nevertheless, no single arrangement is able to exhaust the Old Testament's compilational message. This dissertation has also argued that compilations of the Old Testament could be preserved through the text of the Old Testament itself. This is the case when a book's composition was influenced by its compilation.

Unlocking the Bible's Grand Narrative (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2006); Stephen G. Dempster, *Dominion and Dynasty: A Biblical Theology of the Hebrew Bible*, NSBT 15 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003); Thomas R. Schreiner, *The King in His Beauty: A Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013). While detractors of this insight will claim that this metanarrative is a creation of those wishing to see it rather than an obvious aspect of the Old Testament books themselves, compilational criticism can show that this metanarrative was often embedded within these books.

APPENDIX 1

THE TEXT OF *BABBA BATHRA* 14B

ת״רסדרן של נביאים יהושע ושפטים שמואל ומלכים ירמיה ויחזקאלוישעיה ושנים עשר מכדי

הושע קדים דכתיב תחלת תחלת דבר ה׳ בהושע ⁿוכי עם הושע דבר תחלה והלֹא ממשה ועד הושע כמה נביאים היו

וא״ר יוחנן שהיה תחלה לארבעה נביאים שנתנבאו באותו הפרק ואלו הןהושע וישעיה עמום ומיכה וליקדמיה

להושע ברישא כיון דכתיב נבואתיה גבי חגי זכריה ומלאכי וחגי זכריה ומלאכי סוף נביאים הוו חשיב ליה

בהדייהו וליכתביה לחודיה וליקדמיה איידי דזוטר מירכם מכדי ישעיה קדים מירמיה ויחזקאל ליקדמיה לישעיה

ברישא כיון דמלכים סופיה חורבנא וירמיה כוליה חורבנא ויחזקאל רישיהֹ חורבנא וסיפיה נחמתא וישעיה

כוליה נחמתא סמכינן חורבנא לחורבנא ונחמתא לנחמתא: ²סידרן של כתובים רות וספר תהלים ואיוב ומשלי

קהלת שיר השירים וקינות דניאל ומגילת אסתר עזרא ודברי הימים ולמ״ד ⁿⁿאיוב בימי משה היה ליקדמיה

לאיוב ברישא ⁿⁿאתחולי בפורענותא לא מתחלינן רות נמי פורענות היא פורענות דאית ליה אחריתⁿדאמר רבי

יוחנןⁿלמה נקרא שמה רות שֹיצאממנה דוד שֹריוֹהו להקב״ה בשירות ותושבחות

APPENDIX 2

THE LATIN TEXT OF JEROME'S
PROLOGUE TO 1 SAMUEL

Viginti et duas esse litteras apud Hebraeos, Syrorum quoque et Chaldeorum lingua testatur, quae hebraeae magna ex parte confinis est; nam et ipsi viginti duo elementa habent eodem sono, sed diversis caracteribus. Samaritani etiam Pentateuchum Mosi totidem litteris scriptitant, figuris tantum et apicibus discrepantes. Certumque est Ezram scribam legisque doctorem post captam Hierosolymam et instaurationem templi sub Zorobabel alias litteras repperisse, quibus nunc utimur, cum ad illud usque tempus idem Samaritanorum et Hebraeorum caracteres fuerint. In libro quoque Numerorum haec eadem supputatio sub Levitarum ac sacerdotum censu mystice ostenditur. Et nomen Domini tetragrammaton in quibusdam graecis voluminibus usque hodie antiquis expressum litteris invenimus. Sed et psalmi tricesimus sextus, et centesimus decimus, et centesimus undecimus, et centesimus octavus decimus, et centesimus quadragesimus quartus, quamquam diverso scribantur metro, tamen eiusdem numeri texuntur alfabeto. Et Hieremiae Lamentationes et oratio eius, Salomonis quoque in fine Proverbia ab eo loco in quo ait: «Mulierem fortem quis inveniet», hisdem alfabetis vel incisionibus supputantur. Porro quinque litterae duplices apud eos sunt: chaph, mem, nun, phe, sade; aliter enim per has scribunt principia medietatesque verborum, aliter fines. Unde et quinque a plerisque libri duplices aestimantur: Samuhel, Malachim, Dabreiamin, Ezras, Hieremias cum Cinoth, id est Lamentationibus suis. Quomodo igitur viginti duo elementa sunt, per quae scribimus hebraice omne quod loquimur, et eorum initiis vox humana conprehenditur, ita viginti duo volumina supputantur, quibus quasi litteris et exordiis, in Dei doctrina, tenera adhuc et lactans viri iusti eruditur infantia.

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Primus apud eos liber vocatur Bresith, quem nos Genesim dicimus; secundus Hellesmoth, qui Exodus appellatur; tertius Vaiecra, id est Leviticus; quartus Vaiedabber, quem Numeros vocamus; quintus Addabarim, qui Deuteronomium praenotatur. Hii sunt quinque libri Mosi, quos proprie Thorath, id est Legem appellant.

Secundum Prophetarum ordinem faciunt, et incipiunt ab Iesu filio Nave, qui apud eos Iosue Bennum dicitur. Deinde subtexunt Sopthim, id est Iudicum librum; et in eundem conpingunt Ruth, quia in diebus Iudicum facta narratur historia. Tertius sequitur Samuhel, quem nos Regnorum primum et secundum dicimus. Quartus Malachim, id est Regum, qui tertio et quarto Regnorum volumine continetur; meliusque multo est Malachim, id est Regum, quam Malachoth, id est Regnorum dicere, non enim multarum gentium regna describit, sed unius israhelitici populi qui tribubus duodecim continetur. Quintus est Esaias, sextus Hieremias, septimus Hiezecihel, octavus liber duodecim Prophetarum, qui apud illos vocatur Thareasra.

Tertius ordo αγιογραφα possidet, et primus liber incipit ab Iob, secundus a David, quem quinque incisionibus et uno Psalmorum volumine conprehendunt. Tertius est Salomon, tres libros habens: Proverbia, quae illi Parabolas, id est Masaloth appellant, et Ecclesiasten, id est Accoeleth, et Canticum canticorum, quem titulo Sirassirim praenotant. Sextus est Danihel, septimus Dabreiamin, id est Verba dierum, quod significantius χρονικον totius divinae historiae possumus appellare, qui liber apud nos Paralipomenon primus et secundus scribitur; octavus Ezras, qui et ipse similiter apud Graecos et Latinos in duos libros divisus est, nonus Hester.

APPENDIX 3

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE EARLIEST LXX MANUSCRIPTS

Codex Vaticanus[1]

The Pentateuch	The First History	Poetry and Wisdom	The Second History	The Prophets
Genesis	Joshua	Psalms	Esther	Hosea
Exodus	Judges	Proverbs	Judith	Amos
Leviticus	Ruth	Ecclesiastes	Tobit	Micah
Numbers	1 Kingdoms (1 Samuel)	Song of Songs		Joel
Deuteronomy	2 Kingdoms (2 Samuel	Job		Obadiah
	3 Kingdoms (1 Kings)	Wisdom of Solomon		Jonah
	4 Kingdoms (2 Kings)	Wisdom of Sirach		Nahum
	1 Chronicles			Habakkuk
	2 Chronicles			Zephaniah
	1 Esdras			Haggai
	2 Esdras			Zechariah
				Malachi
				Isaiah
				Jeremiah
				Baruch
				Lamentations
				Epistle of Jeremiah
				Ezekiel
				Daniel

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[1] Codex Vaticanus originated in the fourth century. The manuscript contains the complete Old Testament though two sections, Gen 1:1–46:28 and Pss 105:27–137:6, were added in the fifteenth century. See Ernst Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Biblia Hebraica*, 2nd ed., trans. Erroll F. Rhodes (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 73. Swete notes that 2 Kgs 2:5–7 and 10–13 are also missing from the original manuscript. See Henry Barclay Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek: According to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), xvii. A facsimile of Codex Vaticanus may be found on the Vatican's website: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1209. The arrangement of the manuscript may also be found in Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek*, xvii and in Lee M. McDonald, *The Old Testament: Its Authority and Canonicity*, vol. 1 of *The Formation of the Biblical Canon* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 272.

Codex Sinaiticus[2]

The Pentateuch	The First History	The Prophets	Poetry and Wisdom
Genesis (Missing)		Isaiah	Psalms
		Jeremiah	Proverbs
		Lamentations	Ecclesiastes
Numbers (Missing)	(Missing)	(Missing)	Song of Songs
			Wisdom of Solomon
			Wisdom of Sirach
			Job
	1 Chronicles (Missing)		
		Joel	
	2 Esdras	Obadiah	
	Esther	Jonah	
	Tobit	Nahum	
	Judith	Habakkuk	
	1 Maccabees	Zephaniah	
	4 Maccabees	Haggai	
		Zechariah	
		Malachi	

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[2] Codex Sinaiticus originated in the fourth century. It originally contained the entire Old Testament but much of it has been lost. Fortunately, what remains provides a clear witness to its arrangement of the Old Testament text. Most of Genesis–1 Chronicles 9:27 has been lost (only two sections, Gen 23:19–24:46 and Num 5:26–7:2, remain). Much of the remaining manuscript remains intact. A facsimile of Codex Sinaiticus may be found on a website devoted to the manuscript: http://codexsinaiticus.org/en/. The arrangement of the manuscript is also given in Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek*, xvii and in McDonald, *The Old Testament*, 273.

Codex Alexandrinus[3]

The Pentateuch	The First History	The Prophets	The Second History	Poetry and Wisdom
Genesis	Joshua	Hosea	Esther	Psalms
Exodus	Judges	Amos	Tobit	Canticles
Leviticus	Ruth	Micah	Judith	Job
Numbers	1 Kingdoms (1 Samuel)	Joel	1 Esdras	Proverbs
Deuteronomy	2 Kingdoms (2 Samuel	Obadiah	2 Esdras	Ecclesiastes
	3 Kingdoms (1 Kings)	Jonah	1 Maccabees	Song of Solomon
	4 Kingdoms (2 Kings)	Nahum	2 Maccabees	Wisdom
	1 Chronicles	Habakkuk	3 Maccabees	Ecclesiasticus
	2 Chronicles	Zephaniah	4 Maccabees	
		Haggai		
		Zechariah		
		Malachi		
		Isaiah		
		Jeremiah		
		Baruch		
		Lamentations		
		Epistle of Jeremiah		
		Ezekiel		
		Daniel		

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[3] Codex Alexandrinus is a fifth century manuscript. It contains the entire Old Testament except for 1 Sam 12:17–14:9 and Ps 49:20–79:11. See Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament*, 73. Swete also notes that Gen 14:14–17, 15:1–5, 16–19, and 16:6–9 are also deficient. See Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek*, xxii. A facsimile of Codex Alexandrinus may be found at the British library's website: http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?docId=IAMS040-002353500&fn=permalink&vid=IAMS_VU2. The arrangement of the manuscript is also given in Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek*, xvii and in McDonald, *The Old Testament*, 273. McDonald, however, omits Chronicles.

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ABSTRACT

TRACING THE OLD TESTAMENT CANON THROUGH TIME:
THE NECESSITY OF A DIACHRONIC APPROACH TO
COMPILATIONAL CRITICISM

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This dissertation argues that multiple arrangements are needed to account for all of the compilational features within the Old Testament. Therefore, compilational criticism must examine multiple, historical arrangements of the Old Testament books. A compilational feature is any instance in which the composition of an Old Testament book (the words of the final form of the text) has been influenced by its compilation (how that book has been arranged with other Old Testament books). Examining multiple arrangements acknowledges that several arrangements are needed to fully study how the Old Testament's compilation has influenced its message and does not prioritize one arrangement over all others regardless of whether that arrangement is shown to be earlier or contains more compilations judged to be more favorable (such as literary compilations) than other arrangements.

In order to argue that multiple arrangements are needed to account for all of the compilational features within the Old Testament, this dissertation studied compilations related to three books (Nahum, Ruth, Chronicles) which were compiled in different positions within ancient compilations of the Old Testament. It was argued that the compilations studied showed signs of having influenced the composition of the books involved. Since the composition of the Old Testament books was influenced by multiple arrangements of the Old Testament, multiple arrangements are needed to provide a

complete explanation of how the compilation of the Old Testament has influenced its composition. Since multiple arrangements are needed to provide a complete explanation of the Old Testament's compilational features, compilational critics should expect there to be multiple ancient arrangements of the Old Testament books and be willing to investigate the significance of these arrangements at both the micro (arrangements involving only some of the Old Testament books) and macro (arrangements involving all of the Old Testament books) levels of the Old Testament's production.

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