

ABSTRACT

Reconsidering the Book of the Four: The Shaping of Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah as an Early Prophetic Collection

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The hypothesis that redactors collected and edited Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah into an exilic “Book of the Four” has gained significant momentum in redaction-critical scholarship over the last twenty years. Since its initial proposal, various reformulations of the Book of the Four hypothesis built upon the identification of Deuteronomistic editing across these four prophetic texts. The concurrent scholarly reaction against “pan-Deuteronomism” challenges the methods and criteria by which redaction critics identify Deuteronomistic editing. The precision of language emerging from the concerns over pan-Deuteronomism affects how scholars identify and label Deuteronomistic editing. This new criteria and precision of language threatens to undercut the foundation of the Book of the Four hypothesis. The following dissertation reexamines the evidence for common editorial activity spanning Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah, arguing that the evidence fails to support a case for widespread Deuteronomistic editing across these four texts. The case that these four texts circulated as an early collection rather depends upon a series of editorially constructed intertextual echoes between these texts. The following study argues that this Book of the Four editorial activity takes place in two redactional layers. The first redactional layer includes Hos 1:1; 4:15a^ßb; 8:14a^ßb; Amos 1:1b; 2:10-12; 3:1b-2; 5:13; 6:8; 7:9-17; Mic 1:1, 5b-7, 9; 2:3; 6:9a^α,b, 10-16; Zeph 1:1 1:6, 13b; 2:3. These supplements across the Book of the

Four link these four prophetic voices to the larger collection and employ a similar intratextual scribal program of literary integration into their current literary contexts. This study locates this first editorial layer near the beginning of the exile, primarily responding to the trauma of the destruction of Jerusalem. The intratextual scribal program of literary integration indicates that exilic scribes read these texts through a lens that theologizes the messages in light of one another. This study further finds that Mic 2:12; Zeph 2:7, 9b; 3:11-13 reflect a second editorial layer that supplies salvific hope to this collection for life after the destruction of Jerusalem and the Babylonian deportation.

Reconsidering the Book of the Four: The Shaping of Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah as an
Early Prophetic Collection

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF CHARTS AND FIGURES	ix
ABBREVIATIONS	xi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xiii
DEDICATION	xv
 CHAPTER ONE	 1
Introduction.....	1
The Rise of the Book of the Four: Hypothesis or Hypotheses	6
Four Models for the Book of the Four	6
Inconsistencies Among the Models of the Book of the Four.....	17
Objections to the Book of the Four Hypotheses	21
The Book of the Four and Pan-Deuteronomism	24
Intertextuality and the Book of the Four	30
The Agenda and Method of the Present Study	32
Criteria for Identifying Deuteronomistic Editing	33
Criteria for Identifying Intentionally Constructed Intertextual Links.....	37
The Text of the Book of the Four	39
Thesis and Outline of the Following Study	40
 CHAPTER TWO	 43
Introduction.....	43
Deuteronomism in Hosea.....	47
Introduction to the Quest for Deuteronomism in Hosea.....	47
The Superscription and the Question of Deuteronomism: Hosea 1:1.....	53
Cultic Infidelities and the Question of Deuteronomism: Hosea 3:1-5; 4:15; 13:2-3	59
Covenant, Torah, and the Question of Deuteronomism: Hosea 4:1-3; 8:1-6	78
Binary Curses and the Question of Deuteronomism: Hosea 4:10	88
Parallels with Jeremiah and the Question of Deuteronomism: Hosea 11:5	89

Parallels with Second Kings and the Question of Deuteronomism: Hosea 14:1[13:16].....	95
Deuteronomism in Hosea: Conclusions.....	99
The Book of the Four Literary Horizon in Hosea.....	102
Introduction to Hosea and the Literary Parallels with the Four.....	102
The Literary Horizon of Hosea 1:1	105
The Literary Horizon of Hosea 4:15aßb	108
The Literary Horizon of Hosea 8:14aßb	113
Limitation of the Book of the Four Literary Horizon	116
Hosea and the Book of the Four Literary Horizon: Conclusions.....	132
Conclusions: Book of the Four Editorial Activity in Hosea	135
CHAPTER THREE	138
Introduction.....	138
Deuteronomism in Amos	141
Introduction to the Quest for Deuteronomism in Amos	141
The Superscription and the Question of Deuteronomism: Amos 1:1	146
Law, Covenant, and the Question of Deuteronomism in the Oracles Against the Nations: Amos 1:9-12; 2:4-5	149
The Rejection of the Prophet and the Question of Deuteronomism: Amos 2:11-12; 3:7; 7:9-17; 8:10-11	155
The Exodus Theme and the Question of Deuteronomism: Amos 2:10-12; 3:1b-2; 5:25-26; 9:7-10	162
Curses, Judgments, and the Question of Deuteronomism: Amos 4:6-11; 5:11	170
Deuteronomism in Amos: Conclusion.....	174
The Book of the Four Literary Horizon in Amos	176
Introduction to Amos and the Literary Parallels with the Four	177
The Literary Horizon of Amos 1:1ba	179
The Literary Horizon of Amos 2:4-5	181
The Literary Horizon of Amos 2:10-12 and 3:1b-2.....	184
The Literary Horizon of Amos 5:13	187
The Literary Horizon of Amos 6:8	189
The Literary Horizon of Amos 7:9-17	192
The Limits of Book of the Four Literary Horizon: Amos 2:8; 3:13-14; 5:25-26; 8:4-7.....	196

Amos and the Book of the Four Literary Horizon: Conclusions	202
Conclusion: Book of the Four Editorial Activity in Amos	204
CHAPTER FOUR.....	207
Introduction.....	207
Deuteronomism in Micah	211
Introduction to the Quest for Deuteronomism in Micah.....	211
The Superscription and the Question of Deuteronomism: Micah 1:1	215
Anti-idolatry Polemics and the Question of Deuteronomism: Micah 1:5b-7; 5:9-13[10-14]	217
Associations with Micah 1:5b-7 and 5:9-13[10-14]: Micah 1:9, 12b, 13b	232
Lawsuit, Exodus, and the Question of Deuteronomism: Micah 6:1-16..	236
Deuteronomism in Micah: Conclusions.....	247
The Book of the Four Literary Horizon in Micah.....	249
Introduction to Micah and the Literary Parallels with the Four.....	249
The Literary Horizon of Micah 1:1.....	252
The Literary Horizon of Micah 1:5b-7, 9	256
The Literary Horizon of Micah 2:3.....	260
The Literary Horizon of Micah 2:12.....	265
The Literary Horizon of Micah 6:9-16*	271
The Limits of the Book of the Four Literary Horizon in Micah.....	278
Micah and the Book of the Four Literary Horizon: Conclusions	292
Conclusions: Book of the Four Editorial Activity in Micah.....	294
CHAPTER FIVE	296
Introduction.....	296
Deuteronomism in Zephaniah.....	299
Introduction to the Quest for Deuteronomism in Zephaniah	299
The Superscription and the Question of Deuteronomism: Zephaniah 1:1	306
Cultic Transgressions, Seeking YHWH, and the Question of Deuteronomism: Zephaniah 1:4-6; 2:3.	308
Binary Curses and the Question of Deuteronomism: Zephaniah 1:13 ...	324
Sinning Against YHWH and the Question of Deuteronomism: Zephaniah 1:17aβ.....	326

The Oracles Against the Nations and the Question of Deuteronomism: Zephaniah 2:4-3:8*	327
Deuteronomism in Zephaniah: Conclusions	333
The Book of the Four Literary Horizon in Zephaniah	335
Introduction to Zephaniah and the Literary Parallels with the Four	335
The Literary Horizon of Zephaniah 1:1	338
The Literary Horizon of Zephaniah 1:6 and 2:3	341
The Literary Horizon of Zephaniah 1:13b	347
The Literary Horizon of Zephaniah 3:11-13	350
Zephaniah and the Book of the Four Literary Horizon: Conclusions	353
Conclusions: Book of the Four Editorial Activity in Zephaniah	355
CHAPTER SIX	357
Overview of Results	357
Book of the Four Redaction I	359
Compositional Coherence of the Book of the Four Redaction I	360
Socio-Historical Context of the Book of the Four Redaction I	389
Theological Profile of the Book of the Four Redaction I	405
Reading the Four Together in the Book of the Four Redaction I	412
Book of the Four Redaction II	421
Compositional Coherence of the Book of the Four Redaction II	423
Socio-Historical Context of the Book of the Four Redaction II	428
Theological Profile of the Book of the Four Redaction II	431
BIBLIOGRAPHY	434

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Complete Book of the Four Proposed Editorial Additions.....	18
Table 2.1: Hosea Similarities with Deuteronomistic Thought.....	47
Table 2.2: Five Part דבר־יהוה Formulas	56
Table 2.3: Hos 12:1[11:12]-13:9 Literary Patterning	74
Table 2.4: The “Refusal to Turn” in the Prophets	93
Table 2.5: The Violence of Samaria	98
Table 2.6: Superscriptional Regnal Dating Schemas.....	107
Table 2.7: Hos 4:15aβb and Amos 4:4a; 5:5; 8:14	110
Table 2.8: The Scribal Program of Literary Integration in Hos 4:15aβb.....	112
Table 2.9: Consuming Fire in the Book of the Twelve.....	115
Table 2.10: Hosea 4:3 and Zephaniah 1:2-3	127
Table 2.11: Formulaic Creation Categories	128
Table 3.1: Proposed Book of the Four Additions in Amos.....	140
Table 3.2: The Exodus Formula in Amos	163
Table 3.3: Regnal Dating in Hosea and Amos.....	181
Table 3.4: Hosea language in Amos 4:4b	183
Table 3.5: The Literary Horizon of Micah 2:3	189
Table 4.1: Proposed Book of the Four Supplements in Micah	210
Table 4.2: Comparison of Micah 1:6 and 3:12	219
Table 4.3: Formulaic introductions of Micah 5:9[10] and Zechariah 13:2.....	229
Table 4.4: Common Exodus Language In Mic 6:4a	239
Table 4.5: דבר־יהוה Superscriptional formula.....	253
Table 4.6: Regnal Dating Comparisons	253
Table 4.7: Superscriptional Formulas	255
Table 4.8: Superscriptional Regnal dating.....	255
Table 4.9: Comparison of Micah 1:6 and 3:12	259
Table 4.10: The Literary Horizon of Micah 2:3	263
Table 4.11: Structure of Micah 2:1 and 2:3	264
Table 4.12: Comparison of Mic 2:12 and Zeph 2:7, 9b; 3:13.....	271
Table 4.13: Hosea 4:10a and Micah 6:14	275
Table 4.14: Structural Comparison of Mic 3:8-12 and 6:9aαb, 10-16.....	277
Table 4.15: Aaron Scharf’s <i>Höraufrufe</i> structure	286
Table 4.16: Micah 3:1, 9 Refrain	286
Table 4.17: Nogalski’s Links between Mic 6 and Zeph 1:1-2:3.....	289
Table 5.1: Proposed Book of the Four Additions in Zephaniah	297
Table 5.2: Zephaniah and Deuteronomy Similarities	300
Table 5.3: מעל פני האדמה Formulaic Uses	318
Table 5.4: Redactional Development of Zeph 1:2-4.....	320
Table 5.5: “Seeking YHWH” in Zephaniah	321
Table 5.6 Zephaniah 2:5-6 structure	328
Table 5.7: Zephaniah 3:2 and Jeremiah 7:28 Parallel.....	330

Table 5.8: The דבר־יהוה formulas in Book of the Four Superscriptions.....	339
Table 5.9: Superscriptional References to Judean Kings.....	341
Table 5.10: Amos 5:11 and Zeph 1:13b comparison.....	349
Table 6.1: Book of the Four Models.....	358
Table 6.2: Book of the Four Redaction I.....	360
Table 6.3: Superscriptional Regnal Dating Schemas.....	362
Table 6.4: Five Part דבר־יהוה Formulas.....	363
Table 6.5: Superscription Formulas in Hosea, Amos, and Micah.....	365
Table 6.6: Five Part דבר־יהוה Formulas.....	367
Table 6.7: Superscriptional Judean Regnal Dating Schemas.....	368
Table 6.8: Hosea 8:14aβb and Amos 2:5.....	416

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1: Amos 5:1-17 Chiasm.....	173
Figure 4.1: Editorially Constructed Links to the Book of the Four	295
Figure 6.1: Book of the Four Redaction II Layer	428

ABBREVIATIONS

All abbreviations follow the disciplinary conventions set forth in the following two style guides:

Alexander, Patrick H., John F. Kutsko, James D. Ernest, Shirley A. Decker-Lucke, and David L. Petersen, eds. *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999.

Schwertner, Siegfried M. *IATG3 - Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete: Zeitschriften, Serien, Lexika, Quellenwerke mit bibliographischen Angaben*. 3., Überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014.

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DEDICATION

To my wife Jennifer,
for walking with me every step of the way

CHAPTER ONE

Reconsidering the Book of the Four

Introduction

The Book of the Four hypothesis emerged from the modern study of the Book of the Twelve.¹ Over the last thirty years, Book of the Twelve scholarship turned to investigating the ways in which these twelve prophetic writings function as a single book.² This scholarly interest, sparked by the recognition of a late Second Temple Jewish tradition counting the Twelve as a single book, explored literary links across these twelve prophets binding them together under collection-wide editorial intentions.³ Thus, Book of

¹ The following study assesses prophetic literary compositions. As such, this study uses the prophetic designations to identify prophetic books. This study identifies the “book of Hosea” simply as “Hosea.” Prophetic persons and identities are distinguished from literary compositions through the label “prophet.” Thus the following study distinguishes between the “prophet Amos” as a personal identity (whether historical or literary) and “Amos” the literary composition.

² For brief overviews of the beginnings of this conversation, see: Aaron Schart, “Redactional Models: Comparisons, Contrasts, Agreements, Disagreements,” in *Society of Biblical Literature 1998 Seminar Papers*, vol. 2, 2 vols., SBLSP 37 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 893–908; Paul L. Redditt, “Recent Research on the Book of the Twelve as One Book,” *CurBS* 9 (2001): 47–80; idem, “The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Review of Research,” in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart, BZAW 325 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 1–26. The number of recent publications emerging from the SBL seminar on the Book of the Twelve on the subject of linking literary characteristics across the Twelve indicates the growing interest in this field of research. See: James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, eds., *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, SymS 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000); Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart, eds., *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 325 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003); Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, eds., *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations, Redactional Processes, Historical Insights*, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012).

³ For overviews of the historical tradition counting the Twelve as a single book, see: Dale Allan Schneider, “The Unity of the Book of the Twelve” (PhD diss., Yale University, 1979), 1–6; James D. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 217 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993), 2–3; idem, “The Redactional Shaping of Nahum 1 for the Book of the Twelve,” in *Among the Prophets: Language, Image and Structure in the Prophetic Writings*, ed. Philip R. Davies and David J. A. Clines (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 193–94; Aaron Schart, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs: Neubearbeitungen von Amos im Rahmen schriftübergreifender Redaktionsprozesse*, BZAW 260 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998), 1–5; Donatella Scaiola, “Il libro dei Dodici Profeti Minori nell’esegesi contemporanea. Status quaestionis,” *RivBib* 48 (2000): 319–20; Redditt, “Recent Research on the Book of the Twelve as One Book,” 49–50; Jason T. LeCureux, *The Thematic Unity of the Book of the Twelve*, HBM 41 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2012), 2–5.

the Twelve scholarship came to reflect, as did many other disciplines in biblical studies, a move away from the quest for the *ipsissima verba* of the earliest prophet to appreciate later editing that created the current forms of the biblical books.⁴ The investigation of linking features across these twelve texts, of course, developed along synchronic and diachronic lines of inquiry. Synchronic investigations primarily trace key themes across the collection.⁵ Diachronic investigations explore the composition process by which the Twelve (or parts of it) developed.⁶

Most diachronic composition models postulate a precursory collection of multiple writings that preceded the formation of the Book of the Twelve. Among such proposals,

⁴ Book of the Twelve scholars commonly recognize the indebtedness of the recent focus on the Twelve as a book to this methodological shift. See, for example, this recognition in Schart, “Redactional Models,” 2:893–94; Kyu-Sang Yu, “Die Entstehungsgeschichte des ‘Dodekapheton’ und sein Kanonisierungsprozeß” (PhD diss., Universität München, 2000), 136–37; Rachel Bornand, “Un ‘Livre des Quatre’ Précurseur des Douze Petits Prophètes?,” *ETHR* 82 (2007): 560; Aaron Schart, “Das Zwölfprophetenbuch als redaktionelle Großeinheit,” *TheoLit* 133 (2008): 227; Thomas C. Römer, “Introduction: The Book of the Twelve - Fact or Fiction?,” in *Two Sides of a Coin: Juxtaposing Views on Interpreting the Book of The Twelve*, Analecta Gorgiana 201 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009), 1–2.

⁵ See for example, the theme of the Day of YHWH in the Book of the Twelve as discussed in Rolf Rendtorff, “How to Read the Book of the Twelve as a Theological Unity,” in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, ed. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, SymS 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 75–87; Arndt Meinhold, “Zur Rolle des Tag-JHWHs-Gedichts Joel 2,1-11 im XII-Propheten-Buch,” in *Verbindungslinien, Festschrift für Werner H. Schmidt zum 65.*, ed. Axel Graupner, Holger Delkurt, and Alexander B. Ernst (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000), 207–24; Rolf Rendtorff, “Der ‘Tag Jhwhs’ im Zwölfprophetenbuch,” in “*Wort JHWHs, das geschah...*” (*Hos 1,1*): *Studien zum Zwölfprophetenbuch*, ed. Erich Zenger, HBS 35 (Freiburg: Herder, 2002), 1–11; James D. Nogalski, “The Day(s) of YHWH in the Book of the Twelve,” in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart, BZAW 325 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 192–213; John Barton, “The Day of Yahweh in the Minor Prophets,” in *Biblical and Near Eastern Essays: Studies in Honour of Kevin J. Cathcart*, ed. Carmel McCarthy and John F. Healey, JSOTSup 375 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 68–79; James D. Nogalski, “Recurring Themes in the Book of the Twelve: Creating Points of Contact for a Theological Reading,” *Int* 61 (2007): 125–36; Jean-Daniel Macchi, “Le thème du ‘jour de YHWH’ dans les XII petits prophètes,” in *Les prophètes de la Bible et la fin des temps*, ed. Jacques Vermeylen (Paris: Cerf, 2010), 141–81. For more complete diachronic assessments of this theme, see: Paul-Gerhard Schwesig, *Die Rolle der Tag-JHWHs-Dichtungen im Dodekapheton*, BZAW 366 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006); Martin Beck, *Der “Tag YHWHs” im Dodekapheton: Studien im Spannungsfeld von Traditions- und Redaktionsgeschichte*, BZAW 356 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005).

⁶ E.g., Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*; idem, *Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 218 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993); Schart, *Die Entstehung*; Jakob Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen des Zwölfprophetenbuches: Entstehung und Komposition*, BZAW 360 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006); idem, *Der Abschluss des Zwölfprophetenbuches: buchübergreifende Redaktionsprozesse in den späten Sammlungen*, BZAW 389 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008).

James Nogalski's suggestion that editors shaped Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah into an exilic, Deuteronomistic "Book of the Four Prophets" has gained significant attention.⁷ The Book of the Four hypothesis rests upon two central claims concerning the composition history of these prophetic texts. First, the hypothesis suggests that these four texts underwent shared editing linking them into a single collection. Book of the Four advocates claim that this redaction in each individual text reveals a literary horizon extending to the entire collection. Second, the Book of the Four hypothesis suggests that this redaction reflects some ideological proximity to Deuteronomism.⁸

Despite the hypothesis's positive reception by a segment of redaction critics, this proposal unsurprisingly provokes polarized responses from others in the scholarly guild. Whereas some scholars treat the hypothesis as a near consensus,⁹ others dutifully supply the exegetical obituary to yet another failed composition model.¹⁰ In addition to the objections from skeptics, the Book of the Four hypothesis faces challenges from internal inconsistencies among its advocates. The redaction-critical investigations following

⁷ Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 137–144, 176–178, 279–280. See also his subsequent discussion of the Book of the Four in idem, "One Book and Twelve Books: The Nature of the Redactional Work and the Implications of Cultic Source Material in the Book of the Twelve," in *Two Sides of a Coin: Juxtaposing Views on Interpreting the Book of The Twelve*, Analecta Gorgiana 201 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009), 14–15; idem, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea-Jonah*, SHBC (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2011), 5–6, 13, 31, 124, 184, 268, 274; idem, *The Book of the Twelve: Micah-Malachi*, SHBC (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2011), 493–94, 501, 513, 518, 607, 700, 706–7, 715; idem, "Jerusalem, Samaria, and Bethel in the Book of the Twelve," in *Die Stadt im Zwölfprophetenbuch*, ed. Aaron Scharf and Jutta Krispenz, BZAW 428 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 262–64; idem, "Preexilic Portions of the Book of the Twelve: Early Collections and Composition Models," in *The Books of the Twelve Prophets: Minor Prophets – Major Theologies*, ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry, BETL 295 (Leuven: Peeters, 2018), 35–43.

⁸ See below for further discussion of the various Book of the Four composition models and their relationship to Deuteronomistic thought.

⁹ Jean-Daniel Macchi, for example, writes: "La majorité des exégètes postulent l'existence d'une première collection de petits prophètes marquée par une édition de type deutéronomiste. Rassemblant les livres d'Osée, d'Amos et de Michée, et peut-être encore de Sophnie, cette collection deutéronomiste est caractérisée par des suscriptions formulées de manière très semblable:..." ("Les Douze Petits Prophètes," 461). See also: Schwesig, *Die Rolle*, 1–2; Nogalski, "One Book and Twelve Books," 14.

¹⁰ E.g., Christoph Levin, "Das 'Vierprophetenbuch': Ein exegetischer Nachruf," ZAW 123 (2011): 221–35.

Nogalski's initial proposal assign different literary units to the Book of the Four editor(s), thereby arriving at different conceptions of the ideological agenda driving the compilation of the corpus.¹¹ Should one find the evidence of linking editorial activity among an alleged assemblage of Deuteronomistic redactions, intertextual parallels, or some combination of the two?¹² These differences naturally lead to variant articulations of the proximity of the Book of the Four redaction to Deuteronomistic thought.

The changing scholarly sentiments in Deuteronomistic studies speak to the heart of the internal inconsistencies among Book of the Four advocates.¹³ The emerging concerns over pan-Deuteronomism in recent studies point to the ways in which the use of inconsistent terms and criteria for identifying Deuteronomistic redaction result in the attribution of a broad assemblage of texts, themes, and editorial agendas to allegedly Deuteronomistic editors. Such scholars object that the wide array of terms and criteria currently used in Deuteronomistic studies inconsistently allow too much breadth for the label "Deuteronomism." This inconsistent use of terms and criteria to identify Book of the Four editing contributes not only to the polarized nature of the discussion, but also to the varying exegetical results championed by the hypothesis's advocates.

¹¹ Proponents of the Book of the Four hypothesis discuss the proposal under different names: the Deuteronomistic Corpus, *das D-Korpus*, *das Vierprophetenbuch*, *un livre des quatre*, or, as used in the present study, the Book of the Four. The different names applied to the collection reveal more than the diversity of languages with which scholars discuss the hypothesis. The differing names hint at the disagreements among Book of the Four advocates themselves. These disagreements largely stem from the different methodological approaches to identifying evidence of linking editorial activity.

¹² Wöhrle builds his argument for the Book of the Four upon the identification of Deuteronomistic redaction spanning the Four (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 51–284; idem, "'No Future for the Proud Exultant Ones': The Exilic Book of the Four Prophets [Hos., Am., Mic., Zeph.] as a Concept Opposed to the Deuteronomistic History," *VT* 58 [2008]: 608–27). Scharf finds evidence for Book of the Four editing in intertextual parallels between the texts (*Die Entstehung*, 156–233). Nogalski and Albertz draw upon both forms of evidence in their models (Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 137–144, 176–178, 279–280; Rainer Albertz, *Die Exilszeit: 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, BE(S) 7 [Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001], 164–85).

¹³ See below for a discussion of concerns over pan-Deuteronomism in modern scholarship as they relate to the Book of the Four.

The internal inconsistencies among Book of the Four advocates and objections from critics reveal that many aspects of the Book of the Four hypothesis remain far from settled. The present study, therefore, returns to the literary evidence for the Book of the Four, considering the wide variance of logical assumptions often at work in arguments identifying Book of the Four editing in Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah. The following assessment proposes a more limited assemblage of editorial supplements linking these four prophetic texts together. While these updates reflect ideological similarities with select Deuteronomistic themes, the language register prohibits attributing these passages to Deuteronomistic composers as known from Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History. Not only do these updates lack consistently identifiable Deuteronomistic language, but they often employ identifiably non-Deuteronomistic language and phrases. These themes often occur widely across Hebrew prophetic literature suggesting that their occurrence in Book of the Four editorial supplements fits within the prophetic tradition. These editorially constructed links between Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah indicate not only that these texts were transmitted in shared editorial circles, but also that the editors of these texts saw these four respective prophetic messages as informing one another in light of the Babylonian exile.

This study, therefore, contributes to Book of the Twelve scholarship in two ways. First, this study serves to “exegete the exegetes,” parsing out the ways in which arguments for Book of the Four redaction build upon select scholarly trajectories in the study of each of these prophetic texts.¹⁴ This process reflects upon the methodological concerns over pan-Deuteronomism, while taking seriously the literary observations of past Book of the Four advocates. Second, this study supplies a new two-stage composition model for the Book of the Four, arguing for two periods of redaction in

¹⁴ Nogalski uses this language of exegeting the exegetes in “Preexilic Portions,” 43.

which scribes brought the message of these four prophetic writings to bear on one another in light of the exile.

The present chapter introduces this study of the Book of the Four by way of three preliminary discussions. First, this chapter briefly surveys the rise of the Book of the Four hypothesis, noting how the different methodological approaches to two key issues result in the variances among the models' advocates: the identification of Deuteronomistic editing, and drawing compositional conclusions from intertextual parallels. Second, this chapter surveys critics' objections to the Book of the Four hypothesis and considers how their concerns correlate to the internal inconsistencies between the current models. Finally, this chapter concludes by defining the intentions and methodological approach of the ensuing exegetical assessment.

The Rise of the Book of the Four: Hypothesis or Hypotheses

Four Models for the Book of the Four

The Book of the Four hypothesis first appeared as part of James Nogalski's composition model for the formation of the Book of the Twelve based upon his study of catchwords linking many of the individual prophetic writings within the corpus.¹⁵

¹⁵ Numerous scholars before Nogalski recognize the catchword phenomenon to differing degrees. They generally explain this literary feature as the result of the intentional juxtaposition of two previously completed prophetic works. Nogalski proposes, however, that editors intentionally constructed the catchword phenomenon in order to link the individual prophetic writings into a larger Book of the Twelve (Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, passim; idem, *Redactional Processes*, passim). For earlier assessments of the catchwords, see: Carl Friedrich Keil, *The Twelve Minor Prophets*. Vol. 17 of *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament*, trans. James Martin, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1871), 2–4; Alfred Jepsen, "Kleine Beiträge zum Zwölfprophetenbuch," ZAW 56 (1938): 97–98; Curt Kuhl, *Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments*, Sammlung Dalp 26 (Bern: Francke, 1953), 217–18; Cornelis van Gelderen, *Het boek Hosea*, COut (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1953), 7; Th C. Vriezen, *De literatuur van Oud-Israël* (Den Haag Servire, 1961), 167; Cornelis van Leeuwen, *Hosea*, POuT (Nijkerk: G.F. Callenbach, 1968), 10–11; Umberto Cassuto, "The Sequence and Arrangement of the Biblical Sections," in *Biblical and Oriental Studies*, trans. Israel Abrahams, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1973), 1–6; Hans Walter Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 2nd ed., BKAT 14/2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1975), 1–2; Wilhelm Rudolph, *Haggai - Sacharja 1-8 - Sacharja 9-14 - Maleachi*, KAT 13,4 (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1976), 297–98; Leslie C. Allen, *The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, and Micah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 21; Norman K. Gottwald, *The Hebrew Bible: A Socio-Literary Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 107; Herbert

Nogalski's thesis continued a scholarly trajectory of identifying the formation of early prophetic collections. These studies relied upon superscriptional similarities and literary parallels among select writings to identify prophetic collections. Such investigations primarily concerned themselves with determining the order in which the previously composed prophetic writings entered the Book of the Twelve.¹⁶ Additionally, several scholars argue that some combination of preexilic prophetic texts formed an early (possibly Deuteronomistic) collection during the late monarchic or exilic eras.¹⁷

James Nogalski's Book of the Four hypothesis differs from previously proposed precursory collections of preexilic prophetic texts. Nogalski proposes that these four texts underwent two series of redactional updates suggesting that they circulated as a collection prior to their inclusion in the Twelve. Nogalski observes several intertextual links among these four texts, which he suggests serve the Deuteronomistic function of applying northern judgment pronouncements (from Hosea and Amos) to the Southern Kingdom of Judah (in Micah and Zephaniah).¹⁸ Micah 1:2-9 serves as the hinge text transitioning from the Northern to the Southern Kingdom. Each of these texts receives subsequent late exilic or early postexilic redactions supplying a message of hope for the remnant (portions of Hos 2:18-25[16-23]; Amos 9:7-15; Mic 2:12-13; 4:1-5:14[15]; 7:8-20; Zeph

Marks, "The Twelve Prophets," in *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. Robert Alter and Frank Kermode (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1987), 208; Douglas K. Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, WBC 31 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), xlv-xlv. See also Peter Weimar's redaction-critical study of Obadiah that attributes the catchwords to editors ("Obadja: eine redaktionskritische Analyse," *BN* 27 [1985]: 94-99).

¹⁶ E.g., Schneider, "The Unity," 235-242.

¹⁷ E.g., Heinrich Ewald, *Die Propheten des alten Bundes: erklärt*, vol. 1, 3 vols., 2. Ausg. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1867), 74-82; Carl Steuernagel, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament: Mit einem Anhang über die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, SThL (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1912), 671-72; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon: A Contribution to the Study of Jewish Origins*, SJCA 3 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977), 101; Schneider, "The Unity," 18-43; Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Hosea*, AB 24 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), 144; Gottwald, *The Hebrew Bible*, 465; David Noel Freedman, "Headings in the Books of the Eighth-Century Prophets," *AUSS* 25 (1987): 22; Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Micah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 24E (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 6-7.

¹⁸ Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 190-91; idem, "One Book and Twelve Books," 14.

3:9-19).¹⁹ Nogalski recognizes that his defined focus on the seams of the Twelve does not allow him to fully explore all of the evidence for shared editing across Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah. He identifies the “Deuteronomistic corpus” as a “working hypothesis” that “needs further investigation and documentation.”²⁰ Each of the following studies affirms and develops Nogalski’s original hypothesis.²¹

Aaron Schart supplies the second significant Book of the Four composition model. Schart identifies two limitations of Nogalski’s study: the limited focus on the literary seams in the Twelve, and the limited exploration of the Deuteronomistic corpus.²² Identifying Amos as one of the oldest texts in the Twelve, Schart examines the composition history of Amos for evidence of the development of the Book of the Twelve around it.²³ He identifies six editorial layers, five of which contain links with other texts in the Twelve suggesting an awareness of the gradual growth of the corpus.²⁴ Schart’s

¹⁹ Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 174–78, 190–91, 278–80.

²⁰ Ibid., 278. Nogalski later discusses the Book of the Four as part of other scholarly projects (e.g., “Jerusalem, Samaria, and Bethel,” 262–64), yet never provides a complete assessment of the Book of the Four editorial additions.

²¹ One should also note the studies that begin from one of the four key models introduced here. See, for example: Burkard M. Zapff, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Michabuch im Kontext des Dodekapropheten*, BZAW 256 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 244–47; Schwesig, *Die Rolle*, 1–2, 282–85. Also worthy of consideration is Martin Roth’s thematic study that begins with a composition model similar to Nogalski’s Book of the Four and Hag-Zech 1-8 collection, but rejects his Joel layer (*Israel und die Völker im Zwölfprophetenbuch: eine Untersuchung zu den Büchern Joel, Jona, Micha und Nahum*, FRLANT 210 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005], 9–10, 88–93).

²² Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 16; idem, “Das Zwölfprophetenbuch,” 234.

²³ Schart’s approach results in his viewing the composition history of the Book of the Twelve through the lens of the writing of Amos. Thus Schart’s evidence for the growth of the Twelve largely comes from intertextual relationships with the various compositional strata in Amos.

²⁴ Schart’s composition model begins first with a collection of the prophet’s words in Amos 3-6*. Second, expansions including literary links to Hosea extend the text to include Amos 1-9*. Third, Schart identifies a D-layer in Amos evincing the formation of the *D-Korpus* with Micah and Zephaniah. Fourth, the hymn-layer in Amos (4:12; 5:9; 8:8; 9:5) reflects the addition of Nahum and Habakkuk. Fifth, the healing layer (9:11, 12b, 13aα, 14-15) reflects the addition of Haggai-Zechariah. Finally, the eschatological layer (Amos 4:9; 9:12a, 13aβb) reflects the addition of Joel and Obadiah. Schart, of course, identifies a collection of unstratified additions. He does not, however, find any connections to Jonah or Malachi, leading him to assign the incorporation of these writings to the final stage in the formation of the Twelve. For an overview of Schart’s model, see: *Die Entstehung*, 315–17.

composition model relies heavily upon intertextual parallels across the Twelve (especially with Amos), thus moving away from the focus on catchwords that characterized Nogalski's study.

Although Schart identifies the Book of the Four as one of the composition stages in the development of the Twelve, his understanding of this collection differs from Nogalski's "Deuteronomistic corpus" in two important respects. First, Schart observes that not all of the prophetic texts in this collection are equally linked to the others. Unlike Nogalski, Schart provides a complete list of proposed editorial supplements linking these four writings. He observes that Hosea and Amos share more numerous intertextual parallels. Micah shares a similar summons to "hear" (cf. Hos 4:1; 5:1; Amos 3:1; 4:1; 5:1; Mic 1:2; 6:2) and some intertextual links with Hosea and Amos, but not with the same frequency as those uniting Hosea and Amos. Zephaniah preserves the fewest links to the other three writings. Schart, therefore, proposes a model for the gradual growth of the Book of the Four. Building upon the earlier work of Jörg Jeremias, Schart proposes that editors first combined Hosea and Amos into a *Zweiprophetenbuch*.²⁵ Editors then gradually expanded this *Zweiprophetenbuch* first to include Micah, and then Zephaniah.²⁶

Second, Schart disagrees with Nogalski's designation "Deuteronomistic." Whereas Nogalski applies the label "Deuteronomistic" to identify the general theological agenda of the collection, Schart argues that although the redactional material spanning this collection presupposes select Deuteronomistic themes, it lacks distinctive Deuteronomistic language. He favors identifying the collection as the *D-Korpus*, in order

²⁵ Ibid., 101–55. For the work of Jeremias, see: Jörg Jeremias, "Die Anfänge des Dodekapropheten: Hosea und Amos," in *Congress Volume Paris 1992*, ed. John Adney Emerton, VTSup 61 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 87–106.

²⁶ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 218–33; idem, "Das Zwölfprophetenbuch," 237–38.

to distinguish the Book of the Four from the sort of Deuteronomistic redaction commonly associated with the Deuteronomistic History.²⁷

Schart's reliance on intertextual parallels leads him to describe the intentions of the Book of the Four according to the linking themes across these writings. He reads these themes through Hosea on account of its inaugural position in the collection. Schart thus argues that the *D-Korpus* critiques the people for forsaking YHWH and his Torah. The prophets bring a formal dispute (רִיב; cf. Hos 4:1; 12:3; Mic 6:2) against the people for their apostasy. The *D-Korpus* correlates the fates of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms, explaining the destruction of each as a result of the same cultic infidelities.²⁸

Schart's model contributes two insights concerning the use of intertextual parallels as evidence for the Book of the Four. First, in addition to supplying a needed list of proposed Book of the Four editorial additions, Schart correctly demonstrates that imbalanced proportions of intertextual parallels between texts inevitably require a compositional explanation. Second, He calls into question the appropriateness of the label "Deuteronomistic" when speaking of the Book of the Four.

Although Schart's model contributes several advancements to the hypothesis, his approach to the Book of the Four faces two methodological difficulties.²⁹ The first difficulty derives from Schart's admission that he prioritizes intertextual parallels among the writings in the Twelve over intertextual parallels with writings outside of the Twelve

²⁷ Schart, "Redactional Models," 2:903; idem, *Die Entstehung*, 56–57. Schart's model is later followed by Schwesig, *Die Rolle*.

²⁸ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 218–33.

²⁹ Although not pertaining directly to his model for the Four, one should additionally note the broader difficulty posed by Schart's proposal that five series of updates to the Book of the Twelve over hundreds of years all followed the same scribal program of registering their activity in Amos. Although possible, the textual evidence at present rules against assuming that each generation of scribes working on the Twelve necessarily operated with the same scribal program. The differing orders of the Twelve in the LXX, MT, and 4QXII^a demonstrate that different communities at different times likely approached the Twelve with different reading strategies. For a brief overview of the different ordering of the Twelve in the textual traditions, see pp.22-24.

when drawing compositional conclusions.³⁰ To treat intertextual links between the Twelve and other prophetic writings the same as he treats intertextual links internal to the Twelve would quickly transform his study from the composition history of the Twelve to the formation of the Hebrew prophetic canon. Schart recognizes the numerous links reaching beyond the Twelve, yet inevitably treats these links differently when drawing compositional conclusions. The fact that intertextual parallels evince the linking of writings into a single “book” in some instances but not others raises the question of what criteria supports reading texts together as part of a larger whole.

This inconsistent interpretation of intertextual evidence relates to the second criticism raised against Schart’s model by skeptics of his interpretation of the formation of the Book of the Twelve. Schart presupposes that such intertextual links evince a linear relay of information. He treats literary parallels (even when small) in latter writings of the collection as if they assume the reader’s familiarity with parallel pronouncements earlier in the collection. Schart argues, for example, that the phrase יהוה בקרב in Mic 3:11 makes sense only against the backdrop of Amos 5:17; 7:8, 10. Thus יהוה קרב assumes that the reader encounters Mic 3:11 in succession after Amos and knows to use the literary context supplied by Amos to inform the reading of this verse.³¹ Ben Zvi objects to this approach because it demands a sequential reading and neglects the possibility that readers could fill gaps, define terms, and interpret imagery using an intellectual matrix extending beyond these literary works.³² Such parallels may evince scribal awareness of the other works without necessitating a linear reading program.

³⁰ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 29.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 189.

³² Ehud Ben Zvi, “Is the Twelve Hypothesis Likely from an Ancient Reader’s Perspective?,” in *Two Sides of a Coin: Juxtaposing Views on Interpreting the Book of The Twelve*, Analecta Gorgiana 201 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009), 90–94.

The third Book of the Four composition model appears in Rainer Albertz's discussion of exilic literature.³³ Albertz builds on the studies of Nogalski and Schart with select alterations to include passages containing distinctively Deuteronomistic themes, even when lacking parallels to other parts of the Book of the Four. Albertz observes two methodological challenges facing the Book of the Four hypothesis. First, he notes the problem of methodological inconsistencies distinguishing the previous investigations of the Book of the Four. Second, Albertz concludes that the Book of the Four additions lack an identifiable Deuteronomistic voice, although he still identifies them as "Deuteronomistic."³⁴ This observation constitutes for Albertz one of several differences distinguishing the Book of the Four from other Deuteronomistic texts. Albertz accounts for these differences by arguing that after Josiah's death, the Deuteronomistic movement splintered into competing political factions resulting in different Deuteronomistic collections (the Deuteronomistic History, Jeremiah, and the Book of the Four).³⁵ Albertz argues that the Book of the Four interprets the exile as a "purifying judgment" (e.g., Amos 9:7-10; Mic 5:9-13[10-14]; Zeph 3:11-13) as learned from Hosea (3:1-5*).³⁶

Albertz's model demonstrates the value of a focused study on one composition layer spanning several writings. He astutely addresses the methodological challenges facing the hypothesis. Furthermore, assessing the Book of the Four editorial additions in relation to other exilic compositions (rather than in relation to the rest of the composition

³³ Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 164–85.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 165–66.

³⁵ Rainer Albertz, "Wer waren die Deuteronomisten?: Das historische Rätsel einer literarischen Hypothese," *EvTh* 57 (1997): 319–38; *idem*, "Deuteronomistic History and the Heritage of the Prophets," in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*, ed. Martti Nissinen, VTSup 148 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 343–68.

³⁶ See his discussion in Rainer Albertz, "Exile as Purification: Reconstructing the Book of the Four (Hosea, Amos, Micah, Zephaniah)," in *Society of Biblical Literature 2002 Seminar Papers*, SBLSP 41 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2002), 213–33. Later published as: *idem*, "Exile as Purification: Reconstructing the Book of the Four (Hosea, Amos, Micah, Zephaniah)," in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart, BZAW 325 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 232–51.

history of the Book of the Twelve) enables Albertz to define the relationship between the Book of the Four and other Deuteronomistic compositions with greater precision than previous models. Albertz's study, however, illustrates the problems facing Book of the Four models in light of the emerging critiques of pan-Deuteronomism. He employs a wide range of criteria for identifying Deuteronomistic redactions, which at times may depend upon thematic, lexical, or intertextual similarities with a range of other biblical texts (e.g., Deuteronomy, the Deuteronomistic History, Hosea, Amos, Jeremiah, and even Isaiah). This wide range of criteria raises the question of what criteria should signal the hand of a Deuteronomistic editor. Thus while Albertz advances the conversation, he illustrates the need for the Book of the Four composition models to adopt a clearly defined set of terms and criteria for identifying Deuteronomistic editing.

Jakob Wöhrle's study of the composition history of the Twelve supplies the fourth Book of the Four composition model. Wöhrle's articulation of the Book of the Four appears in the first attempt at a near-comprehensive model for the formation of the Book of the Twelve. Unlike Schart and Nogalski, however, Wöhrle recognizes that several compositional influences could account for intertextual parallels. For this reason, Wöhrle pursues literary-critical assessments of the prophetic writings prior to considering possible points of contact between each writing's respective composition history.³⁷ He arrives at a rolling-corpus model involving seven redactional layers across the Twelve.³⁸

³⁷ Intertextual similarities, for example, could result from a common cultural milieu, literary tradition, or religious tradition exerting influence on various editorial strata. For this reason, Wöhrle finds intertextual references to be problematic evidence for the redactional stratification of a text. See: Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 24–27; idem, “So Many Cross-References! Methodological Reflections on the Problem of Intertextual Relationships and their Significance for Redactional Critical Analysis,” in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations-Redactional Processes-Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 7. See the similar methodological concerns in Burkard M Zapff, “Die Völkerperspektive des Michabuches als ‘Systematisierung’ der divergierenden Sicht der Völker in den Büchern Joël, Jona und Nahum: Überlegungen zu einer buchübergreifenden Exegese im Dodekapropheton,” *BN* 98 (1999): 89.

³⁸ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*; idem, *Der Abschluss*.

The Deuteronomistic Book of the Four constitutes one of Wöhrle's earliest layers in the formation of the Twelve.³⁹ Wöhrle, like Albertz, rejects Schart's proposed gradual development of the collection and reasserts the label "Deuteronomistic."⁴⁰ Wöhrle's different approach toward intertextual evidence, and his focus on Deuteronomistic editing, results in the identification of different Book of the Four editorial supplements than Schart and Nogalski.⁴¹ Wöhrle argues that these additions display strong lexical dependence upon 2 Kgs 17-18, 22-25.⁴² He proposes reading the Book of the Four as an alternative interpretation of portions of history presented in 2 Kgs 17-18, 22-25. This interpretation of 2 Kgs 17-18, 22-25 attributes the fall of Israel and Judah to not only cultic offenses, but also social transgressions and militaristic self-exaltation.

Wöhrle's rolling-corpus model divides the growth of the Twelve largely along thematic lines. This thematic stratification struggles to account for Hosea, which lacks the necessary thematic progressions. Wöhrle, therefore, proposes that the scribes removed Hosea from the collection after the Book of the Four stage and only reintegrated it into the Twelve in the latter stage of the collection's formation.⁴³ Wöhrle's handling of Hosea demonstrates the difficulty of thematically dividing large quantities of diverse writings into shared editorial strata.⁴⁴ Whereas Wöhrle correctly notes the methodological

³⁹ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 51–284; idem, "No Future for the Proud Exultant Ones," 608–27.

⁴⁰ For his discussion of Schart, see: Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 241–44.

⁴¹ For a list of Wöhrle's identified Book of the Four editorial additions, see: *Ibid.*, 245.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 255–71.

⁴³ Wöhrle, *Der Abschluss*, 429–37. For critiques of Wöhrle's proposed removal and reintegration of Hosea, see: Wolfgang Schütte, "Säet euch Gerechtigkeit!": *Adressaten und Anliegen der Hoseaschrift*, BWANT 179 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2008), 24–25; Nogalski, "One Book and Twelve Books," 24–25; Anselm C. Hagedorn, *Die Anderen im Spiegel: Israels Auseinandersetzung mit den Völkern in den Büchern Nahum, Zefanja, Obadja und Joel*, BZAW 414 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 233–34.

⁴⁴ Additionally Wöhrle's model suggests that all layers for the Twelve following the Book of the Four stage register their presence in the book of Joel. For the problem of requiring multiple generations of scribal updates spanning hundreds of years to operate under the same scribal program, see p.10, n.29.

challenges to building compositional conclusions on intertextual parallels, his methodological approach neglects many intertextual parallels and links across the Twelve prophets in general, and the Book of the Four in particular. His proposal depends upon a form of intertextual evidence, but as with Schart, Wöhrle prioritizes certain links over others. Whereas Schart prioritizes links internal to the Twelve, Wöhrle prioritizes links to Deuteronomistic compositions (e.g., Deuteronomy, the Deuteronomistic History, and Jeremiah) over links internal to the Book of the Four. Wöhrle argues for direct literary connections between the Four and other Deuteronomistic texts in order to justify his use of the label “Deuteronomistic.”

Although Wöhrle in most cases correctly identifies lexical overlap with Deuteronomistic texts, his arguments do not always account for the distinctive function of such vocabulary within Deuteronomistic literature. Wöhrle argues, for example, for the Deuteronomistic composition of Mic 6:9a^{ab} on the grounds of the use of קול-יהוה (“voice of YHWH”).⁴⁵ He correctly notes the abundant Deuteronomistic occurrences of קול יהוה, yet does not account for the uniquely Deuteronomistic agenda accenting “obedience” (שמע) to the “voice of YHWH” (קול יהוה).⁴⁶ This function sets the Deuteronomistic use of קול יהוה apart from other non-Deuteronomistic functions of the phrase.⁴⁷ Micah 6:9, however, employs קול יהוה as an announcement of accusation more reminiscent of the non-Deuteronomistic usage in Isa 30:31 and 66:6.⁴⁸ Wöhrle’s arguments for the

⁴⁵ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 175–76.

⁴⁶ See: Deut 8:20; 13:19; 15:5; 26:14; 27:10; 28:1, 2, 15, 45, 62; 30:8, 10; Josh 5:6; 1 Sam 12:15; 15:19, 20, 22; 28:18; 1 Kgs 18:12. This function also defines the usage of קול יהוה in the book of Jeremiah (3:25; 7:28; 26:13; 38:20; 42:6, 13, 21; 43:4, 7; 44:23) as well as select other references in Biblical Hebrew literature (Hag 1:12; Zech 6:15; Ps 106:25; Dan 9:10). Cf. Deut 5:25; 18:16.

⁴⁷ Compare with the emphasis on the power of the קול יהוה in Psalm 29 (vv. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9). Cf. Gen 3:8; Exod 15:26; Isa 30:31; 66:6; Mic 6:9. Wöhrle recognizes that the combined use of שמע and בקול יהוה functions as an indicator of Deuteronomism in the book of Jeremiah yet does not require the same combination of Deuteronomistic vocabulary *and* stylistic function for labeling the קול יהוה of Mic 6:9 “Deuteronomistic” (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 175, n.136).

⁴⁸ Haggai 1:12 references the קול יהוה along with the characteristic Deuteronomistic emphasis on “obedience,” yet Wöhrle does not label the phrase “Deuteronomistic” here (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 290–

Deuteronomistic editing of the Book of the Four, therefore, reveal the importance of identifying Deuteronomistic vocabulary that coheres with distinctive Deuteronomistic usage patterns when identifying Deuteronomistic editing.

Several studies provide additional supporting argumentation for the Book of the Four. Burkhard Zapff's redaction-critical investigation of Micah confirms Micah's inclusion in an exilic Book of the Four.⁴⁹ Jan Wagenaar's study of Micah recognizes the superscriptional affinities among Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah, leading to the conclusion that these texts formed a fifth- or fourth-century BCE collection.⁵⁰ Martin Roth begins his study of the nations in the Book of the Twelve recognizing the validity of Nogalski's proposed precursory collections to the Twelve.⁵¹ Paul-Gerhard Schwesig's diachronic study of the Day of YHWH in the Twelve follows Schart's basic composition model.⁵² The Book of the Four hypothesis even receives positive reception in several commentaries and introductions to the Hebrew prophets.⁵³

91, 317–20). Wöhrle attributes a similar use of קול יהוה in Zech 6:15 to the “word redaction layer,” which he recognizes has a certain proximity to late Deuteronomistic themes (Ibid., 346, 347, 362–64).

⁴⁹ Zapff, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 244–47. See similarly the redaction-critical investigation of Gabriele Metzner, which identifies the exilic links between Micah and the texts of Hosea and Amos suggesting an exilic precursory collection to the Twelve, but leaves open the possibility of the exclusion of Zephaniah (*Kompositionsgeschichte des Michabuches*, Europäische Hochschulschriften 635 [New York: Peter Lang, 1998], 180–81).

⁵⁰ Jan A. Wagenaar, *Judgement and Salvation: The Composition and Redaction of Micah 2-5*, VTSup 85 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 325.

⁵¹ Roth, *Israel und die Völker*, 9–10. Roth, however, expresses skepticism of significant redaction spanning multiple books (9–10, cf. 223–228), and he rejects Nogalski's proposed “Joel Layer” (89–90). He writes: “Das Mehrprophetenbuch ist deswegen wohl eher eine Erfindung der Exegeten und im letzten Teil der Prophetenbücher nicht als solches erkennbar” (“A book of multiple prophets is therefore more likely to be an invention of the exegetes, and not recognizable as such in the last part of the prophetic books,” p301).

⁵² Schwesig, *Die Rolle*, esp. 281–301. Although Schwesig at times provides evidence supporting or confirming Schart's composition model, at other times Schart's model functions as a presupposition against which Schwesig interprets the Day of YHWH passages. For further critique of Schwesig's thematic analysis of the Day of YHWH, see: Hagedorn, *Die Anderen im Spiegel*, 172 n.558.

⁵³ E.g., Erich Zenger, “Das Zwölfprophetenbuch,” in *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, KStTh 1.1 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1995), 372; Jörg Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, ATD 24/2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 1; Paul L. Redditt, *Introduction to the Prophets* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 198–200; Jörg Jeremias, “Prophetenbücher,” ed. Hans Dieter Betz et al., *Religion in*

Inconsistencies Among the Models of the Book of the Four

Although the above mentioned studies affirm the existence of the Book of the Four, critics correctly object that the methodological inconsistencies among individual scholars result in diverging models.⁵⁴ Donatella Scaiola, for example, identifies the redactional reconstructions as “hypothetical” since the scholars investigating linking literary features in the composition history of the Twelve often arrive at different results.⁵⁵ Book of the Four advocates disagree on which texts to attribute to the Book of the Four redaction, the editorial agenda driving the formation of the corpus, and the number of editorial stages that the collection underwent.⁵⁶

Each scholar defines the collection’s ideological proximity to Deuteronomistic thought differently. The different conceptions of the ideological agenda of the corpus stem from the identification of different passages as Book of the Four redactional additions (see Table 1.1). Aaron Schart, for example, finds relatively few Book of the Four updates in Zephaniah, whereas Jakob Wöhrle attributes most of this prophetic text to the hand of a Deuteronomistic editor.

Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionwissenschaft (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 1714; Walter Dietrich, “Zephania/Zephaniah,” *TRE*, 2004, 651; Hans-Christoph Schmitt, *Arbeitsbuch zum Alten Testament: Grundzüge der Geschichte Israels und der alttestamentlichen Schriften*, UTB 2146 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 366; Konrad Schmid, “Hintere Propheten (Nebim),” in *Grundinformation Altes Testament: Eine Einführung in Literatur, Religion und Geschichte des Alten Testaments*, ed. Jan Christian Gertz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 364; Macchi, “Les Douze Petits Prophètes,” 461–62; Reinhard Gregor Kratz, “Hosea und Amos im Zwölfprophetenbuch,” in *Prophetenstudien: kleine Schriften II*, FAT 74 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 276–77; Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea-Jonah*, 5–6, 13, 30–32, 267–68; idem, *The Book of the Twelve: Micah-Malachi*, 493–94, 501, 513, 518, 700, 702, 705, 706, 707; Walter Dietrich, *Nahum, Habakuk, Zephania*, IEKAT (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2014), 14–15; Bo H. Lim and Daniel Castelo, *Hosea, Two Horizons Old Testament commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 32; Steven S. Tuell, *Reading Nahum—Malachi: A Literary and Theological Commentary*, Reading the Old Testament (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2016), 7, 114–15.

⁵⁴ See the critiques of Beck, *Der “Tag YHWHs,”* 73; Bornand, “Un ‘Livre des Quatre,’” 551–52, 563. See especially Bornand’s analysis and critique of Albertz’s model for the Book of the Four (558–61).

⁵⁵ Scaiola, “Il libro,” 333–34.

⁵⁶ Albertz and Wöhrle identify one editorial stage, Nogalski identifies two, and Schart identifies three.

Table 1.1. Complete Book of the Four Proposed Editorial Additions⁵⁷

Text	Schart	Albertz	Wöhrle
Hosea	<u>Zweiprophetenbuch</u> 1:2-9*; 4:1*; 5:1*; 11:11 (נאם ייהוה); 13:14bβ	1:5, 7; 3:1bβ; 4:1*, 15; 8:1b, 6a, 14; 11:5b	1:1; 3:1-4, 5*; 4:1abα, 10, 15; 8:1b, 4b-6, 14; 13:2-3; 14:1
	<u>D-Korpus</u> 1:1, 2b; 2:6[4]; 3:1*; 4:1a*; 5:1-2*; 8:1b; 14:2-4[1-3]		
Amos	<u>Zweiprophetenbuch</u> 2:8-9*; 3:1a-2, 13-14; 5:12a; 6:8; 7:9, 11b(?), 17bβ; 8:3, 14; 9:3 (מנגד עיני)	1:1b, 9-10, 11- 12; 2:4-5, 10-12; 3:1b*, 7; 5:25(?); 8:11-12; 9:7-10;	1:1*; 2:4-5, 9-12; 3:1b, 7; 4:13*; 5:11, 25-26; 7:10-17; 8:5, 6b, 11-12; 9:7-10
	<u>D-Korpus</u> 1:1, 2, 9-12; 2:4-5, 10-12; 3:1b, 7, 4:6-11* 5:11, 25-26*; 8:4-7, 11-12; 9:7-10*		
Micah	<u>D-Korpus</u> 1:1, 2, 5a, 6-7, 12b(?), 13b; 2:3*; 6:2-16*	1:1, 5b-7, 13b; 5:8(?), 9-13	1:1, 5b-7, 9, 12b; 5:9-13; 6:2-4a, 9aαb, 10-15
Zephaniah	<u>D-Korpus</u> 1:1, 6, 13b, 17aβ; 2:1-3 (?); 3:11-13(?)	1:1, 3-6, 13b, 17aβ; 2:3a; 2:5- 3:8bα* (excluding 2:7, 9, 10-11), 3:11- 13	1:1, 4-6, 13b; 2:1-2, 3*, 4-6, 8-9a; 3:1-4, 6-8a, 11-13

Alternatively, the extensive links between the earliest literary core of Micah and the texts of Hosea and Amos lead Schart to propose that Book of the Four editors compiled the earliest version of Micah for its place in the collection.⁵⁸ These inconsistencies stem primarily from how each scholar approaches two fundamental issues in the composition history of each text: the criteria for identifying Deuteronomistic

⁵⁷ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 156–233; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 164–85; idem, “Exile as Purification,” (ed. Redditt and Schart), 232–51; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 51–284; idem, “No Future for the Proud Exultant Ones,” 610. Although Nogalski first articulates the Book of the Four hypothesis, he does not supply a complete list of redactional additions. Note that the list of passages included by Aaron Schart consist of editorial updates attributed to both his Tradents layer linking Hosea and Amos, as well as his D-layer spanning the entire Book of the Four.

⁵⁸ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 201–4.

editing, and the compositional implications of intertextual parallels. Each scholar employs a different set of terms and criteria for identifying the editorial additions and defining their proximity to Deuteronomistic thought. Nogalski predominantly finds Book of the Four editorial activity in literary parallels among the texts and previously identified Deuteronomistic redactions in the Four. For him, the label “Deuteronomistic” communicates general thematic parallels with Deuteronomistic thought. Albertz more extensively combines evidence of Deuteronomistic themes with intertextual parallels for identifying Book of the Four additions. For Albertz, the designation “Deuteronomistic” signals the editorial work of a Deuteronomistic school, which he identifies as a splintered political faction from the Josianic reforms. Albertz and Schar both recognize that the Book of the Four redactions lack distinctive Deuteronomistic language. Whereas Albertz retains the label “Deuteronomistic,” however, Schar opts for the designation *D-Korpus*. Wöhrle goes to great lengths to argue that the Book of the Four additions contain distinctive Deuteronomistic language signaling Deuteronomistic editing. Wöhrle argues that Book of the Four editors develop the Deuteronomistic explanation for the fall of Samaria and Jerusalem, thus accounting for the differences between the Book of the Four and the Deuteronomistic History. Each Book of the Four advocate, therefore, means something different by “Deuteronomistic” and uses different criteria for identifying Deuteronomism in the text.

Additionally, each scholar differs on how to draw compositional implications from intertextual links. Schar admits that he prioritizes textual parallels within the Twelve over textual parallels outside of the Twelve when drawing compositional conclusions.⁵⁹ Wöhrle avoids this methodological difficulty by almost entirely neglecting intertextual evidence beyond connections to other Deuteronomistic compositions.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Ibid., 29.

⁶⁰ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 24–27; idem, “So Many Cross-References!,” 7. Nogalski demonstrates the problem of neglecting intertextuality in redaction criticism in his assessment of the

Schart, of course, recognizes the complexity of distinguishing intentional links from “accidental” allusions.⁶¹ Whereas Schart and Wöhrle methodologically differentiate intertextual parallels from claims of Deuteronomism, Nogalski and Albertz both integrate evidence of Deuteronomism and intertextual parallels into the Book of the Four models.

In some respects, these differences raise significant methodological questions about the entire Book of the Four hypothesis. Scholarly inquiries into the Book of the Four hypothesis must carefully consider the compositional implications of intertextual parallels as well as the criteria for labeling editorial supplements “Deuteronomistic.” Slight variations in either of these matters can result in attributing considerably different passages to Book of the Four redaction. Attributing a different collection of passages to Book of the Four editing will inevitably lead to different perceptions of the ideological agenda behind the formation of the corpus.

Far from being an Achilles heel, however, the differences between these composition models testify to the strength of the Book of the Four hypothesis. While the Book of the Four *conversation* reflects methodological inconsistency *between scholars*, each individual scholar displays considerable methodological care. As a result, each model displays a carefully nuanced presentation of Book of the Four redaction. Despite the different criteria for identifying Book of the Four redaction, four scholars with different approaches consistently identify editorially constructed links between Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah. Furthermore, each scholar recognizes similarities and differences between these links and the ideology of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History. Many of the differences in the composition models reflect the different ways that these scholars attempt to explain this common observation.

influence of Gen 1-11 on the composition history of Zephaniah (“Zephaniah’s Use of Genesis 1-11,” *HBAI* 2 [2013]: 351–72).

⁶¹ Schart, “Redactional Models,” 2:902.

The inconsistencies between Book of the Four models, therefore, call for more than simply a reassessment of the hypothesis in order to determine which passages to include. The conversation requires careful consideration of the ways in which the logical assumptions behind these different approaches lead to the differences between individual composition models. Examining the impact of these logical assumptions reveals the ways in which these different composition models build upon similar observations.

Objections to the Book of the Four Hypotheses

Several critics object to the broader scholarly program investigating the shape and shaping of the Twelve as a single book.⁶² They correctly note that the Twelve contains twelve individual superscriptions rather than a single superscription for the collection.⁶³ The demarcation of twelve component parts in the Book of the Twelve indicates that no matter what linking literary characteristics scholars observe across the corpus, the Twelve

⁶² Some scholars, for example, favor seeing the Twelve as an “anthology” of individually composed prophetic texts (e.g., 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 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996], 131; David L. Petersen, “A Book of the Twelve?,” in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, ed. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, SymS 15 [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000], 3–10; Martin Beck, “Das Dodekapropheton als Anthologie,” ZAW 118 [2006]: 558–81). Critics of the Book of the Four hypothesis that recognize literary links between individual writings generally date them to the final stages of the text’s composition history after the individual writings came together as a collection (e.g., Beck, *Der “Tag YHWHs,”* 311–22).

⁶³ Ben Zvi, “Twelve Prophetic Books,” 126–27, 137; Petersen, “A Book of the Twelve?,” 3–10; Ehud Ben Zvi, “The Prophetic Book : A Key Form of Prophetic Literature,” in *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Marvin A. Sweeney (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 284; Susanne Rudnig-Zelt, “Die Genese des Hoseabuches: Ein Forschungsbericht,” in *Textarbeit: Studien zu Texten und ihrer Rezeption aus dem Alten Testament und der Umwelt Israels*, ed. K. Kiesow and T. Meurer, AOAT 294 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2003), 358, n.24; Julia M. O’Brien, *Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, AOTC (Nashville: Abingdon, 2004), 19; Ehud Ben Zvi, *Hosea*, FOTL 21A/1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 6–7; idem, “Is the Twelve Hypothesis,” 72–84; Tchavdar S. Hadjiev, “Zephaniah and the ‘Book of the Twelve’ Hypothesis,” in *Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel*, ed. John Day, LHBOTS 531 (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 325. Nogalski responds that the Torah and the Psalms contain no single superscription, yet scholars widely recognize redactionally constructed coherence extending across these compositions (“One Book and Twelve Books,” 17–18). On the distinction between superscriptions and incipits, 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, SymS 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 110–25.

does not reflect a unified “book” in the same sense as Isaiah.⁶⁴ The question concerns, therefore, the degree to which linking literary features evince an editorially constructed unified reading program for the collection.

Critics additionally point to the different orderings for the Twelve as evidence that the arrangement remained flexible at the time of the Septuagint (LXX) translation and thus not bound to a single reading program.⁶⁵ Although many scholars now favor the priority of the Masoretic Text (MT) ordering over the LXX, the preservation of variant arrangements demonstrates that not every community preserved the same reading strategies.⁶⁶ This historical fact does not preclude the probability that at key

⁶⁴ Terrance Collins, for example, compares the composition process of the Twelve with that of Isaiah (*The Mantle of Elijah*, 59–65). Coggins and Conrad further draw several thematic and structural comparisons between the Twelve and Isaiah from a synchronic perspective (Richard J. Coggins, “The Minor Prophets - One Book or Twelve,” in *Crossing the Boundaries*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, P. Joyce, and David E. Orton [Leiden: Brill, 1994], 57–68; Edgar W. Conrad, “Reading Isaiah and the Twelve as Prophetic Books,” in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans, VTSup 70 [Leiden: Brill, 1997], 3–17). LeCureux compares the thematic unity of the Twelve with that of Isaiah (*The Thematic Unity*, 40–62.), yet cautions that “attempts to level the Twelve into a book like Isaiah are overreaching” (15). Schart recognizes that “the overarching unity of this book (the Twelve) is much more unsettled than in Isaiah” (“Redactional models,” 907).

⁶⁵ Vriezen, for example, writes: “Uit deze rangschikking blijkt, dat ten tijde van het ontstaan de Septuagint de ordening dezer boeken nog niet vaststond” (“It is seen from this arrangement, that the order of these books still was not certain at the time of the formation of the Septuagint.”; *De literatuur van Oud-Israël*, 164). See similarly: Russell Earl Fuller, *The Minor Prophets Manuscripts from Qumrân, Cave IV*, PhD Dissertation. (Harvard University, 1988), 151; idem, “The Twelve,” in *Qumran Cave 4: The Prophets*, ed. Eugene Charles Ulrich et al., vol. 10, DJD 15 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 222; David Fuller, *Which Bible?* (Grand Rapids: Grand Rapids International, 2000), 83; Ben Zvi, “Twelve Prophetic Books,” 134–35; Petersen, “A Book of the Twelve?,” 3–10; Stephen B. Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets: A Study in Old Testament Canon Formation*, FAT 27 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 137; Beck, “Das Dodekapropheton als Anthologie,” 575–76; Bornand, “Un ‘Livre des Quatre’,” 553–54; Ben Zvi, “Is the Twelve Hypothesis,” 69–70; Marvin A. Sweeney, “Synchronic and Diachronic Concerns in Reading the Book of the Twelve Prophets,” in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations, Redactional Processes, Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 31; Walter J. Houston, *Amos: Justice and Violence*, Phoenix Guides to the Old Testament 26 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2015), 78. See similar objections raised based upon the Qumran manuscripts: Mika S. Pajunen and Hanne von Weissenberg, “The Book of Malachi, Manuscript 4Q76 (4QXIIa), and the Formation of the ‘Book of the Twelve,’” *JBL* 134 (2015): 749–51.

⁶⁶ For those favoring the priority of the MT ordering of the Twelve, see: Schneider, “The Unity,” 224–25; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 2, 20–57; Schart, “Redactional Models,” 2:897; Zapff, “Die Völkerperspektive,” 88; Christopher R. Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics: Toward a New Introduction to the Prophets*, STI (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 204; Schart, “Das Zwölfprophetenbuch,” 229–30; Philip Peter Jenson, *Obadiah, Jonah, Micah: A Theological Commentary*, LHBOTS 496 (New York:

compositional stages scribes edited the collection with corpus-wide macrostructural intentions not shared by subsequent reading communities.⁶⁷

Although these criticisms raise important questions for the shape and shaping of the Twelve, they do not necessarily impact the Book of the Four hypothesis in the same way. Whereas Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah each contain individual superscriptions, advocates and critics alike agree that the similarities among these superscriptions supply the strongest evidence for an editorial connection.⁶⁸ Furthermore,

T&T Clark, 2008), 1; Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea-Jonah*, 3–4; Jennifer M. Dines, “Verbal and Thematic Links between the Books of the Twelve in Greek and Their Relevance to the Differing Manuscript Sequences,” in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations, Redactional Processes, Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 355–70; idem, “The Minor Prophets,” in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (Oxford: Bloomsbury, 2015), 439–40. For those favoring the priority of the LXX order, see: Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, xlv–xlv; Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, “L’organisation des grands recueils prophétiques,” in *The Book of Isaiah*, ed. Jacques Vermeylen, BETL 81 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 149; Marvin A. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets*, vol. 1, 2 vols., Berit Olam (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), xxxv–xxxix; idem, “Synchronic and Diachronic Concerns,” 29–30. Jones initially preferred the LXX order adjusted according to the 4QXII^a placement of Jonah after Malachi (*The Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, 130–32, 167–69), but later determined the original order to be impossible to establish (“The Book of the Twelve as a Witness to Ancient Biblical Interpretation,” in *Reading and Hearing The Book of the Twelve*, ed. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, SymS 15 [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000], 69).

⁶⁷ The LXX order of the first six books of the Twelve differs from that of the MT. Whereas the evidence from Naḥal Ḥever and the Vulgate support the MT ordering, lists from 4 Ezra 1:39–40 and Asc. Isa 4:22 support the LXX. It should be remembered, however, that the Greek manuscripts themselves preserve variant orders. Whereas Codices Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and Alexandrinus preserve the traditionally recognized LXX ordering, Codex Basiliano-Venetius places Micah after Jonah. For lists of the various canonical orderings of the Twelve, see: Henry Barclay Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: University Press, 1914), 198–215. 4QXII^a, furthermore, places Jonah after Malachi suggesting another ordering tradition dating to c. 150 BCE. Redditt notes, however, that scribes at Qumran were known to rearrange material (“Recent Research,” 67). See the assessments of: Fuller, “The Twelve,” 10:222; idem, *The Minor Prophets Manuscripts from Qumrân, Cave IV*, 151; Odil Hannes Steck, “Zur Abfolge Maleachi - Jona in 4Q76 (4QXIIa),” ZAW 108 (1996): 249–53; Marvin A. Sweeney, *Zephaniah: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 1 n.2; Russell Fuller, “The Text of the Twelve Minor Prophets,” *CurBS* 7 (1999): 83; Macchi, “Les Douze Petits Prophètes,” 461; Schart, “Redactional Models,” 2:896.

⁶⁸ Critic Christoph Levin, for example, writes: “Die vier Überschriften sind freilich genau besehen das einzige belastbare Indiz” (“The four headings are on close examination the only reliable evidence.”; “Das ‘Vierprophetenbuch’,” 222). See also: Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 39–46; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 166–67; idem, “Exile as Purification,” (ed. Redditt and Schart), 237; Schart, “Das Zwölfprophetenbuch als redaktionelle Großeinheit,” 233–34; Burkard M. Zapff, “The Book of Micah - The Theological Centre of the Book of the Twelve?,” in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations-Redactional Processes-Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 129.

the LXX and MT preserve the same sequence of Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah, differing only in arrangement of the subsequently added intervening writings. Objections to the Book of the Four hypothesis consist primarily of challenges to the interpretation of linking textual features: proposed Deuteronomistic redactions and intertextual parallels. These two objections correspond to broader methodological conversations emerging in the field of biblical studies.

The Book of the Four and Pan-Deuteronomism

Several critics object to the identification of Deuteronomistic editing spanning the Book of the Four.⁶⁹ These objections correlate with the growing scholarly concerns over pan-Deuteronomism.⁷⁰ Since Martin Noth's seminal study extended the influence of the

⁶⁹ See for example, the differences between the Book of the Four and the Deuteronomistic History noted by Jason Radine ("Deuteronomistic Redaction of the Book of the Four and the Origins of Israel's Wrongs," in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations-Redactional Processes-Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012], 287–302). Radine allows for the possibility that Deuteronomistic thought influences the composition of Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah, but raises the question of whether or not one should thus label these writings "Deuteronomistic" on account of the notable ideological differences. See also to objections of Ehud Ben Zvi, "A Deuteronomistic Redaction In/Among the 'Twelve'?: A Contribution from the Standpoint of the Books of Micah, Zephaniah and Obadiah," in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism*, ed. Linda S. Schearing and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 268 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 232–61; Bornand, "Un 'Livre des Quatre'," 563–64; Levin, "Das 'Vierprophetenbuch'," 225.

⁷⁰ Although one may observe earlier concerns over pan-Deuteronomism (e.g., John Day, "Pre-Deuteronomistic Allusions to the Covenant in Hosea and Psalm Lxxviii," VT 36 [1986]: 1–12; J. Roy Porter, "The Supposed Deuteronomistic Redaction of the Prophets: Some Considerations," in *Schöpfung und Befreiung: Für Claus Westermann zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Rainer Albertz et al. [Stuttgart: Calwer, 1989], 69–78; C. Breckelmans, "Deuteronomistic Influence in Isaiah 1–12," in *Book of Isaiah- Le Livre d'Isaïe: Les Oracles et Leurs Relectures; Unité et Complexité de l'ouvrage*, ed. Jacques Vermeylen, BETL 81 [Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989], 167–76), scholars commonly credit Coggins and Lohfink with sounding the alarm over pan-Deuteronomism (Richard J. Coggins, "What does 'Deuteronomistic' Mean," in *Words Remembered, Texts Renewed: Essays in Honour of John F. A. Sawyer*, ed. Jon Davies, Graham Harvey, and Wilfred G. E. Watson [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995], 135–48; Norbert Lohfink, "Gab es eine deuteronomistische Bewegung," in *Jeremia und die "deuteronomistische Bewegung"*, ed. Walter Gross [Weinheim, Germany: Beltz Athenäum, 1995], 313–82). Since these publications, several scholars have shown increasing sensitivities to pan-Deuteronomism in composition models. See for example: Linda S. Schearing and Steven L. McKenzie, eds., *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism*, JSOTSup 268 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999); Christophe Nihan, "'Deutéronomiste' et 'déutéronomisme': Quelques remarques de méthode en lien avec le débat actuel," in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*, ed. Martti Nissinen, VTSup 148 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 409–42; Steven L. McKenzie, "The Still Elusive Deuteronomists," in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*, ed. Martti Nissinen,

Pentateuchal D-source to the Deuteronomistic History, scholars have increasingly identified Deuteronomism across wide selections of the Hebrew Scriptures.⁷¹ Rendtorff and Blum identify expansive Deuteronomic redaction across the Pentateuch.⁷² Arguments may be found for Deuteronomistic influence in each of the Major Prophets.⁷³ In addition

VTSup 148 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 401–8. Scharf's label *D-Korpus* reflects early sensitivities to these concerns in Book of the Twelve scholarship.

⁷¹ Martin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse 18,2 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1943). See these concerns articulated in Richard J. Coggins, "What Does 'Deuteronomistic' Mean?," in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism*, ed. Linda S. Schearing and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 268 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 27–31.

⁷² Rolf Rendtorff, *The Problem of the Process of Transmission in the Pentateuch*, JSOTSup 89 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 94–100, 194–95; Erhard Blum, *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch*, BZAW 189 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990), 7–218. See also William Johnstone, *Exodus*, OTG (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 105–10; William Johnstone, "The Deuteronomistic Cycles of 'Signs' and 'Wonders' in Exodus 1-13," in *Understanding Poets and Prophets: Essays in Honour of George Wishart Anderson*, ed. A. Graeme Auld, JSOTSup 152 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 166–85.

⁷³ For composition models identifying Deuteronomistic editing in Isaiah, see: Jacques Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe à l'apocalyptique: Isaïe, I-XXXV, miroir d'un demi-millénaire d'expérience religieuse en Israël*, vol. 1, 2 vols., EBib (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1977); idem, *Du prophète Isaïe à l'apocalyptique: Isaïe, I-XXXV, miroir d'un demi-millénaire d'expérience religieuse en Israël*, vol. 2, 2 vols., EBib (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1978); idem, "Des rédactions deutéronomistes dans le livre d'Esaïe?," in *Les Recueils Prophétiques: Origines, Milieux, et Contexte Proche-Oriental*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Jean-Daniel Macchi, MdB 64 (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2012), 145–87; Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972); Shalom M. Paul, *Isaiah 40-66: Translation and Commentary*, ECC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012). For examples of studies tracing the hand of Deuteronomistic editor(s) in Jeremiah, see: James Philip Hyatt, "Jeremiah and Deuteronomy," *JNES* 1 (1942): 156–73; Wilhelm Rudolph, *Jeremia*, HAT 12 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1947), xv–xvii; James Philip Hyatt, "The Deuteronomic Edition of Jeremiah," in *Vanderbilt Studies in the Humanities*, ed. Richmond C. Beatty, James Philip Hyatt, and Monroe K. Spears, vol. 1 (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1951), 71–95; Winfried Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1-25*, WMANT 41 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973); James Philip Hyatt, "Jeremiah," in *IB*, vol. 5, 12 vols. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1974), 794–1142; Winfried Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26-45: mit einer Gesamtbeurteilung der deuteronomistischen Redaktion des Buches Jeremia*, WMANT 52 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981); Louis Stulman, *The Prose Sermons of the Book of Jeremiah: A Redescription of the Correspondences With Deuteronomistic Literature in the Light of Recent Text-Critical Research*, SBLDS 83 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986); Robert P. Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986), 41–50. Finally, for those recognizing similarities between Ezekiel and Deuteronomistic language or thought without necessarily identifying Deuteronomistic redaction, see: Robert R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 284; Corrine Patton, "Pan-Deuteronomism and the Book of Ezekiel," in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism*, ed. Linda S. Schearing and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 268 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 200–215; Risa Levitt Kohn, *A New Heart and a New Soul: Ezekiel, the Exile and the Torah*, JSOTSup 358 (London: Sheffield Academic, 2002).

to the identification of Deuteronomism in Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah, select scholars argue for Deuteronomism in Haggai, Zechariah 1-8, Zechariah 9-14, and Malachi.⁷⁴ Similarities with Deuteronomistic thought are so pervasive that many scholars propose that Deuteronomism at some point defined early Judaism resulting in its ubiquitous presence in the literature of the Hebrew Bible,⁷⁵ and that Deuteronomists compiled an early version of the prophetic canon.⁷⁶

As the range of Deuteronomistic influence has grown, so have the criteria by which some scholars identify its presence in a text.⁷⁷ Scholars may inconsistently label texts “Deuteronomistic” on account of lexical or thematic similarities to Deuteronomy, the Deuteronomistic History, Jeremiah, Hosea, or Amos.⁷⁸ The identification of Deuteronomism in such a wide range of texts raises several additional difficulties. Scholars identifying a large number of Deuteronomistic compositions must now account

⁷⁴ E.g., William J. Dumbrell, “Malachi and the Ezra-Nehemiah Reforms,” *RTR* 35, no. 2 (1976): 42–52; Raymond F. Person, *Second Zechariah and the Deuteronomistic School*, JSOTSup 167 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993); idem, “Deuteronomistic Toponyms in Second Zechariah,” in *Bringing Out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion in Zechariah 9-14*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, JSOTSup 370 (London: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 271–76; Albertz, “Deuteronomistic History,” 359–61.

⁷⁵ E.g., Richard J. Coggins, “An Alternative Prophetic Tradition?,” in *Israel’s Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honor of Peter R. Ackroyd*, ed. Richard J. Coggins, Anthony Phillips, and Michael Knibb (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 91; Niels Peter Lemche, “The God of Hosea,” in *Priests, Prophets and Scribes: Essays on the Formation and Heritage of Second Temple Judaism in Honour of Joseph Blenkinsopp*, ed. Eugene Ulrich et al., JSOTSup (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 255.

⁷⁶ E.g., Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon*, 101; Gottwald, *The Hebrew Bible*, 465; Robert P. Carroll, “Inventing the Prophets,” *IBS* 10 (1988): 32; Lohfink, “Gab es eine deuteronomistische Bewegung,” 367–71; Jacques Vermeylen, “L’école deutéronomiste aurait-elle imaginé un premier canon des Écritures?,” in *Future of the Deuteronomistic History*, ed. Thomas C. Römer, BETL 147 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000), 223–40.

⁷⁷ See the criticism of Lohfink, “Gab es eine deuteronomistische Bewegung,” 318–19.

⁷⁸ Vermeylen, for example, identifies Deuteronomistic editing in Isaiah on the grounds of thematic and form-critical similarities with previously identified Deuteronomistic literature despite the admitted lack of Deuteronomistic language (*Du prophète Isaïe à l’apocalyptique*, 1:65–71; idem, *Du prophète Isaïe à l’apocalyptique*, 2:553–54, 595–98). For critiques of Vermeylen’s approach, see: Breckelmans, “Deuteronomistic Influence,” 170. On the problem of applying the label “Deuteronomistic” on account of thematic similarities alone, see: Ben Zvi, “A Deuteronomistic Redaction,” 253–56.

for the theological perspectives distinguishing these writings.⁷⁹ Historical proposals inconsistently attribute these redactions to the work of an individual, school of thought, or theological tradition.⁸⁰ Whereas Noth originally limited the work of his Deuteronomist to the exile, scholarly proposals now range from identifying Deuteronomism as early as the Neo-Assyrian period to as late as the Hellenistic period.⁸¹ Those concerned with pan-Deuteronomism note that scholarship lacks consensus on who the identity of the Deuteronomist(s), the dating of the Deuteronomist(s), and how to identify the hand of the Deuteronomist(s) in a text.⁸²

⁷⁹ Some scholars explain the differences between Deuteronomistic collections as the result of multiple Deuteronomistic groups. See: Albertz, “Wer waren die Deuteronomisten?,” 319-338; idem, “In Search of the Deuteronomists: A First Solution to a Historical Riddle,” in *Future of the Deuteronomistic History*, ed. Thomas C. Römer, BETL 147 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000), 1-17; Thomas C. Römer, “L’école deutéronomiste et la formation de la bible hébraïque,” in *Future of the Deuteronomistic History*, ed. Thomas C. Römer, BETL 147 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000), 179-93; Albertz, “Deuteronomistic History,” 343-368. John van Seters, on the other hand, proposes post-Deuteronomistic redactions better account for the ideological differences (“The Deuteronomist History: Can it Avoid Death by Redaction?,” in *Future of the Deuteronomistic History*, ed. Thomas C. Römer, BETL 147 [Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000], 213-22).

⁸⁰ Noth identifies Deuteronomism as the work of a single exilic editor (*Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*). Several scholars follow Noth’s proposal (e.g., Hans-Detlef Hoffmann, *Reform und Reformen: Untersuchungen zu einem Grundthema der deuteronomistischen Geschichtsschreibung*, ATANT 66 [Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1980]; E. Theodore Mullen, *Narrative History and Ethnic Boundaries: The Deuteronomistic Historian and the Creation of Israelite National Identity*, SemeiaSt [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993]; John Van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983]; Steven L. McKenzie, *The Trouble with Kings: The Composition of the Book of Kings in the Deuteronomistic History*, VTSup [Leiden: Brill, 1991]). Others prefer to speak of a “Deuteronomistic school” (e.g., Ernest W. Nicholson, *Deuteronomy and Tradition* [Oxford: Blackwell, 1967]; Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1972]; Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon*, 39-40; Raymond F. Person, *The Deuteronomic School: History, Social Setting, and Literature*, SBLStBL 2 [Leiden: Brill, 2002]). Finally, scholars such as Steck speak of a theological stream of tradition (“Theological Streams of Tradition,” in *Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament*, ed. Douglas A. Knight, trans. Douglas A. Knight [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977], 207-12).

⁸¹ Lohfink points to Steck’s dissertation as an example of a scholar tracing Deuteronomism nearly 500 years from the preexilic era into the Hellenistic period. See: Lohfink, “Gab es eine deuteronomistische Bewegung,” 315-16; cf. Odil Hannes Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum.*, WMANT 23 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967).

⁸² E.g., Coggins, “What Does ‘Deuteronomistic’ Mean?,” 27.

The critique of pan-Deuteronomism is primarily a critique of the trajectory of a scholarly *conversation*—a trajectory that few individual scholars fully embody. Person goes so far as to call criticisms of pan-Deuteronomism attacks on a “strawman,” since a scholar’s affirmation of Deuteronomism in one text does not suggest that she necessarily accepts arguments for Deuteronomism in every other text.⁸³ The identification of the Book of the Four as “Deuteronomistic” contributes to the trajectory of this conversation, without necessarily falling victim to all of the criticisms of pan-Deuteronomism. Wöhrle devotes considerable methodological reflection in his defense of the label “Deuteronomistic,” just as Scharf devotes reflection in his rejection of this term.

These concerns over pan-Deuteronomism, therefore, have two applications to the Book of the Four hypothesis. First, these concerns help illuminate the relationship between the variant Book of the Four composition models. Each of the above surveyed composition models apply the label “Deuteronomistic” based upon differing criteria. While these differing criteria lead to different text samples of proposed Book of the Four editorial additions, they often reflect attempts by each respective scholar to account for similar literary observations. The methodological differences between the Book of the Four advocates can give the misrepresentation that such proposals are incongruous with one another and thus call the entire enterprise into question. Careful concern for the methodological variances between these respective approaches, however, can help illuminate instances in which each respective composition model engages with similar literary observations through different methodological lenses.

Second, the emerging conversation concerning pan-Deuteronomism applies to each individual composition model. The concerns over pan-Deuteronomism remind redaction critics that the case for Deuteronomism is not equally as strong in each passage. The case for Deuteronomism in Zeph 2:5 based upon the phrase *דבר־יהוה* relies upon

⁸³ Person, *The Deuteronomic School*, 13–15.

different evidence and argumentation than the case for Deuteronomism in Amos 2:10-12 based upon the combined exodus-wilderness motif and the concern for the rejection of the prophets. Scholarly assessments of Deuteronomism, therefore, must account for the varying degrees of proximity that passages may reflect to Deuteronomistic ideology and literary conventions. Such a necessity applies to the investigation of Deuteronomism in the Book of the Four since claims of Deuteronomistic editing in each of these four texts rest on different types of evidence. The case for Deuteronomism in Hosea, Micah, and Zephaniah often cites the presence of the word-event formula in the superscription. Amos, however, lacks this formulaic language. The case for Deuteronomism in Amos rather draws support from the formulaic references to the combined exodus and wilderness motifs (2:10-12; 3:1b-2), evidence that is entirely absent from Zephaniah. The case for Deuteronomism in each of these four prophet texts depends on different kinds of evidence and argumentation further raising the question of the degree of unity this Deuteronomism exhibits across these four texts.

The discussion concerning pan-Deuteronomism reminds redaction critics that parallels with another Deuteronomistic text does not necessitate Deuteronomism. Redaction critics must consider not only the parallels with Deuteronomism but also the relationship of these parallels with distinctively non-Deuteronomistic literary features. Parallels with Deuteronomistic themes can occur at various stages in the composition history of prophetic texts. Many scholars, for example, find Deuteronomistic themes inseparably intertwined with the earliest literary core of Hosea and Amos, leading to the conclusion that these prophets served as precursory thinkers to the later Deuteronomistic tradition.⁸⁴ Micah 4:4, alternatively, reflects the postexilic reception of Deuteronomistic

⁸⁴ For studies identifying Hosea or Amos as forerunners of Deuteronomistic thought, see: Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 364–367; Hans M. Barstad, *The Religious Polemics of Amos: Studies in the Preaching of Am 2, 7B-8; 4,1-13; 5,1-27; 6, 4-7; 8, 14* (Leiden: Brill, 1984), 64–65, 118; Moshe Weinfeld, “The Emergence of the Deuteronomistic Movement: The Historical Antecedents,” in *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft*, ed. Norbert Lohfink, BETL 68 (Leuven: University Press, 1985), 76–98; Gunther H. Wittenberg, “Amos and

texts. Micah 4:4 expresses an eschatological peace using language from Solomon's peace in 1 Kgs 5:5. The use of this language in the context of the "pilgrimage of the nations" theme in Mic 4:1-5 suggests that this echo of 1 Kgs 5:5 signals the reception of Deuteronomistic language from the Deuteronomistic History rather than a distinctive Deuteronomistic composition.⁸⁵

Intertextuality and the Book of the Four

The second major criticism against linking editorial activity spanning the Book of the Four challenges the assumptions and inconsistencies often employed when interpreting the editorial use of intertextual parallels. The term "intertextuality" suffers from notoriously inconsistent usage in biblical studies.⁸⁶ The study of intertextuality has developed along synchronic and diachronic methodological lines in biblical scholarship.⁸⁷

Hosea: A Contribution to the Problem of the 'Prophetenschweigen' in the Deuteronomistic History (Dtr)," *OTE* 6 (1993): 295–311. For an overview of the history of research identifying Deuteronomistic redaction in Hosea and Amos, see pp.46-52, 142-147.

⁸⁵ On the dating of Mic 4:1-5, see: John Merlin Powis Smith, "The Book of Micah," in *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah and Joel*, by John Merlin Powis Smith, William Hayes Ward, and Julius A. Bewer, ICC 24 (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1911), 84; E. Cannawurf, "Authenticity of Micah 4:1-4," *VT* 13 (1963): 33–35; James Luther Mays, *Micah: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), 96; Bernard Renaud, *La formation du livre de Michée: tradition et actualisation*, EBib (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1977), 150–81; Hans Walter Wolff, *Micha*, BKAT 14/4 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982), 88–89; Helmut Utzschneider, *Micha*, ZBKAT 24.1 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2005), 27.

⁸⁶ On the inconsistent use of the term "intertextuality," see: Patricia Tull, "Intertextuality and the Hebrew Scriptures," *CurBS* 8 (2000): 73–83; Steve Moyise, "Intertextuality and the Study of the Old Testament in the New Testament," in *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. L. North*, ed. Steve Moyise, JSNTSup 189 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), 14–41; idem, "Intertextuality and Biblical Studies: A Review," *VerEcc* 23 (2002): 418–31; Richard L. Schultz, "The Ties That Bind: Intertextuality, the Identification of Verbal Parallels, and Reading Strategies in the Book of the Twelve," in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart, BZAW 325 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 27–33; Richard J. Bautch, "Intertextuality in the Persian Period," in *Approaching Yehud: New Approaches to the Study of the Persian Period*, ed. Jon L. Berquist, SemiaSt 50 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2007), 25–35; Geoffrey David Miller, "Intertextuality in Old Testament Research," *CurBR* 9 (2011): 283–309.

⁸⁷ Miller uses the terms "reader-oriented" and "author oriented" (Miller, "Intertextuality," 286. John Barton prefers the terms "spatial" and "temporal" ("*Déjà Lu*: Intertextuality, Method or Theory?," in *Reading Job Intertextually*, ed. Katharine J. Dell and Will Kynes, LHBOTS 574 [London: T&T Clark, 2013], 7). Stefan Akier distinguishes between "a production-oriented perspective, a reception-oriented

The investigation of biblical intertextuality from a production-oriented perspective stems from the important role that literary parallels have played in determining literary influence in historical-critical approaches to the biblical text.⁸⁸ Historical-critical methodologies investigated the compositional implications of literary parallels long before Julia Kristeva coined the term “intertextuality.”⁸⁹ Thus many biblical scholars employ the new term “intertextuality” to an older line of diachronic inquiry resulting in the current terminological inconsistencies.⁹⁰

Critics of the Book of the Four hypothesis object to the compositional implications often assigned to intertextual parallels between biblical texts. Ben Zvi objects that this approach inevitably privileges some intertextual links over others. Book of the Four advocates assign compositional implications to literary parallels among Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah that they do not assign to parallels with Isaiah and

perspective, and an experimental perspective” (“Intertextuality and the Semiotics of Biblical Texts,” in *Reading the Bible Intertextually*, ed. Richard B. Hays, Stefan Alkier, and Leroy Andrew Huizenga [Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2009], 9–11).

⁸⁸ The present study defines “reception-oriented perspective” as the approach investigating the construction of meaning in the text’s reception by a reader or reading community. This methodology is held in contrast to the “production-oriented perspective,” which investigates the intended meaning encoded in the text’s production. For examples of reader-centered studies of intertextuality grounded in the post-structuralist literary theory, see: Timothy K. Beal, “Ideology and Intertextuality: Surplus of Meaning and Controlling the Means of Production,” in *Reading Between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Danna Nolan Fewell, Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992), 27–39; George Aichele and Gary A. Philips, “Exegesis, Eisegesis, Intergesis,” *Semeia* 69/70 (1995): 7–18; E. Van Wolde, “Trendy Intertextuality?,” in *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in Honour of Bas van Iersel*, ed. Sipke Draisma (Kampen, Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1989), 47–48.

⁸⁹ For discussion, see: Van Wolde, “Trendy Intertextuality?,” 43; Johannes C. de Moor, Introduction to *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor, OtSt 40 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), ix; Tull, “Intertextuality,” 59–90; Miller, “Intertextuality,” 284–85; Barton, “*Déjà Lu*,” 3–4. For examples of diachronic studies assessing literary parallels from a historical-critical methodological paradigm, see: C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology* (New York: Scribner, 1953); C. H. Dodd, *The Old Testament in the New*, FBBS 3 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971); Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985); Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989).

⁹⁰ Van Wolde writes, “The result is that a number of bible studies seem innovative but, in fact, use intertextuality as a modern literary theoretical coat of veneer over the old comparative approach” (“Trendy Intertextuality?,” 43).

Jeremiah.⁹¹ Aaron Schart, for example, interprets the existence of intertextual parallels with Amos in Micah as evidence that the editors shaped Micah to be read following Amos. This significance assigned to intertextual parallels, however, must be selectively applied as he does not suggest that the extensive parallels with Isaiah in Mic 4-5 suggests that editors shaped Micah to be read as a continuation of Isaiah. According to Ben Zvi, Book of the Four advocates interpret the intertextual links in light of the presupposed conclusions, resulting in circular reasoning.⁹²

Each of these four writings contains intertextual links to biblical texts beyond the Book of the Four corpus. For intertextual evidence to support the Book of the Four hypothesis, those links internal to the corpus must support compositional conclusions distinctive from the broader phenomenon of intertextuality within the writings. Furthermore, the identification of intertextual literary parallels does not *a priori* support the existence of a relationship of textual dependence or a linear reading program.

The Agenda and Method of the Present Study

The Book of the Four hypothesis, therefore, rests upon two fundamental claims about the composition history of Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah: that these four texts underwent shared editorial development reflecting a literary horizon spanning the entire collection, and that this redaction reflects a shared ideological agenda defined in relation to Deuteronomism. The internal inconsistencies among Book of the Four advocates and external criticisms from skeptics both revolve around differences concerning the interpretation of literary evidence in order to reach these two conclusions. The present study, therefore, reexamines the two types of literary evidence in question in

⁹¹ Ben Zvi, "Is the Twelve Hypothesis," 75. See similar objections by O'Brien, *Nahum*, 19; idem, *Micah*, Wisdom Commentary 37 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2015), 32.

⁹² Ben Zvi, "Twelve Prophetic Books," 137–38.

each of the four writings. The following methodological considerations will guide the examination of Deuteronomism and intertextual echoing in the Book of the Four.

Criteria for Identifying Deuteronomistic Editing

The emerging concern over pan-Deuteronomism reveals several methodological considerations necessary for identifying a text as Deuteronomistic. Past scholars employ widely divergent terms and criteria for identifying Deuteronomism. The present study, therefore, employs four methodological guidelines in its assessment of Deuteronomism. First, the following study identifies parallels with Deuteronomism based upon comparisons with only Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History. The identification of Deuteronomistic redaction in the Book of the Four suggests that editors shaped the collection according to key themes and concerns reflective of the Deuteronomistic compositional agenda in other Deuteronomistic compositions.⁹³ The inconsistent use of comparative sample texts, however, contributes to some of the variability seen between the Book of the Four models. Whereas Albertz attributes texts to Deuteronomistic editing based upon parallels with Deuteronomy, the Deuteronomistic History, Jeremiah, Hosea, and Amos; Wöhrle more cautiously limits his comparative sample to Deuteronomy, the Deuteronomistic History, and Jeremiah. The problem with defining comparative textual samples in this way is that scholarly investigations of the Deuteronomism in the Deuteronomistic History and Jeremiah identify the Deuteronomistic imprint as editorial.⁹⁴

⁹³ For critiques of the inconsistent use of terminology, see: Lohfink, "Gab es eine deuteronomistische Bewegung," 314; Coggins, "What Does 'Deuteronomistic' Mean?," 23, 34. Those calling attention to terminological inconsistency generally return to Wellhausen's use of "Deuteronomic" for literary similarities with Deuteronomy, and "Deuteronomistic" for literary similarities with the Deuteronomistic History. Others, such as Person, use the terms interchangeably (*The Deuteronomic School*, 4–7).

⁹⁴ See for example: of Richard D. Nelson, *The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History*, JSOTSup 18 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981); Brian Peckham, *The Composition of the Deuteronomistic History*, HSM 35 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1985); Mark A. O'Brien, *The Deuteronomistic History Hypothesis: A Reassessment*, OBO 92 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989); Stefan Wälcchli, *Der weise König Salomo: eine Studie zu den Erzählungen von der Weisheit Salomos in ihrem alttestamentlichen und altorientalischen Kontext*, BWANT 141 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1999); Thomas C. Römer, *The So-*

Thus composition models often recognize that the Deuteronomistic editor of these texts incorporated pre-existing material that does not reflect the Deuteronomistic editorial imprint. Furthermore, many of these composition models recognize the prospect that these texts underwent subsequent editing that similarly lacks the editorial imprint of Deuteronomism. Thus the identification of the comparative sample must recognize that not all passages in the Deuteronomistic History and Jeremiah reflect the distinctive language of Deuteronomistic editing.

The case for the Deuteronomistic editing of Jeremiah depends upon thematic and lexical parallels with Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History.⁹⁵ This form of argumentation raises problems for identifying Deuteronomistic editing in the Book of the Four based upon parallels with Jeremiah. David Carr raises the objection that the longer the chain of intertexts grows, then the more problematic the case for a relationship between the two ends becomes.⁹⁶ This objection reveals that arguments for the Deuteronomism of the Book of the Four based only upon parallels with Jeremiah that are not shared with Deuteronomy or the Deuteronomistic History raises the question of the degree to which such parallels warrant the designation “Deuteronomistic” rather than “Jeremian.” Parallels with the Deuteronomistic redaction of Jeremiah may support arguments for Deuteronomism when they are shared with the Deuteronomistic History, but parallels with Jeremiah in the absence of parallels with Deuteronomy or the

Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction (London: T&T Clark, 2007).

⁹⁵ A long scholarly tradition dating back to Bernhard Duhm identifies Deuteronomistic editing in the composition history of Jeremiah. See, for example, Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia*, KHC 11 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1902), xx; : Hyatt, “Jeremiah and Deuteronomy,” 156–73; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, xv–xvii; Hyatt, “The Deuteronomic Edition of Jeremiah,” 71–95; Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1-25*; Hyatt, “Jeremiah,” 794–1142; Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26-45*; Stulman, *The Prose Sermons*; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 41–50; Miguel Alvarez, *Relecturas deuteronomísticas de Amos, Miqueas y Jeremías*, Publicaciones Instituto Teológico Franciscano. Serie mayor 10 (Murcia: Editorial Espigas, 1993), 123–81.

⁹⁶ David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 139.

Deuteronomistic History do not warrant the designation “Deuteronomistic.” This study, therefore, only identifies lexical and ideological proximity to Deuteronomism based upon parallels with Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History.

The second methodological consideration guiding the present study recognizes that lexical parallels with Deuteronomistic texts allow for different compositional implications than thematic parallels. The presence of thematic parallels with Deuteronomistic texts does not necessitate Deuteronomistic editing since Deuteronomism does not claim an ideological monopoly on many of its central themes. The widely recognized Deuteronomistic polemic against idolatry (e.g., Deut 4:15-20, 28; 5:7-9; 6:14-15; 11:16-17; 12:1-9; 13:1-18; 2 Kgs 17:7-23; 21:10-18), for example, features as a concern in numerous preexilic and exilic texts employing a wide range of language and writing styles (e.g., Isa 44:9-20; 46:1-13; Jer 10:1-25; Ezek 6:1-14; 14:1-11; 20:18, 24, 31, 39). A thematic parallel with Deuteronomism may suggest an ideological proximity to Deuteronomistic thought. Multiple historical scenarios other than Deuteronomistic editing may equally account for this ideological proximity.⁹⁷ The existence of Deuteronomistic themes without Deuteronomistic language may signal ideological proximity to Deuteronomistic thought, but differentiates the passage in question from the compositional style of the Deuteronomist(s) as known from Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History. The existence of Deuteronomistic language without serving a Deuteronomistic function may signal the reception of Deuteronomistic literature that has been repurposed to serve a new ideological function.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ On the problems with labeling a text “Deuteronomistic” on the grounds of thematic and theological affinities with other Deuteronomistic texts alone, see: Ben Zvi, “A Deuteronomistic Redaction,” 253–56.

⁹⁸ Robert Kugler employs a similar two pronged approach requiring both Deuteronomistic language and ideology in order to label a text “Deuteronomistic” (“The Deuteronomists and the Latter Prophets,” in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism*, ed. Linda S. Schearing and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 268 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999], 127–44).

The case for Deuteronomistic editing requires demonstrating that these parallels with Deuteronomistic themes are the product of identifiable Deuteronomistic editing. Such claims require correlating the presence of Deuteronomistic themes with the characteristic use of language identifiable from other Deuteronomistic compositions. Correlating an identifiable use of language extends beyond identifying isolated lexical connections between two passages. Rather, the case for Deuteronomism requires demonstrating that such language functions according to an identifiable usage pattern known from other Deuteronomistic compositions.⁹⁹

The third methodological consideration guiding the present study distinguishes between three kinds of lexical evidence with varying degrees of support for identifying the hand of a Deuteronomist. First, the strongest evidence for Deuteronomism comes from identifying a Deuteronomistic theme communicated through characteristic vocabulary usage patterns only found in other Deuteronomistic compositions. Such evidence strongly supports the probability that such language is a characteristic of Deuteronomistic composition. Second, much of the language used for communicating Deuteronomistic themes, however, occurs in both Deuteronomistic and non-Deuteronomistic texts. When the usage pattern in question does not correlate with one theological tradition over another, then the evidence fails to necessitate Deuteronomistic composition, but similarly fails to deny it. Such evidence relies upon associations with more definitive passages elsewhere in its literary context. Finally, some language used to communicate Deuteronomistic themes does not appear in Deuteronomistic texts, or reflect distinctively Deuteronomistic usage patterns. Such language indicates that the

⁹⁹ See, for example, the assessment of קול יהוה in Mic 6:9. The label קול יהוה occurs in both Deuteronomistic and non-Deuteronomistic passages. The Deuteronomistic usage of this phrase, however, always places an importance on “obeying” (שמע) the קול יהוה. The function of the קול יהוה in Mic 6:9, however, does not fit this usage pattern. See pp.244-244.

composition of the thematic parallel with Deuteronomism in question is the result of a distinguishable scribal style from Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History.¹⁰⁰

The fourth methodological consideration guiding the present study recognizes that the case for the Deuteronomistic origins of a given passage must consider not only the Deuteronomistic language and themes but also identifiably non-Deuteronomistic language and themes. The mixture of Deuteronomistic elements with non-Deuteronomistic elements may signal the reception of the Deuteronomistic literary tradition that has since been repurposed for later editorial purposes. Amos 3:7, for example, employs the characteristic Deuteronomistic expression “his servants the prophets” (עבדיו הנביאים), yet combines this language with distinctive wisdom language to depict the “revealing” (גלה) of God’s secret “council” (סוד). This combination of Deuteronomistic and wisdom elements suggests that Amos 3:7 reflects the post-Deuteronomistic reception of Deuteronomistic phrasing, since repurposed and combined with other literary traditions in the postexilic period.¹⁰¹

Criteria for Identifying Intentionally Constructed Intertextual Links

The present study retains the use of the term “intertextuality,” recognizing that not every intertextual relationship signals literary influence between texts. The term “intertextuality” therefore applies to connections drawn by Book of the Four advocates between texts. The label “literary influence” applies only to those intertextual relationships that the following criteria suggest demand a historical direction of influence between the parallels. Three criteria signal that an intertextual parallel evinces literary influence. First, both passages must demonstrate lexical overlap of key vocabulary. The

¹⁰⁰ Levitt Kohn, for example, observes many literary parallels between utterances in Ezekiel and Deuteronomy, but concludes that “As is the case with P, however, Ezekiel adopts aspects of D’s history while ignoring or even contradicting others” (*A New Heart and a New Soul*, 95).

¹⁰¹ On Amos 3:7, see pp. 160-161.

more numerous the lexical overlaps between the two passages, then the stronger the connection between the passages. This criterion of lexical overlap alone, of course, can be remarkably subjective as there is no definitive number of lexical correspondences that differentiate an accidental allusion from an intentional reference. Thus the lexical overlap must be accompanied by the second criterion: vocabulary uniqueness. Demonstrating the unique combination of parallel words strengthens the case of literary influence between two passages over explanations of mutual dependence upon a shared traditions or formulaic utterances.¹⁰² Finally, intertextual parallels must demonstrate some form of syntactical overlap demonstrating an awareness of the literary form of the parallel. These three criteria alone would signal an intertextual parallel, but only the more observations corresponds across these three categories of evidence, then the more probable a direct literary influence between the texts becomes.

Once these criteria substantiate the probability of literary influence, further examination must demonstrate the direction of dependence. David Carr offers several helpful observations to this end. In his comparison of Pentateuchal textual traditions, Carr notes that later reappropriations of texts reveal six tendencies: they tend to be expansionistic, conflate source materials, fill gaps, expand character speeches, adapt and develop parallel material, and combine linguistic features of otherwise distinguishable compositional strata.¹⁰³ Carr supplies cautions about the limitations of his observations; such as the problem of applying principles developed from assessments of post-biblical texts to biblical writings. For this reason, he wisely presents these observations as rough guidelines rather than definitive compositional rules.¹⁰⁴ These observations, therefore,

¹⁰² One would expect the presence of popular traditions or oral pronouncements to reverberate farther in the biblical literature than two isolated passages.

¹⁰³ David M. Carr, "Method in Determination of Direction of Dependence: An Empirical Test of Criteria Applied to Exodus 34:11-26 and Its Parallels," in *Gottes Volk am Sinai: Untersuchungen zu Ex 32–34 und Dtn 9–10*, ed. Matthias Köckert and Erhard Blum, Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie 18 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 2001), 124–25.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 126.

guide the process by which the following study identifies ideological and literary developments signaling the reappropriation of an earlier text.

The use of one passage to construct another has several compositional implications. Such an editorial practice suggests that at a given stage in the composition history of the text, an editor both had access to the source text, and saw this text as supplying relevant language and insight for understanding the text under redaction. Thus the constructed editorial supplement may be said to reflect a “literary horizon” extending to the source text. The “literary horizon” reflects a range of material associated with the passage at hand, which editors saw as relevant for informing meaning. Thus Amos 2:4-5 employs language from Hos 4:6 to update Amos 1-2*. Amos 2:4-5 reflects a literary horizon extending to Hos 4:6. The composition of Amos 2:4-5 reflects both an awareness of Hos 4:6 and an editorial association between these texts suggesting an editorial assumption that the language of Hos 4:6 informs the message of Amos 1-2*. The literary horizon, therefore, speaks of the range of texts that the editor sees as relevant for informing and understanding the edited construction at hand.

The Text of the Book of the Four

Aside from the variant orders of the Twelve prophetic writings, the similarities between the MT and the Old Greek (OG) of the Book of the Twelve testify to the stability of the textual tradition.¹⁰⁵ Scholars widely recognize that the OG of the Twelve

¹⁰⁵ For arguments defending the unity of the LXX translation of the Book of the Twelve, see: Joseph Ziegler, “Die Einheit der Septuaginta zum Zwölfprophetenbuch,” in *Sylloge: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Septuagint*, MSU 10 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 29–42; Takamitsu Muraoka, “Is the Septuagint Amos 8:12-9:10 a Separate Unit,” *VT* 20 (1970): 496–500; Emanuel Tov, *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch: A Discussion of an Early Revision of the LXX of Jeremiah 29-52 and Baruch 1:1-3:8*, HSM 8 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976), 149; Takamitsu Muraoka, “In Defense of the Unity of The Septuagint Minor Prophets,” *AJBI* 15 (1989): 25–36; Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, 88–90; Dines, “The Minor Prophets,” 439. For a brief overview of LXX scholarship on the Book of the Twelve, see: Fuller, “The Text,” 81-95.

reflects a Hebrew *Vorlage* remarkably similar to the consonantal MT.¹⁰⁶ Differences between the textual traditions usually reflect the translational uncertainty stemming from unknown vocabulary or grammatical difficulties. The following study assesses text-critical concerns where they become relevant to the argument.¹⁰⁷

Thesis and Outline of the Following Study

The following study reexamines the evidence for the two primary tenets of the Book of the Four hypothesis: the identification of Deuteronomistic editing and an editorially constructed literary horizon extending across the Book of the Four. This study pays close attention to the different logical assumptions that undergird the past explorations of these subjects and the ways in which these logical assumptions lead to the different ways of discussing similar observations. Chapters two through five examine the evidence for these two basic tenets in the composition history of Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah respectively. Each chapter first explores the case for Deuteronomism in each book, before turning to the case for an editorially constructed literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four. Each of these four chapters will conclude by considering the relationship between the findings from the investigation of Deuteronomism and the findings from the investigation of an editorially constructed

¹⁰⁶ E.g., Gillis Gerleman, *Zephania: textkritisch und literarisch untersucht* (Lund: Gleerup, 1942), 85–86; Bruce K. Waltke, *A Commentary on Micah* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 17–18; Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, 90–91; Dines, “The Minor Prophets,” 440.

¹⁰⁷ To this end, text-critical comparisons to the OG are made to: Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Duodecim prophetae*, 2 Durchgesehene Auflage., Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum 13 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1967). Textual comparisons to the Dead Sea Scrolls are made with the assistance of: Emanuel Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever: 8 Hev XII gr*, DJD 8 (New York: Clarendon, 1990); Beate Ego, George J. Brooke, and John Marco Allegro, eds., *Minor Prophets*, Biblia Qumranica 3b (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Anthony Gelston, ed., *The Twelve Minor Prophets*, BHQ 13 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2010). For a brief overview of the Book of the Twelve in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see: Fuller, *The Minor Prophets Manuscripts from Qumrân, Cave IV*; idem, “The Twelve”; idem, “The Text,” 82–88; George J. Brooke, “The Twelve Minor Prophets and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Congress Volume Leiden 2004*, ed. André Lemaire, VTSup 109 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 19–43. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the work of the author.

literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four. The defined focus of this study, therefore, examines a limited number of compositional strata within each of these four texts. While the following study reports on the compositional implications of a limited number of redactional strata in these texts, it presupposes the complete literary-critical investigation of each prophetic work under consideration.¹⁰⁸ The concluding chapter then turns to consider the relationship between the respective results from each of these prophetic texts in order to determine the extent to which these edits reflect a unified comprehensive redaction across the Book of the Four. This concluding chapter will close by considering the ideological agenda behind the formation of this corpus and its proposed socio-historical context.

The following study concludes that the evidence fails to support a case for widespread Deuteronomistic editing across these four texts. The case that these four texts circulated as an early collection rather depends upon a series of editorially constructed intertextual parallels between these texts. The following study argues that this Book of the Four editing took place across two redactional layers. The first redactional layer includes Hos 1:1; 4:15aβb; 8:14aβb; Amos 1:1b; 2:10-12; 3:1b-2; 5:13; 6:8; 7:9-17; Mic 1:1, 5b-7, 9; 2:3; 6:9αα,b, 10-16; Zeph 1:1 1:6, 13b; 2:3. These supplements link these four prophetic voices to the larger collection and employ a similar intratextual scribal program of literary integration to integrate these additions into their current literary contexts. This study locates this first editorial layer near the beginning of the exile,

¹⁰⁸ Wöhrle critiques Nogalski and Scharf for developing the implications of their model across the Twelve without first supplying a complete literary-critical assessment of each prophetic text. This criticism fuels his approach of conducting a complete literary-critical examination of the writings in the Twelve before considering the relationship between their respective composition histories (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 12–14, 16–18, 24–27). Nogalski and Scharf do not supply a complete literary-critical assessment of each text in the Twelve as a result of the defined focus of their studies. This omission, however, does not mean that they failed to conduct broader literary-critical assessments; it only means that they published the findings that addressed the defined focus of their studies. While Wöhrle's approach advances certain aspects of the conversation (despite the fact that he himself does not provide a complete literary-critical assessment of every text in the Twelve), Albertz's study reveals the benefits of focused investigation on a limited number of compositional strata (*Die Exilszeit*, 164–85).

primarily responding to the trauma of the destruction of Jerusalem. The intratextual scribal program of literary integration indicates that exilic scribes read these texts through a lens that theologizes the messages in light of one another. This study further finds that Mic 2:12; Zeph 2:7, 9b; 3:11-13 reflect a second editorial layer that supplies salvific hope for life after the destruction of Jerusalem and the Babylonian deportation.

CHAPTER TWO

Hosea and the Book of the Four

Introduction

Hosea holds a privileged yet problematic place in modern Book of the Twelve scholarship. On the one hand, Hosea's location at the beginning of the Twelve inspires investigations into its potential introductory function for the collection.¹ On the other hand, the lack of key themes such as the Day of YHWH and a concern for the nations isolates Hosea from the following prophetic writings.² This deficit of thematic parallels with the rest of the corpus leads to difficulties incorporating Hosea into a complete composition model for the Twelve. Jakob Wöhrle, for example, explains this lack of thematic connections with the Twelve by suggesting that after its inclusion in the Book of

¹ For examples of those approaching Hos 1-3 as an introduction to the Book of the Twelve, see: Craig D. Bowman, "Reading the Twelve as One: Hosea 1-3 as an Introduction to Book of the Twelve (the Minor Prophets)," *SCJ* 9 (2006): 41-59; Bo H. Lim and Daniel Castelo, *Hosea*, Two Horizons Old Testament commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 44-45. Cf. Susanne Rudnig-Zelt, *Hoseastudien: redaktionskritische Untersuchungen zur Genese des Hoseabuches*, FRLANT 213 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 267. For explorations of thematic similarities between Hosea and Malachi as a frame for the Book of the Twelve, see: 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, SymS 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 209-17; George Andrew Tooze, "Framing the Book of the Twelve: Connections Between Hosea and Malachi" (PhD diss., Iliff School of Theology and University of Denver, 2002); Laurie J. Braaten, "God Sows: Hosea's Land Theme in the Book of the Twelve," in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Scharf, BZAW 325 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 104-32; Stefan Paas, "Bookends Themes?: Maleachi, Hosea en het 'Boek van de Twaalf,'" *NedTT* 58 (2004): 1-17; Bowman, "Reading the Twelve as One," 41-59; Bernd Biberger, "Umkehr als Leitthema im Zwölfprophetenbuch," *ZAW* 123 (2011): 565-79; Mark Leuchter, "Another Look at the Hosea/Malachi Framework in The Twelve," *VT* 64 (2014): 249-65; Lim and Castelo, *Hosea*, 39-40.

² E.g., Susanne Rudnig-Zelt, "Die Genese des Hoseabuches: Ein Forschungsbericht," in *Textarbeit: Studien zu Texten und ihrer Rezeption aus dem Alten Testament und der Umwelt Israels*, ed. K. Kiesow and T. Meurer, AOAT 294 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2003), 359; Jakob Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen des Zwölfprophetenbuches: Entstehung und Komposition*, BZAW 360 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 56-57; Roman Vielhauer, "Hosea in the Book of the Twelve," in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations-Redactional Processes-Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 56.

the Four, editors removed Hosea from the collection. Scribes later returned Hosea to the head of the collection at the end of the formation of the Book of the Twelve.³

Hosea poses no shortage of challenges to compositional investigations. Whereas many scholars attribute the terse style and linguistic enigmas to textual corruption,⁴ others suggest that Hosea reflects a uniquely Northern dialect.⁵ While a dialectic

³ Jakob Wöhrle, *Der Abschluss des Zwölfprophetenbuches: buchübergreifende Redaktionsprozesse in den späten Sammlungen*, BZAW 389 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 429–38. Subsequent scholars remain justifiably skeptical of Wöhrle's proposal. E.g., Wolfgang Schütte, "Säet euch Gerechtigkeit!": Adressaten und Anliegen der Hoseaschrift, BWANT 179 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2008), 24–25; James D. Nogalski, "One Book and Twelve Books: The Nature of the Redactional Work and the Implications of Cultic Source Material in the Book of the Twelve," in *Two Sides of a Coin: Juxtaposing Views on Interpreting the Book of The Twelve*, Analecta Gorgiana 201 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009), 24–25; Anselm C. Hagedorn, *Die Anderen im Spiegel: Israels Auseinandersetzung mit den Völkern in den Büchern Nahum, Zefanja, Obadja und Joel*, BZAW 414 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 233–34.

⁴ E.g., William Rainey Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, ICC 20 (New York: Norwood, 1905), clviii; Norman H. Snaith, *Amos, Hosea and Micah*, EPC (London: Epworth, 1956), 52; John Mauchline, "Hosea," in *The Interpreter's Bible*, vol. 6, 12 vols. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1956), 564; Th C. Vriezen, *De literatuur van Oud-Israël* (Den Haag Servire, 1961), 166; Theodore H. Robinson, "Hosea," in *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*, 3rd Aufl., HAT 1/14 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1964), 4; James Merrill Ward, *Hosea: A Theological Commentary* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), xx; Georg Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts Band 1 en Die Propheten des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1974), 57; Bruce Vawter, *Amos, Hosea, Micah: With an Introduction to Classical Prophecy*, OTM 7 (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1981), 23; Peter Kyle McCarter, *Textual Criticism: Recovering the Text of the Hebrew Bible*, GBS (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 91; Graham I. Davies, *Hosea*, NCB (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), 37–38; Daniel J. Simundson, *Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah*, AOTC (Nashville: Abingdon, 2005), 1–2. Hosea, therefore, has been the subject of numerous restoration efforts. See for example, the early efforts in: William Rainey Harper, "The Structure of Hosea 1:2-3:5," *AJSJL* 17 (1900): 1–15; idem, "The Structure of Hosea 4:1-7:7," *AJSJL* 20 (1904): 85–94; idem, *Amos and Hosea*; *ibid.*, *The Structure of the Text of the Book of Hosea* (Chicago, 1905); Felix E. Peiser, *Hosea, Philologische Studien zum Alten Testament* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1914); Franz Praetorius, *Bemerkungen zum Buche Hosea* (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1918); idem, *Neue Bemerkungen zu Hosea: zugleich gegenkritik und selbstkritik* (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1922); idem, *Die Gedichte des Hosea: metrische und textkritische Bemerkungen* (Halle A.S: M. Niemeyer, 1926); Arvid Bruno, *Das Buch der Zwölf: Eine rhythmische und textkritische Untersuchung* (Stockholm, 1957), 11–40, 189–206. Against the claims of corruption, see: Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Hosea*, AB 24 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), 60.

⁵ E.g., Wilhelm Rudolph, "Eigentümlichkeiten der Sprache Hoseas," in *Studia biblica et semitica: Theodoro Christiano Vriezen qui munere professoris theologiae per XXV annos functus est, ab amicis, collegis, discipulis dedicata* (Wageningen: H Veenman, 1966), 313; idem, *Hosea*, KAT 13.1 (Gutersloh: G. Mohn, 1966), 19–21; Martin J. Buss, *The Prophetic Word of Hosea: A Morphological Study*, BZAW 111 (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1969), 6; James Luther Mays, *Hosea: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969), 5; Ronald E. Clements, "Understanding the Book of Hosea," *RevExp* 72 (1975): 405; Douglas K. Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, WBC 31 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), 13; Choon Leong Seow, "Hosea, Book of," *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 3:292; Simon J. De Vries, *From Old Revelation to New: A Tradition-Historical and Redaction-Critical Study of Temporal Transitions in Prophetic Prediction* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995); Elizabeth Achtemeier, *Minor Prophets I* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996), 5; Bruce C. Birch, *Hosea, Joel, and Amos*, Westminster

explanation is plausible, the lack of comparable definitive Northern compositions complicates attempts to catalogue the dialectical differences between the Northern and Southern Kingdoms.⁶ Furthermore, the fragmented nature of the sayings that lack clear literary markers results in widely divergent assessments of the relationship between the components of the text.⁷ Whereas Michael Trotter sees the lack of literary markers as evidence of inherent textual unity, others find evidence of a rolling-corpus compositional process.⁸ Several scholars recognize that themes and catchwords link pronouncements, yet exactly which themes connect which sayings remains a matter of dispute.⁹

Bible Companion (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 12; Yoon Jong Yoo, "Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Hosea" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1999); Simundson, *Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah*, 1–2; Lim and Castelo, *Hosea*, 31.

⁶ See the early objections of: Thomas Kelly Cheyne, *Hosea, with Notes and Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1892), 34; Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, clxxiii.

⁷ George Robert Lowth, *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, trans. Johann David Michaelis Gregory (Boston: Joseph T. Buckingham, 1815), 295; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 56–57; Rolf Rendtorff, *Das Alte Testament: Eine Einführung* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1983), 228; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel*, Rev. Ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 87; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 54.

⁸ James M. Trotter, *Reading Hosea in Achaemenid Yehud*, JSOTSup 328 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 19. For a review of the field of research, see: Rudnig-Zelt, "Die Genese des Hoseabuches," 351–86. For examples of a rolling-corpus composition model, see: Rudnig-Zelt, *Hoseastudien*, 261–78; Roman Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, BZAW 349 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), 225–29. For those who attribute the text predominantly to the prophet Hosea with limited later updating, see: Snaith, *Amos, Hosea and Micah*, 52–82; Davies, *Hosea*, NCB, 36–37; Graham I. Davies, *Hosea*, OTG (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 102–7; David Allan Hubbard, *Hosea: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1989), 33–38; Lim and Castelo, *Hosea*, 32. For those who attribute the text to disciples of Hosea with later updating, see: Cornelis van Leeuwen, *Hosea*, POuT (Nijkerk: G.F. Callenbach, 1968), 17–19; Mays, *Hosea*, 15–17; Jörg Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, ATD 24.1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 18–20; Hans Walter Wolff, *Hosea*, 3rd ed., BKAT 14/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1976), xxiii–xxvi; Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea*, 52–57; Thomas Naumann, *Hoseas Erben: Strukturen der Nachinterpretation im Buch Hosea*, BWANT 131 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1991), 155–60; Jésus M. Asurmendi, *Amós y Oseas*, 3rd Ed., CuaBi 64 (Navarra: Verbo Divino, 1993), 32; Else Kragelund Holt, *Prophesying the Past: The Use of Israel's History in the Book of Hosea*, JSOTSup 194 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 25; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 55. For those who read Hosea as a product of the Persian Period, see: Pier Giorgio Borbone, *Il libro del Profeta Osea: edizione critica del testo ebraico*, Quaderni di Henoch 2 (Torino: Silvio Zamorani, 1987), 23–24; James M. Bos, *Reconsidering the Date and Provenance of the Book of Hosea: The Case for Persian-Period Yehud*, LHBOTS 580 (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013). Cf. The assessment of Loretz, Ben Zvi, and Trotter who, though not denying earlier recensions of the text, read it in light of the early Persian period as a plausible historical context for the completion of the book (O. Loretz, "Exodus, Dekalog und Ausschliesslichkeit Jahwes im Amos- und Hosea-Buch in der Perspektive ugaritischer Poesie," *UF* 24 [1992]: 217–48; Trotter, *Reading Hoseai*,

Arguments for Hosea's inclusion in the Book of the Four based upon literary links with Amos or Deuteronomism share the same challenge of isolating such connections into a shared compositional layer that reflects a literary horizon extending to Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah. The immense textual difficulties of Hosea naturally preclude scholarly consensus on some of the more pertinent compositional questions. Most scholars locate the origins of Hosea's message in the eighth century BCE, and recognize some form of exilic or postexilic updating.¹⁰ Hosea scholarship has a long history of recognizing literary parallels with Amos and affinities with Deuteronomistic thought.

The present chapter reexamines the evidence for Hosea's inclusion in the Book of the Four hypothesis in order to accomplish two primary goals. First, this chapter examines the evidence for Deuteronomistic redaction in the composition history of Hosea. Following this study's methodological guidelines, this assessment of Deuteronomism examines editorial supplements for evidence of both Deuteronomistic themes and vocabulary patterns. Second, this chapter examines the degree to which the composition history of Hosea assumes a literary horizon extending to Amos, Micah, and

passim; Ben Zvi, *Hosea*; idem, "Reading Hosea and Imagining YHWH," *HBT* 30 (2008): 43–57; idem, "Would Ancient Readers of the Books of Hosea or Micah Be 'Competent' to Read the Book of Jeremiah?," in *Jeremiah (Dis)placed: New Directions in Writing/Reading Jeremiah*, ed. Louis Stulman and A R Pete Diamond, LHBOTS 529 [London: T&T Clark, 2011], 80–98). For those treating Hosea as a product of the exile, see: Edward Day, "Is the Book of Hosea Exilic?," *AJSL* 26 (1910): 105–32; R. Abma, *Bonds of Love: Methodic Studies of Prophetic Texts with Marriage Imagery (Isaiah 50:1-3 and 54:1-10, Hosea 1-3, Jeremiah 2-3)*, SSN 40 (Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1999), 118–19.

⁹ Henrik Samuel Nyberg, *Studien zum Hoseabuche: zugleich ein Beitrag zur Klärung des Problems der Alttestamentlichen Textkritik*, UUÅ 6 (Uppsala: A.B. Lundequistska, 1935), 18; E. M. Good, "The Composition of Hosea," *SEÅ* 31 (1966): 54–55; Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 7–27; Mays, *Hosea*, 15–17; Rendtorff, *Das Alte Testament*, 228; Hubbard, *Hosea*, 37; Davies, *Hosea*, 103.

¹⁰ The present study cannot supply an exhaustive list of scholars who date the beginnings of the Hosea message to the eighth century BCE. The following sample, however, reflect critical assessments that link parts of the Hosea message to the Syro-Ephraimite war: Albrecht Alt, "Hosea 5,8-6,6: Ein Krieg und seine Folgen in prophetischer Beleuchtung," *NKZ* 30 (1919): 537–68; Mauchline, "Hosea," 6:563; Mays, *Hosea*, 16; Rendtorff, *Das Alte Testament*, 229; Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 9, 100, 102–4; Gale A. Yee, *Composition and Tradition in the Book of Hosea: A Redaction Critical Investigation*, SBLDS 102 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 305–7; Achtemeier, *Minor Prophets I*, 4–5; Brad E. Kelle, *Hosea 2: Metaphor and Rhetoric in Historical Perspective*, AcBib 20 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 181–99.

Zephaniah. This chapter then concludes by examining the relationship between the passages reflecting Deuteronomism and the passages reflecting a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four. The following assessment identifies far fewer Book of the Four supplements than past Book of the Four scholarship, limiting this editorial activity to Hos 1:1; 4:15aßb; and 8:14aßb.

Deuteronomism in Hosea

Introduction to the Quest for Deuteronomism in Hosea

Table 2.1. Hosea Similarities with Deuteronomistic Thought

Themes	Hosea Reference	Deuteronomy Reference
List of societal transgressions	Hos 4:2	Deut 5:17-20
Condemnation of High Places	Hos 4:13	Deut 12:2
Condemnation of idols	Hos 8:6; 13:2; 14:4	Deut 4:28; 28:36, 64; 31:29
Theme of Covenant	Hos 6:7; 8:1	Deut 17:2
Exodus motivated by YHWH's love	Hos 11:1	Deut 7:7-8
Israel described as a "son"	Hos 11:1	Deut 14:1; 7:7-8
Call to Return	Hos 5:15-6:1	Deut 4:29-30
Centrality of the Prophet of the Exodus	Hos 12:14[13]	Deut 18:15, 18

Scholarship has a long history of identifying a relationship between Hosea and Deuteronomistic thought (see Table 2.1).¹¹ While Hosea shares several themes with Deuteronomism, the lexical differences and ideological divergences complicate attempts

¹¹ Gerhard von Rad famously writes, "keinem Propheten steht das Dt so nah, wie Hosea" ("no prophet is as close to Dt as Hosea;" in *Das Gottesvolk im Deuteronomium*, BWANT 47 [Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1929], 83). For a list of lexical similarities with Deuteronomy, see: Willibald Kuhnigk, *Nordwestsemitische Studien zum Hoseabuch*, BibOr 27 (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1974), 35–39. For a list of thematic and conceptual similarities with Deuteronomistic thought, see: Robert R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 227; John Day, "Pre-Deuteronomic Allusions to the Covenant in Hosea and Psalm Lxxviii," *VT* 36 (1986): 7–8.

to identify a direct literary relationship between Hosea and other Deuteronomistic texts.¹² A majority of scholars, therefore, favor tradition-historical explanations for these similarities.

Tradition-historical explanations manifest significant diversity depending upon when one dates the origins of Deuteronomism, the formation of Hosea, and how one conceptualizes the proximity between the two. An early date for the origins of Deuteronomistic thought allows a model in which Deuteronomism influences the prophet Hosea.¹³ Others who associate the formation of Deuteronomistic thought with the Josianic reforms often identify Hosea as a forerunner of the Deuteronomists.¹⁴ A majority

¹² Albertz writes, “Ein Problem bleibt allerdings die Tatsache, daß sich eine dtr. Bearbeitung des Hoseabuches bisher kaum hat nachweisen lassen” (“One problem remains, however, the fact that a Dtr. Editing of the book of Hosea so far has hardly been proven;” in *Die Exilszeit: 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, BE[S] 7 [Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001], 181).

¹³ E.g., Walter Brueggemann, *Tradition for Crisis: A Study in Hosea* (Richmond: John Knox, 1968), 43–50; Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea*, 75; Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 7; Hubbard, *Hosea*, 50–51; Achtemeier, *Minor Prophets I*, 5; Walter Gisin, *Hosea: ein literarisches Netzwerk beweist seine Authentizität*, BBB 139 (Berlin: Philo, 2002), 298–300; Carsten Vang, “God’s Love According to Hosea and Deuteronomy: A Prophetic Reworking of a Deuteronomistic Concept?,” *TynBul* 62 (2011): 173–93. Some scholars trace the origins of Deuteronomism to Levitical circles of the Northern Kingdom of Israel. This geographical and temporal proximity to Hosea allows these scholars to see Hosea and Deuteronomism as mutually influenced by shared northern traditions. See for example, Abma who argues that although Deuteronomy likely post-dates the composition of Hosea, they both reflect the influence of a pre-existing conception of a covenant relationship between Israel and God (*Bonds of Love: Methodic Studies of Prophetic Texts with Marriage Imagery [Isaiah 50:1-3 and 54:1-10, Hosea 1-3, Jeremiah 2-3]*, SSN 40 [Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1999], 112–13). Cf. Edmond Jacob, “Osée,” in *Osée, Joël, Amos, Abdias, Jonas*, CAT 11a (Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1965), 13; Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 81–83, 114; Clements, “Understanding the Book of Hosea,” 415–16; Wilson, *Prophecy and Society*, 226–31.

¹⁴ S. R. Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*, ICC 5 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1902), xxvii; Sydney Lawrence Brown, ed., *The Book of Hosea*, WC (London: Methuen, 1932), xxxi; Albrecht Alt, “Die Heimat des Deuteronomiums,” in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ed. Martin Noth, vol. 2, 3 vols. (Munich: Beck, 1953), 271–73; Ernest W. Nicholson, *Deuteronomy and Tradition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1967), 70; Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 366–70; Dennis J. McCarthy, “Berit in Old Testament History and Theology,” *Biblica* 53 (1972): 113–14; Alfons Deissler, “Das ‘Echo’ der Hosea-Verkündigung im Jeremiabuch,” in *Künder des Wortes: Beiträge zur Theologie der Propheten*, ed. Lothar Ruppert, Peter Weimar, and Erich Zenger (Würzburg: Echter, 1982), 66–67; Adam S. Van der Woude, “Three Classical Prophets: Amos, Hosea and Micah,” in *Israel’s Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honor of Peter Ackroyd*, ed. Richard J. Coggins, Anthony Phillips, and Michael A. Knibb (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 47; Ernest W. Nicholson, *God and His People: Covenant and Theology in the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), 179–88; Naumann, *Hoseas Erben*, 179; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 86–87; Birch, *Hosea, Joel, and Amos*, 8. Hans-Jürgen Zobel notes that investigations into the prophetic

of critical scholars, however, hold that Hosea underwent exilic and postexilic editing, which heightened some Deuteronomistic elements.¹⁵

Gale Yee supplies one of the most extensive studies arguing for Deuteronomistic editing in Hosea. Yee proposes a four-stage composition history that includes two Deuteronomistic redactions reminiscent of the Harvard School's double redaction of the Deuteronomistic History.¹⁶ Yee identifies a Josianic era Deuteronomistic redaction reflecting a concern for Torah and centralized worship. A second more extensive Deuteronomistic redaction completes the text during the exile by ordering it into its current structure alternating judgment and salvation.¹⁷ Yee notes many broadly defined thematic similarities with Deuteronomistic thought, yet subsequent criticisms of her model reveal the difficulties of partitioning Hosea's utterances into coherent compositional layers.¹⁸ Few redaction critics agree with the extent of Yee's proposed Deuteronomistic editing due to the lack of Deuteronomistic language.¹⁹

precursors of Deuteronomism disproportionately focus on Hosea ("Hosea und das Deuteronomium: Erwägungen eines Alttestamentlers zum Thema 'Sprache und Theologie,'" *TLZ* 110 [1985]: 14–23).

¹⁵ E.g., Odil Hannes Steck, "Israel und Zion: Zum Problem konzeptioneller Einheit und literarischer Schichtung in Deuteronomium," in *Gottesknecht und Zion: Gesammelte Aufsätze zu Deuteronomium*, ed. Bernd Janowski and Hermann Spieckermann, FAT 4 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 194; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 88; Henrik Pfeiffer, *Das Heiligtum von Bethel im Spiegel des Hoseabuches*, FRLANT 183 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 227–30. See below for further discussion of proposed composition models.

¹⁶ Cf. Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 287–89; Richard D. Nelson, *The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History*, JSOTSup 18 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981); idem, "The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History: The Case Is Still Compelling," *JSOT* 29 (2005): 319–37.

¹⁷ For an overview of Yee's model, see: Yee, *Composition and Tradition*, 305–17.

¹⁸ E.g., Naumann, *Hoseas Erben*, 13–14; James D. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 217 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993), 62–65; Marie-Theres Wacker, *Figurationen des Weiblichen im Hoseabuch*, HBS 8 (Freiburg: Herder, 1996), 11; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 56.

¹⁹ E.g., Naumann, *Hoseas Erben*, 14–17; Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 225–29. See also Rudnig-Zelt who identifies proximity to Deuteronomistic thought in a Persian Period polemical layer against Priests (*Hoseastudien*, 261–78).

Although Hosea shares thematic overlap with Deuteronomism, critics note that Hosea contains several non-Deuteronomistic features. Jason Radine, for example, observes that the broadly defined concerns with cult and worship contain many of the thematic parallels associated with Deuteronomism. He argues that the polemics against Samaria and Gilgal, rather than Bethel and Dan, suggest a compositional agenda independent of Deuteronomism. These observations, combined with the lack of Deuteronomistic phrasing, suggest that if Hosea contains Deuteronomistic influence, then it must be distinguishable from the agenda of the Deuteronomistic History.²⁰ Hosea 1:2-9*, furthermore, preserves an alternative interpretation of the fate of the Jehu dynasty.²¹ Commentators often associate the first prophetic message conveyed by the name Jezreel

²⁰ Jason Radine, “Deuteronomistic Redaction of the Book of the Four and the Origins of Israel’s Wrongs,” in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations-Redactional Processes-Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 289–91.

²¹ Albertz attributes Hos 1:5, 7 to the Deuteronomistic Book of the Four editor on account of the theme of military power, which he associates with Book of the Four editorial activity (*Die Exilszeit*, 181). Although many scholars identify Hos 1:5, 7 as later additions to the chapter, these verses not only lack distinctive Deuteronomistic language but they also lack clear literary links with other aspects of the Book of the Four. For those identify v.5 as a later addition, for example, see: Karl Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton: erklärt*, KHC 13 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1904), 8–9, 19; Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, 213; A. Allwohn, *Die Ehe des Propheten Hosea in psycho-analytischer Beleuchtung*, BZAW 44 (Gießen: de Gruyter, 1926), 12; Robert H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York, London: Harper & Brothers, 1941), 573; Mauchline, “Hosea,” 6:571–72; Snaith, *Amos, Hosea and Micah*, 53–55; Robinson, “Hosea,” 1, 7; Ward, *Hosea*, 5–7; Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 7, 33–34; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 57, 59, n.3; Wolff, *Hosea*, 8; Alfons Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten: Hosea, Joel, Amos*, NEB.AT (Würzburg: Echter, 1981), 13; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 34; Davies, *Hosea*, NCB, 36, 57; Davies, *Hosea*, 104; Andreas Weider, *Ehemetaphorik in prophetischer Verkündigung: Hos 1-3 und seine Wirkungsgeschichte im Jeremiabuch: ein Beitrag zum alttestamentlichen Gottes-Bild* (Würzburg: Echter, 1993), 22–23; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 85; Aaron Scharf, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs: Neubearbeitungen von Amos im Rahmen schriftenübergreifender Redaktionsprozesse*, BZAW 260 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998), 117, n.49; Jacques Vermeylen, “Osée 1 et les prophètes de VIII^e siècle,” in *Schriftauslegung in der Schrift: Festschrift für Odil Hannes Steck zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Reinhard G. Kratz, Thomas Krüger, and Konrad Schmid, BZAW 300 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 195; Jacques Vermeylen, “Os 1-3 et son histoire littéraire,” *ETL* 79 (2003): 24; Rudnig-Zelt, *Hoseastudien*, 86; Terence E. Fretheim, *Reading Hosea-Micah: A Literary and Theological Commentary*, Reading the Old Testament (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2013), 22. For a defense of the original inclusion of v.5 in Hos 1:2-9*, see: Cornelis van Gelderen, *Het boek Hosea*, COut (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1953), 29; Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 24; Shawn Zelig Aster, “The Function of the City of Jezreel and the Symbolism of Jezreel in Hosea 1-2,” *JNES* 71 (2012): 33, n.14. For a defense of v.7, see: van Gelderen, *Het boek Hosea*, 31–32; Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 14, 31–32.

(Hos 1:4-5) as a condemnation of Jehu's assassination of the Omri dynasty in 845-844 BCE; an action that otherwise receives divine approval in the Deuteronomistic History (1 Kgs 21:17-25; 2 Kgs 9:6-10; 10:30).²² This key component of Hos 1:2-9*, therefore, reveals an alternative interpretation of Jehu's rise to power, distinguishing it from the Deuteronomistic interpretation of Israelite history.²³ Furthermore, Lohfink questions whether thematic parallels with Deuteronomistic thought necessitate the label "Deuteronomistic" or even "proto-Deuteronomistic."²⁴ Vuilleumier-Bessard, for example, identifies covenant theology in Hosea, but does not label it "Deuteronomistic."²⁵ Naumann concludes that only Hos 8:1b reveals evidence of Deuteronomistic composition and thus rejects the prospect of a Deuteronomistic redaction of Hosea.²⁶

Book of the Four advocates build arguments for Hosea's place in the collection based upon a comprehensive Deuteronomistic redaction. Rainer Albertz combines perceived Deuteronomistic updates with the Amos parallels in his proposed

²² E.g., Rudolph, *Hosea*, 51–52; Hans Walter Wolff, *Hosea: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Hosea*, ed. Paul D. Hanson, trans. Gary Stansell, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 18–20; Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea*, 172–79; Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten*, 14; Grace I. Emmerson, *Hosea: An Israelite Prophet in Judean Perspective*, JSOTSup 28 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 112; F. C. Fensham, "The Marriage Metaphor in Hosea for the Covenant Relationship Between the Lord and His People (Hos. 1:2-9)," *JNSL* 12 (1984): 75; Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 29; Philip J. King, *Amos, Hosea, Micah: An Archaeological Commentary* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1988), 31; Thomas Edward McComiskey, "Prophetic Irony in Hosea 1.4: A Study of the Pqd l Collocation and Its Implications for the Fall of Jehu's Dynasty," *JSOT* 58 (1993): 93; James D. Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea-Jonah*, SHBC (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2011), 40. Contrast this popular interpretation with Shawn Zelig Aster who argues Jezreel serves a symbolic function not necessarily tied to Jehu's massacre of the house of Omri at Jezreel ("The Function of the City," 45).

²³ Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 139–40; Bos, *Reconsidering the Date*, 139–40.

²⁴ Norbert Lohfink, "Gab es eine deuteronomistische Bewegung," in *Jeremia und die "deuteronomistische Bewegung"*, ed. Walter Gross (Weinheim, Germany: Beltz Athenäum, 1995), 349–50.

²⁵ René Vuilleumier-Bessard, *La tradition culturelle d'Israël dans la prophétie d'Amos et d'Osée*, CahT 45 (Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1960), 14–15. Gerhard von Rad similarly distinguishes between the covenant theology of Deuteronomism and that of Hosea (*Das Gottesvolk im Deuteronomium*, 79).

²⁶ Naumann, *Hoseas Erben*, 179.

Deuteronomistic redaction of Hosea.²⁷ Jakob Wöhrle bypasses the Amos parallels in order to argue for Deuteronomism strictly on the grounds of thematic and lexical correspondences with Deuteronomy, the Deuteronomistic History, and Jeremiah.²⁸ Wöhrle's introduction of literary links with Jeremiah as evidence for Deuteronomistic editing raises a new difficulty for identifying Deuteronomism in Hosea. Scholars traditionally identify Hosea as an influence upon Jeremiah on account of thematic parallels between these texts.²⁹ A recent study by Martin Schulz-Rauch, however, determines that the parallels between Hosea and Jeremiah rarely evince the lexical overlap indicative of a direct quote or literary influence. Rather, he proposes that tradition-historical explanations better account for the thematic similarities between these texts.³⁰ Such an explanation allows for the possibility of a definable relationship to

²⁷ Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 181–82. Albertz includes Hos 1:5, 7; 3:1bβ; 4:1*, 15; 8:1b, 6a, 14; 11:15b.

²⁸ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 229–40. Wöhrle extends his Deuteronomistic layer to include: 1:1; 3:1–4, 5*; 4:1abα, 10, 15; 8:1b, 4b–6, 14; 13:2–3; 14:1.

²⁹ For a list of parallels between Hosea and Jeremiah, see: Deissler, “Das ‘Echo,’” 61–75. For those concluding that the Hosea tradition influenced Jeremiah, see: Karl Groß, “Die literarische Verwandtschaft Jeremias mit Hosea” (PhD diss., Berlin, 1930); Karl Groß, “Hoseas Einfluß auf Jeremias Anschauungen,” *NKZ* 42 (1931): 241–56, 327–43; John Skinner, *Prophecy and Religion: Studies in the Life of Jeremiah* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1951), 21; Vriezen, *De literatuur*, 165; Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology: The Theology of Israel's Prophetic Traditions*, trans. D.M.G. Stalker, vol. 2 (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 192; Robinson, “Hosea,” 1; Jacob, “Osée,” 15–16; Emil Gottlieb Heinrich Kraeling, *Commentary on the Prophets*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Camden, N.J: Thomas Nelson, 1966), 83; Mays, *Hosea*, 1; Klaus Koch, *The Babylonian and Persian Periods*, Vol 2 of *The Prophets*, trans. Margaret Kohl (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982), 22; Rainer Albertz, “Jer 2–6 und die Frühzeitverkündigung Jeremias,” *ZAW* 94 (1982): 41; Naumann, *Hoseas Erben*, 11–12, 140–41; Weider, *Ehemetaphorik*, 2; Lohfink, “Gab es eine deuteronomistische Bewegung,” 349; Göran Eidevall, *Grapes in the Desert: Metaphors, Models, and Themes in Hosea 4–14*, ConBOT 43 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1996), 17; Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 111.

³⁰ Martin Schulz-Rauch, *Hosea und Jeremia: zur Wirkungsgeschichte des Hoseabuches*, CThM.BW 16 (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1996), 233–36. See similar conclusions by Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 81; Willy Schottroff, “Jeremia 2:1–3: Erwägungen zur Methode der Propheten-exegese,” *ZThK* 67 (1970): 272; Jörg Jeremias, “Hoseas Einfluss auf das Jeremiabuch: ein traditionsgeschichtliches Problem,” in *Text and Theology: Festschrift für Magne Sæbø*, ed. Arvid Tångberg (Oslo: Verbum, 1994), 122–41.

Deuteronomistic traditions between Hosea and Jeremiah, yet complicates attempts to argue for identifiable Deuteronomistic redaction in Hosea based on Jeremiah parallels.³¹

The arguments for Deuteronomistic editing in Hosea generally focus on six types of passages: the superscription (Hos 1:1), passages denoting cultic infidelities (Hos 3:1-5; 4:15; 13:2-3), passages assuming a covenant and legal codes (Hos 4:1-3; 8:1-6), the binary curse formula (Hos 4:10), a literary parallel with Jeremiah (Hos 11:5), and the use of 2 Kgs 8:12 in Hos 14:1[13:16]. The following assessment, therefore, examines each of these six types of passages respectively to accomplish two goals. First, this assessment considers the degree to which each passage reflects ideological and lexical proximity to other Deuteronomistic texts. Second, this assessment examines the degree to which these passages reflect the ideological coherence indicative of shared compositional origins.

The Superscription and the Question of Deuteronomism: Hosea 1:1

A long scholarly tradition identifies the Hosea superscription as an editorial construction.³² Three observations support attributing Hos 1:1 to later editors. First, vv.1-2 repeat three times that the “word” originates with YHWH and goes to Hosea. Second, the third-person introduction of the prophet presupposes the conclusion of the prophetic

³¹ Deissler and Herrmann associate these shared traditions with Deuteronomistic circles: Deissler, “Das ‘Echo,’” 61–75; Siegfried Herrmann, *Jeremia: Der Prophet und das Buch* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990), 192.

³² E.g., Ferdinand Hitzig, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*, 4. Aufl. (Leipzig: Leipzig, 1881), 6–7; Wilhelm Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten*, HKAT III.4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897), 13; Julius Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten: übersetzt und erklärt*, 3. Ausgabe. (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1898), 10, 96–97; Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 13; Bernhard Duhm, “Anmerkungen zu den Zwölf Propheten. I,” *ZAW* 31 (1911): 18; Lindblom, *Hosea*, 115; Snaith, *Amos, Hosea and Micah*, 52–53; Mays, *Hosea*, 20; Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 7; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 115; Wolff, *Dodekapropheton 1, Hosea*, 1–5; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 23; Emmerson, *Hosea*, 1–3; Yee, *Composition and Tradition*, 56; Hubbard, *Hosea*, 36; Davies, *Hosea*, NCB, 37, 43–45; idem, *Hosea*, 106–7; Holt, *Prophesying the Past*, 25; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 39–45; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 167; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 129–30; Levin, “Das ‘Vierprophetenbuch,’” 231; Lim and Castelo, *Hosea*, 42–44.

career.³³ Finally, the primacy given to the Davidic dynasty in the superscription of a northern prophetic text commonly strikes scholars as unexpected. Hosea 1:1 lists the Judean kings first, and follows the four-generation list of Judean rulers. This superscription, however, identifies only one parallel Israelite monarch. Scholars frequently interpret the primacy of the Davidic dynasty as evidence of an editorial reorientation of Hosea for a Judean audience.³⁴

The Hosea superscription contributes to what scholars often identify as the strongest evidence for a Book of the Four.³⁵ These arguments build upon a long scholarly tradition of attributing Hos 1:1 to Deuteronomistic editors. Two literary features of Hos 1:1 commonly lead redaction critics to label this superscription “Deuteronomistic.” First, arguments for the Deuteronomism of Hos 1:1 suggest that the דבר־יהוה (“the word of YHWH”) formula reflects distinctive Deuteronomistic language.³⁶ Schart correctly notes

³³ For further assessment of this line of argumentations, see: Gene M. Tucker, “Prophetic Superscriptions and the Growth of a Canon,” in *Canon and Authority: Essays in Old Testament Religion and Theology*, ed. George W. Coats and Burke O. Long (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 65.

³⁴ E.g., Mauchline, “Hosea,” 6:564, 566–67; Kraeling, *Commentary on the Prophets*, 2:77; Wolff, *Hosea*, 1–5; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 23; Emmerson, *Hosea*, 1–3; Bos, *Reconsidering the Date*, 138–39. Alternatively, some scholars dating the composition of Hosea late affirm the integral function of the superscription for the book and thus reject its compositional division from what follows. See: Edgar W. Conrad, *Reading the Latter Prophets: Toward a New Canonical Criticism*, JSOTSup 376 (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 65–91; Ben Zvi, *Hosea*, 32; Bos, *Reconsidering the Date*, 138–39.

³⁵ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 39–46; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 85–88; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 166–67; idem, “Exile as Purification,” 237; Aaron Schart, “Das Zwölfprophetenbuch als redaktionelle Großeinheit,” *TheoLit* 133 (2008): 233–34; Burkard M. Zapff, “The Book of Micah - The Theological Centre of the Book of the Twelve?,” in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations-Redactional Processes-Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 129; Lim and Castelo, *Hosea*, 43; Steven S. Tuell, *Reading Nahum—Malachi: A Literary and Theological Commentary*, Reading the Old Testament (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2016), 114. Cf. Schütte, *Säet euch Gerechtigkeit!*, 24–25. Even critics of the Book of the Four hypothesis recognize the similarities between the Book of the Four superscriptions: e.g., Rachel Bornand, “Un ‘Livre des Quatre’ Précurseur des Douze Petits Prophètes?,” *EThR* 82 (2007): 555; Levin, “Das ‘Vierprophetenbuch’,” 222.

³⁶ E.g., van Leeuwen, *Hosea*, 23; Mays, *Hosea*, 17; Wolff, *Hosea*, 1–5; Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten*, 13; Emmerson, *Hosea*, 2; Yee, *Composition and Tradition*, 57. For Book of the Four advocates linking the Deuteronomism of Hos 1:1 to the Book of the Four, see: Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 167; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 229–30.

that the similarly phrased formula דבר־יהוה אל (“the word of YHWH to...”) occurs several times in the Deuteronomistic History.³⁷ The problem, however, is that the Hebrew Bible preserves several variations of דבר־יהוה formulaic language across a wide spectrum of texts, complicating attempts to align any one variation of the formula with a specific theological stream of tradition or editorial agenda.³⁸ The exact use of דבר־יהוה אשר היה (“the word of YHWH which manifest”) followed by a personal name as found in Hos 1:1 occurs elsewhere only in Joel 1:1; Mic 1:1; and Zeph 1:1. The same combination of these five lexical components occurs in a different order in sixteen additional verses associated with Jeremiah (see Table 2.2).³⁹ Eleven of these Jeremiah occurrences fail to employ the דבר־יהוה formula since they describe the prophetic experience as a “word” (דבר) to the prophet “from YHWH” (מֵאֵת יְהוָה). Of the remaining five occurrences, three lack corroboration in the OG of Jeremiah, and one occurs in Daniel’s use of Jeremiah.

³⁷ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 40. Josh 4:8; 11:23; 14:6; 21:45; 1 Sam 15:10; 2 Sam 7:4; 1 Kgs 5:19; 6:11; 13:20; 16:1; 21:17, 28. Cf. Wolff, *Hosea*, 2–3; Theodor Lescow, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1–5,” *ZAW* 84 (1972): 62.

³⁸ E.g., Gen 15:1, 4; 24:51; Exod 4:30; 6:28; 7:13, 22; 8:11, 15; 9:12, 20, 21, 35; 16:23; 19:8; 24:3, 7; 34:32; Lev 10:3, 11; Num 3:1; 5:4; 12:2; 15:22, 31; 17:5; 23:17; 27:23; 32:31; Deut 1:21; 2:1; 4:15; 5:4, 5, 22; 6:3, 19; 9:3, 10; 10:4, 9; 31:3; Josh 4:8; 11:23; 14:6, 10, 12; 21:45; 23:5, 14, 15; Judg 2:15; 1 Sam 3:7, 9; 15:10, 13, 16, 23, 26; 16:4; 2 Sam 7:4; 12:9; 1 Kgs 2:27; 5:19; 6:11; 8:20; 12:15, 24; 13:3, 20; 16:1, 7; 17:2, 8; 18:31; 19:9; 21:17, 23, 28; 22:5, 19, 28; 2 Kgs 3:12; 7:1; 9:36; 10:10; 14:27; 15:12; 19:21; 20:16, 19; 24:13; Isa 1:10; 16:13, 14; 20:2; 28:13, 14; 37:22; 38:4; 39:5, 8; 66:5; Jer 1:2, 4, 11, 13; 2:1, 4, 31; 6:10; 7:2; 9:19; 10:1; 13:3, 8; 14:1; 16:1, 10; 17:15, 20; 18:5; 19:3; 20:8; 21:11; 22:2, 29; 23:17, 35, 37; 24:4; 25:3; 27:13, 18; 28:12; 29:20, 30; 30:4; 31:10; 32:6, 8, 26; 33:1, 19, 23; 34:4, 12; 35:12; 36:7, 27; 37:6; 39:15; 42:7, 15, 19; 43:8; 44:24, 26; 46:1, 13; 47:1; 49:34; 50:1; Ezek 1:3; 3:16; 6:1; 7:1; 11:14; 12:1, 8, 17, 21, 26; 13:1, 2; 14:2, 12; 15:1; 16:1, 35; 17:1, 11; 18:1; 20:2; 21:1, 3, 6, 13, 23; 22:1, 17, 23; 23:1; 24:1, 15, 20; 25:1; 26:1; 27:1; 28:1, 11, 20; 29:1, 17; 30:1, 20; 31:1; 32:1, 17; 33:1, 23; 34:1, 7, 9; 35:1; 36:1, 16; 37:4, 15; 38:1; Hos. 1:1, 2; 4:1; Joel 1:1; Amos 3:1; 7:16; 8:12; Jon 1:1; 3:1; Mic 1:1; Zeph 1:1; 2:5; Hag 1:1, 3; 2:1, 10, 20; Zech 1:1, 7; 4:6, 8; 6:9; 7:1, 4, 8; 8:1, 18; 9:1; 11:11; 12:1; Mal 1:1; Ps 33:4; Job 42:7; Dan 9:2; Ezra 1:1; 1 Chr 10:13; 22:8; 2 Chr 6:10; 11:2; 12:7; 18:4, 18, 27; 19:11; 23:3; 34:21; 36:21, 22.

³⁹ Cf. Jer 2:1, which employs similar phrasing, but without the prophetic personal name.

Table 2.2. Five Part דבר־יהוה Formulas

Superscription Reference	Hebrew Text
Hos 1:1	דבר־יהוה אשר היה אל־הושע
Joel 1:1	דבר־יהוה אשר היה אל־יואל
Mic 1:1	דבר־יהוה אשר היה אל־מיכה
Zeph 1:1	דבר־יהוה אשר היה אל־צפניה
Jer 7:1*; 11:1; 18:1; 21:1; 30:1; 32:1; 34:1, 8; 35:1; 40:1; 44:1	הדבר אשר היה אל־ירמיהו מאת יהוה
Jer 14:1; 46:1*; 47:1*; 49:34*; Dan 9:2	אשר היה דבר־יהוה אל־ירמיהו

*Indicates the formula's absence from the OG of Jeremiah

This leaves only one instance in which Jeremiah (as confirmed by correspondence between the OG and MT traditions) employs the same five components of the דבר־יהוה formula as found in Hos 1:1. The striking lexical similarities between Hos 1:1 and the Jeremiah textual tradition suggest that the scribes behind these formulaic introductions shared similar vocabulary and style for describing the prophetic event. This similarity does not necessitate a shared scribal hand. It does, however, suggest that the editors of Hos 1:1 and these Jeremiah formulas share scribal similarities.⁴⁰

Variations of the דבר־יהוה (“the word of YHWH”) formulaic language occur 188 times in the Hebrew Bible, only 27 of which occur in the Deuteronomistic History.⁴¹ In contrast, the phrase דבר־יהוה occurs 146 times in the Hebrew prophets.⁴² The phrase דבר־יהוה (“the word of YHWH manifest unto me”) occurs 63 times in the Hebrew Bible, all in prophetic literature.⁴³ The prolific use of this language in the Hebrew

⁴⁰ On the socio-historical implications of this scribal affinity between the Book of the Four superscriptions and Jeremiah, see pp. 393-410.

⁴¹ Cf. Deut 5:5. For comparative studies of similar formulaic language in broader ancient Near Eastern literature, see: A. van Selms, “How Do Books of the Bible Commence?,” *Proceedings of the 9th Meeting of "Die Outestamentiese Werkgenootskap in Suid-Afrika"* 9 (1966): 140-41; Tucker, “Prophetic Superscriptions,” 66-68.

⁴² Only Obadiah, Habakkuk, and Nahum lack the phrase דבר־יהוה.

⁴³ Jeremiah 1:4, 11, 13; 2:1; 13:3, 8; 16:1; 18:5; 24:4; 32:6; Ezek 3:16; 6:1; 7:1; 11:14; 12:1, 8, 17, 21, 26; 13:1; 14:2, 12; 15:1; 16:1; 17:1, 11; 18:1; 20:2; 21:1, 6, 13, 23; 22:1, 17, 23; 23:1; 24:1, 15, 20; 25:1; 26:1; 27:1; 28:1, 11, 20; 29:1, 17; 30:1, 20; 31:1; 32:1, 17; 33:1, 23; 34:1; 35:1; 36:16; 37:15; 38:1; Zech 4:8; 6:9; 7:4; 8:18.

prophets suggests that these formulaic utterances reflect characteristic language for the prophetic tradition. Additionally, similar variations of the formula lacking only the *אשר* occur in 37 instances across the Hebrew Bible.⁴⁴ The concept of the “word of YHWH manifesting,” therefore, is a prominent idea in the Hebrew Bible.⁴⁵ The prominence of such formulaic language in the Hebrew prophets makes sense given the content of the prophetic texts. While this formulaic language occurs in the Deuteronomistic History, the abundant use of this language across the Hebrew prophetic literature precludes definitively assigning this language to distinctive Deuteronomistic editors. The conclusion of Deuteronomism cannot rest on the *דבר-יהוה* formula alone.⁴⁶

A second line of argumentation for the Deuteronomistic orientation of Hos 1:1 suggests that the dating formula depends on the chronological successions supplied by the Deuteronomistic History.⁴⁷ This argument assumes that the Deuteronomistic History supplies the only available source of information for the regnal succession of the Jerusalem monarchy.⁴⁸ The list of kings, therefore, could draw upon the Deuteronomistic

⁴⁴ Genesis 15:1 (cf. 15:4); 1 Sam 15:10; 2 Sam 7:4; 24:11; 1 Kgs 6:11; 16:1, 7; 17:2, 8; 18:1; 21:17, 28; 2 Kgs 20:4; Isa 38:4; Jer 28:12; 29:30; 32:26; 33:1; 33:19; 33:23; 34:12; 35:12; 36:27; 37:6; 42:7; 43:8; 44:1 (cf. 39:15); Ezek 1:3; Jon 1:1; 3:1; Hag 2:10, 20; Zech 1:1, 7; 7:1, 8; 2 Chr 11:2; 12:7. See also 1 Kgs 13:20; 18:31 in which the use of *אשר* refers to the prophet and not the divine word.

⁴⁵ Compare also the non-formulaic instances of the “word” manifesting to someone in Gen 18:14; Exod 4:28.

⁴⁶ See similarly the conclusion of Levin, “Das ‘Vierprophetenbuch’,” 225.

⁴⁷ Wolff, *Hosea*, 1–5; Tucker, “Prophetic Superscriptions,” 69; Robert P. Carroll, “Inventing the Prophets,” *IBS* 10 (1988): 29; Terence Collins, *The Mantle of Elijah: The Redaction Criticism of the Prophetic Books*, BibSem 20 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 62; Harald-Martin Wahl, “Die Überschriften der Prophetenbücher: Anmerkungen zu Form, Redaktion und Bedeutung für die Datierung der Bücher,” *ETL* 70 (1994): 98; Reinhard Gregor Kratz, “Jesaja im Corpus propheticum,” in *Prophetenstudien: kleine Schriften II*, FAT 74 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 150.

⁴⁸ This assumption ignores the possibility of other written, oral, or cultural sources for this information. The Deuteronomistic History cites other sources of monarchical data. Cf. 1 Kgs 11:41; 14:19, 29; 16:14, 20; 2 Kgs 1:18; 14:28; 15:21. The Deuteronomistic History references of other cites does not suggest that the superscriptions may have drew upon an alternative source text. The Deuteronomistic History reference to other sources demonstrates that the Deuteronomistic History is not the only cultural memory of the Israelite and Judean kingdoms.

History, but the absence of additional distinctive Deuteronomistic language or ideology prevents definitively affirming or denying the Deuteronomism of Hos 1:1.⁴⁹ The imbalance between the regnal periods of the southern and northern kings indicates that the use of the kings list in Hos 1:1 differs from the characteristic correspondence of the successive chronologies of the northern and southern kings in the Deuteronomistic History.⁵⁰ The Deuteronomistic History carefully correlates the respective reigns of northern and southern kings relative to one another in successive order. Hosea 1:1, however, lacks this correlation, suggesting that its use of the king's list serves a different ideological agenda than that found in the Deuteronomistic History. The regnal list of Judean kings spans a total of 98 years.⁵¹ During the course of this date range a total of six Israelite kings reign between Jeroboam II and the fall of Samaria.⁵² The Deuteronomistic History supplies these six reigns along with the corresponding list of Judean kings (2 Kgs 14:23-17:4). The absence of this correspondence between the northern and southern kings in Hos 1:1 suggests a difference in how the editors construct the comparison between the Northern and Southern Kingdoms.

The list of kings in Hos 1:1 provides insufficient information to conclusively affirm or deny the Deuteronomism of the Hosea superscription. Both pieces of evidence used to argue for the Deuteronomism of Hos 1:1, therefore, are insufficient to definitively

⁴⁹ See similar conclusions in: Delbert R. Hillers, *Micah*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 14; Ehud Ben Zvi, "A Deuteronomistic Redaction In/Among the 'Twelve'?: A Contribution from the Standpoint of the Books of Micah, Zephaniah and Obadiah," in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism*, ed. Linda S. Schearing and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 268 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 250–53.

⁵⁰ Norbert Lohfink and Ehud Ben Zvi correctly object that even if this kings list borrowed from the Deuteronomistic History, then this conclusion still fails to necessitate a distinctive Deuteronomistic editor or editorial agenda (Lohfink, "Gab es eine deuteronomistische Bewegung," 319–20; Ben Zvi, "A Deuteronomistic Redaction," 250–53. See similarly: Vermeylen, "Osée 1," 193, n.1).

⁵¹ This calculation is based upon dating the first year of Uzziah's reign to 785 BCE and the final year of Hezekiah's reign to 687 BCE.

⁵² Zechariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, Pekah, and Hoshea (2 Kgs 15:8-31; 17:1-4)

affirm such conclusions. The use of the דבר־יהוה formula could stem from a Deuteronomistic agenda, yet the prolific use of this formulaic language across the Hebrew prophets indicates that this language fits within the prophetic tradition and thus does not necessitate a distinctively Deuteronomistic editor. Similarly, the Deuteronomistic History could serve as a source of knowledge for the kings list; however, the limited use of these names with no additional distinctive Deuteronomistic language, themes, or ideological markers makes it difficult to definitively associate this superscription with a Deuteronomistic ideological agenda. The case for Deuteronomism in Hos 1:1, therefore, must draw upon arguments for Deuteronomistic editing elsewhere in Hosea. The identification of widespread Deuteronomistic editing in the composition history of Hosea could clarify the probability that Hos 1:1 derives from Deuteronomistic origins. Similarly, the absence of such an editorial agenda would lead to denying the Deuteronomism of Hos 1:1.

Cultic Infidelities and the Question of Deuteronomism: Hosea 3:1-5; 4:15; 13:2-3

Scholars widely recognize the prevalence of cultic concerns in Hosea. Hosea contains numerous condemnations of idolatry and the worship of other gods (4:1, 17; 8:5-6; 13:1-2; 14:9[8]), specifically identifying Baal in five instances (2:10[8], 15[13], 19[17]; 11:2; 13:1). Beyond the immediate concern for idolatry, the text condemns illicit cultic practices (4:12-14, 15, 19; 8:11, 14; 10:1, 5, 8; 12:12[11]) and often describes divine judgment in terms of the disruption of cultic rituals (3:4; 9:4; 10:2). Furthermore, Hos 4:4-19* and 5:1-7* address a priestly audience (cf. 6:9; 10:5). This integral role of cultic concerns in Hosea leads many diachronic scholars to conclude that these cultic concerns form a core element in the earliest Hosea message.⁵³ Although this theme is

⁵³ Past scholars frequently speak of Hosea's cultic orientation as a response to Canaanite fertility religion. See: Brown, *The Book of Hosea*, xxii–xxiv; H. G. May, "The Fertility Cult in Hosea," *AJSL* 48 (1932): 73–98; Mauchline, "Hosea," 6:554–55; van Leeuwen, *Hosea*, 19–22; Mays, *Hosea*, 7–12; Wolff, *Hosea*, xvii–xxiii; Louis Katzoff, "Hosea and the Fertility Cult," *Dor Le Dor* 15 (1986): 84–87; Hubbard,

pervasive throughout Hosea, the variances in the language and themes of these cultic concerns makes it difficult for redaction critics to assign all of the cultic concerns to a single compositional layer.⁵⁴ Thus the composition history of Hosea likely reflects later developments of the cultic themes found in the earliest literary core. The case for Deuteronomistic editing based upon cultic themes in Hosea often focuses upon the primary texts of Hos 3:1-5; 4:15; and 13:2-3.

Although some scholars attribute Hos 3:1-5 to the hand of the prophet on account of the first-person discourse, several redaction critics attribute this final marriage metaphor to latter editors.⁵⁵ Within this compositional framework, some scholars note select lexical and thematic similarities with other Deuteronomistic texts.⁵⁶ Such similarities naturally contribute to arguments that all or part of Hos 3:1-5 consists of Deuteronomistic Book of the Four editing.⁵⁷ Book of the Four advocates, however, disagree on how to conceptualize the relationship between Hos 3:1-5 and Deuteronomistic thought. Whereas Aaron Schar and Rainer Albertz identify select

Hosea, 42–43; Gale A. Yee, “The Book of Hosea,” in *NIB*, vol. 7, 12 vols. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), 200–203; Fretheim, *Reading Hosea-Micah*, 9–11.

⁵⁴ See, for example, Rudnig-Zelt, who identifies a series of Persian Period Priestly-critical supplements that exhibit some Deuteronomistic similarities. Although Rudnig-Zelt groups these updates according to common concerns, she notes that these passages reflect multiple layers that developed over time (*Hoseastudien*, 261–78). See also Vielhauer, who divides the cultic concerns across three compositional layers (*Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 108–10, 120–25).

⁵⁵ For those attributing Hos 3:1-5 to the hand of the prophet, see: Jean Steinmann, *Le prophétisme biblique des origines à Osée*, LD 23 (Paris: Cerf, 1959), 190–92; van Leeuwen, *Hosea*, 17–18; Mays, *Hosea*, 15, 54; Wolff, *Hosea*, xxiii–xxiv; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 19; Eberhard Bons, *Das Buch Hosea*, NSKAT 23.1 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1996), 14. For those identifying this chapter as a later editorial addition, see: Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 1–2, 9–10, 33–34; Loring W. Batten, “Hosea’s Message and Marriage,” *JBL* 48 (1929): 271–72; Robinson, “Hosea,” 1; Yee, *Composition and Tradition*, 57–64; Wacker, *Figurationen des Weiblichen*, 233; Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 133–37; Rudnig-Zelt, *Hoseastudien*, 73–77.

⁵⁶ E.g., Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea*, 298; Yee, *Composition and Tradition*, 57–64. Cf. Vielhauer who notes Deuteronomistic similarities but ultimately concludes against Deuteronomistic composition (*Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 135–36).

⁵⁷ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 230–33.

supplements as Deuteronomistic, Jakob Wöhrle argues that such phrases are inseparable from their current literary contexts, suggesting that the entirety of Hos 3:1-5 is a Deuteronomistic composition.⁵⁸ The relationship of Hos 3:1-5 to the Book of the Four hypothesis, therefore, concerns not only the identification of the Deuteronomistic editing but also the question of the compositional integrity of the pericope.

Nine observations evince that Hos 3:1-5 presupposes its placement after the familial imagery of Hos 1:2-9*; 2:4-22[2-20]*.⁵⁹ First, the narrativ introduction ויאמר יהוה אלי (“And YHWH said to me”) echoes Hos 1:2: ויאמר יהוה אליהושע (“And YHWH said to Hosea”). Second, the additional use of עוד in 3:1 reveals an awareness of its subsequent placement after the initial commission in 1:2. Third, the divine command in Hos 1:2 and 3:1 each opens with the same imperative לך. Fourth, Hosea 3:1 presupposes the relationship between adultery and idolatry as found in 2:4-22[2-20]*. Fifth, the use of פנה in 3:1 to denote the “turning” from YHWH to other gods recalls the language of 2:4[2]. Sixth, Hos 3:1 picks up the use of the term אהב to describe the illicit relationship

⁵⁸ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 170; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 181; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 230–33.

⁵⁹ See similar conclusions by: Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea*, 293; Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 130–33. The discussion of the relationship between Hos 1:2-9* and 3:1-5 often takes the form of considering whether Hos 3:1-5 assumes the unnamed woman is the same Gomer of 1:2-9*. For those who affirm that Hos 3:1-5 represents subsequent events with the same woman found in 1:2-9*, see: Jacob, “Osée,” 34–35; Gerhard von Rad, *The Message of the Prophets*, trans. D.M.G. Stalker (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), 112; Mays, *Hosea*, 55–56; Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea*, 118, 294; Robert B. Chisholm, *Interpreting the Minor Prophets* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990), 27–29; William H. Bellinger, *Introducing Hosea: A Study Guide* (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 1993), 29–32; De Vries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 184; Fretheim, *Reading Hosea-Micah*, 13, 33–37. Contrast this position with those who argue that Hos 3:1-5 recounts a different marriage relationship than Hos 1:2-9*: Crawford Howell Toy, “Notes on Hosea 1-3,” *JBL* 32 (1913): 77; Batten, “Hosea’s Message,” 272; Steinmann, *Le prophétisme biblique*, 190–91; Yehezkel Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel: From Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile*, trans. Moshe Greenberg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 371; Harold Louis Ginsberg, “Studies in Hosea 1-3,” in *Yehezkel Kaufmann Jubilee Volume: Studies in Bible and Jewish Religion*, ed. Menahem Haran (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1960), 65; Rudolph, *Hosea*, 86–90; Georg Fohrer and Ernst Sellin, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 11, durchgesehene und erw. Aufl. ed. (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1969), 464; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 58; Van der Woude, “Three Classical Prophets,” 44–45; Christa Schäfer-Lichtenberger, “JHWH, Hosea und die drei Frauen im Hoseabuch,” *EvTh* 55 (1995): 114–115, 121–122; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 170–71; Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea-Jonah*, 66.

between the wife and her “lovers” (cf. Hos 2:7[5], 9[7], 12[10], 14[12], 15[13]; 3:1).

Seventh, the removal of the wife from her lovers in 3:3 recalls 2:8[6].⁶⁰ Eighth, as in Hos 1:2-9*, the text pairs the prophetic sign acts with explicit interpretations. Ninth, the commission to לא תזני (“not act as a harlot”) recalls the plea to the wife in 2:4[2] to abandon her harlotry. Hosea 3, therefore, presupposes both Hos 1:2-9* and 2:4-22[2-20]*, as well as its placement after these pericopes.⁶¹

Six elements of the familial imagery change in Hos 3:1-5, suggesting a different communicative function that distinguishes it from the compositional origins of Hos 1:2-9* and 2:4-22[2-20]*. First, whereas Hos 1 commands Hosea to acquire a “wife,” chapter 3 commissions the prophet only to “love” (אהב) her. Although Hos 3:1-5 presupposes its location subsequent to 1:2-9*, the prophet’s need to “purchase” (כרה; v.3) this wife suggests a substantially different relationship than that assumed in the preceding chapters.⁶² Second, whereas Hos 2:4-22[2-20]* represents the illicit relationships with זנה, it does not apply this term to right relations with YHWH. Hosea 3:1-5, however, applies אהב equally to the illicit relationships and YHWH’s disposition to his people. Third, Hos 3:1-5 lacks awareness of the children, who serve as the primary communicative vehicles in 1:2-9*. Fourth, the metaphorical identity of the woman shifts between the respective pericopes of Hos 1-3. Whereas the woman serves as a symbol for

⁶⁰ Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea-Jonah*, 68.

⁶¹ For this reason, Vielhauer argues that editors constructed Hos 3:1-5 to follow Hos 1-2 (*Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 130–33). Cf. Andreas Scherer, “‘Gehe wiederum hin!’: Zum Verhältnis von Hos. 3 zu Hos. 1,” *BN* 95 (1998): 23–29.

⁶² This is the only place in the Hebrew Bible where כרה would function in a marital context. Some translators follow the LXX and Arabic cognates to translate כרה as “hire,” suggests a context of prostitution (Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea*, 298–99. Cf. Nyberg, *Studien zum Hoseabuche*, 23; Arnold B. Ehrlich, *Ezechiel, Kleinen Propheten*, Vol 5 en, *Randglossen zur Hebräischen Bible: Textkritisches, Sprachliches und Sachliches*, vol. 5, 7 vols. [Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968], 171). Others view the price of Hos 3:2 as a dowry (Steinmann, *Le prophétisme biblique*, 190; Ben Zvi, *Hosea*, 91–92). For those who translate “purchase” following the usage in 1 Sam 23:7, see: A. D. Tushingham, “A Reconsideration of Hosea, Chapters 1-3,” *JNES* 12 (1953): 153; Robert Gordis, “Hosea’s Marriage and Message: A New Approach,” *HUCA* 25 (1954): 25; Leroy Waterman, “Hosea, Chapters 1-3, in Retrospect and Prospect,” *JNES* 14 (1955): 105–6.

the land in Hos 1:2-9* and a city in Hos 2:4-22[2-20]*, she represents the people in Hos 3:1-5.⁶³ Fifth, although Hos 1:2-9* and 3:1-5 pair the prophetic sign-acts with interpretations, Hos 3:1-5 expands the dissemination of this meaning. YHWH supplies the meaning of each child's name only to Hosea in 1:2-9*. In Hos 3:1-5, however, the prophet relays the meaning to the wife. These preceding observations indicate that Hos 3:1-5 not only presupposes its canonical location subsequent to Hos 1:2-9* and 2:4-22[2-20]*, but it also serves different presupposed communicative functions suggestive of alternative compositional origins.

A sixth difference distinguishes Hos 3:1-5 from 1:2-9*, and 2:4-22[2-20]*: the nature of restorative hope. Composition studies largely suspect that later editors supplied the restorative hope of 1:7; 2:1-3[1:10-2:1], suggesting that the earliest composition of 1:2-9* lacked such salvific ambitions.⁶⁴ The salvific pronouncements of Hos 2:16-25[14-23], however, are far more difficult to divide from their literary context.⁶⁵ Hosea 2:16-

⁶³ The identity of the wife in Hos 2:4-22[2-20]* remains a disputed subject largely swayed by how one defines the compositional relationship between the three pericopes of Hos 1-3. For arguments that Hos 2:4-22[2-20]* assumes a city, see: Aloysius Fitzgerald, "Mythological Background for the Presentation of Jerusalem as a Queen and False Worship as Adultery in the OT," *CBQ* 34 (1972): 403-16; John J. Schmitt, "The Wife of God in Hosea 2," *BR* 34 (1989): 5-18; Julie Galambush, *Jerusalem in the Book of Ezekiel: The City as Yahweh's Wife*, SBLDS 130 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 49.

⁶⁴ See pp.116-123 for discussion of the scholarship.

⁶⁵ Recall Nogalski's caution that the redaction-critical assumption separating judgment from salvation faces greater difficulties in the case of Hosea (*Literary Precursors*, 59-60). Redaction critics disagree on where to begin identifying later editorial developments in the salvific pronouncements of Hos 2. For those who read all of 2:4-25[2-23] as a compositional unity, see: Umberto Cassuto, "The Second Chapter of the Book of Hosea," in *Biblical and Oriental Studies*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1973), 101-140; David J. A. Clines, "Hosea 2: Structure and Interpretation," in *Studia Biblica 1978*, JSOTSup 11 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1979), 83-84; Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea*, 141; Aster, "The Function of the City," 41-45. For those who compositionally separate the salvific turn at v.16[14], see: Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 1-2, 9-10, 27-32; Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, 238-46; Batten, "Hosea's Message," 269; Sigmund Mowinckel, *Prophecy and Tradition: The Prophetic Books in the Light of the Study of the Growth and History of the Tradition* (Oslo: J. Dybwad, 1946), 73-74; Christoph Levin, *Die Verheissung des neuen Bundes: in ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Zusammenhang ausgelegt*, FRLANT 137 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 241-45; Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 142, 62; 228. For those who compositionally separate the salvific turn at v.18[16], see: Henryk Krszyna, "Literarische Struktur von Os 2, 4-17," *BZ* 13 (1969): 41-59; Wolff, *Hosea*, 56-69; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 48-52; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 71; Weider, *Ehemetaphorik*, 126; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 141, n.118.

25[14-23] preserves three identifiable salvific pronouncements: the continuation of first-person divine discourse to the wife (vv.16-22[14-20]*), the priestly covenant incipit (v.20[18]), and the latter days pronouncement (vv.23-25[21-23]). Scholars widely identify the priestly covenant incipit as a later editorial addition on the grounds of its interruption of an otherwise direct discourse to the wife, and the sudden introduction of creation categories suggestive of dependence upon the Priestly material in the primeval history of Gen 1-11.⁶⁶ Hosea 2:16-22[14-20]* not only continues the preceding discourse, but also reflects a strict literary program of reversing previous judgment pronouncements in Hos 2:4-15[2-13], suggesting a closely integrated literary relationship.⁶⁷ The “on that day” (וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא) pronouncement of Hos 2:23-25[21-23] breaks from this literary program by introducing key language and themes from Hos 1:2-9* in a system of reversal far more reminiscent of Hos 2:1-3[1:10-2:2] and 14:5-9[4-8].⁶⁸ These observations suggest that the pre-existing salvific ambitions of Hos 2:4-22[2-20]* underwent

⁶⁶ Hosea 2:20[18] makes use of three creation categories found in Gen 1-11. See the use of חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה (“animals of the field”) and עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם (“birds of the air”). The category רֶמֶשׂ הָאָדָמָה (“creeping things of the land”) occurs in Gen 1:25; 6:20; 9:2; Lev 20:25. See also the use of the similar phrase using the locality עַל-הָאָרֶץ: Gen 1:26, 28, 30; 7:8, 14, 21; 8:17, 19; Lev 11:44. Genesis 9:12-17, furthermore, contains the only other example of YHWH making a covenant with the animal world. Whitekettle argues that Hos 2:20 is specifically related to Gen 9:2 (“Freedom from Fear and Bloodshed: Hosea 2.20 (Eng. 18) and the End of Human/Animal Conflict,” *JSOT* 37 [2012]: 219–36).

⁶⁷ Seven reversals of 2:4-15[2-13]* characterize the salvific pronouncements of vv.16-22[14-20]*, suggesting they function as a coherent unit. First, Hos 2:4[2] opens with a call for words of accusation (רִיבוֹ) against the woman, whereas v.16[14] transitions to YHWH speaking “tenderly” to her. Second, v.5[3] threatens to turn the wife into a “wilderness” (מִדְבָּר), whereas v.16[14] turns the “wilderness” (מִדְבָּר) into a restorative experience. Third, whereas v.14[12] threatens the “vines” (גִּפְתִּי), v.17[15] restores “vineyards” (כֶּרֶם). Fourth, the woman’s paths are blocked in v.8[6], but the Valley of Achor becomes a “door” (פֶּתַח) in v.17[15]. Fifth, v.5[3] threatens to bring the woman forward as on the day of her birth as judgment, but v.17[15] restores her to a state like that of her youth. Sixth, the theme of marital status frames Hos 2:4-22[2-20] as v.4[2] contains YHWH’s denial that he is her husband, whereas v.18[16] promises that he will be her husband. Verses 21-22[19-20] reverse the divorce pronouncement of v.4[2]. Finally, the wife forgets YHWH in v.15[13] yet ends the poem by forgetting the Baals (v.19[17]). This key reversal precedes the announcement that then she will know YHWH (v.21-22[19-20]). The immediate literary awareness of Hos 2:16-22[14-20]* to the neglect of a broader canonical awareness revealed by vv.23-25[21-23] suggests reading Hos 2:16-22[14-20]* as an inherent continuation of vv.4-15 distinct from the editorial addition in vv.23-25[21-23], which serves literary purposes extending beyond vv.4-22[2-20]*.

⁶⁸ Wolff sees similarities between 2:18-25; 11:8-9, 11; and 14:2-9 (*Dodekapropheton 1, Hosea*, xxiv, 58).

subsequent editorial development. These salvific developments in Hos 1-2 raise the question of the compositional relationship between the salvific anticipation in 3:5 and the preceding pericope (vv.1-4). A compositionally distinct salvific turn would suggest that Hos 3 underwent a similar editorial development as Hos 1-2. Alternatively, a compositionally coherent salvific turn would suggest a different (and significantly more developed) salvific ambition than found in Hos 1:2-9* and 2:4-22[2-20]*.

Several scholars identify v.5 as a later addition to 3:1-4.⁶⁹ Two pieces of evidence make v.5 compositionally suspect: the salvific turn, the *אחרים הימים* (“latter days”), and the concern with a Davidic king after the announced cessation of the kingship in v.4. Each of these elements, however, serves to tie v.5 to the preceding verses. The literary pairing of prophetic sign-act with interpretation rules against separating v.5 from vv.1-4. Hosea 3:1-5 consists of two commissioned prophetic actions that correspond to a divine message. Hosea 3:1 opens with YHWH’s commission for the prophet to love the woman, thus illustrating the love of YHWH for his people. Verses 2-5, form the second structure linking prophetic action with interpretation. Hosea purchases the woman in v.2, then supplies relational instructions in v.3. These instructions command the woman to refrain from being with any man (even the prophet) for *ימים רבים* (“many days”). Every use of *ימים רבים* (“many days”) in the Hebrew Bible assumes a long, yet temporary, period of time. Every occurrence of this phrase assumes an end of this period of time marked by a

⁶⁹ E.g., Paul Volz, “Die Ehegeschichte Hosea’s,” *ZWTh* 41 (1898): 328–32; Marti, *Das Dodekapropheten*, 33–34; Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, 223–24; Toy, “Notes on Hosea 1-3,” 76; Gustav Hölscher, *Die profeten: Untersuchungen zur religionsgeschichte Israels* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1914), 428; Lindblom, *Hosea*, 122; Pfeiffer, *Introduction*, 573; Rudolph, *Hosea*, 86–90, 93; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 125–26, 129; Clements, “Understanding the Book of Hosea,” 410–18; Wolff, *Hosea*, 78–80; Josef Schreiner, “Hoseas Ehe, ein Zeichen des Gerichts,” *BZ* 21 (1977): 175; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 57–58; Davies, *Hosea*, NCB, 37, 104–5; Ludwig Schmidt, “Bemerkungen zu Hosea 1,2-9 und 3,1-5,” in *Alttestamentlicher Glaube und Biblische Theologie. Festschrift für Horst Dietrich Preuss zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Jutta Hausmann and Hans-Jürgen Zobel (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1992), 159–60; William D. Whitt, “The Divorce of Yahweh and Asherah in Hos 2:4-7,12ff,” *SJOT* 6 (1992): 42-43; Weider, *Ehemetaphorik*, 56–58; Holt, *Prophesying the Past*, 26; Ernst Haag, “Die Ehe des Propheten Hosea,” *TTZ* 108 (1999): 3; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 182; Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 133–37; Rudnig-Zelt, *Hoseastudien*, 73–77. Some scholars similarly divide v.4 as a supplement as well. E.g., Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 10; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 85.

change in the defining circumstances of those ימים רבים (“many days”).⁷⁰ The application of this temporal indicator signals the temporary nature of these arrangements. The text itself assumes, therefore, that this commissioned distance is temporary. In verse 4, the prophet supplies the anticipated corresponding interpretation. The temporally limited ימים רבים (“many days;” v.3) of isolation from other men corresponds to a temporally limited ימים רבים (“many days;” v.4) of political and cultic hiatus. This temporal limitation assumes that this isolation is not a permanent state, suggesting that something else will follow these ימים רבים (“many days;” v.4). Verses 2-4, therefore, assume that these ימים רבים (“many days;” v.4) will come to an end marking a change in the political and cultic circumstances. Verse 5 thus opens with אחר ישבו (“after they dwell”), signaling a change in the political and cultic situation. The people thus “return” (שוב) in this new time to seek the reversal of their cultic and political hiatus; that is, “they will seek YHWH their God and David their king” (ובקשו את־יהוה אלהיהם ואת דוד מלכם).⁷¹ Hosea 3:5, therefore, is inseparable from vv.1-4.

Arguments for the Deuteronomistic composition of Hos 3:1-5, therefore, must engage the whole pericope, rather than isolated selections.⁷² Such arguments revolve primarily around the use of אלהים אחרים (“other gods”) in 3:1b.⁷³ Wöhrle correctly argues that this phrase occurs predominantly in Deuteronomistic literature. This phrase occurs along with the verb פנה in Deut 31:18, 20 as found in Hos 3:1. Despite the overwhelming

⁷⁰ Numbers 20:15; Deut 1:46; Josh 24:7; 1 Kgs 2:38; Jer 35:7; 37:16; Ezek 38:8; Hos 3:3, 4.

⁷¹ Hence one may not separate only the reference to David from its surrounding context in v.5. Contra: Batten, “Hosea’s Message,” 273; Mays, *Hosea*, 75; Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea*, 307; Emmerson, *Hosea*, 12–14, 101–5; Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 14, 65; Ben Zvi, *Hosea*, 81, 84; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 233, n.24.

⁷² As argued by Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 230–33. Note, however, that Wöhrle still separates the Davidic reference and the designation “in the latter days.”

⁷³ For those who try to separate this phrasing from Hos 3:1 signaling a Deuteronomistic revision of 3:1-5, see: Weider, *Ehemetaphorik*, 46–47; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 170; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 181; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 55. The parallelism between the prophetic action and the corresponding interpretation prohibits such compositional division.

use of אלהים אחרים (“other gods”) in Deuteronomistic literature, such language more frequently employs the verbs הלך (“walk”) or עבד (“serve”).⁷⁴ In fact, the use of אלהים אחרים (“other gods”) with פנה occurs only in Deut 31:18, 20; and Hos 3:1.⁷⁵ Such similarities signal a possible literary parallel with Deuteronomistic literature, although the absence of a more formulaic Deuteronomistic expression as found with the use of הלך (“walk”) or עבד (“serve”) when speaking of אלהים אחרים (“other gods”) raises the question of whether the present similarities justify identifying a Deuteronomistic editor.

Wöhrle further argues that the denunciation of the אפוד (“ephod”) and תרפים (“teraphim”) recalls the condemned illicit cultic rituals of the Deuteronomistic History.⁷⁶ Far from evincing formulaic Deuteronomistic denunciations, however, references to an “ephod” and “teraphim” occur together only in Judges 17-18 (see 17:5; 18:14, 17-20). In this story of Micah’s idol, the אפוד (“ephod”) and תרפים (“teraphim”) serve as accessories to the פסל ומסכה (“idol and cast image”) central to his family shrine. The isolation of this language combination to one pericope in Judges suggests that this language characterizes the pericope, not the Deuteronomistic editor(s). This pericope and Judg 8:27 serve as the only two passages associating an ephod with a family shrine or idolatrous activity. These isolated occurrences stand in contrast to the majority of Deuteronomistic History usages in which the term אפוד (“ephod”) functions as found in the Priestly Pentateuchal material as a divinely commissioned accessory to the priests of God.⁷⁷ תרפים (“teraphim”)

⁷⁴ Cf. uses of אלהים אחרים in Exod 20:3; 23:13; Deut 5:7; 6:14; 7:4; 8:19; 11:16, 28; 13:3, 7, 14; 17:3; 18:20; 28:14, 36, 64; 29:25; 30:17; 31:18, 20; Josh 23:16; 24:2, 16; Judg 2:12, 17, 19; 10:13; 1 Sam 8:8; 26:19; 1 Kgs 9:6, 9; 11:4, 10; 14:9; 2 Kgs 5:17; 17:7, 35, 37, 38; 22:17; Jer 1:16; 7:6, 9, 18; 11:10; 13:10; 16:11, 13; 19:4, 13; 22:9; 25:6; 32:29; 35:15; 44:3, 5, 8, 15; Hos 3:1; 2 Chr 7:19, 22; 28:25; 34:25.

⁷⁵ Cf. Deut 29:17; 30:17; Jer 2:27; 32:33.

⁷⁶ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 230–33.

⁷⁷ Exodus 25:7; 28:4, 6, 12, 15, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31; 29:5; 35:9, 27; 39:2, 7, 8, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22; Lev 8:7; 1 Sam 2:18; 2:28; 14:3; 21:10; 22:18; 23:6, 9; 30:7; cf. 2 Sam 6:14; 1 Chr 15:27.

overwhelming serve as household gods. These household gods feature in only one Deuteronomistic polemic against idolatry in 1 Kgs 23:24.⁷⁸

The language of מצבה (“pillar”) appears far more common in Deuteronomistic anti-idolatry polemics. The Deuteronomistic literary tradition recounts the divine command to destroy the pillars of the land (Deut 7:5; 12:3. Cf. Exod 23:24; 34:13) and prohibits the erection of such items (Deut 16:22; cf. Lev 26:1). The subsequent Deuteronomistic History judges the reigns of kings according to their adherence to these precepts regarding “pillars” (1 Kgs 14:23; 2 Kgs 3:2; 10:26, 27; 17:10; 18:4; 23:14; cf. 2 Chr 14:2; 31:1). The מצבה (“pillar”), of course, features beyond traditionally designated Deuteronomistic collections; however, this consistent concern with “pillars” in repeated Deuteronomistic worship polemics suggests stronger correlation with Deuteronomism.⁷⁹

Far from reflecting the Deuteronomistic motif of cultic purging, Ben Zvi correctly notes that Hos 3:4 does not assume that these listed items are problematic.⁸⁰ Nogalski further notes that the nature of the list demands consistency from commentators.⁸¹ A negative judgment of one item in the list must be equally applicable to all items in the list. Whereas one may assign a negative association to the “teraphim” and “pillars” on account of polemical language outside of Hosea, one wonders whether Hos 3:4 warrants such negative interpretations for the “king,” “prince,” “sacrifice,” and “ephod.” The separation from these items is only temporary, suggesting that the text assumes no permanent ban or negative association with any of the items in this list. Contrary to the distinctive ideological agenda of the Deuteronomistic History, these items, including the

⁷⁸ Cf. Gen 31:19, 34, 35; Judg 17:5; 18:14, 17, 18, 20; 1 Sam 15:23; 19:13, 16; 2 Kgs 23:24; Ezek 21:21; Hos 3:4; Zech 10:2.

⁷⁹ For complete usage, see: Gen 28:18, 22; 31:13, 45, 51, 52; 35:14, 20; Exod 23:24; 34:13; Lev 26:1; Deut 7:5; 12:3; 16:22; 1 Sam 14:12, 23; 2 Kgs 3:2; 10:26, 27; 17:10; 18:4; 23:14; Isa 19:19; Jer 43:13; Ezek 26:11; Hos 3:4; 10:1, 2; Mic 5:12; Zech 9:8; 2 Chr 14:2; 31:1.

⁸⁰ Ben Zvi, *Hosea*, 90–91.

⁸¹ Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea-Jonah*, 68.

“pillars” and “teraphim,” are not presented as illicit cultic objects permanently destroyed from Israelite society. The text assumes that they will be restored.

One further observation distinguishes Hos 3:1-5 from Deuteronomism as observed in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History. The characterization of the relationship between YHWH and his people as one of “love” serves as a defining characteristic of Deuteronomistic thought, even if it is not exclusive to Deuteronomistic literature.⁸² Deuteronomistic literature most frequently uses love (אהב) as a distinctive marker of the relationship between YHWH and his people in the context of commands for the people to “love” God.⁸³ In very few instances, however, does Deuteronomistic literature speak of God as “loving” (אהב) the people.⁸⁴ This conception of divine love occurs more frequently beyond the confines of traditionally designated Deuteronomistic texts.⁸⁵ Gerhard Wallis notes that Hosea’s use of אהב to characterize the relationship between God and the people contains differences from that of Deuteronomistic literature. He argues that Deuteronomistic usages of אהב lack the marital and sexual imagery of Hosea. In Hosea, the use of the marital metaphor conceptualizes God’s love as the catalyst for the human responsibility to reciprocate such relational engagement.⁸⁶ Furthermore, Deuteronomistic literature makes no use of אהב to depict cultic infidelity or

⁸² E.g., Alt, “Die Heimat des Deuteronomiums,” 2:271–73; William L. Moran, “Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy,” *CBQ* 25 (1963): 77–87; Gerhard Wallis, “אהב,” ed. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, trans. John T. Willis, *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 114–16.

⁸³ Deuteronomy 6:5; 10:12; 11:1, 13, 22; 13:4; 19:9; 30:6, 16, 20; Josh 22:5; 23:11. See also the similar uses outside of traditionally designated Deuteronomistic literature: Pss 31:24[23]; 116:1; 122:6; 145:20. Cf. Judg 5:31; Mal 2:11.

⁸⁴ See for example, God’s love of the ancestors (Deut 4:37; 10:15) and people (Deut 23:6; 1 Kgs 10:9 [cf. 2 Chr 9:8]).

⁸⁵ Isaiah 41:8; 43:4; Jer 31:3; Hos 3:1; 11:1; 14:4; Mal 1:2; Ps 47:5; 2 Chr 20:7; cf. Hos 9:15; Prov 3:12.

⁸⁶ Wallis, אהב, 114–115. See similar observations in Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 81–82, n.6.

disloyalty toward other deities as found in Hos 3:1. The use of אֱלֹהִים in Hos 3:1-5, therefore, extends beyond the identifiable ideological boundaries of comparable uses of the term in Deuteronomistic thought.

The preceding assessment supports four compositional conclusions concerning Hos 3:1-5. First, Hos 3:1-5 presupposes its place following Hos 1:2-9* and 2:4-22[2-20]*. Second, although Hos 3:1-5 presupposes these pericopes, the ideological differences suggest compositional distinction. Third, the inclusion of the explicit concern for the Davidic monarchy in v.5 distinguishes Hos 3 from the updates in 2:1-3[1:10-2:1] and 2:23-25[21-23].⁸⁷ Finally, although Hos 3:1b employs a literary parallel with Deuteronomistic phrasing, vv.1-5 as a whole demonstrate distinctive ideological differences from Deuteronomistic thought.

Hosea 3:1-5 envisions a historical paradigm in which the people of God experience a hiatus from political and cultic practice before they experience a great “return” (שׁוּב) to YHWH and his chosen dynasty. Although Hosea makes frequent use of שׁוּב for a variety of purposes, only four uses conceptualize שׁוּב as a great necessitated “returning” to YHWH: 3:1-5; 6:1-3; 12:7[6]; 14:2-4[1-3].⁸⁸ Each of these literary units

⁸⁷ The concern for David suggests identifying the communal בני ישראל (“children of Israel”) with the Judean remnant in 3:1-5. Hosea 2:1-3[1:10-2:1], however, conceptualizes the בני ישראל as a distinguishable identity from the בני יהודה (“children of Judah”). Whereas Hos 3:5 pins restorative hope on a Davidic kingship, Hos 2:1-3[1:10-2:1] expresses hope for a reunified kingdom, but under a single ראש (“head”) rather than מלך (“king”). Scholars widely agree that the burgeoning late exilic and early postexilic hope placed in the restoration of the Davidic dynasty vanishes early in the Persian period following the realization of political subservient existence in Yehud. See: David Noel Freedman, “The Formation of the Canon of the Old Testament,” in *Religion and Law: Biblical-Judaic and Islamic Perspectives*, ed. Edwin Brown Firmage, Bernard G. Weiss, and John W. Welch (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 321–22; Jacob Liver, “David, Dynasty Of,” ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Detroit: Macmillan, 2007), 460; Ronald E. Clements, *Old Testament Theology: A Fresh Approach* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2012), 90.

⁸⁸ Hosea uses שׁוּב (“return”) to express the people’s inability to return (5:4; 7:10; cf. 7:16), and their return to Egypt (8:13; 9:3; 11:5). Most frequently, however, YHWH controls the act of turning via changing a disposition or circumstances toward or away from the people (Hos 2:11[9]; 4:9; 5:15; 11:9; 12:3[2], 10[9], 14[13]). There is also a “restorative” use of שׁוּב, which does not assume the meaning of repentance (6:11; 14:5[4], 8[7]). שׁוּב functions to express the repentance of the people only in Hos 3:1-5; 6:1-3; 12:7[6]; 14:2-4[1-3] (cf. possibly 2:9[7]).

breaks from the judgment discourse of their immediate literary context in order to impose the voice of the prophet petitioning the audience for repentance. This return to YHWH becomes conceptually linked with the realization of “goodness” (טוב) in Hos 3:5 and 14:3[2]. While other passages in the Book of the Four share a call to “seek YHWH,” no others employ שׁוּב to denote repentance, suggesting that Hos 3:1-5, while connecting to other editorial additions in Hosea, does not supply supporting evidence for editorial activity spanning Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah.⁸⁹

The second cult-critical passage often assigned to Deuteronomistic editing occurs in Hos 4:15aβb. Diachronic scholars often compositionally divide Hos 4:15aβb from its current literary context on account of the unexpected reference to Judah.⁹⁰ Three additional observations support identifying Hos 4:15aβb as an editorial addition to its current literary context. First, in addition to unexpectedly interjecting a concern for Judah in an oracle otherwise exclusively concerned with Israel and Ephraim, this addition interrupts a unifying focus on Israel in vv.15aα and 16a. Hosea 4:15aα identifies Israel as a “harlot” (זונה). The opening כִּי clause of v.16a assumes the continuation of preexisting discourse about Israel. Thus v.16a presupposes the continuation of v.15aα rather than the continuation of v.15aβb. Second, Hos 4:15aβb departs from the stylistic uses of wordplay on the names of corporate entities in Hos 4:15aα, 16-19. Both named northern corporate identities occur with a wordplay used to express the prophetic message. The name יִשְׂרָאֵל (“Israel”) plays on the alliterative sounds of סָרָרָה סָרָר (from the root סָרָר meaning “stubborn”) in v.16a, and סָר (“he turned aside”) in v.18a.⁹¹ The name אֶפְרַיִם (“Ephraim”)

⁸⁹ A similar call to return occurs in Joel 2:12, 13. Zech 1:3, 6, 16; Mal 3:7.

⁹⁰ E.g., Karl Budde, “Zu Text und Auslegung des Buches Hosea,” *JBL* 45 (1926): 292; Lindblom, *Hosea*, 121; Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 12; Wolff, *Hosea*, 112; Emerson, *Hosea*, 77–83. Mauchline correctly warns that not all Judah references present the same evidence of being later editorial additions (“Hosea,” 6:563–64). See similar cautions in Clements, “Understanding the Book of Hosea,” 419; Hubbard, *Hosea*, 35. Note that the OG reads the MT’s third-person jussive about Judah as a second-person. This change likely reflects a move for grammatical consistency on the part of the OG translator and thus does not reflect an earlier reading, contra Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 16.

⁹¹ One may further note an alliterative relationship with צָרָר in v.19a.

of v.17 plays on the simile כפרה (“like a heifer”) of v.16a. Finally, the shared use of זנה (“harlot”) language links Hos 4:15aα and vv.16-19, but excludes v.15aβb. These observations support identifying Hos 4:15aβb as an editorial addition to Hos 4:4-19*.

Albertz and Wöhrle attribute Hos 4:15 to Deuteronomistic editing related to the Book of the Four. The prohibition against traveling to Gilgal and Beth Aven has assumed cultic connotations. Their evidence, however, depends primarily upon the literary overlap with Amos 4:4 and 5:5, rather than distinctive Deuteronomistic characteristics.⁹² Jason Radine correctly notes that although some Deuteronomistic texts condemn Gilgal and Bethel, such polemics are not distinctive to Deuteronomism.⁹³ Thus the case that Hos 4:15aβb serves as a Book of the Four editorial addition rests more upon the relationship with Amos than on the relationship with a distinctive Deuteronomistic agenda.⁹⁴

The final passage frequently identified as Deuteronomistic on account of the use of cultic concerns is Hos 13:2-3. Hosea 13:2-3 holds an uncertain place in the composition history of Hosea. As with many passages in Hosea, these two verses reside within a pericope of uncertain beginning and end. Jakob Wöhrle argues that Hos 13:2-3 is a Deuteronomistic addition related to the formation of the Book of the Four.⁹⁵ Wöhrle separates vv.2-3 from its immediate literary context on account of the grammatical shift to the plural, which interrupts the grammatically singular announcements in vv.1, 4. Literary-critical divisions in Hosea should not rest on shifts in grammatical number alone. Shifts in grammatical number in Hosea often assume a new antecedent without

⁹² Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 181. Wöhrle is more cautious in his proposal. See: Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 239.

⁹³ Radine, “Deuteronomistic Redaction,” 290–91.

⁹⁴ For the inclusion of Hos 4:15aβb in the Book of the Four editorial activity based upon its use of Amos language, see pp.107-112.

⁹⁵ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 233–34. Pfeiffer similarly finds elements of Deuteronomistic ideology at work in the passage (*Das Heiligtum von Bethel*, 168–71, 230). See also the literary-critical judgments of: Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 162–63; Emmerson, *Hosea*, 147–51; Wacker, *Figurationen des Weiblichen*, 233–35.

necessitating a new identity. Thus indictments of the same audience shift between references to ancestor traditions and corporate identities, which result in a shift in grammatical number.⁹⁶ Hosea 13:2-3, for example, occurs as part of a larger literary structure that accounts for the shift in grammatical number. Hosea 13:1 continues the prophetic speech about the third-person singular Ephraim from the preceding chapter.⁹⁷ The third-person references to YHWH (vv.14-15[13-14]) signals the voice of the prophet and not YHWH. This prophetic speech beginning in 12:12[11] draws upon Jacob (v.13[12]) and exodus (v.14[13]) origins stories in the indictment against Ephraim, which continues into 13:1. The return to singular pronouns in v.4, however, shifts speakers and assumed audience. The inaugural יהוה אלֹהֵיךָ signals the beginning of divine direct speech to a singular audience identified by the exodus experience. The prophet is no longer speaking about Ephraim as found in 13:1. Rather, YHWH now speaks directly to Ephraim in v.4, signaling the beginning of a new speech unit.

The inauguration of a new speech unit, though challenging claims of rhetorical coherence between vv.1 and 4, does not necessitate an absence of any relationship of placement between the divine speech of 13:4-8 and the prophetic speech of 12:12[11]-13:1(2-3). Hosea 13:4 opens with a replicated phrase found in the divine speech immediately preceding the prophetic speech in 12:12[11]-13:1(2-3). This replication constructs a literary pattern spanning Hos 12:1[11:12]-13:9, bringing four speeches into parallel placements (see Table 2.3).

⁹⁶ Hosea 4:4-13 begins with singular discourse about a priest before broadening to consider the ways in which his failures lead to the sins of the people. Hosea 5:8-15 similarly employs the singular when the corporate identity of Ephraim or Judah serves as the antecedent, but the plural when assuming the communal congregants of these identities. The same transition from corporate singular referents to plural communal components occurs for Ephraim in Hos 7:8-16*; Israel in 8:3-4; 9:1-9*, 10-17*; 10:1-4, 9-10; 11:1-7*; and Samaria in Hos 8:5-6.

⁹⁷ Contra Pfeiffer who sees 13:1 as the beginning of a new literary unit (*The Books of the Old Testament* [New York: Harper, 1957], 68).

Table 2.3. Hos 12:1[11:12]-13:9 Literary Patterning

Cycle	Structure
Cycle 1	Prophetic Speech about Ephraim (Hos 12:1-9[11:12-12:8]*) ⁹⁸ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Third-person references about God.⁹⁹ • Third-person singular reference to YHWH. • Use of Jacob etiology tradition in indictment.
	First-Person Divine Discourse (Hos 12:10-11[9-10]) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inaugurated by Divine identification: ואנכי יהוה אלהיך מארץ מצרים. • Direct address to second-person masculine singular audience. • Use of wilderness tradition.
Cycle 2	Prophetic Speech about Ephraim (12:12[11]-13:3) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Third-person references to God. • Third-person singular reference to YHWH. • Use of Jacob etiology tradition in indictment. • Pronounced destruction.
	First-Person Divine Discourse (13:4-8) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inaugurated by Divine identification: ואנכי יהוה אלהיך מארץ מצרים. • Direct address to second-person masculine singular audience. • Use of wilderness tradition. • Pronounced destruction.

Two observations about this structure mitigate against the literary-critical division of 13:2-3 from its immediate literary context. First, the prophetic and divine speeches of the second cycle differ from the first cycle in their inclusion of concluding judgment pronouncements. Both of these judgment pronouncements in the second cycle make use

⁹⁸ A long scholarly tradition identifies 12:1b[11:12b], and 12:3a[2a] as later editorial additions. E.g., Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 8–9, 92–93; Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, 377; Mauchline, “Hosea,” 6:564, 692; Robinson, “Hosea,” 92–93; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 208, 210, 244–45; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 80, n.50; Wolff, *Hosea*, 271; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 151; Naumann, *Hoseas Erben*, 104–9, 172–76; Davies, *Hosea*, NCB, 36–37; Pfeiffer, *Das Heiligtum von Bethel*, 69. Composition studies additionally divide the hymnic insertion in 12:6[5] and the direct address of 12:7[6]. E.g., Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, 380; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 213–14; Snaith, *Amos, Hosea and Micah*, 80; Mauchline, “Hosea,” 6:564, 695–97; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 64, n.11; Wolff, *Hosea*, 276–77; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 154; Naumann, *Hoseas Erben*, 109–15, 180; Davies, *Hosea*, NCB, 37, 276; Pfeiffer, *Das Heiligtum von Bethel*, 69, 72–73.

⁹⁹ Hosea 12:1[11:12] opens with the first-person סבבני. Scholars commonly compositionally separate the following third-person references to God in 12:1b[11:12b] and 12:3a[2a]. The use of אלהים in v.4[3], however, still suggests the prophetic orientation of the speech from 12:2-5, 8-9[1-4, 7-8].

of the plural denoting a focus on the people. Thus Hos 12:12[11]-13:3 concludes by likening the idolatrous people to fleeting images of smoke, dew, and chaff. Similarly the divine speech of Hos 13:4-8 concludes by declaring the divine intention to meet the people as a lion, leopard, or bear. In both instances, the transition to the plural corresponds with an essential shift to judgment in the literary structure. Second, the prophetic speech of the second cycle employs the plural in two instances, both of which address cultic infidelities. The plural verbs in Hos 12:12[11] follow the identities of Gilead and Gilgal to denote their cultic grievances. The use of the plural to denote the populace of these locations continues with the pronominal suffix on מזבחותם (“their altars”). The shift to the plural in 13:2-3 indicates a new assumed grammatical antecedent, not necessarily a new subject.¹⁰⁰ The delineation of cultic infidelities in 13:2-3 coheres with the cultic theme of 12:12[11] and 13:1. This evidence prevents identifying 13:2-3 as an editorial addition.

Jakob Wöhrle delineates several parallels with Deuteronomistic literature in the anti-idolatry language of Hos 13:2-3, suggestive of corroborating evidence for editorial activity.¹⁰¹ The challenge of attributing 13:2-3 to a later editorial agenda is the pervasive anti-idolatry theme in Hosea.¹⁰² The language of “idols” (עצבים), “calves” (עגלים), and “engravers” (חרשים) appears elsewhere in Hosea (Hos 4:17; 8:4, 5, 6; 13:2; 14:9). The text correlates silver with idol-production in Hos 2:10; 8:4. Wöhrle argues for two correlations with Deuteronomistic literature not otherwise found in Hosea. First, he argues that מסכה (“molten image”) signals Deuteronomism on account of its uses in Deut 9:12, 16; 27:15; 1 Kgs 14:9; 2 Kgs 17:16. Its usage, however, extends far beyond the confines of traditionally designated Deuteronomistic literature. The failure to align

¹⁰⁰ Compare with the use of the plural verb סָבְבוּ (“they surrounded me”) in 12:1[11:12].

¹⁰¹ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 233–34.

¹⁰² Ina Willi-Plein even argues that editors constructed 13:1-3 using language characteristic of Hosea (*Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 220–22).

certain conventions of use with a single theological stream of tradition challenges arguments for Deuteronomism based upon the use of this word.¹⁰³ Wöhrle thus adds that *ויעשו להם מסכה* (“and they made for themselves a molten image”) is verbatim from 2 Kings 14:16. Even the added correlation of *מסכה* (“molten image”) with the verb *עשה* (“to make”) and the preposition *ל* designating for whom the idol is made does not constitute a characteristic usage of one corpus over another. Variations of this usage occur in Exod 32:4, 8; 34:17; Lev 19:4; Deut 9:12, 16; 1 Kgs 14:9; 2 Kgs 17:16; Hos 13:2; and Neh 9:18.¹⁰⁴ The distribution of this language suggests that commentators may speak of overlap with Deuteronomistic thought, but not necessarily Deuteronomistic composition.

Second, Wöhrle finds lexical overlap with the description of the “work of an artisan” in Deut 27:15.¹⁰⁵ Similar language occurs in Exod 28:11 and Jer 10:3, 9 with the minor variance that Deut 27:15 and Jer 10:3 use *ידי חרש* (“the hands of an engraver”) where the others only use *חרש* (“engraver”). As noted by Wöhrle, the combination of *מסכה* (“molten image”) and *מעשה חרש* (“work of an engraver”) has a parallel with Deut 27:15. Each of these elements, however, is not exclusive enough to Deuteronomistic composition to indicate distinctive Deuteronomistic editing. The high concern with idolatry elsewhere in Hosea and the use of *חרש* (“engraver”) in Hos 8:6 (cf. 10:11, 13) do not make this language unexpected in Hosea. Additionally, the images for fleeting

¹⁰³ *מסכה*, for example, typically serves as a modifier of another cultic lexeme to designate a single object, such as a “molten calf” (Exod 32:4, 8; Deut 9:16; 2 Kgs 17:16; Neh 9:18), “molten gods” (Exod 34:17; Lev 19:4); “molten images” (Num 33:52), “molten Ephod” (Isa 30:22), or a “molten abomination” (Deut 27:15). It frequently occurs paired with *פסל* in some way (Deut 27:15; Judg 17:3, 4; 18:14, 17, 18; Isa 30:22; Isa 42:17; Nah 1:14; Hab 2:18; 2 Chr 34:3; 34:4). Compare with the remaining instances in Deut 9:12; Judg 18:17, 18; 1 Kgs 14:9; Isa 42:17; Hos 13:2; Ps 106:19. None of these conventions define a specific usage of one corpus of literature over the others.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Ps 106:19, which lacks the *ל* preposition.

¹⁰⁵ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 233–34.

existence in Hos 13:3 find no correspondence to Deuteronomistic literature, yet strong correspondence with other elements of Hosea (cf. 6:4).¹⁰⁶

Hosea 13:2-3 fits in its current literary context and lacks features otherwise unexpected for Hosea. This conclusion suggests that the overlap with Deuteronomistic thought in Hos 13:2-3 evinces a close proximity between the Hosea and the Deuteronomistic theological traditions without necessitating Deuteronomistic editing. Hosea 13:2-3 lacks parallels with other elements in the Book of the Four suggesting that it fails to support a shared redaction spanning the collection.¹⁰⁷

Of these three passages reflecting cultic concerns, Hos 13:2-3 reflects the closest resemblance to Deuteronomistic thought. These two verses, however, form an integral part of their immediate literary context that prevents assigning them to later editors. Hosea 4:15aβb resembles language from Amos, but lacks an otherwise distinctive correspondence with Deuteronomism. Hosea 3:1-5 reflects a concern with other deities, yet betrays considerable ideological divergences from traditionally identified Deuteronomistic ideology. These differences further prevent assigning these cultically oriented passages to shared editorial activity. Hosea 3:1-5 condemns turning to other gods, but does so as part of a punishment–restoration paradigm that envisions the removal of the listed cultic objects as a temporary hiatus that will eventually lead to the people’s repentance. This punishment–restoration paradigm substantively differs from the condemnation of idols in 13:2-3 and the concern with traveling to the presumably

¹⁰⁶ Other than the parallel phrase in Hos 6:4; the combination of these images are unique to this verse. Other places where ענן (“a cloud”) is used to display a fleeting existence include Isa 44:22 and Job 7:9. No other verses use טל (“dew”) to illustrate fleeting existence. קָז (“chaff”) functions most commonly to illustrate fleeting existence. See: Isa 17:13; 29:5; Hos 13:3; Zeph 2:2; Pss 1:4; 35:5; Job 21:18. Note that none of this imagery occurs in Deuteronomy or the Deuteronomistic History.

¹⁰⁷ Wöhrle claims to identify a literary connection with Zeph 2:2, which he also attributes to Deuteronomistic editing (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 233–34). Zephaniah 2:2 and Hos 13:2-3, however, share only one word in common: קָז. For arguments against the Deuteronomism of Zeph 2:1-3, see pp.323-326.

illicit cultic centers in Hos 4:15aβb. These differences suggest that Hos 3:1-5; 4:15aβb and 13:2-3 fail to support claims of Deuteronomistic editing in Hosea.

Covenant, Torah, and the Question of Deuteronomism: Hosea 4:1-3; 8:1-6

Scholars often note that various components of Hosea assume some operating concept of a covenant with YHWH. The challenge to studying the concept of covenant in Hosea stems from the fact that many passages assume a concept of covenant without using the designation ברית (“covenant”). Several scholars point to these assumptions as evidence against the proposal that covenant theology was a late ideological development later imposed upon the eighth-century BCE prophets by Deuteronomistic editors.¹⁰⁸ While several passages in Hosea likely presuppose some concept of covenant (even if less developed than found in Deuteronomism), the two passages most frequently attributed to Deuteronomistic editors on account of the covenant theme are Hos 4:1-3 and parts of 8:1-6.

Hosea 4:1-3 serves a well-recognized introductory function in the context of chapters 4-12.¹⁰⁹ Hosea 4:1 targets the “children of Israel” using the שמעו (“listen”) command in much same way as 5:1 targets the “house of Israel.”¹¹⁰ Hosea 4:1-3 links to v.4 through the catchword ריב (“dispute”) though the different uses suggest a

¹⁰⁸ E.g., Albert Oliver Vannorsdall, “The Use of the Covenant Liturgy in Hosea” (Ph.D. diss., Boston University Graduate School, 1968), 348–58; McCarthy, “*Berit* in Old Testament History and Theology,” 113–14; Fensham, “The Marriage Metaphor in Hosea,” 71–78; Day, “Pre-Deuteronomic Allusions,” 1–12; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 86–87; Folster Eli, “The Presence of the Covenant Motif in Hosea: An Intertextual Approach for the Last Oracle in the Book,” *JBQ* 45 (2017): 36–40. See similarly Nicholson, *God and His People*, 179–88.

¹⁰⁹ E.g., Good, “The Composition of Hosea,” 30; Mays, *Hosea*, 16; Jörg Jeremias, “Hosea 4-7: Beobachtungen zur Komposition des Buches Hosea,” in *Textgemäß: Aufsätze und Beiträge zur Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments: Festschrift für Ernst Würthwein zum 70 Geburtstag*, ed. Antonius H. J. Gunneweg and Otto Kaiser (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 48–49; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 59–63; Holt, *Prophesying the Past*, 26; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 171.

¹¹⁰ Vielhauer argues that Hos 4:1-3 structurally parallels 5:1-2 (*Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 95–96).

compositional distinction between the units. Additionally, the language of the דעת אלהים (“knowledge of God”) and חסד (“loyalty”) recalls Hos 6:6.¹¹¹ Hosea 4:1-3 contains several literary links with the preceding chapters suggesting that it serves a “hinge” function between two major units in the Hosea composition. These verses link to the preceding chapters through the announcement of the דבר־יהוה (“word of YHWH;” cf. Hos 1:1, 2), ריב (“dispute;” cf. Hos 2:4[2]), and the feminine personification of the land (cf. Hos 1:2-9*).¹¹² These literary connections lead some scholars to attribute part of Hos 4:1-3 to the early Hosea editors who shaped the oracles into a book.¹¹³

Few redaction critics treat Hos 4:1-3 as a compositionally homogeneous unit. Several scholars compositionally distinguish v.3 from vv.1-2.¹¹⁴ Hosea 4:1 opens with direct address to a plural audience. The prophetic speaker addresses the audience, making third-person references to YHWH. This discourse shifts into divine speech in v.4. The summons to listen in v.1 precedes an announcement of YHWH’s dispute followed by an inseparable list of accusations (v.1b-2).¹¹⁵ The inaugural על־כן (“therefore”) of v.3 presupposes the preceding assessments. The personification of the land in Hos 4:3aa

¹¹¹ The only other use of this language is Prov 2:5.

¹¹² See also the use of בני ישראל (“children of Israel;” cf. Hos 2:1[1:10]; 3:1, 4, 5) and through the trifold use of the אין negation (“without”) recalling the rhetoric of Hos 3:4. Hosea 2:1-3, 23-25[1:10-2:1, 21-23]; 3:1-5, however, likely postdate Hos 4:1-3a.

¹¹³ E.g., Wolff, *Hosea*, 82–83; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 171.

¹¹⁴ Budde, “Zu Text und Auslegung des Buches Hosea,” 283; Pfeiffer, *Introduction*, 573; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 71, n.32; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 62–63; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 241–42, 246; Naumann, *Hoseas Erben*, 24–25; Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 95–96. Cf. Rudnig-Zelt who attributes vv.2b, 3 to Hellenistic era editorial activity (*Hoseastudien*, 120–34). For a defense of the compositional continuity of Hos 4:3 with its immediate literary context, see: Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea*, 334.

¹¹⁵ Many scholars note similarities between the accusations in v.2 and the Decalogue of Exod 20; Deut 5 (e.g., Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea*, 337; Rudnig-Zelt, *Hoseastudien*, 128–29; Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea-Jonah*, 74). While the language of ראה, גב, and נאף all have correspondences in the Decalogue, the first and last accusations of כחש and נגעו בדמים do not. All of these accusations, however, have correspondences elsewhere in Hos (cf. 4:13, 14; 6:8, 9; 7:1, 3, 4; 9:2; 10:13; 12:1). These observations suggest that Hos 4:2 reflects awareness of an early collection of legal prohibitions similar to Exod 20 and Deut 5 without necessitating literary dependence upon a specific Pentateuchal text.

recalls Hos 1:2-9* in much the same way as Hos 4:1 recalls language and themes from the preceding chapters. Additionally, the concern with the “inhabitants” (יֹשְׁבֵי) of the land in v.3aα links with v.1. The vocabulary shifts in v.3aβb to present the “animals of the field” (חֵית הַשָּׂדֶה), “birds of the air” (עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם), and “fish of the sea” (דְּגֵי הַיָּם) as “gathered” (יִאסְפוּ), recalling the commonly identified “priestly” incipit in Hos 2:20[18].¹¹⁶ This observation supports identifying Hos 4:1-3aα as an editorial unit linking the preceding metaphors with the following oracle against the “priest” (4:4-19*).

Some scholars see an underlying notion of covenant behind the lawsuit and accusation language of Hos 4:1-3*.¹¹⁷ Several commentators note a correlation between the legal accusations of Hos 4:2 and the final six injunctions of the Decalogue.¹¹⁸ Scharl recognizes that such a correlation does not necessitate dependence upon a written version of the Decalogue preserved in Exod 20:1-21 or Deut 5:1-21.¹¹⁹ While these accusations thematically correlate with the final six commandments in the Decalogue, the language more consistently aligns with accusations found elsewhere in Hosea. Thus while the language of כָּזֶב (“deception”) and דָּם (“blood” in reference to violence) does not occur in Exod 20:1-21 or Deut 5:1-21, this language reappears in Hos 6:8 and 7:3 (cf. 9:2; 10:13; 12:1). Similarly, the language that appears in the Decalogues of either Exod 20:1-21 or Deut 5:1-21 also features prominently in the following Hosea accusations.¹²⁰ This

¹¹⁶ On the redaction-critical division of v.20 from its current literary context, see: Pfeiffer, *Introduction*, 573; Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 9; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 57; Georg Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 6. und des 5. Jahrhunderts* Band 5 in *Die Propheten des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1976), 136; Davies, *Hosea*, NCB, 106; Davies, *Hosea*, 37, 83; Weider, *Ehemetaphorik*, 132–33; Wacker, *Figurationen des Weiblichen*, 226–27; Alberty, *Die Exilszeit*, 182.

¹¹⁷ E.g., Jeffrey H. Hoffmeyer, “Covenant and Creation: Hosea 4:1-3,” *RevExp* 102 (2005): 143–51.

¹¹⁸ Some scholars argue that Hos 4:2 presupposes some version of the Decalogue. E.g., Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea*, 337; Rudnig-Zelt, *Hoseastudien*, 128–29; Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea-Jonah*, 74.

¹¹⁹ Scharl, *Die Entstehung*, 172.

¹²⁰ See the use of רָצַח in Exod 20:13; Deut 5:17; and Hos 6:9. See the use of גָּבַח in Exod 20:15; Deut 5:19; and Hos 7:1. See the use of נָאֵף in Exod 20:14; Deut 5:18; and Hos 7:4 (cf. Hos 4:13-14).

relationship to the ensuing Hosea judgments suggests that Hos 4:1-3* reflects a similar relationship with the following accusations as it has with the preceding metaphors (Hos 1-3*). This observation supports the identification of Hos 4:1-3* as a hinge text linking the preceding metaphors with the following prophetic indictments.

While many recognize a correlation with the Decalogue and a possible underlying assumption of covenant, Book of the Four advocates argue for the Deuteronomistic orientation of Hos 4:1-3* on account the use of דבר־יהוה (“word of YHWH”).¹²¹ Wöhrle extends the Deuteronomistic supplement to include 4:1abα, arguing for a compositional distinction between the introductory formulaic speech and the Hosea textual tradition on account of the differences between Hos 4:1 and 5:1.¹²² As noted above, דבר־יהוה serves as an unreliable indicator of Deuteronomism on account of its prevalence in Hebrew prophetic literature.¹²³ Some redaction critics link Hos 4:1 to the superscription on account of the use of דבר־יהוה. דבר־יהוה, however, similarly occurs in 1:2, which likely predates Hos 1:1. About half of all instances of דבר־יהוה in the Hebrew Bible serve as part of a word-event formula utilizing the verb היה.¹²⁴ As observed in Hos 4:1, the preexilic prophets largely lack this word-event formula with the exception of editorially constructed headings and superscriptions (e.g., Hos 1:1; Mic 1:1). The use of דבר־יהוה to commission the audience’s attention using שמע occurs frequently in the Latter Prophets,

¹²¹ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 171–72; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 181; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 236–37.

¹²² Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 236–37. Book of the Four advocates further point to select lexical links with other pericopes attributed to Book of the Four editing. Such arguments garner skepticism when one disagrees with how and where Book of the Four advocates identify evidence of Book of the Four editorial activity. Thus Schart and Wöhrle both identify the common use of the ריב ליהוה in Hos 4:1 and Mic 6:2. Against the Book of the Four orientation of Mic 6:2, however, see pp.239-245.

¹²³ Note objection of: Lohfink, “Gab es eine deuteronomistische Bewegung,” 327–28. For an assessment of the proximity between Hos 1:1 and Deuteronomistic thought, see pp.52-57.

¹²⁴ Oskar Grether, *Name und Wort Gottes im Alten Testament*, BZAW 64 (Giessen: A.Töpelmann, 1934), 67–68; Werner H. Schmidt, “דָּבַר,” ed. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, trans. John T. Willis, Geoffrey William Bromiley, and David E. Green, *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 112.

yet only once in the Deuteronomistic History.¹²⁵ This pattern suggests that Hos 4:1 reflects a prophetic tradition rather than a distinctive Deuteronomistic redaction.¹²⁶

The preceding assessment, therefore, yields four compositional conclusions concerning Hos 4:1-3. First, the literary-critical assessment divides vv.1-3 into an earlier composition of vv.1-3aα, and a later addition of v.3aβb. Second, the earliest of these compositions (vv.1-3aα) contains numerous literary and lexical links with the preceding and following prophetic material. Slight differences in speech orientation and lexeme usage support the conclusion that editors shaped Hos 4:1-3aα to serve as a hinge unit between the preceding familial metaphors and the following prophetic accusations. Third, the addition of v.3aβb reveals literary similarities with Hos 2:20 suggesting a shared dependence upon the creation categories of Gen 1-11. Zephaniah 1:2-3 and Ezek 38:20 similarly reflect dependence upon the creation categories of Gen 1-11, yet do so in different ways, suggesting that a tradition-historical explanation best accounts for the relationship between these texts. Finally, Hos 4:1-3 lacks evidence of Deuteronomistic composition or a definitive dependence upon preexisting Deuteronomistic texts.

Whereas the relationship with covenant theology in Hos 4:1-3* is implicit, scholars often recognize the explicit reference to covenant in Hos 8:1. Thus the case for Deuteronomism in some combination of supplements to Hos 8:1-6 depends upon different lines of argumentation. Hosea 8:1 opens a new literary section commissioning a second-person singular subject to lift up a trumpet. The first-person divine speech continues to denounce idolatry through v.14. A long scholarly tradition identifies Hos 8:1b as a Deuteronomistic supplement on account of the reference to the “covenant”

¹²⁵ Jeremiah 2:4 (cf. 2:31); 7:2; 9:20; 17:20; 19:3; 21:11; 22:2, 29; 29:20; 31:10; 34:4; 42:15; 44:24, 26; Ezek 13:2; 16:35; 21:3[20:47]; 34:7, 9; 36:1; 37:4; Hos 4:1; Amos 7:16 (cf. 8:11, 12). Cf. 1 Sam 15:1.

¹²⁶ Note the objection to the Deuteronomistic orientation of Hos 4:1-3 argued by: Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 99–100, 125.

(ברית) and “Torah/law” (תורה).¹²⁷ Book of the Four advocates thus incorporate such arguments into their model of a Deuteronomistic Book of the Four.¹²⁸ Wöhrle extends the Deuteronomistic redaction to include vv.4b-6.¹²⁹ Such determinations build upon the premise that covenant theology formed the nucleus of Deuteronomistic thought, which did not form until after the eighth century BCE.¹³⁰ The logic of this premise, therefore, necessitates that references to covenant theology in eighth-century prophetic literature be the work of later editors.

More recent scholars question the *a priori* denial of covenant theology to the eighth century BCE. Such dissenting opinions note that the widespread use of ברית (“covenant”) to serve a variety of functions across biblical literature prevents scholars from associating covenant theology exclusively with the Deuteronomistic tradition. John Day, for example, defends the prospect of pre-Deuteronomistic uses of the term ברית.¹³¹

¹²⁷ E.g., Lothar Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im Alten Testament*, WMANT 36 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 146–49; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 104; Naumann, *Hoseas Erben*, 65–73, 178–79; Pfeiffer, *Das Heiligtum von Bethel*, 134; Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 100, 135; 108, 163; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 238; Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea-Jonah*, 117. Cf. those who treat all of Hos 8:1-3 as latter additions in some form: Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 57; idem, *Die Propheten des frühen 6. Jahrhunderts* Band 3 in *Die Propheten des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1975), 231–32; Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 108–10, 120–25.

¹²⁸ Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 173; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 181.

¹²⁹ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 234–36.

¹³⁰ See, for example, the classic study of Perlitt (*Bundestheologie im Alten Testament*). See similarly the work of Nicholson who allows for a theological concept of covenant in the eighth century BCE, but proposes the Deuteronomists developed covenant theology considerably (*God and His People*). Redaction critics, therefore, frequently cite the use of the term ברית as evidence of Deuteronomistic editing. In addition to the above mentioned scholars identifying Hos 8:1b as a Deuteronomistic addition, see: Jacques Vermeulen, *Du prophète Isaïe à l'apocalyptique: Isaïe, I-XXXV, miroir d'un demi-millénaire d'expérience religieuse en Israël*, vol. 2, 2 vols., EBib (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1978), 529–33.

¹³¹ Day, “Pre-Deuteronomistic Allusions,” 1–12. See similarly George E. Mendenhall, “Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition,” *BA* 17.3 (1954): 50–76; Klaus Baltzer, *Das Bundesformular*, WMANT 4 (Neukirchen Kreis Moers: Neukirchener Verlag, 1960); Delbert R. Hillers, *Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets*, *BibOr* 16 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1964), 83–85; McCarthy, “Berit in Old Testament History and Theology,” 112; Martin Noth, *Das System der Zwölf Stämme Israels*, repr. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980).

Deissler further argues that Hosea's use of ברית is closely associated with marital imagery, suggesting a fundamental difference from Deuteronomistic articulations of covenant theology.¹³²

Joseph Blenkinsopp sums up the challenge of compositionally dividing Hos 8:1b from its immediate literary context when he notes that the verse could be Hosea or Deuteronomistic on account of the stylistic similarities between the two.¹³³ Wöhrle correctly notes the frequent use of עבר ("to pass over") with ברית ("covenant") to denote a transgression of the covenant in the Deuteronomistic History.¹³⁴ The same use of ערבו ברית appears in Hos 6:7, supplying a precedent for this language in Hosea. Fewer scholars divide this language in Hos 6:7 from its immediate literary context. Perlitt attempts to expunge the passage of covenant theology by arguing that it assumes a political treaty, not a conceptualized relationship between Israel and YHWH.¹³⁵ The following use of בגדו בי ("they acted faithlessly with me"), however, suggests that the transgression of this covenant is ultimately an act of faithlessness against YHWH, suggesting that this notion of covenant reflects a theological conceptualization of the relationship between Israel and YHWH.¹³⁶ John Day objects that Deuteronomists would not have employed such an obscure reference to Adam, suggesting that Hos 6:7 contains a pre-Deuteronomistic reference to the covenant.¹³⁷ The inability to compositionally separate Hos 6:7 from its current context complicates attempts to remove Hos 8:1b, which has similar language.

¹³² Deissler, "Das 'Echo,'" 66.

¹³³ Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 259, n.49.

¹³⁴ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 238. Deuteronomy 17:2; Josh 7:11, 15; 23:16; 2 Kgs 18:12; cf. Jer 34:18; Hos 6:7; 8:1.

¹³⁵ Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im Alten Testament*, 141–44.

¹³⁶ See also the criticism of Perlitt in: McCarthy, "Berit in Old Testament History and Theology," 113; Day, "Pre-Deuteronomic Allusions," 3–5.

¹³⁷ Day, "Pre-Deuteronomic Allusions," 3. Day further argues that many passages in Hosea assume a covenant relationship with YHWH, even if they do not explicitly use the term ברית (7).

The parallel accusation that they “sinned against my Torah” (ועל-תורתי פשעו) further garners complications. Although some see this as a reference to a formal written legal code communicating the terms of the covenant as found in the Pentateuch,¹³⁸ Marvin Sweeney argues that the reference to תורה (“Torah”) in fact means nothing more than “instruction.”¹³⁹ Despite the frequency of references to Torah in the Biblical Hebrew literature, Hos 8:1 alone speaks of “sinning” (פשע) against תורה (“Torah”). תורה (“Torah”) reoccurs in Hos 8:12, suggesting that it is an integral theme to this pronouncement. The language of “sinning” functions as part of an intricate system of literary connections between the beginning of the prophetic pronouncement in Hos 8, and the end of the prophetic pronouncement in Hos 7.¹⁴⁰ The use of פשע (“sinning”) in 8:1 connects to 7:13, while the language of “crying out” (זעק) connects the accusation of 7:14-15 to 8:2. The language of “sinning against Torah,” therefore, not only coheres with the theme of Hosea 8:1-14*, but it also contributes to the catchword links with the end of Hos 7:8-16*.¹⁴¹

The combined references to ברית and תורה further distinguish Hos 8:1b from Deuteronomistic literary patterns. Seven passages pair ברית and תורה. The three Deuteronomistic locations where these words occur together do not use them in synonymous parallelism as found in Hos 8:1b. Deuteronomy 29:20 references the covenant curses written on the “scroll of the Law.” Deuteronomy 31:35-26 speaks of placing the “scroll of the Law” next to the “Ark of the Covenant.” Neither of these verses

¹³⁸ Fohrer, *Die Propheten des frühen 6. Jahrhunderts*, 232.

¹³⁹ Marvin A. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets*, vol. 1, 2 vols., Berit Olam (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 86.

¹⁴⁰ The reader will recall that although scholars disagree on the structure of Hosea and on where to locate the beginning and end of sayings, they largely recognize catchwords and thematic links connect the individual speech units in the book. See: Nyberg, *Studien zum Hoseabuche*, 18; Good, “The Composition of Hosea,” 54–55; Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 7–27; Rendtorff, *Das Alte Testament*, 228; Hubbard, *Hosea*, 37; Davies, *Hosea*, 103.

¹⁴¹ Four counter-arguments to the literary-critical separation of Hos 8:1b based upon literary coherence, see: Alfons Deissler, *L’annuncio dell’Antico Testamento*, *Studi biblici* 50 (Brescia: Paideia, 1980), 66; Vang, “God’s Love,” 179, n.20.

conceptualizes תורה and ברית as synonymous or parallel concepts. Deuteronomy 33:9-10 pairs ברית with אמרה and pairs תורה with משפט, but does not pair ברית with תורה as parallel concepts. ברית and תורה are only paired as parallel concepts outside of traditionally identified Deuteronomistic literature (Isa 24:5; Hos 8:1; Mal 2:8; Ps 78:10).

Jakob Wöhrle argues that the Deuteronomistic editing of Hos 8* includes the addition of vv.4b-6. He builds upon Jeremias' argument that 8:1-13 parallels 5:8-7:16.¹⁴² Wöhrle argues that 8:4b-6 lacks a parallel in this literary scheme, suggesting that it is a later addition. He suggests that the anti-idolatry polemic of Hos 8:4b-6 bears similarities with other anti-idolatry Deuteronomistic additions in the Book of the Four (cf. Hos 13:2; Zeph 2:2).¹⁴³ The anti-idolatry language of Hos 8:4b-6 lacks distinctive markers of Deuteronomistic composition. Hosea 8:4b associates “silver” (כסף) and “gold” (זהב) with “idols” (עצב). A wide variety of passages identify idols as objects made of “silver” and “gold.”¹⁴⁴ Not only does the use of “silver” and “gold” in anti-idolatry polemics not limit to Deuteronomistic literature, but also the use of עצב as a term for idols is strikingly rare in Deuteronomistic collections when one considers the centrality of anti-idolatry rhetoric in such texts.¹⁴⁵ Although strangely absent from Deuteronomistic literature, עצב features prominently in the anti-idolatry polemics of Hosea, suggesting that the language of 8:4b coheres with the Hosea text (4:17; 8:4; 13:2; cf. 14:9).

Jason Radine further observes that no Deuteronomistic composition attributes a calf idol to Samaria. Every other Biblical Hebrew reference to a “calf” idol associates it

¹⁴² Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 103–4.

¹⁴³ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 234–36. Against the attribution of Hos 13:2; Zeph 2:2 to Deuteronomistic editing, see pp.71-77, 324-328.

¹⁴⁴ Exodus 20:23; Deut 7:25; 29:16; Isa 2:20; 30:20; 31:7; 40:19; 46:6; Jer 10:4, 9; Ezek 16:17; Hos 2:8; 8:4; Hab 2:19; Pss 115:4; 135:15.

¹⁴⁵ First Samuel 31:9; 2 Sam 5:21; Isa 10:11; 46:1; 48:5; Jer 44:19; 50:2; Hos 4:17; 8:4; 13:2; 14:9; Mic 1:7; Zech 13:2; Pss 106:36, 38; 115:4; 135:15; 1 Chr 10:9; 2 Chr 24:18.

with either the sin at Sinai, or the calves of Jeroboam erected at Bethel and Dan.¹⁴⁶

Radine, therefore, argues that Hos 8:4-6 preserves an independent memory from the Deuteronomistic History, thus ruling against the Deuteronomism of this passage.¹⁴⁷

Far from reflecting evidence of a compositional insertion, Hos 8:4b continues the description of Israel's rejection of the good in v.3. Verses 5-6 parallel the speech structure of vv.3-4 through the repeated inaugural *וְנִזְכֹּר* and the shared concluding condemnation of idolatry. Hosea 8:4b-6, therefore, lacks the literary-critical markers of later editing. It coheres with its literary context and also preserves an alternative historical memory to the Deuteronomistic History and encodes its polemics using language not otherwise characteristic of a Deuteronomistic hand. Hosea 8:4b-6, therefore, comprises part of the core of Hos 8*, and not part of a Deuteronomistic supplement.

Several scholars associate Hos 4:1-3* and 8:1b, 4b-6 for similar reasons. Each of these texts assumes an operating conception of covenant and an awareness of a legal tradition. The nature of this relationship, however, differs between these passages. Whereas the concept of covenant is an implicit underlying assumption in Hos 4:1-3*, this theological paradigm is far more explicit in Hos 8:1b. Each of these passages suffers from the same problem that the language coheres more closely with the Hosea literary style than with Deuteronomy or the Deuteronomistic History. This conclusion suggests that these passages reflect a thematic parallel with concerns also found in Deuteronomistic literature, but the language distinguishes these compositions from the literary style of Deuteronomism found in Deuteronomy or the Deuteronomistic History.

¹⁴⁶ For references to the calf of Sinai, see: Exod 32:4, 8, 19, 20, 24, 25; Deut 9:16, 21; Ps 106:19; Neh 9:18. For references to the calves at Bethel and Dan, see: 1 Kgs 12:28, 32; 2 Kgs 10:29; 17:16; 2 Chr 11:15; 13:8.

¹⁴⁷ Radine, "Deuteronomistic Redaction," 289–91.

Binary Curses and the Question of Deuteronomism: Hosea 4:10

Several redaction critics identify the binary curse of Hos 4:10 as a later editorial addition to Hos 4:4-14*.¹⁴⁸ Hosea 4:10b breaks from the first-person divine discourse of vv.4-9, 11-14. A question remains concerning whether v.10a reflects greater continuity with the core of Hos 4:4-14* or the alleged addition in v.10b. Jakob Wöhrle attributes v.10 to his Deuteronomistic Book of the Four redaction on account of the binary curse formula, which he associates with a distinctively Deuteronomistic agenda. Not only does the formula reflect Deut 28:30-31, 39-41, but also versions of the formula occur across the Book of the Four corpus (cf. Amos 5:11; Mic 6:14-15 and Zeph 1:13b).¹⁴⁹ Each manifestation of this curse employs a similar style and syntax linking lexeme binaries in a system of futility. Although various manifestations of this curse style employ similar language, the fact that no single lexical binary occurs in all of these passages suggests that these texts reflect a shared speech form that does not always necessitate a relationship of literary dependence between these passages. The variations in these curses complicate attempts to attribute such announcements to a shared theological stream of tradition or editorial agenda.¹⁵⁰

Each use of this form employs a set of binaries illustrating an action's futility. The binaries of Hos 4:10a suggest a uniquely Hosea manifestation of this formula. First, Hos 4:10a lacks the common "build"/"dwell" binary (יָשַׁב / בָּנָה), which occurs in nearly every other manifestation of this curse form in the Hebrew Bible.¹⁵¹ Second, although the

¹⁴⁸ Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 72, n.36; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 68; Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 108, n.161; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 238.

¹⁴⁹ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 238. Cf. Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea-Jonah*, 77.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. similar curses and their reversals in: Deut 28:30-34, 38-44; Josh 24:13; Isa 65:21; Jer 29:5, 28; Ezek 28:26; Hos 4:10; Amos 5:11; 9:14; Mic 6:14-15; Zeph 1:13b.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Deuteronomy 28:30-34, 38-44; Josh 24:13; Isa 65:21; Jer 29:5, 28; Ezek 28:26; Hos 4:10; Amos 5:11; 9:14; Zeph 1:13b. The only other use of this curse form lacking the יָשַׁב / בָּנָה binary is Mic 6:14-15. See pp. 247-250, 276-282.

“eating” but lacking “satisfaction” binary (שבע / אכל) occurs in other variants of this curse form, the “fornication” but lacking “multiplying” (פרץ / זנה) occurs nowhere else.¹⁵² Both of these binaries, however, have important links to the immediate literary context of Hos 4:10a, suggesting the literary coherence of this curse form with the prophetic discourse of 4:4-14*. The language of “fornication” (זנה) is not only a distinctive theme of Hosea, but serves as an important catchword clustering at the end of the prophetic address against the priest.¹⁵³ Additionally, the language of “eating” and “satisfaction” (ישב / אכל) not only occurs elsewhere in Hosea, but also connects to the preceding accusation against the “sons” of the priest who “feast” upon the sins of the people.¹⁵⁴ The language of “eating” and “fornication,” therefore, fit the context of Hos 4:4-14*. This thematic continuity, when considered alongside the grammatical continuity Hos 4:10a shares with vv.7-8, suggests that v.10a serves as a coherent part of the Hos 4:4-14* discourse.¹⁵⁵ Hosea 4:10 reflects a distinctively Hosea utilization of the curse form rather than evidence of later redaction suggestive of Deuteronomism or Book of the Four editing.

Parallels with Jeremiah and the Question of Deuteronomism: Hosea 11:5

Scholars widely recognize several thematic and literary parallels between Hosea and Jeremiah.¹⁵⁶ Both texts employ notably vivid familial metaphors (e.g., Hos 1-3; Jer 2-

¹⁵² For the “eating” but lacking “satisfaction” binary (שבע / אכל), see: Lev 26:26; Isa 9:19 [20]; Hos 4:10; Mic 6:14; Ps 59:16. Note that although Deut 28 discusses “eating,” it does so outside the common speech form (v.31). Eating, but not being satisfied is a common pronouncement outside Deuteronomistic literature (cf. Lev 26:26; Isa 9:19 [20]; Hos 4:10; Mic 6:14; Ps 59:16).

¹⁵³ Hosea 1:2; 2:4[2], 6[4], 7[5]; 3:3; 4:10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18; 5:3-4; 9:1.

¹⁵⁴ This binary occurs in Hos 13:6. See also the use of אכל in Hos 2:14[12]; 4:8, 10; 5:7; 7:7, 9; 8:13, 14; 9:3, 4; 10:13; 11:4, 6; 13:8.

¹⁵⁵ Recall that Hos 4:9 is a likely editorial edition. See: Wolff, *Hosea*, 103–4.

¹⁵⁶ E.g., Brown, *The Book of Hosea*, xxxii; Deissler, “Das ‘Echo,’” 61–75; Geoffrey H. Parke-Taylor, *The Formation of the Book of Jeremiah: Doublets and Recurring Phrases*, SBLMS 51 (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 231–33. See below for further discussion of the scholarly conversation.

3) and present cultic infidelity using the language of harlotry (זנה). In one of the more complete studies of the relationship between these texts, Schulz-Rauch observes that despite the thematic similarities, Hosea and Jeremiah display few direct quotes.¹⁵⁷ The nature of these literary parallels allows for several proposed explanations. Some scholars present Jeremiah as influenced by the tradition of Hosea.¹⁵⁸ Others suggest that Hosea and Jeremiah were mutually influenced by a common theological thought-world.¹⁵⁹ Studies such as Deissler and Schulz-Rauch, which note the difficulty of defining the relationship between Hosea and Jeremiah, conclude that a tradition-historical conclusion best accounts for a majority of the thematic parallels.¹⁶⁰ This conclusion, however, does not prohibit the possibility that in some instances editors constructed intentional parallels between these two prophetic texts.¹⁶¹ Arguments for a comprehensive Deuteronomistic Book of the Four Redaction in Hosea cite the parallel with Jeremiah in Hos 11:5.

Hosea 11:1 introduces a new pericope distinguishable from the preceding pronouncements by its sustained narrativel accusation, familial imagery, and salvific conclusion. Robinson argues on the grounds of its unique literary character that Hos 11:1-11 originally circulated independently from the other pronouncements in Hosea.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁷ Schulz-Rauch, *Hosea und Jeremia*, 233–34.

¹⁵⁸ Groß, “Die literarische Verwandtschaft Jeremias mit Hosea, passim”; idem, “Hoseas Einfluß auf Jeremias Anschauungen,” 241–56, 327–43; Brown, *The Book of Hosea*, xxxi–xxxii; Skinner, *Prophecy and Religion*, 21; Mendenhall, “Covenant Forms”; Vriezen, *De literatuur*, 165; von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2:192; Robinson, “Hosea,” 1; Jacob, “Osée,” 15; Kraeling, *Commentary on the Prophets*, 2:83; Mays, *Hosea*, 1; Albertz, “Jer 2-6 und die Frühzeitverkündigung Jeremias,” 41; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 18; Hubbard, *Hosea*, 24, 49–50; Naumann, *Hoseas Erben*, 11–12, 140–41; Weider, *Ehmetaphorik*, 2; Lohfink, “Gab es eine deuteronomistische Bewegung,” 349; Birch, *Hosea, Joel, and Amos*, 8; Abma, *Bonds of Love*, 111.

¹⁵⁹ E.g., Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 81; Schottroff, “Jeremia 2:1-3,” 272.

¹⁶⁰ Deissler, “Das ‘Echo,’” 61–75; Schulz-Rauch, *Hosea und Jeremia*, 236.

¹⁶¹ Schulz-Rauch, for example, recognizes the probability of direct literary influence between Hos 10:12aγ and Jer 4:3aγ, as well as between Hos 8:13aγβαß and Jer 14:10b (*Hosea und Jeremia*, 233–34).

¹⁶² Robinson, “Hosea,” 1.

Although Hos 11:1-11 contains some unique vocabulary to Hosea, this chapter shares twelve literary characteristics with Hos 2:4-22*, suggesting that these two chapters served a framing function around the core Hosea pronouncements of Hos 4-10* at an early stage in the scroll's composition. First, Hos 2:4-22* and 11:1-11* each present their accusations in sustained poetic progression. This rhetorical technique stands in stark contrast to a majority of Hosea in which scholars widely disagree about how and where to identify the beginnings and ends of literary units on account of the fragmented nature of the discourse and the frequent, unexpected grammatical shifts.¹⁶³ Second, Hos 2:4-22* and Hos 1-11* both contain salvific turns annulling the full force of the preceding judgment pronouncements.¹⁶⁴ Third, Hos 2:4-22* and Hos 1-11* both employ familial metaphorical imagery to conceptualize the people's relationship with YHWH, and hence to illustrate people's religious infidelities. Fourth, Hos 11:1, 3 returns to the language of אהב ("love"), which features prominently in Hos 2:4-22*.¹⁶⁵ Fifth, of all of the references to Egypt and the exodus event in Hosea, only 2:17 and 11:1 idealize the memory of this period.¹⁶⁶ Sixth, both chapters specific accuse the people of actively pursuing other gods

¹⁶³ See, for example, the comments of: Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 28–30; Norman K. Gottwald, *The Hebrew Bible: A Socio-Literary Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 358–59; Harold Fisch, "Hosea: A Poetics of Violence," in *Poetry With a Purpose: Biblical Poetics and Interpretation* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990), 138–39. Late nineteenth-century commentators such as Ewald and Cheyne attributed these textual difficulties to the emotional state of the prophet (Heinrich Ewald, *Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament*, trans. J. Frederick Smith, vol. 1, 5 vols. [London: Williams & Norgate, 1875], 218; Cheyne, *Hosea*, 33). Others attribute the textual difficulties to the transcriptional challenges of recording long oral addresses (e.g., Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 88). Andersen and Freedman admonish readers to not approach the text as a polished, finished product, but rather as a snapshot into the early stage of the prophetic process (*Hosea*, 45).

¹⁶⁴ Wolff notably comments upon similarities between the three salvific turns in Hosea: 2:18–25[16–23]; 11:8–9, 11; 14:2–9[1–8] (*Dodekapropheton 1, Hosea*, xxiv, 58).

¹⁶⁵ See Hos 2:7[5], 9[7], 12[10], 14[12], 15[13]; 11:1, 3. Additional uses are in 3:1; 4:18; 8:9; 9:1, 10, 15; 10:11; 11:1; 12:8[7]; 14:5[4].

¹⁶⁶ Similar language appears in 12:10[9], 14[13], yet in a noticeably different literary memory (cf. 13:4). Other references to Egypt criticize the Israelite contemporary political relationship with their Southern neighbor (Hos 7:11, 16; 12:2[1]) or list Egypt as a destination of judgment (Hos 8:13; 9:3, 6; 11:5. Cf. the reversal in 11:11).

(Hos 2:7, 9, 15; 11:2). Seventh, although Hosea condemns many forms of cultic infidelity, Baal features by name only in Hos 2:10, 15, 18, 19; 11:2; 13:1. The references to Baal in Hos 2:4-22* and 11:1-11* are further linked by specific accusation of offering incense this deity (Hos 2:15; 11:2).¹⁶⁷ Eighth, both chapters juxtapose YHWH's benevolence with the people's inability to recognize and "know" (יָדַעַ) YHWH as the source of their blessings (Hos 2:10; 11:3). Although the theme of "knowing" features prominently in Hosea, these are the only two oracles that juxtapose these two themes. These chapters articulate YHWH's divine benevolence in terms of leading and feeding the people (Hos 2:7-10; 11:4). Ninth, each chapter frames the articulation of judgment as a return to a previous state associated with the exodus event as a formative time for the Israelite identity (Hos 2:16-17; 11:4). Tenth, the language of רַחֵם ("compassion") in Hos 11:8 reverses the proclaimed absence of רַחֵם ("compassion") in Hos 2:6.¹⁶⁸ Eleventh, the turning of the divine heart in Hos 11:8 recalls the efforts to turn the adulteress wife's heart in Hos 2:6.¹⁶⁹ Finally, scholars generally attribute the difficulty of deciphering the beginning and end of literary units to the lack of key rhetorical markers such as נֹאמַיְהוָה ("utterance of YHWH"). נֹאמַיְהוָה occurs in only three instances in Hosea: 2:15, 18; 11:11. Thus this unusual literary marker further serves to link Hos 2:4-22* with 11:1-11*.¹⁷⁰ The number and uniqueness of the literary similarities between Hos 2:4-22* and 11:1-11* suggests a literary relationship linking the core of Hos 11:1-11* to the earliest literary form of Hosea.

¹⁶⁷ The only other use of קָטַר ("to make sacrifices") in Hosea occurs in 4:13.

¹⁶⁸ This language occurs elsewhere only in compositions concerning the naming of the children that are editorial additions (1:6, 7; 2:3[1], 25[23]), and likely additions in Hos 9:14; 14:4[3].

¹⁶⁹ לֵב ("heart") occurs elsewhere only in Hosea as part of the accusation of the corruption of the people: Hos 4:11; 7:6, 11, 14; 10:2; 13:6, 8.

¹⁷⁰ Some scholars remove נֹאמַיְהוָה ("utterance of YHWH") as a gloss or attribute it to later redaction on account of its absence from a majority of Hosea (e.g., Ward, *Hosea*, 192; Wolff, *Hosea*, 254).

Despite the relatively consistent first-person divine speech (excluding vv.7b, 10-11a), redaction-critical assessments identify several later additions.¹⁷¹ Albertz argues that one such addition contains plausible evidence of Book of the Four redaction. Several scholars identify 11:5b as an editorial gloss on account of the word-for-word correspondence with Jer 5:3 and 8:5.¹⁷² Albertz links this use of Jeremiah language with the Deuteronomistic Book of the Four redaction of Hosea and argues for a similar literary ideology in Zeph 3:2 (see Table 2.4).¹⁷³

Table 2.4. The “Refusal to Turn” in the Prophets

Verse	Hebrew Text	English Translation
Hos 11:5	לא ישוב אל־ארץ מצרים ואשור הוא מלכו כי מאנו לשוב:	He will not return to the land of Egypt, For Assyria will be his king, Because <u>they refused to turn.</u>
Jer 5:3	יהוה עיניך הלא לאמונה הכיתה אתם ולא־חלו כליתם מאנו קחת מוסר חזקו פניהם מסלע מאנו לשוב:	O YHWH, would your eyes not look to truth, you struck them but they did not weaken, you finished them yet they refused to take discipline, they strengthen their faces more than rock, <u>they refuse to turn!</u>
Jer 8:5	מדוע שובבה העם הזה ירושלם משבה נצחת החזיקו בתרמית מאנו לשוב:	Why have this people, Jerusalem, returned to continual apostasy? They are resolute in deception <u>They refuse to turn.</u>

Although the lexical overlap between Hos 11:5 and Jer 5:3; 8:5 includes only two words, the grammatical and syntactical correspondence is striking, especially in light of the absence of any similar juxtapositions of these words in Biblical Hebrew literature. The

¹⁷¹ Pfeiffer, for example, attributes vv.2, 3b, 4a, 5b to Deuteronomistic editors (*Das Heiligtum von Bethel*, 190–201). Rudnig-Zelt attributes vv.1*, 3a, 4aa, 8a, and 3b, 5b to the era of the Samaritan Schism (*Hoseastudien*, 272–73).

¹⁷² E.g., Snaith, *Amos, Hosea and Micah*, 79; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 66, n.18; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 143.

¹⁷³ Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 181. Pfeiffer similarly attributes Hos 11:5b to Deuteronomistic editing (*Das Heiligtum von Bethel*, 190–201).

brevity of the parallel, and links with each of its respective contexts, complicates attempts to draw literary-critical conclusions. Rudolph and Morris recognize the wordplay between *יָשׁוּב* in Hos 11:5a and *לִישׁוּב* in v.5b, which would suggest a compositional relationship.¹⁷⁴ Furthermore, the theme of *יָשׁוּב* runs throughout Hosea.¹⁷⁵ The phrase *מֵאֲנוּ לִישׁוּב* (“they refused to turn”), furthermore, has similar connections in its Jeremiah contexts. In Jer 5:3 the refusal (*מֵאֲנוּ*) to turn follows the refusal (*מֵאֲנוּ*) to accept discipline. The *לִישׁוּב* of Jer 8:3 links to the preceding question concerning the “return” (*שׁוּב*) to “apostasy” (*מִשְׁבָּה*). The paralleled phrase in question coheres with each literary context.

One could argue for a literary-critical distinction from its current literary context in Hos 11:5 on the grounds of the grammatical shift from the third-person singular of v.5a, 6a to the third-person plural verb in v.5b. While such a grammatical shift could indicate a literary-critical division, the use of the third-person plural verb assumes only an alternative antecedent, not a new audience, speaker, or even subject. The first two verses of the chapter establish the rhetorical convention of shifting between corporate and communal referents to the people. Thus v.1 speaks of Israel, referencing the people according to the singular corporate identity. Verse 2, however, speaks of the communal people in the plural. This grammatical shift assumes the same target addressed via multiple referents. The grammatical shift in v.5b follows the established rhetorical conventions of Hos 11:1-11*, and thus does not necessitate a redaction-critical explanation. The literary evidence fails to favor one explanation over the other.

¹⁷⁴ Rudolph, “Eigentümlichkeiten der Sprache Hoseas,” 316; Gerald Morris, *Prophecy, Poetry, and Hosea*, JSOTSup 219 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 87–88.

¹⁷⁵ See discussion in: Jörg Jeremias, “Zur Eschatologie des Hoseabuches,” in *Botschaft und die Boten: Festschrift für Hans Walter Wolff zum 70 Geburtstag*, ed. Jörg Jeremias and Lothar Perlitt (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981), 217–34; Marco Nobile, “Il valore strutturante e teologico di ‘SWB’ e ‘YSB’ nel libro di Osea: Un tentativo di esegesi linguistico-strutturale,” *Antonianum* 67 (1992): 472–91; M. Graupner, “שׁוּב - VII. Preexilic Prophets,” ed. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, trans. Douglas W. Stott, *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 487–89; Maria de Lourdes Corrêa Lima, “A volta de Deus e a volta de Israel: O tema da conversao no livro do profeta Oséias,” *Coletânea* 4 (2005): 267–82.

In either case, the phrase מאנו לשוב (“they refused to return”) fails to indicate a distinctive Deuteronomistic agenda. The theme of “returning” enjoys considerable popularity in Biblical Hebrew literature, preventing attempts to align a text with a Deuteronomistic orientation on thematic grounds alone.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, while the phrase does occur in Jer 5:3; 8:5, it fails to occur in Deuteronomy or the Deuteronomistic History thus calling into question the grounds on which this phrase evinces Deuteronomism. The lack of evidence for literary-critical distinction, Deuteronomism, or specific compositional relationship with Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah suggests that Hos 11:5b does not serve as evidence of Book of the Four editing.

Parallels with Second Kings and the Question of Deuteronomism: Hosea 14:1[13:16]

The final chapter of Hosea remains compositionally disputed, yet strategically important for many recent developments in Book of the Twelve scholarship. A majority of scholars attribute the concluding verse to a late wisdom editor of the book.¹⁷⁷ Verses 1-9, however, have been dated and redated to nearly every conceivable era of ancient

¹⁷⁶ See: Heinz-Josef Fabry and M. Graupner, “שוב,” ed. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, trans. Douglas W. Stott, *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004). See also the study of the theme of שׁוּב (“return”) throughout the Book of the Twelve in Jason T. LeCureux, *The Thematic Unity of the Book of the Twelve*, HBM 41 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2012).

¹⁷⁷ Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 108; Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, 416–17; Lindblom, *Hosea*, 123; Mauchline, “Hosea,” 6:564, 724–25; Snaith, *Amos, Hosea and Micah*, 82; Vriezen, *De literatuur*, 166; Ward, *Hosea*, 228; Rudolph, *Hosea*, 253–60; van Leeuwen, *Hosea*, 277–78; Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 27; Mays, *Hosea*, 190; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 235–36; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 90, n.72; Roger N. Whybray, *The Intellectual Tradition in the Old Testament*, BZAW 135 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974), 152; Wolff, *Hosea*, 310–11; Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 382–83; G. T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct: A Study in the Sapientializing of the Old Testament*, BZAW 151 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980), 129–36; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 174; Naumann, *Hoseas Erben*, 148–54, 182–83; Davies, *Hosea*, NCB, 37, 309–11; idem, *Hosea*, 107; Holt, *Prophesying the Past*, 25–26; Achtemeier, *Minor Prophets I*, 111–12; Bons, *Das Buch Hosea*, 172–73; Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 201–3. Those who deny the necessity of a later “wisdom editor” often argue for congruity between Hos 14:10[9] and earlier themes in the text. See: Choon Leong Seow, “Hosea 14:10 and the Foolish People Motif,” *CBQ* 44 (1982): 212–24; Emmerson, *Hosea*, 49–51; Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 14–15, 219–20; Thomas Edward McComiskey, ed., *The Minor Prophets: An Exegetical and Expository Commentary*, vol. 1, 3 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992), 236–37; Tooze, “Framing the Book of the Twelve,” 90–97.

Israel.¹⁷⁸ One feature of Hos 14:1-9[13:16-14:8]) upon which scholars agree is extensive intra-textual echoing of language and themes from earlier in Hosea.¹⁷⁹ The question of dispute among Book of the Four advocates concerns the degree to which Hos 14:1-9[13:16-14:8] displays canonical awareness of a growing corpus of multiple prophetic texts following Hosea. Nogalski argues that v.8a[7a] serves as an editorial addition interrupting an otherwise coherent vv.6-9[5-8]. This supplement, according to Nogalski, supplies a series of catchwords to Joel.¹⁸⁰ Schart argues on the grounds of links with Hos 1:2-9 that 14:2-4[1-3] functions as a framing addition to the Book of the Four redaction of Hosea.¹⁸¹ Wöhrle, by contrast, attributes Hos 14:1[13:16] to his Deuteronomistic Book of the Four redaction of Hosea on account of parallel condemnations of cities in Mic 6:2-4a, 9a, 10-15 and Zeph 3:1-4, 6-8a, 11-13.¹⁸² The form and function of this concluding chapter depends upon how one defines its compositional relationship with the emerging Book of the Twelve.

¹⁷⁸ For those who assume or defend the authenticity of Hos 14:1-9[13:16-14:8], see: Snaith, *Amos, Hosea and Micah*, 81; Vuilleumier-Bessard, *La tradition culturelle d'Israël*, 24; Vriezen, *De literatuur*, 166; Rudolph, *Hosea*, 249–50; von Rad, *The Message of the Prophets*, 117; Mays, *Hosea*, 16, 184–90; Wolff, *Hosea*, 303; Emmerson, *Hosea*, 46–52. Jeremias attributes Hos 14:1-9[13:16-14:8] to disciples of Hosea editing the text shortly after the career of the prophet on account of similarities with the language of Hosea (*Der Prophet Hosea*, 169–74). For exilic datings of this chapter, see: Elias Auerbach, “Die grosse Überarbeitung der biblischen Bücher,” in *Congress Volume, Copenhagen 1953*, ed. George W. Anderson et al., VTSup 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1953), 8; Yee, *Composition and Tradition*, 131–42. For datings to the postexilic period, see: Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten*, 81; Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 105; Pfeiffer, *Introduction*, 573; Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 183–205, 229; Rudnig-Zelt, *Hoseastudien*, 269.

¹⁷⁹ See especially the comments of: Wolff, *Hosea*, xxiv, 58; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 169–74; Yee, *Composition and Tradition*, 131–40; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 69; Fretheim, *Reading Hosea-Micah*, 77–78.

¹⁸⁰ Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 66–73. Morris expands Nogalski's argument to include literary links with Joel in Hos 13:15 (*Prophecy, Poetry, and Hosea*, 118–19).

¹⁸¹ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 173–76.

¹⁸² Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 239.

Wöhrle correctly notes that the sudden occurrence of Samaria stands out from the context of Hos 12-14 (cf. 7:1; 8:5, 6; 10:5, 7).¹⁸³ This shift in focus signals a new subject and possibly a new speaker from the preceding pronouncements. However it remains distinct from the following direct discourse in vv.2-4[1-3]. Additionally, two of the three particularly violent images of Samaria's fall in 14:1[13:16] have no correspondence elsewhere in Hosea.¹⁸⁴ This imagery has striking overlap with 2 Kgs 8:12. The imagery of "ripping open [בקע] pregnant women [הריות]" occurs four times in the Hebrew Bible (2 Kgs 8:12; 15:16; Hos 14:1; Amos 1:13). Hosea 14:1 and 2 Kings 8:12 share the additional violent imagery of "dashing [רטש] little ones [עללים]" (see Table 2.5).¹⁸⁵

Schart notes the parallel image of "ripping open pregnant women" in Amos 1:13, suggesting a point of contact with another Book of the Four text.¹⁸⁶ Although Hos 14:1[13:16] shares this element of disaster with Amos 1:13, it shares the entire triad of "sword" (חרב), "ripping" (בקע), and "dashing" (רטש) with 2 Kgs 8:12b. The use of the triad differs in only contextualized grammatical features. Second Kings 8:12b coheres with its current literary context. Hosea 14:1[13:16], in contrast, betrays evidence of being a later editorial supplement to its current literary context. These two observations suggest the plausible conclusion that Hos 14:1[13:16] draws upon 2 Kgs 8:12b.

¹⁸³ The feminine personification of a city occurs in Hos 2:4-22*[2-20]; 6:8; 8:5; 9:6, 13; 10:7 (cf. the use of the feminine in 5:9).

¹⁸⁴ The concept of "falling by the sword" appears in Hos 7:16. This imagery is, of course, very common across Biblical Hebrew literature: Lev 26:36; Num 14:3, 43; 2 Sam 1:12; 3:29; 2 Kgs 19:7; Isa 3:25; 13:15; 31:8; 37:7; Jer 19:17; 20:4; 39:18; 44:12; Ezek 5:12; 6:12; 11:10; 17:21; 23:25; 24:21; 25:13; 30:5, 6, 17; 32:12, 20, 22, 23, 24; 33:27; 35:8; 39:23; Hos 7:16; 14:1[13:16]; Amos 7:17; Ps 78:64; Lam 2:21; 2 Chr 32:21.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. additional occurrences in Isa 13:16 and Nah 3:10. Paul A. Kruger argues based upon comparative ancient Near Eastern evidence that such rhetoric reflected literary hyperboles and not historical practice ("Mothers and Their Children as Victims in War: Amos 1:13 Against the Background of the Ancient Near East," *OTE* 29 [2016]: 100–115).

¹⁸⁶ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 127, 148.

Table 2.5. The Violence of Samaria

Verse	Hebrew	English
Hos 14:1 [13:16]	תֹּאשֵׁם שְׁמֶרֶן כִּי מֵרֶתָה בְּאֱלֹהֶיהָ בְּחֶרֶב יִפְּלוּ עַל־לִימָהֶם יִרְטָשׁוּ וְהָרִיזוּתֵינוּ יִבְקָעוּ:	Samaria is guilty, for she rebelled against her God. <u>By the sword</u> they will fall, <u>their children will be dashed to pieces</u> <u>and his pregnant ones will be ripped open.</u>
2 Kgs 8:12b	וַיֹּאמֶר כִּי־יָדַעְתִּי אֶת אֲשֶׁר־ תַּעֲשֶׂה לְבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל רָעָה מִבְּצָרֵיהֶם תִּשְׁלַח בְּאֵשׁ וּבְחֶרֶבֶם בְּחֶרֶב תַּהַרֵּג וְעַל־לִימָהֶם תִּרְטָשׁ וְהָרִיתֵיהֶם תִּבְקָע:	...and he replied, “For I know the disaster that which you will do to the children of Israel, you will burn down their fortification, kill <u>with the sword</u> , <u>dash their little ones</u> , <u>and rip open their pregnant women</u> .
Amos 1:13b	עַל־בִּקְעָם הָרוֹת הַגִּלְעָד לְמַעַן הָרְחִיב אֶת־גְּבוּלָם:	“...or <u>they ripped open the pregnant women</u> of Gilead in order to expand their border.”

Four observations suggest that Hos 14:1[13:16] draws upon 2 Kgs 8:12b without supporting a distinctively Deuteronomistic agenda. First, aside from the common language of “falling by the sword,” this violent imagery does not appear elsewhere in any Deuteronomistic composition (cf. 2 Sam 1:12; 3:29; 2 Kgs 19:7). This observation suggests that the paralleled phrases do not constitute formulaic Deuteronomistic language. Second, Deuteronomistic uses of מרה (“to be disobedient”) generally use the preposition את to signal the offended party, not ב as found in Hos 14:1[13:16].¹⁸⁷ Third, whereas the verb אשם (“to offend”) occurs frequently in the Hosea literary tradition (4:15; 5:15; 10:2; 13:1; 14:1), it occurs with surprisingly little frequency in the Deuteronomistic History.¹⁸⁸ Finally, neither 2 Kgs 8:12 nor Hos 14:1[13:16] serve distinctive literary

¹⁸⁷ The uses of מרה (“to be disobedient”) with the את preposition include: Num 20:24; Deut 1:26; 9:7; Josh 1:18; 1 Sam 12:14, 15; 1 Kgs 13:26; Isa 63:10; Ezek 5:6; Pss 78:56; 105:28; 106:33. The alternative use of the ב preposition to denote the offended party only occurs in: Ezek 20:8, 13, 21; Hos 14:1[13:16]; Ps 5:11; Neh 9:26.

¹⁸⁸ Judges 21:22; 1 Sam 6:3, 4, 8, 17; 2 Sam 14:13; 2 Kgs 12:17. Cf. additional occurrences in: Gen 26:10, 42:21; Lev 4:13, 22, 27; Lev 5:2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 25; 6:10; 7:1, 2, 5, 7, 37; 14:12, 13, 14, 17, 21, 24, 25, 28; 19:21, 22; Num 5:6, 7, 8; 6:12; 18:9; Isa 24:6; 53:10; Jer 2:3; 50:7; 51:5; Ezek 6:6; 22:4; 25:12; 40:39; 42:13; 44:29; 46:20; Joel 1:18; Hab 1:11; Zech 11:5; Pss 5:11; 34:22, 23; 68:22; Prov 14:9; 30:10; Ezr 10:19; 2 Chr 19:10.

purposes corresponding to an identifiable Deuteronomistic ideological agenda. In the Deuteronomistic History, for example, guilt falls upon the kings or people. Cities do not incur guilt as personified corporate identities. Samaria serves in the Deuteronomistic History only as a geo-political location with no representative personified identity.¹⁸⁹ The personification of Samaria in Hos 14:1[13:16] more closely aligns with the use of corporate personified identities in Hosea than in the Deuteronomistic History.¹⁹⁰ This evidence suggests that Hos 14:1[13:6] reflects the reception of a Deuteronomistic text without necessitating a Deuteronomistic agenda.

Jakob Wöhrle correlates this personification of Samaria with the personification of other cities in the Book of the Four. The language of Hos 14:1[13:16] has no other parallels with the city oracles of the Book of the Four and few parallels with any passages in this proposed collection. Aside from the “ripping open pregnant women” in Amos 1:13 and the common language of “falling by the sword” in Amos 7:17, the language of Hos 14:1[13:16] shares no additional points of contact with the Book of the Four. No other passages in the Book of the Four make use of the language of אָשָׁם (“to offend”) or מֵרָדָה (“to be disobedient”). Thus Hos 14:1[13:16] does not reflect distinctive Deuteronomistic editing nor intentionally constructed links with other Book of the Four texts.

Deuteronomism in Hosea: Conclusions

Hosea contains several thematic similarities with passages from Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History. Thus scholars justifiably investigate the ideological proximity of Hosea to Deuteronomistic thought. The centrality of some of these themes

¹⁸⁹ Joshua 11:1; 19:15; 1 Kgs 13:32; 16:24, 28, 29, 32; 18:2; 20:1, 10, 17, 34, 43; 21:1, 18; 22:10, 37f, 52; 2 Kgs 1:2, 3; 2:25; 3:1, 6; 5:3; 6:19, 20, 24, 25; 7:1, 18; 10:1, 12, 17, 35, 36; 13:1, 6, 9, 10, 13; 14:14, 16, 23; 15:8, 13, 14, 17, 23, 25, 27; 17:1, 5, 6, 24, 26, 28; 18:9, 10, 34; 21:13; 23:18, 19. Compare this with the prophetic personification of Samaria in Isa 10:9-11; Ezek 16:46, 51, 53, 55; 23:4, 33; Hos 7:1; 8:5, 6; 14:1[13:16]; Mic 1:5, 6.

¹⁹⁰ See Radine’s assessment of Deuteronomism in Hosea, which notes that Hosea’s focus on cities such as Samaria and Gilgal suggest a distinguishable ideological agenda from Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History (“Deuteronomistic Redaction,” 289–91).

in the Hosea textual tradition, however, complicates attempts to attribute these passages to a distinctively Deuteronomistic redaction. Thus the polemics against cultic infidelities in Hos 3:1-5; 4:15a β b; 13:2-3 cohere with Hosea's broader concern with idolatry and cultic concerns.¹⁹¹ Similarly, the theme of covenant in 8:1b and legal precepts in 4:1-3* fit within the broader Hosean assumption of an operating covenant between Israel and YHWH.¹⁹² While some of the passages reflect evidence of later editorial development (e.g., Hos 3:1-5; 4:1-3*, 15a β b), the existence of these themes in the earliest literary core of the Hosea pronouncements means that the subsequent editors of Hosea did not require an outside source to supply these motifs. The editors did not have to look beyond the Hosea tradition to develop these theological concerns

These alleged Deuteronomistic supplements surveyed in this chapter suffer from four general challenges that prevent assigning them to distinctively Deuteronomistic editing. Not every supplement suffers from all four challenges, but a majority of these supplements suffer from multiple difficulties. First, several of these supplements contain thematic similarities with some parts of Deuteronomistic texts, but they employ language characteristic of Hosea rather than Deuteronomy or the Deuteronomistic History. Hosea 4:10, for example, employs the common binary curse formula, yet uses language characteristic of Hosea that distinguishes it from the Deuteronomistic use of this formula. Hosea 13:2-3 similarly reflects the popular concern with idolatry, yet uses language more characteristic of the Hosea textual tradition than Deuteronomism. These observations

¹⁹¹ Hosea expresses concern over Baal (2:10, 15, 18, 19; 11:2; 13:1) and illicit sacrificial practices (4:12-13a, 14b; 8:11; 10:1-2, 8; 12:12[11]). The text uses a wide range of terms in reference to idolatry (4:17; 8:3-4, 5-6; 10:5; 13:2) including several euphemisms unique to the Hosea tradition (5:5; 7:10).

¹⁹² The absence of knowledge of YHWH and his Torah feature prominently throughout the text (4:6; 5:4; 8:12, 14; 13:6; cf. 8:2), as do accusations assuming a distinctive lack of loyalty to YHWH (6:4; 10:4; 12:1[11:12]). Thus the language of "covenant" in no way seems surprising in light of this theological matrix (6:7; 8:1). Beyond the two instances of ברית ("covenant") in Hosea, the text in general often assumes an operating covenant with YHWH that has been broken, resulting in the manifestation of covenant curses (e.g., 8:7-14*).

distinguish these passages from Deuteronomistic origins, suggesting that these passages align closer with the preexisting Hosea textual tradition.

The second challenge observed in this survey is that several of these passages fit in their immediate literary context, preventing their literary-critical identification as editorial supplements. The literary-critical evidence does not allow dividing Hos 8:4b-6 from its context in chapter 8. Hosea 13:2-3 fits within the larger macrostructure of Hos 12-13*. Finally, the literary-critical evidence supports both the distinction and literary coherence of Hos 11:5 in its immediate literary context. These observations suggest that these texts should not be viewed as later editorial supplements.

The third challenge preventing assigning some of these passages to later Deuteronomistic editing is the fact that many of these passages reflect broader prophetic themes and motifs. The breadth of these themes means that they cannot be definitely associated with distinctively Deuteronomistic editing. Thus use of the *דבר־יהוה* in Hos 1:1 and 4:1-3* appears across a larger prophetic tradition. The use of this language in the Deuteronomistic History likely reflects the influence of the prophetic tradition on Deuteronomism rather than vice versa. Similarly the binary curse formula of Hos 4:10 appears across the breadth of the prophetic tradition. The fact that the language of this manifestation of this curse formula in 4:10 fits the Hosea textual tradition rather than that of Deuteronomism prevents assigning this supplement to Deuteronomistic editors.

Finally, only two passages reflect evidence of dependence upon an outside textual tradition associated with Deuteronomism. First, Hos 11:5 parallels language from Jer 5:3 and 8:5. The absence of this language from Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History, however, suggests that Hos 11:5 is not a Deuteronomistic composition. Hosea 14:1[13:16] closely resembles language from 2 Kgs 8:12b. This language however, fails to serve a Deuteronomistic ideological agenda in either Hos 14:1[13:16] or 2 Kgs 8:12b. Thus the dependence on 2 Kgs 8:12b in Hos 14:1[13:16] does not necessitate a distinctively Deuteronomistic ideological agenda in the composition history of Hosea.

The most explicit uses of language from the Deuteronomistic History do not serve Deuteronomistic functions. Hosea 3:1-5, for example, presents the hiatus from cultic ritual as a temporary measure before the restoration of the people to their former estate. This passage, therefore, does not reflect the Deuteronomistic agenda of permanently removing all cultic objects associated with cultic infidelities. Thus while Hos 3:1-5 displays a concern for the Israelites following after other gods, its ideological agenda fails to support Deuteronomistic composition. Similarly, although Hos 14:1[13:16] draws upon 2 Kgs 8:12b, the personification of the city distinguishes the ideological agenda of this supplement from the Deuteronomistic style. Thus while the literary evidence supports identifying thematic similarities with some Deuteronomistic passages across a wide range of texts in the composition history of Hosea, these passages fail to support claims of a comprehensive Deuteronomistic redactional layer.

The Book of the Four Literary Horizon in Hosea

Introduction to Hosea and the Literary Parallels with the Four

Scholars widely recognize select parallels between Hosea and Amos.¹⁹³ The scarcity of such explicit parallels in the midst of otherwise stylistically and structurally different prophetic texts allows for several plausible explanations.¹⁹⁴ Some scholars propose a personal connection between the respective eighth-century BCE prophets or a

¹⁹³ Even Christoph Levin, who is otherwise skeptical of the Book of the Four hypothesis, considers the links between Hosea and Amos obvious (“Das ‘Vierprophetenbuch’: Ein exegetischer Nachruf,” ZAW 123 [2011]: 221). Cf. Hos 4:15 and Amos 4:4; 8:14; Hos 8:14 and Amos 1:4, 7, 10, 12, 14; 2:2, 5.

¹⁹⁴ Klaus Koch denies any connection between these respective prophets or their books (*The Assyrian Period*, Vol 1 of *The Prophets*, trans. Margaret Kohl [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982], 76–78). For a list of differences between the books, see: Steinmann, *Le prophétisme biblique*, 237–38; Jörg Jeremias, “Die Anfänge des Dodekapropheten: Hosea und Amos,” in *Congress Volume Paris 1992*, ed. John Adney Emerton, VTSup 61 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 88–90.

direction of influence flowing from the preaching of one to the other.¹⁹⁵ Others, however, locate the relationship between these texts with subsequent editors.¹⁹⁶ In one of the more extensive assessments of the relationship between Hosea and Amos, Jörg Jeremias argues that the literary parallels formed during the composition process of each text as the tradents came to understand the messages of these prophets in light of one another. The tradents of Hosea updated the text using the language of Amos in order to reorient the Hosea message for a Judean audience. Similarly, the Amos tradents compiled the earliest version of Amos under the influence of Hosea's message.¹⁹⁷

Schart extends the implications of Jeremias' observations by incorporating them into his composition model for the Book of the Four. Schart argues that Hosea and Amos reflect additional similarities linking the texts such as the shared summons to listen (Hos 4:1; 5:1; Amos 3:1; 4:1; 5:1) and the use of framing narratives (Hos 1-3 and Amos 7-9). He argues that tradents combined Hosea and Amos into a *Zweiprophetenbuch* (Book of Two Prophets).¹⁹⁸ Schart argues that Hosea and Amos both share a transmission history, and were shaped to fit into a linear reading program.¹⁹⁹ Whereas Jeremias argues that the tradents read Hosea and Amos in light of one another, Schart proposes that the intended

¹⁹⁵ E.g., Cheyne, *Hosea*, 35; Lewis Bayles Paton, "Did Amos Approve the Calf-Worship at Bethel?," *JBL* 13 (1894): 83. Aaron Schart notably objects that it is difficult to reconstruct the oral proclamations behind the current text (*Die Entstehung*, 136–37).

¹⁹⁶ Rolland Emerson Wolfe, "The Editing of the Book of the Twelve," *ZAW* 53 (1935): 92–93.

¹⁹⁷ Jörg Jeremias, "Rezeptionsprozesse in der prophetischen Überlieferung - am Beispiel der Visionsberichte des Amos," in *Rezeption und Auslegung im Alten Testament und in seinem Umfeld. Ein Symposium aus Anlass des 60. Geburtstags von Odil Hannes Steck.*, ed. Reinhard Gregor Kratz and Thomas Krüger (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1997), 30; idem, "Die Anfänge des Dodekapropheten," (ed. Emerton), 87–106. Reprinted in: idem, "Die Anfänge des Dodekapropheten: Hosea und Amos," in *Hosea und Amos: Studien zu den Anfängen des Dodekapropheten*, FAT 13 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1996), 34–54; idem, "The Interrelationship Between Amos and Hosea," in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honour of John D. W. Watts*, ed. Paul R. House and James W. Watts, JSOTSup 235 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 171–86. Cf. Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 246.

¹⁹⁸ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 101–55. For those following Schart's model, see: Pfeiffer, *Das Heiligtum von Bethel*, 230–31; Lim and Castelo, *Hosea*, 32.

¹⁹⁹ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 139–50.

reading program treats these texts far more like a single composition. He proposes that obscurities in Amos presuppose the reader's awareness of context supplied by Hosea. He argues, for example, that the unusual placement of the Oracles Against the Nations in Amos makes sense when read in the context of the *Zweiprophetenbuch* as the continuation of Hosea.²⁰⁰ Schart proposes that this *Zweiprophetenbuch* underwent subsequent additions and developments as editors gradually added Micah and Zephaniah.

Although several subsequent assessments reject Schart's conclusions, his model reveals a main problem with incorporating the Hosea-Amos parallels into the Book of the Four hypothesis.²⁰¹ Hosea shares identifiable links with Amos, but aside from the superscriptional *דבר־יהוה* formula and dating scheme, it lacks distinctive links with Micah and Zephaniah. Thus one must question whether or not the Amos links evince a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four. Schart therefore argues that Hosea and Amos share a unique relationship in the *Zweiprophetenbuch* and must locate points of contact with Micah and Zephaniah in subsequently added similar themes and literary structures such as the summons to hear (Hos 4:1; 5:1; Amos 3:1; 4:1; 5:1; 8:4; Mic 3:1, 9; 6:2), the use of court complaints (Hos 4:1; Mic 6:2), and the exodus theme (Hos 2:17; 12:10, 14; Amos 2:10; 3:1; 9:7; Mic 6:4).²⁰² Yet each of these subsequent connections between Hosea and the Book of the Four faces difficulties. Schart admits that the summons to hear structure did not arise in a single composition layer, but rather grew as a process.²⁰³ He

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 145–48.

²⁰¹ For rejections of Schart's proposed gradual growth of the Book of the Four and a *Zweiprophetenbuch*, see: Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 165; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 241–44. Ben Zvi notably objects to Schart's proposed linear reading program: Ehud Ben Zvi, "Is the Twelve Hypothesis Likely from an Ancient Reader's Perspective?," in *Two Sides of a Coin: Juxtaposing Views on Interpreting the Book of The Twelve*, Analecta Gorgiana 201 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009), 90–94. For affirmations of Schart's *Zweiprophetenbuch*, see: Lim and Castelo, *Hosea*, 32. Cf. Pfeiffer, *Das Heiligtum von Bethel*, 230–31.

²⁰² Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 158–59, 184–88.

²⁰³ Ibid., 184–88. For further criticisms of Schart's use of the summons to hear, see pp.292–294.

recognizes that the integral nature of the exodus theme in Hosea indicates that it likely predated Book of the Four editing. He finds minimal Book of the Four additions to Hosea because he proposes the preexisting Hosea text already largely conformed to the interest of the D-editors.²⁰⁴ Pfeiffer's assessment of the exodus theme additionally notes that although the current presence of the theme in Hosea reflects a long redactional history, the plurality of allusions to the exodus cannot be attributed to a single compositional layer or ideological agenda.²⁰⁵ The nature of the literary parallels with Amos, when compared to the deficit of parallels with Micah and Zephaniah, raises important questions concerning Hosea's inclusion in the Book of the Four hypothesis.

Many passages in Hosea reflect thematic similarities to motifs found elsewhere in Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah. Thus a wide range of texts serve as potential candidates for Book of the Four editorial activity when considering intertextual parallels. The three strongest arguments for editorial updates in light of the Book of the Four, however, are found in Hos 1:1; 4:15aβb, and 8:14aβb. The following assessment, therefore, will begin with these three verses. This chapter then examines arguments for a Book of the Four literary horizon in Hos 1:2-9; 4:3; 11:10; arguing that these passages fail to provide evidence of an editorially constructed literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four.

The Literary Horizon of Hosea 1:1

Although Hos 1:1 fails to supply definitive evidence of Deuteronomistic origins, both the דבר־יהוה (“word of YHWH”) formula and the regnal dating system link Hos 1:1 to other Book of the Four texts. Hosea 1:1 shares the דבר־יהוה formula with Joel 1:1, Mic 1:1, and Zeph 1:1. For critics of the Book of the Four hypothesis, the inclusion of Joel 1:1 signals a problem with the use of the דבר־יהוה formula as a distinctive marker binding Hos

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 169.

²⁰⁵ Pfeiffer, *Das Heiligtum von Bethel*, 171–208.

1:1 to the Book of the Four.²⁰⁶ Joel 1:1, however, lacks the second key component binding Hos 1:1 to other Book of the Four superscriptions: the regnal dating system. The lack of this dating system signals that although the דבר־יהוה formula parallels that of Hosea, Micah, and Zephaniah, its postexilic composition date distinguishes it from the Book of the Four texts remembered as products of the preexilic era.²⁰⁷

The regnal dating of Hos 1:1 ties Hosea to the other Book of the Four texts. While the list of Judean kings parallels the kings listed in Amos 1:1 and Mic 1:1, Hosea's superscription additionally reflects similarities with the regnal dating system of Isa 1:1 (see Table 2.6). The use of the same Judean kings leads some to conclude that Hos 1:1 depends upon Isa 1:1.²⁰⁸ This close correspondence influences Andersen and Freedman's hypothesis that Isaiah, Hosea, Amos, and Micah initially served as a preexilic collection.²⁰⁹ The similarities between Isa 1:1 and Hos 1:1 additionally becomes crucial to Bosshard's argument that the Book of the Twelve structurally parallels Isaiah.²¹⁰

Two important differences signal that the Hosea superscription shares greater similarities with the other Book of the Four superscriptions than with Isaiah. First, Hosea

²⁰⁶ Ben Zvi, "A Deuteronomistic Redaction," 250; Klaus Koch, "Profetenbuchüberschriften. Ihre Bedeutung für das hebräische Verständnis von Profetie," in *Verbindungslinien, Festschrift für Werner H. Schmidt zum 65.*, ed. Axel Graupner, Holger Delkurt, and Alexander B. Ernst (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000), 184; Rudnig-Zelt, "Die Genese des Hoseabuches," 359; Levin, "Das 'Vierprophetenbuch'," 226.

²⁰⁷ Tuell argues that Joel 1:1 is patterned on the דבר־יהוה formula of Hos 1:1; Mic 1:1; and Zeph 1:1, yet remains distinguishable by its lack of regnal dating system (*Reading Nahum—Malachi*, 114).

²⁰⁸ Vermeylen, "Osée 1," 193; Rudnig-Zelt, *Hoseastudien*, 101–8; Levin, "Das 'Vierprophetenbuch'," 233–34.

²⁰⁹ Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea*, 144; idem, *Micah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 24E (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 6–7. Freedman later suggests that these texts formed a Hezekian collection celebrating the deliverance from the Assyrian military ("Headings in the Books of the Eighth-Century Prophets," *AUSS* 25 [1987]: 22).

²¹⁰ For Bosshard's assessment of the relationship between Hos 1:1 and Isa 1:1, see: Erich Bosshard, "Beobachtungen zum Zwölfprophetenbuch," *BN* 40 (1987): 31. He later develops his thesis further in: Erich Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39 im Zwölfprophetenbuch: Untersuchungen zur literarischen Verbindung von Prophetenbüchern in babylonischer und persischer Zeit*, OBO 154 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997).

uses the דבר־יהוה formula as found in Mic 1:1 and Zeph 1:1 but not Isa 1:1. Second, Hosea employs the unique spelling conventions for Uzziah and Hezekiah that align with the superscriptions of Amos and Micah over that of Isaiah. In each instance, Isa 1:1 spells the names with the final *mater lectionis*, whereas Hos 1:1 spells the names as found in the Amos and Micah superscriptions. The evidence therefore suggests that Hos 1:1 shares significant intertextual parallels with Amos 1:1, Mic 1:1, and Zeph 1:1, suggestive of a literary relationship. The regnal dating systems align these four texts into a single literary-chronological arrangement in which they form a sequential progression.²¹¹

Table 2.6. Superscriptional Regnal Dating Schemas

Superscription	Regnal List			
Isaiah:	Uzziah עזיהו	Jotham יותם	Ahaz אחז	Hezekiah יחזקיהו
Hosea:	Uzziah עזיה	Jotham יותם	Ahaz אחז	Hezekiah יחזקיה
Amos:	Uzziah עזיה			
Micah:		Jotham יותם	Ahaz אחז	Hezekiah יחזקיה
Zephaniah:				Hezekiah חזקיה (from the genealogy)
				Josiah יאשיהו

This literary-chronological arrangement, therefore, suggests editorial intentions spanning these four texts, and thus supports the Book of the Four hypothesis. The preceding assessment concludes, therefore, that although Hos 1:1 does not necessitate Deuteronomistic origins, it still supports the Book of the Four hypothesis by way of reflecting evidence of an editorially constructed literary horizon extending to other texts in the Book of the Four.

²¹¹ Note that this literary-chronological arrangement does not include Joel.

The Literary Horizon of Hosea 4:15aßb

Hosea 4:15 reflects a literary break from the preceding pronouncement. Determining the relationship between v.15 and the following pronouncements remains a matter of dispute as some scholars identify evidence of editorial development in v.15. The use of the vocative יִשְׂרָאֵל (“Israel”) in v.15aα signals the beginning of a new direct discourse. This vocative address connects to the focus on Israel in v.16. As with Hos 4:4-14*, the third-person references about the people feature prominently in the accusation (vv.16-19). The third-person reference to YHWH suggests a change of speaker as well (v.16). The preceding observations suggest that vv.15-17 constitute a new literary unit consisting of the speech of the prophet to Israel (Ephraim).

Scholars often identify the unexpected reference to Judah in v.15aß as a later editorial supplement.²¹² The use of periodic references to Judah in a text otherwise concerned with a northern audience suggests the probability that Hosea underwent a “Judean redaction” for its reception in the Southern Kingdom.²¹³ Mauchline correctly warns scholars not to assume that all references to “Judah” reflect later editorial intentions. The final form of Hosea employs references to Judah in different ways complicating diachronic efforts to group them into a single editorial agenda.²¹⁴ Hosea

²¹² E.g., Budde, “Zu Text und Auslegung des Buches Hosea,” 292; Lindblom, *Hosea*, 121; Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 12; Wolff, *Hosea*, 112; Emmerson, *Hosea*, 77–83. Note that the OG reads the third-person jussive about Judah as a second-person. This change likely reflects a move for grammatical consistency on the part of the OG translator and thus does not reflect an earlier reading. Contra Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 16.

²¹³ Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 8–9; Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, clix; Lindblom, *Hosea*, 121–22; Robinson, “Hosea,” 1; Jacob, “Osée,” 12–13; Rudolph, *Hosea*, 25; Mays, *Hosea*, 15–17; *Amos et Osée*, Traduction œcuménique de la Bible (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1969), 66–67; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 244–45; Wolff, *Hosea*, xxvi–xxvii; Childs, *Introduction*, 378–79; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 18; Naumann, *Hoseas Erben*, 172–76; Holt, *Prophesying the Past*, 23; Bons, *Das Buch Hosea*, 17–18.

²¹⁴ Mauchline, “Hosea,” 6:563–64. See similar cautions in *Amos et Osée*, 66–67; Clements, “Understanding the Book of Hosea,” 419; Hubbard, *Hosea*, 35. The text contrasts the fate of Judah with the fate of Israel in 1:7; 4:15; 12:1[11:12]. Alternatively, Judah is paired with Ephraim/Israel in guilt in 5:5, 10, 12, 13, 14; 6:4; 8:14; 10:11. See also 1:1; 6:11; 12:3[2]. Some recent assessments oppose identifying any of the Judah references as later editorial additions. E.g., Gustaf Adolf Danell, *Studies in the Name Israel in the Old Testament* (Uppsala: Appelbergs Boktryckeri, 1946), 138–40; van Gelderen, *Het boek Hosea*, 8–9; Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea*, 73; Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 14; Gisin, *Hosea*, 9–10.

4:15a β expresses the desire for Judah to remain “offense” free in contrast to Israel’s whoredom. Such wishes contrast with the majority of Judah references that include the Southern Kingdom in the accusations and judgments against the North.²¹⁵

The Judah reference of Hos 4:15a β inaugurates a series of four negative volitional clauses. The shared repeated syntax holds these four clauses together.²¹⁶ Four observations distinguish them from their immediate literary context, suggesting that Hos 4:15a β b serves as a later editorial development. First, Hos 4:15a β b introduces an unexpected concern with Judah. While not all references to Judah constitute editorial additions, the reference in 4:15a β b occurs in an oracle otherwise concerned only with Israel and Ephraim (v.15a α , 16-17). Second, this Judah reference interrupts a unifying focus on Israel in v.15a α and 16a. Hosea 4:15a α addresses Israel as a זונה. Verse 16 opens with a כִּי clause, suggesting a connection with an assumed preceding pronouncement. The כִּי clause compares the stubbornness of Israel to the stubbornness of a heifer, suggesting that it serves as a continuation of a preceding pronouncement about Israel. The assumed preceding pronouncement appears in Hos 4:15a α , not v.15a β b. Hosea 4:15a β b thus interrupts an assumed relationship between v.15a α , and v.16a. Third, the interrupting v.15a β b departs from the stylistic uses of wordplay with the corporate identity names to convey the prophetic message (vv.15a α , 16-19).²¹⁷ Both named northern corporate

²¹⁵ Hosea 5:5, 10, 12, 13, 14; 6:4; 8:14; 10:11. Cf. 12:3[2].

²¹⁶ The grammatical shift between the first and second negation clauses does not warrant a literary-critical break in light of the paralleled syntax. The inaugural negative jussive clause indicates a desire for the third-person singular entity “Judah” to remain free from guilt. The following three clauses address a second-person plural audience. Suggesting an address to the plural audience whose corporate obedience may keep the corporate identity of Judah free from guilt. Note that לֹא occurs with the imperfect second-person verb denoting immediate prohibitions or volitions. See: Samuel Rolles Driver, *A Treatise of the Use of the Tenses in the Hebrew and Some Others Syntactical Questions*, 3rd Rev. Ed., Resource Series (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1892), 55; Bruce Waltke and M. O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 565; Paul Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Rome: Pontificio istituto biblico, 2006), 568; Bill Arnold and John H. Choi, *A Guide to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 130.

²¹⁷ Scholars note that Hosea makes frequent use of wordplay and alliteration to convey the prophetic message. Wordplay with corporate identities feature prominently in the text. For discussion, see: Rudolph, “Eigentümlichkeiten der Sprache Hoseas,” 315–17; Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 37–40; Hubbard,

identities occur with a wordplay used to express the prophetic message. The name ישראל (“Israel”) plays on the alliterative sounds of סרה סרה (from the root סרר meaning “to be stubborn”) in v.16a, and סר (“to turn”) in v.18a.²¹⁸ The name אפרים (“Ephraim”) of v.17 plays on the simile כפרה (“like a heifer”) of v.16a. The name Judah in v.15aβ lacks a corresponding wordplay. Fourth, the shared use of זנה imagery links v.15aα and vv.16-19. Verse 15aβb notably lacks this theme. When taken together, these four observations suggest that Hos 4:15aβb serves as a supplement interrupting v.15aα, 16-19.

Table 2.7. Hos 4:15aβb and Amos 4:4a; 5:5; 8:14

Reference	Hebrew Text	English Translation
Hos 4:15aβb	אל־יֹאשֶׁם יְהוּדָה וְאֶל־תְּבֹאוּ הַגִּלְגָל וְאֶל־תַּעֲלוּ בֵּית אֵוֶן וְאֶל־תִּשְׁבַּעוּ חַי־יְהוָה	Do not let Judah offend, and do not go to Gilgal and do not go up to Beth-aven and do not swear “as YHWH lives.”
Amos 4:4a	בֵּאוּ בֵּית־אֵל וּפִשְׁעוּ הַגִּלְגָל הֵרְבוּ לַפֶּשַׁע	Go to Bethel and sin, [to] Gilgal and multiply sinning...
Amos 5:5	וְאֶל־תִּדְרְשׁוּ בֵּית־אֵל וְהַגִּלְגָל לֹא תִבְאוּ וּבְאֵר שֶׁבַע לֹא תַעֲבְרוּ כִּי הַגִּלְגָל גֵּלָה יִגְלָה וּבֵית־אֵל יִהְיֶה לְאֹוֶן	Do not seek Bethel, and [to] Gilgal do not go, and do not cross over to Beer-sheba, for Gilgal will certainly [be] exiled, and Bethel will be sorrowful.
Amos 8:14	הַנִּשְׁבָּעִים בְּאַשְׁמַת שִׁמְרוֹן וְאָמְרוּ חַי אֱלֹהֵיךְ דָּן וְחַי דֶּרֶךְ בְּאֶרֶץ־שֶׁבַע וְנָפְלוּ וְלֹא־יִקְוֶמוּ עוֹד	Those who swear by the guilt of Samaria and say: “As surely as your god lives, O Dan,” and “the way of Beer-sheba lives.” They will fall and will not again rise.

Several scholars observe literary similarities between the negation clauses of Hos 4:15aβb and Amos 4:4a; 5:5; 8:14 (see Table 2.7).²¹⁹ Hosea 4:15aβb resembles aspects of

Hosea, 41–42; Fisch, “Hosea,” 144–46; Asurmendi, *Amós y Oseas*, 32; Morris, *Prophecy, Poetry, and Hosea*, 45–100.

²¹⁸ One may further note an alliterative relationship with צרר in v.19a.

²¹⁹ E.g., Paton, “Did Amos Approve,” 83; Marti, *Das Dodekapropheten*, 8–9, 44; Robinson, “Hosea,” 21; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 71; Ernst Axel Knauf, “Beth Aven,” *Bib* 65 (1984): 13–21; Z. Kallai, “BETH-EL--LUZ and BETH-AVEN,” in *Prophetie und geschichtliche Wirklichkeit im alten Israel: Festschrift für Siegfried Herrmann*, ed. Rüdiger Liwak and Siegfried Wagner (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer,

Amos 4:4a; 5:5; 8:14, but to differing degrees. Whereas the language forbidding travel to Gilgal and Beth-aven resembles Amos 4:4a and 5:5, the language of “swearing” in Hos 4:15bβ only thematically parallels Amos 8:14.²²⁰ Hosea, however, expresses concern over Gilgal and Bethel (Beth-aven) elsewhere in the text.²²¹ Several scholars argue that the use of בית און (literally “house of iniquity”) as a polemical reference to Bethel originated with the association between Bethel and און (“iniquity”) in Amos 5:5.²²²

Three elements distinguish Hos 4:15aβb from the remaining Hosea uses of these localities in ways that align with Amos 5:5. First, while Hosea references Gilgal and Beth-aven elsewhere, Hos 4:15aβb is the only place where these locations are paired.²²³ Second, Hosea otherwise makes reference to Gilgal only as part of a historical memory of past actions (9:15; 12:11). Beth-aven (Bethel) similarly occurs only in references to its historical tradition or its recent loss (5:8; 10:5, 15; 12:5). Only Hos 4:15aβb reflects a

1991), 524–26; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 134; Morris, *Prophecy, Poetry, and Hosea*, 121; Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea-Jonah*, 78.

²²⁰ Hosea 4:15bβ and Amos 8:14 reflect concern with different cultic locations.

²²¹ Cf. Hos 5:8; 9:15; 10:15; 12:5[4], 11[10]. For this reason, several scholars who recognize the influence of Amos 4:4; 5:5; 8:14 on Hos 4:15 still retain Hos 4:15 as a coherent part of the earliest literary core of Hosea (e.g., Wolff, *Dodekapropheton 1, Hosea*, 111–12; Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea*, 372). Stuart alternatively describes the similarities as coincidental (*Hosea-Jonah*, 84). Compare with Naumann, who argues against a direct literary relationship (*Hoseas Erben*, 35–37).

²²² Paton, “Did Amos Approve,” 83; Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 8–9, 44; Robinson, “Hosea,” 21; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 71; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 134; Morris, *Prophecy, Poetry, and Hosea*, 121; Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea-Jonah*, 78. Peter Ackroyd rightly notes, however, that בית און (“Beth-aven”) occurs more frequently in the Hosea textual tradition than in Amos (“Judgment Narrative Between Kings and Chronicles: An Approach to Amos 7:9-17,” in *Canon and Authority: Essays in Old Testament Religion and Theology*, ed. George W. Coats and Burke O. Long [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977], 77). Note that בית און occurs elsewhere in Josh 7:2; 18:12; 1 Sam 13:5; 14:23. Most scholars attribute this polemical association to Hosea and Amos. For discussion of the assumed relationship between Bethel and Beth-aven in different texts, see: Knauf, “Beth Aven,” 251–53; Nadav Na’aman, “Beth-Aven, Bethel and Early Israelite Sanctuaries,” *ZDPV* 103 (1987): 13–21; Kallai, “BETH-EL,” 171–88; Michael Avi-Yonah, “Bet(H)-El,” ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), 524–26.

²²³ Gilgal and Bethel are only paired in Amos 4:4 and 5:5. The only other place where Bethel and Gilgal appear together is in a list of Samuel’s circuit in 1 Sam 7:16. Although Amos 5:5 additionally includes Beer-sheba, this location is flanked by the Gilgal-Bethel word pair.

concern for the continuing function of Gilgal, a feature found in Amos 4:4; 5:5.²²⁴

Finally, Hos 4:15aβb employs a trifold prohibition, similar to that in Amos 5:5. This use of the אַל prohibition contrasts with the lack of comparable pronouncements elsewhere in Hosea.²²⁵ For these reasons, most scholars recognize some dependence on Amos.²²⁶

Hosea 4:15aβb reveals an alternative scribal tendency of literary integration. Hosea 4:15aβb parallels the syntax of the immediately preceding lines (see Table 2.8). The opening of new prophetic discourse in Hos 4:15aα not only connects to the preceding divine pronouncements via the catchword זנה, but also results in a four-fold sound repetition by placing an אם clause following three עם clauses. The editorial addition in Hos 4:15aβb replicates this four-fold literary structure by repeating the אַל prohibition imported from Amos 5:5. The result is a scribal program of literary integration by way of replicating the preceding pronouncement.

Table 2.8. The Scribal Program of Literary Integration in Hos 4:15aβb

Verse	Hebrew Text	Translated
Hos 4:14aβb	כִּי־הֵם עַם־הַזֹּנוֹת יִפְרְדּוּ וְעַם־הַקְדָּשׁוֹת יִזְבְּחוּ וְעַם לֹא־יָבִין יִלְבֹּט	For those who With prostitutes they go off, And with cult-prostitutes they sacrifice, And with no understanding they thrust away.
Hos 4:15aα	אִם־זֹנֶה אַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל	Are you a fornicator O Israel?
Hos 4:15aβb	אַל־יֵאָשֶׁם יְהוּדָה וְאַל־תֵּבֹאוּ הַגִּלְגָּל וְאַל־תַּעֲלוּ בֵּית אֹנָן וְאַל־תִּשְׁבַּעוּ כִּי־יְהוָה	Do not let Judah offend, and do not go to Gilgal and do not go up to Beth-aven, and do not swear “as YHWH lives.”

²²⁴ Even more striking is the concept of a continuing function for the Judean population.

²²⁵ Hosea only elsewhere makes use of the אַל negative particle in Hos 4:4.

²²⁶ Cheyne, *Hosea*, 35; Paton, “Did Amos Approve,” 83; Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 8–9, 44; Budde, “Zu Text und Auslegung des Buches Hosea,” 392; Robinson, “Hosea,” 21; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 135–136, 246; Wolff, *Dodekapropheton 1, Hosea*, 111–12; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 71; idem, “Die Anfänge des Dodekapropheton,” (ed. Emerton), 91–93; Morris, *Prophecy, Poetry, and Hosea*, 121; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 134; Pfeiffer, *Das Heiligtum von Bethel*, 65–68, 230–31; Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea-Jonah*, 78.

The Literary Horizon of Hosea 8:14a^{bb}

Hosea 8 supplies first-person divine discourse addressing cultic infidelity of Israel (Ephraim) until v.13. Scholars commonly identify editorial updates in vv.13-14. Hosea 8:13b switches from first-person divine speech to prophetic speech about the third-person YHWH and his people, which commentators commonly identify as an editorial update dependent upon Hos 9:3, 9; 11:5.²²⁷ Several diachronic scholars identify editorial activity in v.14 on account of the close correspondence with language from the Amos Oracles Against the Nations.²²⁸ Redaction-critical explanations, however, are not the only models that account for this literary correspondence. Heinrich Ewald attributes v.14 to Hosea, but sees the prophet as influenced by the earlier preaching of Amos.²²⁹

Although containing a clear link to Amos, the place of Hos 8:14 in the Book of the Four hypothesis lacks agreement among the model's proponents. Scharf follows Jeremias in identifying Hos 8:14 as an editorial addition dependent upon the Amos Oracles Against the Nations, yet he identifies ideological discrepancies distinguishing Hos 8:14 from the editing of his *Zweiprophetenbuch* and the *D-Korpus*.²³⁰ Albertz assigns Hos 8:14 to the Deuteronomistic Book of the Four.²³¹ Wöhrle attributes Hos 8:14

²²⁷ E.g., Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 66, n.15; Pfeiffer, *Das Heiligtum von Bethel*, 198, 227. On the OG connections between Hos 8:13 and 9:3, see: Morris, *Prophecy, Poetry, and Hosea*, 61. Hosea 8:13 additionally contains near word-for-word correspondence with Jer 14:10, which Schulz-Rauch determines to be an editorial addition to its Jeremiah context (*Hosea und Jeremia*, 31–32, 233–34).

²²⁸ Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 8–9, 70; Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, 324; Mauchline, “Hosea,” 6:563–64, 654–55; Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 18; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 170–71; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 66, n.15; Wolff, *Hosea*, 188–89; Robert Gnuse, “Calf, Cult, and King: The Unity of Hosea 8:1–13,” *BZ* 26 (1982): 84, 92; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 112; Naumann, *Hoseas Erben*, 76–79, 172–73; Davies, *Hosea*, NCB, 37, 209–10; idem, *Hosea*, 105; Jeremias, “Die Anfänge,” (ed. Emerton), 93–94; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 85.

²²⁹ Ewald, *Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament*, 1:218; See similarly Cheyne, *Hosea*, 35. For additional defenses of the authenticity of Hos 8:14, see: Emmerson, *Hosea*, 74–77; Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 14, 137.

²³⁰ Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 154–55. For Jeremias' assessment, see: Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 112; idem, “Die Anfänge des Dodekapropheton,” (ed. Emerton), 93–94.

²³¹ Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 181.

to the Book of the Four Deuteronomistic redaction on account of perceived similarities with Deuteronomistic composition that he identifies with Amos 2:5b and Mic 5:10.²³²

Hosea 8:14aα coheres with the literary and thematic orientation of the preceding discourse in Hos 8*. This verse's initial pronouncement targets Israel (cf. v.2, 3, 6, 8) for "forgetting" (שכח) its maker. The theme of "remembering" and "forgetting" features prominently in Hosea.²³³ The prophetic pronouncement in Hos 8:1-14* opens with a dual accusation paralleling the people's transgression of the covenant and Torah with their cry to God declaring their knowledge of him (8:1-2). Additionally the concern of building "temples" (היכל) coheres with the general cultic orientation of 8:1-14*.

An unexpected literary shift occurs in v.14aβ. Although not all references to Judah necessitate *a priori* compositional division, the concern with Judah in v.14aβ occurs in a pronouncement otherwise oriented exclusively toward the northern kingdom. This verse alone in the Book of the Twelve describes "cities" (ערים) as "unassailable" (בצרות).²³⁴ The distinguishing literary features continue into v.14b. The language of sending "fire" (ושלחתי־אש) that "consumes citadels" (ואכלה ארמנותיה) recalls the formulaic language of the highly structured Oracles Against the Nations in Amos (see Table 2.9).

²³² Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 238–39.

²³³ Hosea 2:15[13], 19[17]; 4:6; 7:2; 8:13, 14; 9:9; 12:6[5]; 13:6; 14:8[7]. This theme relates to the theme of "knowing" in Hosea. See: Hos 2:10[8], 22[20]; 4:1, 6; 5:3, 4, 9; 6:3, 6; 7:9; 8:2, 4; 9:7; 11:3; 13:4, 5; 14:10[9]. Note that Hos 8:14aα has very close correspondence to Isa 51:13. The close correlation between v.14aα and the earliest literary composition of Hos 8:1-14* precludes the possibility that Isa 51:13 influenced Hos 8:14 as argued by: Pfeiffer, *Das Heiligtum von Bethel*, 138.

²³⁴ Cf. Num 13:28; Deut 3:5; Josh 14:12; 2 Sam 20:6; 2 Kgs 19:25; Isa 27:10; 37:26; Hos 8:14; Neh 9:25; 2 Chr 19:5; 32:1; 33:14.

Table 2.9. Consuming Fire in the Book of the Twelve

Verse	Hebrew Text	English Translation
Hos 8:14b	ושלחתי־אש בעריי ואכלה ארמנתיה:	“...and I will send fire on his cities, and it will consume her citadels.”
Amos 1:4	ושלחתי אש בבית חזאל ואכלה ארמנות בן־הדד:	“And I will send fire on the house of Hazael, and it will consume the citadels of Ben- Hadad.”
Amos 1:7	ושלחתי אש בחומת עזה ואכלה ארמנתיה:	“And I will send fire on the walls of Gaza, and it will consume her citadels.”
Amos 1:10	ושלחתי אש בחומת צר ואכלה ארמנתיה:	“And I will send fire on the walls of Tyre, and it will consume her citadels.”
Amos 1:12	ושלחתי אש בתימן ואכלה ארמנות בְּצֶרָה:	“And I will send fire on Teman, and it will consume the citadels of Bozrah.”
Amos 2:2a	ושלחתי־אש במואב ואכלה ארמנות הקריות	“And I will send fire on Moab, and it will consume the citadels of Kerioth...”
Amos 2:5	ושלחתי אש ביהודה ואכלה ארמנות ירושלם:	“And I will send fire on Judah, and it will consume the citadels of Jerusalem”

The phrasing of Hos 8:14b is far more at home in the Amos textual tradition than in Hosea.²³⁵ The masculine singular pronominal suffix on בעריי (“on his cities”) indicates that the formulaic Amos language envisions judgment against a singular entity. The current context allows for either Israel (v.14aα) or Judah (v.14aβ) depending upon the compositional stratification of the verse.²³⁶ Context allows for either Israel or Judah to serve as the antecedent of this pronominal suffix. The association of Judah with “impenetrable cities” (ערים בארות) suggests that the pronominal suffix on “cities” (בעריי) in v.14b assumes Judah as the antecedent. Verse 14b assumes the presence of the Judah reference in v.14aβ. Verse 14aβ departs from the cultic focus of vv.11-14aα. The

²³⁵ Hosea 8:14b is the only place where God explicitly “sends” (שלח) in Hosea. Hosea only uses אש (“fire”) elsewhere in the oven metaphor of 7:6. Additionally, the term for “citadels” (ארמנות) occurs nowhere else in the Hosea textual tradition. This deficit is striking when compared to the frequency with which “citadels” (ארמנות) features in Amos. Cf. Amos 1:4, 7, 10, 12, 14; 2:2, 5; 3:9, 10, 11; 6:8.

²³⁶ Not all scholars see Hos 8:14 as a compositional unity. See, for example, Pfeiffer, *Das Heiligtum von Bethel*, 138.

construction of “impenetrable cities” (ערים בארות) in v.14a β aligns more with the focus on “towns” (ערים) and “citadels” (ארמנות) of v.14b than with the cultic orientation of “altars” (מזבחות), “law” (תורה), “sacrifices” (זבחי), and “temples” (היכל). This literary evidence suggests that Hos 8:14a β b forms a coherent supplement to the conclusion of Hos 8:1-14*. This supplement reflects the influence of the Amos textual tradition.

This editorial addition in Hos 8:14a β b, furthermore, reveals a unique relationship of reversal with its current literary context. Whereas Hos 8:14a β presents Judah as “multiplying” (הרבה) impenetrable cities, v.11 presents Ephraim as “multiplying” (הרבה) “altars for sinning” (מזבחת לחטא).²³⁷ Whereas the perpetrators “consume” (ויאכלו) the sacrifices upon these altars, v.14b declares that YHWH will send fire to “consume” (ואכלה) the citadels of Judah. Hosea 8:14a β b draws upon the language of the immediately preceding pronouncements in order to construct a judgment of reversal. The perpetrators consume, thus their citadels will be consumed. This method of literary integration suggests a scribal agenda of integrating this Amos language into the pre-existing Hosea tradition, while reorienting the pronouncement to apply to Judah.

Limitation of the Book of the Four Literary Horizon

The evidence supports identifying Hos 1:1; 4:15a β b; and 8:14a β b as editorially constructed updates with a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four. Book of the Four advocates propose four additional types of Book of the Four editing in Hosea. First, Scharf argues that early editors shaped Hos 1:2-9* and 14:2-4[1-3] to function as a frame around Hosea. He argues that this frame reflects a literary horizon extending to Amos by suggesting that editors shaped Hos 1:2-9* to parallel Amos 7:10-17. Second, Scharf argues that the summons to hear in Hos 4:1a* functions with 5:1-2* to link Hosea

²³⁷ This addition thus positions the cities of Judah as a parallel to the locations of cultic infidelities in the Northern Kingdom. A similar association depicting cities as comparable to locations of cultic infidelities occurs in the Book of the Four addition in Mic 1:5b-7. For further discussion, see 258-262.

to Amos and Micah. Third, Albertz argues that 4:1-3* resembles Zeph 1:2-3 and thus contributes to the Book of the Four. Finally, Nogalski argues that Hos 11:10 reflects a possible Book of the Four supplement. While Book of the Four advocates correctly note parallel imagery between these passages and the rest of the Book of the Four, each of these passages lack a literary horizon extending exclusively to the Book of the Four.

1. *Hosea 1:2-9; 14:2-4[1-3]*. Scholars commonly recognize that Hos 1:2-9 serves an introductory function to Hosea. Some scholars date Hos 1:2-9* to among the earliest compositions, whereas others date it to one of the final redactions.²³⁸ Schart argues that the early editors who first assembled these texts into a multi-prophetic book collection initially edited Hosea and Amos into a single prophetic scroll. He proposes that these editors shaped the earliest core of Hos 1:2-9* to parallel Amos 7:10-17.²³⁹ The construction of this narrative thus provided a frame of third-person narratives around this early prophetic collection. He then links Hos 14:2-4[1-3] to 1:2-9*. Schart's proposed parallels, however, rely upon general language that often serves different ideological

²³⁸ Scholars commonly attribute Hos 1:2-9 to an early disciple on account of the third-person narrative style. E.g., van Leeuwen, *Hosea*, 17–18; De Vries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 184; Bons, *Das Buch Hosea*, 14; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 116–20. Cf. John J. Schmitt, “The Gender of Ancient Israel,” *JSOT* 26 (1983): 120; idem, “The Wife of God in Hosea 2,” *BR* 34 (1989): 7; Robinson, “Hosea,” 1. Those who date the composition late often argue for dependence upon Isa 8:1-4. See: Christoph Levin, *Die Verheissung des neuen Bundes: in ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Zusammenhang ausgelegt*, FRLANT 137 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 236–37; Vermeylen, “Osée 1,” 200–202; idem, “Os 1-3 et son histoire littéraire,” *ETL* 79 (2003): 23–24; Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 137–39; Rudnig-Zelt, *Hoseastudien*, 90. Alternatively, arguments including Hos 1:2-9 with the earliest literary core of Hos 4-14* often emphasize the theological coherence between these chapters. E.g., Batten, “Hosea’s Message,” 266.

²³⁹ Schart identifies v.5 and v.7 as later supplements and sees Deuteronomistic revision in v.2. (*Die Entstehung*, 116–20). Some scholars find editorial revision in v.2. E.g., Batten, “Hosea’s Message,” 265; Rudolph, *Hosea*, 39, 49; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 25–27; Weider, *Ehemetaphorik*, 8–9; Vermeylen, “Osée 1,” 194; idem, “Os 1-3,” 24. Furthermore, redaction critics commonly identify v.5 and v.7 as later editorial additions. See below for assessment. For other arguments that the compiler of Hos 1:2-9* drew inspiration from the Amos visions, see: Vermeylen, “Osée 1,” 197–200; idem, “Os 1-3,” 23–24.

functions. These differences distinguish these narratives as independent compositions that lack evidence of an editorial relationship.²⁴⁰

Schart first argues that the phrase “I will no longer” (לֹא אוֹסֵף עוֹד) in Hos 1:6 connects to Amos 7:8 and 8:2.²⁴¹ Although these verses negate a verb using יֹסֵף and עוֹד, this phrasing occurs frequently across the Hebrew Bible to express that something “will not” or “did not again” take place.²⁴² Hosea 1:6 links this formulaic pronouncement to the divine expression of רַחֵם (“to have compassion”).²⁴³ This root most frequently occurs in the context of restoration or deliverance.²⁴⁴ Conversely, the absence of divine רַחֵם correlates with the judgment of YHWH.²⁴⁵ Amos 7:8 and 8:2 differ from this convention by using עָבַר (“to pass over”) in this formulaic expression. The lack of divine compassion expressed in Hos 1:6, therefore, makes use of two common concepts in Biblical Hebrew literature (the negation formula and רַחֵם), one of which is entirely absent from Amos.

²⁴⁰ Schart additionally argues that Hos 1:4 shares vocabulary with passages across Amos that he attributes to his Tradent Layer. He sees the first-person use of פָּקַד (“to punish”) along with the particle אֵת identifying the sin and the preposition עַל identifying the target as paralleling Amos 3:2. Furthermore he argues that the phrase “House of Israel” occurs reflects the influence of the Amos textual tradition (Amos 5:1, 3, 4, 25; 6:1, 14; 7:10; 9:9). Schart attributes this phrase in Hos 1:4, 6; 5:1; and 12:1 to the Tradents of the *Zweiprophetenbuch*, yet he identifies 6:10 as a post-Deuteronomic gloss (*Die Entstehung*, 118–19). Language such as פָּקַד (“to punish”) and בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל (“house of Israel”) are common in Hebrew prophetic literature, especially in Hosea and Amos whose prophetic traditions focus upon the Northern Kingdom.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 117. Several scholars argue that this unique proclamation reflects dependence upon Amos 7:8–9; 8:2. E.g., Jeremias, “Rezeptionsprozesse,” 38–39; Vermeylen, “Osée 1,” 197–200; idem, “Os 1–3,” 23–24; Rudnig-Zelt, *Hoseastudien*, 93; Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 140–41. Cf. Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 86.

²⁴² Genesis 8:21; 38:26; Exod 10:29; Deut 28:68; Judg 13:21; 1 Sam 7:13; 27:4; 2 Sam 2:28; 14:10; 2 Kgs 6:23; 24:7; Isa 10:20; 23:12; Ezek 36:12; Hos 1:6; Amos 7:8, 13; 8:2; Nah 2:1.

²⁴³ The Hebrew Bible closely ties רַחֵם (“compassion”) to the character of YHWH. E.g., Exod 33:19; 34:6; Pss 86:15; 103:8; 106:5; 111:4; 112:4; 145:8. For a full assessment of רַחֵם see: Horacio Simian-Yofre, “רחם,” ed. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, trans. David E. Green, *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 437–452.

²⁴⁴ Deuteronomy 30:3. Cf. 1 Kgs 8:50; 2 Kgs 13:23; Isa 14:1; 30:18; 49:10, 13, 15; 54:8, 10; 55:7; 60:10; Jer 12:15; 30:18; 31:20; 33:26; 42:12; Ezek 39:25; Hos 1:7; 2:3, 25; Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2; Mic 7:19; Hab 3:2; Zech 1:12; 10:6; Pss 78:38; 102:14[13]; 103:13; Lam 3:32; Neh 9:17, 31; 2 Chr 30:9.

²⁴⁵ Isaiah 9:16; 27:11; Jer 13:14; Hos 1:6; 2:3, 6.

Thus while Hos 1:6 and Amos 7:8; 8:2 make use of a shared negation formula, the evidence does not support the claims of direct literary dependence between these texts.

Second, Schart argues that Hos 1:2-9* and Amos 7:10-17 both supply a secondary narrative juxtaposed to a first-person report. Both narratives mention wives and children and make use of זָנָה (cf. Amos 7:17).²⁴⁶ The reference to wives and children, however, functions differently in Amos 7:10-17. In Hos 1:2-9*, the sexually illicit wife and the children serve as the metaphorical vehicles for communicating the prophetic message of judgment. Amos 7:10-17 alternatively recounts the rejection of the prophetic message. The wife and children of Amaziah join him in suffering as a result of this rejection of Amos. Thus prostitution falls upon the wife, death upon the children, and exile upon Amaziah. This application of disaster upon the whole family signaling the totality of judgment functions differently than the use of the children's names as the metaphorical vehicle for the prophetic message in Hos 1:2-9*. This difference prevents concluding that editors shaped one of these narratives to parallel the other.

Third, Schart argues that both Hos 1:2-9* and Amos 7:10-17 target the house of Jehu (cf. Amos 7:9, 11), the house of Israel (Amos 7:10), and the people of God (Amos 7:15; 8:2).²⁴⁷ The focus on the "house of Israel" and the "people" occurs commonly in both Hosea and Amos. Both passages announce the end of the Jehu dynasty, though using different designations.²⁴⁸ Only Hos 1:4 provides a reason for this announced end. Amos lacks any mention of Jezreel, condemnations of "bloodshed" (דָּם), or a proverbial "bow" (קֶשֶׁת) signaling strength (cf. Amos 2:15). Similarly, Hos 1 lacks any divine rising against a foe (cf. Amos 7:9), the threat of the "sword" (חֶרֶב) against Jeroboam, and the threat of "exile" (גִּלְגָּל) against the people. While Hos 1:2-9* and Amos 7:9, 11 preserve sayings

²⁴⁶ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 117–18.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 118.

²⁴⁸ Hosea 1:4 targets the "house of Jehu," suggesting an awareness of the end of the dynasty when Shallum murdered Zechariah son of Jeroboam II (2 Kgs 15:8-12). Amos 7:9, 11 specifically addresses the "house of Jeroboam."

against the same royal family, they use different language to pronounce this judgment.²⁴⁹

This evidence does not support claims of literary influence between these passages.

Fourth, Schart argues that Hos 1:2a and Amos 7:1 make use of the root תחלה (“beginning”).²⁵⁰ Whereas this noun signals the beginning of the prophetic message of Hosea, its use in Amos 7:1 serves only as a descriptor within the vision report. Not only do Hos 1:2 and Amos 7:1 employ תחלה to serve different purposes, but with the exception of the lexeme ארץ, Hos 1:2-9* lacks other lexical links with the first vision report problematizing attempts to argue for direct literary dependence.

Finally, Schart argues that Hos 1:9 and Amos 8:2; 9:7 articulate the end of the people of God in very similar ways.²⁵¹ Although Hos 1:9 and Amos 8:2; 9:7 both pronounce judgment upon the people, this similarity lacks markers of literary dependence. Hosea 1:9 signals the rejection of the people of God (cf. Hos 2:1, 3, 20, 25; 6:11), a rejection that finds correspondence with Hos 4:6 (cf. 9:7) along with the frequent accusations against the people (4:8, 9, 12, 14; 10:5, 10, 14; 11:7). Amos similarly announces judgment upon the people, but does so using expressions of destruction (7:8-9; 8:2; 9:10) that do not correlate with the Hosea rejection. Hosea 1:2-9* and Amos share the prophetic role of pronouncing judgment against the people of God without necessitating the construction of an intentional literary relationship.

These parallels between Hos 1:2-9* and Amos rely on general links that span a wide range of Amos and Hosea pronouncements. The nature of this evidence, therefore, does not necessitate editors composing Hos 1:2-9* under the influence of Amos. These proposed parallels reveal significant differences between these texts, mitigating against

²⁴⁹ The “House of Israel” occurs in: Hos 1:4, 6; 5:1; 12:1; Amos 5:1, 25; 6:14; 7:10; and the probably editorial supplements in Amos 6:1; 9:9. The “people” are referenced in Hos 4:6, 8, 9, 12, 14; 10:10, 14; 11:7; Amos 7:8, 15; 8:2. Cf. the use of עַם in probable editorial supplements: Hos 4:1; 6:11; Amos 9:10, 14.

²⁵⁰ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 118.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 119.

claims of a compositional relationship. The general character of the parallels between Hos 1:2-9* and Amos contrasts sharply with the strong intratextual literary relationship that Hos 1:2-9* has with the rest of Hosea. Six observations indicate that Hos 1:2-9* intentionally introduces key familial players and relationships in order to contextualize Hos 2:4-22[2-20]*. First, Hos 1:2 assumes its function as the introduction of the Hosea message (תחלת דבר־יהוה בהושע). Second, Hos 1:2 introduces the unfaithful wife, modified by the plural זנונים, as found later in Hos 2:4[2] without any introduction. Third, Hos 1:2 introduces the origins of the “children of fornication” (ילדי זנונים) who appear suddenly in 2:4-5[2-3] (cf. בני זנונים in 2:6[4]). Fourth, Hos 1:2-9* introduces the children’s shamed conception explaining the discourse of Hos 2:7[5] (cf. 1:3, 6, 8). Fifth, Hos 1:2 explicitly explains the conceptual relationship between forsaking YHWH and “fornication” (root זנה) implicitly found in 2:7[5]. Finally, Hos 1:6 explains the lack of pity upon the children that later occurs in 2:6[4]. Hosea 1:2-9* introduces several key figures, relationships, and concepts that explain or contextualize crucial elements of Hos 2:4-22[2-20]*.

Despite these observations that signal a literary relationship, five observations reveal that Hos 1:2-9* and 2:4-22[2-20]* are compositionally distinct. First, although Hos 1:2-9* introduces the key characters and relationships of Hos 2:4-22[2-20]*, the latter pericope lacks awareness of these introductory narrativ details.²⁵² Hosea 2:6[4]

²⁵² Hosea 2:4-22 lacks the names of the key characters from Hos 1:2-9*. The names of the children are only found in vv. 1-3, 23-25; which redaction critics often identify as later editorial additions. E.g., Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 1-2, 9-10, 20-22; Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, 246-48; Lindblom, *Hosea*, 122; Batten, “Hosea’s Message,” 269; Snaith, *Amos, Hosea and Micah*, 55-56; Robinson, “Hosea,” 1, 7; Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 8, 33-34; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 120; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 57; Wolff, *Hosea*, 27-34; Lothar Ruppert, “Erwägungen zur Kompositions- und Redaktionsgeschichte von Hosea 1-3,” *BZ* 26 (1982): 209; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 34-35; Yee, *Composition and Tradition*, 55; Schmitt, “The Wife of God in Hosea 2,” 7; Davies, *Hosea*, NCB, 37, 60; Weider, *Ehemetaphorik*, 38; Holt, *Prophesying the Past*, 26; Wacker, *Figurationen*, 224-26; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 85; A. A. Macintosh, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Hosea*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997), lxviii-lxix; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 141, n.118; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 182; Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 138; 142, n.62; Rudnig-Zelt, *Hoseastudien*, 77-79; Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea-Jonah*, 44.

alone reveals any awareness of the language or style of Hos 1:2-9*.²⁵³ Second, the marital relationship serves significantly different functions in each chapter. In Hos 2:4-22[2-20]*, the marital relationship serves as the primary vehicle for the prophetic message. The articulated judgments and hope for restoration are directed at the wife. In Hos 1:2-9*, however, the names of the children serve the primary communicative function. While the wife supplies the backdrop for the metaphorical narrative, the prophetic message is primarily concerned with the children's names. Third, the use of the children as the vehicles for the prophetic message allows Hos 1:2-9* to specifically target three individual identities. Such delineation of respective judgments does not occur in Hos 2:4-22[2-20]*. Fourth, whereas Hos 2:4-22[2-20]* communicates entirely through the encoded familial metaphor, Hos 1:2-9* supplies the prophetic message conveyed through the metaphor alongside the familial imagery. Hosea 1:2-9* supplies an explicit interpretation of the metaphorical narrative. Finally, each chapter assumes a different metaphorical identity for the wife. Whereas Hos 1:2 identifies the wife as the land (אֶרֶץ), evidence suggest that the core of Hos 2:4-22[2-20]* assumes the wife is a city.²⁵⁴

Whereas Hos 1:2-9* introduces and thus presupposes Hos 2:4-22[2-20]*, the only verses in Hos 2 that assume knowledge of the Hos 1 narrative are the commonly identified editorial additions in 2:1-3[1:10-2:1] and 23-25[21-23] flanking the core poem in vv.4-22[2-20]*. This observation suggests that Hos 2 underwent subsequent editing to construct an awareness of Hos 1. This observation indicates that Hos 1:2-9* presupposes Hos 2:4-22[2-20]*, yet Hos 2:4-22[2-20]* does not presuppose Hos 1:2-9*. Thus Hosea

²⁵³ Some scholars identify 2:6 as an editorial supplement on account of the lexical links with Hos 1. E.g., Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, 228; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 68, n.23; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 42; Yee, *Composition and Tradition*, 108–10; Schmitt, “The Wife of God in Hosea 2,” 13; Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 147.

²⁵⁴ Fitzgerald, “Mythological Background for the Presentation of Jerusalem as a Queen and False Worship as Adultery in the OT”; Schmitt, “The Wife of God in Hosea 2”; Galambush, *Jerusalem in the Book of Ezekiel*, 49.

1:2-9* serves as an intentionally constructed introduction to Hos 2:4-22[2-20]*, which likely postdates Hos 2:4-22[2-20]*.

In addition to introducing Hos 2:4-22[2-20]*, Hos 1:2-9* serves as an echo chamber for themes that emerge throughout the rest of Hosea. Hosea 1:2-9* announces the end of the monarchy as found less explicitly in Hos 13:11. The language of “playing the whore,” which appears in Hos 1:2-9* and 2:4-22[2-20]*, appears elsewhere in the following text of Hosea (Hos 1:2; 2:7[5]; 4:10, 12; 5:3-4; 9:1; cf. 4:13, 14, 15, 18). The nearness of judgment is described by מעט (“little”) in Hos 1:4 and 8:10. Finally, although Hos 1:4 is the only place where blood is “visited,” the assurance of a divine “visitation” is common in Hos 2:15[13]; 4:9; 8:13; 9:9; 12:3[2] (cf. Hos 4:14). This condemnation of bloodshed, though unexpected in light of the Deuteronomistic History, fits with similar condemnations in Hos 4:2; 6:8; 12:15[14]. Additionally, the people who are rejected in Hos 1:9 face similar rejection in 4:6 (cf. 9:7).

The numerous intratextual parallels between Hos 1:2-9* and the rest of Hosea suggests that this inaugural narrative introduces the subsequent Hosea message. It assumes its location not only at the head of Hosea, but also just before the marital metaphor of Hos 2:4-22[2-20]*. This echoing, combined with the differences from Hos 2:4-22[2-20]*, suggests that editors constructed Hos 1:2-9* as an introduction to Hosea alone. The shift to general prophetic themes when considering parallels with Book of the Four texts extending beyond the boundaries of Hosea suggests that the introductory function of Hos 1:2-9* did not originally extend to a multi-prophetic book collection.

This conclusion has implications for Scharf’s redaction-critical placement of Hos 14:2-4[1-3]. Scharf compositionally locates Hos 14:2-4[1-3] along with Hos 1:2-9* on account of the reference to “orphans” (יתום) and “compassion” (רחם). While Scharf’s observation suggests that Hos 14:1-3[2-4] presupposes Hos 1:2-9*, this concluding call to repent lacks distinctive connections to other texts in the Book of the Four that could

otherwise independently link this composition with Book of the Four redaction.²⁵⁵ The evidence prevents assigning Hos 1:2-9* and 14:2-4[1-3] to Book of the Four editors.

2. *The Summons to Listen in Hos 4:1 and 5:1.* Schart argues that the summons to listen in Hos 4:1 and 5:1 link a structuring device in Hosea to a similar structural use of this summons in Amos 3:1; 4:1; 5:1; 8:4; Mic 3:1, 9; 6:2. Schart argues that this structuring strategy extends across Hosea, Amos, and Micah, but omits Zephaniah, thus supporting his argument for the gradual growth of the Book of the Four.²⁵⁶ Schart admits, however, that these texts use the summons to listen in different ways and as part of larger formulaic language unique to each individual prophetic message. Schart thus argues that this structuring device develops over several stages. He proposes that the summons in Hos 4:1; 5:1; Amos 3:1; 4:1; 5:1 predate the summons in Mic 3:1, 9.²⁵⁷

The problem with attributing this summons in Hosea to Book of the Four editors is the difficulty of dividing these summons from their literary contexts. The preceding assessment concludes that Hos 4:1-3aα serves as an editorially constructed hinge text linking the preceding metaphors with the following pronouncements.²⁵⁸ The existence of two כִּי clauses in v.1b links these declarations with a presupposed preceding pronouncement. Thus the summons to listen in v.1a is inseparable from the ensuing pronouncements. The pronouncements in Hos 4:1-3aα reflect characteristic Hosean language and accusations, yet lack evidence of a literary horizon extending to other texts within the Book of the Four. This observations suggests that the hinge text in Hos 4:1-3aα assumes a literary horizon inclusive of Hosea along, not the entire Book of the Four.

²⁵⁵ Schart argues that the call to “repent” using שׁוּב and עָד recalls the repentance calls of Amos 4:6-11* (*Die Entstehung*, 173–76). The call to repentance, however, is a prominent theme across the Book of the Twelve, and especially in the framing texts of Hosea and Malachi. See: Bowman, “Reading the Twelve as One,” 41–59; LeCureux, *The Thematic Unity*, passim.

²⁵⁶ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 184–88.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ See 78-82.

The evidence similarly prevents dividing the summons to hear in Hos 5:1 from its literary context. The call to hear in Hos 5:1 occurs as part of a triad addressing the priests, the house of Israel, and the house of the king. The second and third components of this triad open with the ו conjunction, indicating that they presuppose the initial summons. This three-fold summons to hear is followed by the announcement that the “judgment is for you” (לכם המשפט). A triad of accusations (vv.1b-2a) follows this announcement, before another announcement of judgment (v.2b). Thus Hos 5:1-2 introduces the ensuing oracle using two triads, which each precede an announcement of judgment. This structural parallel prevents removing the summons to hear as an editorial addition.

Four observations concerning the inaugural summons in Hos 5:1-2, furthermore, indicate that these verses fit the Hosea textual tradition, but otherwise lack points of contact with Amos. First, the summons to the priests reflects a common focus in Hosea (4:4-19*; 6:9; 10:5), which is lacking in the Amos oracles (cf. only Amos 7:10). Second, the following two calls to listen in Hos 5:1 do not appear in Amos (אזן and קשב). Third, the Hosea textual tradition reflects a notable concern with the monarchy (1:2-9*; 3:4-5; 5:1; 7:1-7; 8:4, 10:3, 6-7, 15; 13:10-11). Amos, in contrast, speaks of the kings of foreign nations (1:15; 2:1; cf. 5:26), but otherwise mentions the king of Israel only in editorial updates associated with the Book of the Four (1:1; 7:10, 13; cf. only Amos 7:1). Finally, the language of a “snare” (פח) and a “net” (רשת) occurs elsewhere in Hosea (7:12; 9:8). These observations suggest that Hos 5:1-2 fits within the Hosea textual tradition, but lacks a literary horizon extending to Amos. These observations suggest that the summons to hear in Hos 4:1 and 5:1 do not support Book of the Four editing.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁹ Wöhrle rejects Scharf’s gradual growth of the Book of the Four (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 241–44).

3. *Hosea 4:3*. Many scholars see similarities between the creation categories in Hos 4:3 and Zeph 1:2-3.²⁶⁰ Albertz takes these similarities as evidence linking the Book of the Four.²⁶¹ Hosea 4:3aβb and Zeph 1:2-3 employ distinctive animal imagery in non-theophanic announcements of judgment, suggesting a closer correspondence between these announcements than with the other “hymnic” or “theophanic” elements in the Book of the Twelve.²⁶² Both passages make use of the verb אסף (“to gather”) and speak of the “birds of the air” and the “fish of the sea.” The passages employ different designations, however, for land animals. Zephaniah 1:2-3, furthermore, begins and ends with judgment targeting humanity. The correspondence between Zeph 1:2-3 and formulaic expressions in Gen 1-11, of course, indicates a literary dependence upon some form of the primeval history. Hosea 4:3aβb, however, lacks the formulaic announcement מעל פני האדמה (“from upon the face of the land”). Hosea 4:3aβb, in fact, has greater lexical correspondence with Ezek 38:20 (see Table 2.10). Only Ezek 38:20 and Hos 4:3aβb make use of these three formulaic designators for key creation categories: “animals of the field,” “birds of the air,” and “fish of the sea.” Ezekiel 38:20 includes additional formulaic language found in the creation account suggesting literary dependence (e.g., וכל־הרמש הרמש, “creeping things which creep” and על־פני האדמה, “upon the face of the land”).

²⁶⁰ E.g., Naumann, *Hoseas Erben*, 24; Marvin A. Sweeney, *Zephaniah: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 63–64. For those concluding that Hos 4:3 influences Zeph 1:2-3, see: Charles L. Taylor, “The Book of Zephaniah,” *IB* (New York: Abingdon, 1956), 110; Ivan Jay Ball, “A Rhetorical Study of Zephaniah” (Th.D., Graduate Theological Union, 1972), 48, 49–50; Rainer Stahl, “Deshalb trocknet die Erde aus und verschmachten alle, die auf ihr wohnen . . .’. Der Versuch einer theologiegeschichtlichen Einordnung von Hos 4,3,” in *Alttestamentlicher Glaube und Biblische Theologie: Festschrift für Horst Dietrich Preuss zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Jutta Hausmann and Hans-Jürgen Zobel (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1992), 166–73.

²⁶¹ Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 168–69, 173, 181. Scharf sees similarities between Hos 4:3 and Zeph 1:2-3, but attributes them to his Anthem-layer (along with Amos 1:2; Mic 1:3-4 and the Amos hymns) that accompanied the addition of Nahum and Habakkuk into the growing collection of prophetic books. Scharf thus argues that Hos 4:3 and Zeph 1:2-3 postdate Book of the Four editing (*Die Entstehung*, 241–42, 246).

²⁶² These features distinguish Hos 4:3 and Zeph 1:2-3 from Amos 1:2 and Mic 1:3-4, which employ topographical imagery to describe a theophany. Similarly, the lack of participle designators and primacy of the tetragrammaton distinguish all four of these texts from the Amos hymns. For other assessments of Scharf’s anthem layer, see pp. 283-286, 319-324.

Table 2.10. Hosea 4:3 and Zephaniah 1:2-3

Reference	Hebrew Text	English Translation
Hos 4:3	<p>עַל־כֵּן תֹּאבֵל הָאָרֶץ וְאִמְלֵל כָּל־יֹשֵׁב בָּהּ בְּחֵית הַשָּׂדֶה וּבְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וְגַם־דְּגֵי הַיָּם יִאֲסְפוּ:</p>	<p>Therefore, the land mourns And all who dwell in her grow feeble. The animals of the field and <u>the birds of the air</u> and even <u>the fish of the sea</u> are gathered up.</p>
Zeph 1:2-3	<p>אֲסַף אֲסַף כָּל מַעַל פָּנַי הָאָדָמָה נְאֻם־יְהוָה: אֲסַף אָדָם וּבְהֵמָה אֲסַף עוֹף־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְדְגֵי הַיָּם וְהַמְכַשְׁלוֹת אֶת־הָרִשְׁעִים וְהִכְרַתִּי אֶת־הָאָדָם מֵעַל פָּנַי הָאָדָמָה נְאֻם־יְהוָה:</p>	<p>“I will certainly <u>gather</u> all from upon the face of the land.” An utterance of YHWH. “I will end man and beast, I will end <u>the birds of the air</u> and the <u>fish of the sea</u>, And [I will make] the wicked a heap of ruins, And I will cut off humanity from upon the face of the land.” An utterance of YHWH.</p>
Ezek 38:20	<p>וְרָעְשׁוּ מִפְּנֵי דְגֵי הַיָּם וְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וְחֵית הַשָּׂדֶה וְכָל־הַרְמֵשׁ הַרְמֵשׁ הַרְמֵשׁ עַל־הָאָדָמָה וְכָל־הָאָדָם אֲשֶׁר עַל־פְּנֵי הָאָדָמָה וְנִהְרְסוּ הַהָרִים וְנָפְלוּ הַמְּדֻרְגּוֹת וְכָל־חוֹמָה לְאָרֶץ תִּפּוֹל:</p>	<p>“And they will quake before me: <u>the fish of the sea</u> <u>and the birds of the air</u> and the <u>animals of the field</u> and all the creeping things that creep upon the ground and all humanity who lives upon the land. And the mountains will be thrown down and the high places will fall and every wall will fall to the earth.”</p>

The problem with arguing for a direct literary relationship between Hos 4:3aβb and Ezek 38:20 on the basis of shared formulaic creation categories is the pervasive use of such categories across Biblical Hebrew literature (see Table 2.11). The phrase חֵית הַשָּׂדֶה (“animals of the field”)²⁶³ occurs thirty-one times in the Hebrew Bible, six of which are paired with עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם (“birds of the air”) and twice with both עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם (“birds of the air”) and דְּגֵי הַיָּם (“fish of the sea”). עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם (“birds of the air”) similarly occurs thirty-nine times. In addition to the six times in which this phrase occurs with חֵית הַשָּׂדֶה (“animals of the field”), and the two times that it occurs in the complete triad, this phrase features alongside דְּגֵי הַיָּם (“fish of the sea”) three times.²⁶⁴ דְּגֵי הַיָּם (“fish of the sea”) occurs

²⁶³ חֵית הַשָּׂדֶה occurs in close proximity to the verb אֲסַף in Ezek 39:17; Hos 4:3.

²⁶⁴ עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם occurs in close proximity to אֲסַף in Jer 15:3-4; Ezek 29:5; Hos 4:3; Zeph 1:2-3; Ps 79:1-2.

solitary three times in addition to its paired and triad uses.²⁶⁵ The frequency and variant uses of this formulaic language complicates arguments for direct literary dependence between two biblical writings based upon these categories alone.

Table 2.11. Formulaic Creation Categories

Lexeme Categories	Verses employing one category	Two categories	Three categories
חית השדה	Gen 3:1, 14; Exod 23:11, 29; Lev 26:22; Deut 7:22; 2 Kgs 14:9; Isa 43:20; 56:9; Jer 12:9; 27:6; 28:14; Ezek 34:5, 8; 39:4, 17; Hos 2:14; 13:8; Ps 104:11; Job 5:23; 39:15; 40:20; 2 Chr 25:18.	Gen 2:19, 20; 2 Sam 21:10; Ezek 31:6, 13; Hos 2:20.	Ezek 38:20; Hos 4:3.
עוף השמים	Gen 1:26, 28, 30; 6:7; 7:3, 23; Deut 28:26; 1 Sam 17:44, 46; 1 Kgs 14:11; 16:4; 21:24. Jer 4:25; 7:33; 9:9; 15:3; 16:4; 19:7; 34:20; Ezek 29:5; 32:4; Hos 7:12; Job 28:21; 35:11; Pss 79:2; 104:12; Prov 23:5; Ecc 10:20.	Gen 9:2; Zeph 1:3; Job 12:7.	
דג הים	Num 11:22; Hab 1:14; Ps 8:9.		

Hosea 4:3aβb lacks the additional formulaic language found in Zeph 1:2-3 and Ezek 38:20 that supports identifying a relationship of literary dependence with Gen 1-11. The creation language of Hos 4:3aβb, however, bears striking similarities to a commonly identified priestly insert in Hos 2:20[18].²⁶⁶ Both verses make use of the חית השדה (“animals of the field”) and עוף השמים (“birds of the air”) creation categories to turn the focus from the feminine personified entity to the cosmic implication of the divine actions. This overlap, when considered alongside the close proximity of the verses, suggests shared compositional origins. Hosea 2:20[18], however, contains stronger literary links to

²⁶⁵ דג הים occurs in close proximity to the verb אסף in Hos 4:3; Hab 1:15; Zeph 1:2-3.

²⁶⁶ On the redaction-critical division of v.20 from its current literary context, see: Pfeiffer, *Introduction*, 573; Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 9; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 57; Georg Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 6. und des 5. Jahrhunderts* Band 5 in *Die Propheten des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1976), 136; Davies, *Hosea*, NCB, 106; idem, *Hosea*, 37, 83; Weider, *Ehemetaphorik*, 132–33; Wacker, *Figurationen des Weiblichen*, 226–27; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 182.

the primeval history.²⁶⁷ In addition to using two of the three formulaic creation categories found in Hos 4:3, 2:20[18] speaks of the רמש האדמה (“creeping things of the land”), a phrase almost entirely limited to the primeval history of Gen 1-11.²⁶⁸ Additionally, Hos 2:18[20] and Gen 9:12-17 are the only two places in which God makes a covenant with animals.²⁶⁹ These observations support the identification of Hos 2:18[20], and by implication 4:3aβb, as editorial additions dependent upon some form of Gen 1-11.

Hosea 4:3aβb, Zeph 1:2-3, and Ezek 38:20, therefore, each reveal evidence of dependence upon some form of Gen 1-11. Each passage signals this dependence in different ways through uses of different formulaic language to serve different purposes. Zephaniah 1:2-3 exists as part of an extensive reworking of Zephaniah in light of Gen 1-11.²⁷⁰ Hosea, Amos, and Micah lack evidence of a similar widespread redaction. When considered in light of Ezek 38:20 and the broader tradition utilizing creation categories, Hos 4:3aβb and Zeph 1:2-3 likely draw upon a shared literary tradition.

4. *Hosea 11:10*. Hosea 11:10-11a shifts from first-person divine speech to third-person proclamations about YHWH. This grammatical shift corresponds to a shift in imagery, and interrupts the first-person speech of 11:8-9 and v.11b.²⁷¹ Scholars

²⁶⁷ Whitekettle argues that Hos 2:20 is related to Gen 9:2 (“Freedom from Fear,” 219–36).

²⁶⁸ Genesis 1:25; 6:20; 9:2; Lev 20:25. Cf. the use of the similar phrase using the locality עליהארץ: Gen 1:26, 28, 30; 7:8, 14, 21; 8:17, 19; Lev 11:44. The only other two instances in which a locality designator accompanies רמש are in Ezek 38:20 (עליהארמה), which reflects dependence on the creation language of Gen 1-11; and Deut 4:18, which contains a notably different construction (כל־רמש באדמה).

²⁶⁹ Cf. Ezek 34:25 in which God makes a covenant with metaphorical sheep.

²⁷⁰ James D. Nogalski, “Zephaniah’s Use of Genesis 1-11,” *HBAI* 2 (2013): 351–72.

²⁷¹ A long scholarly tradition separates all or part of vv.10-11 as secondary: Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 1–2, 8–9, 91; Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, 371–73; Batten, “Hosea’s Message,” 264–65; Pfeiffer, *Introduction*, 573; Snaith, *Amos, Hosea and Micah*, 80; Rudolph, *Hosea*, 213; Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 23; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 203–6, 246; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 57; idem, *Die Propheten des 6. und des 5. Jahrhunderts*, 132; Wolff, *Dodekapropheton 1, Hosea*, 263; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 147; Emmerson, *Hosea*, 43–45; Naumann, *Hoseas Erben*, 96–99, 180–81; Davies, *Hosea*, 106; idem, *Hosea*, NCB, 37, 264–65; Jeremias, “Die Anfänge des Dodekapropheton,” (ed. Emerton), 91, n.10; Pfeiffer, *Das Heiligtum von Bethel*, 197–202; Erich Zenger, “Wie ein Löwe brüllt er...” (Hos 11:10): Zur Funktion poetischer Metaphorik im Zwölfprophetenbuch,” in

frequently note the distinction between the lion imagery of Hos 11:10 and that of Hos 5:14; 13:7. Hosea 11:10 employs אריה (“lion”), whereas 5:14 and 13:7 utilize שׂהל (“lion”).²⁷² Furthermore, Hos 5:14 and 13:7 present YHWH as the attacker of Israel, not a deliverer calling them back as found in 11:10. The differences from the lion imagery of Hos 5:14; 13:7 corresponds to similarities with language from Amos (1:2; 3:4, 8). Several critics thus argue that editors supplied Hos 11:10 under the influence of Amos 3:4, 8.²⁷³

Most Book of the Four advocates do not identify Hos 11:10 as a Book of the Four redaction.²⁷⁴ The composition models of Schart, Albertz, and Wöhrle do not attribute a salvific editorial agenda to the Book of the Four editors. Thus the salvific use of lion imagery in Hos 11:10 does not fit their composition models for the Book of the Four. Nogalski, however, proposes a double redaction of the Book of the Four, allowing for a later exilic or postexilic salvific redaction of the collection.²⁷⁵ Nogalski’s study focuses on the seams of the Twelve leaving links beyond the seams for later assessments.²⁷⁶

The representation of YHWH as a lion is widespread in the Hebrew prophetic tradition.²⁷⁷ YHWH appears as a lion that terrifies or attacks Israel’s enemies (Isa 31:4;

“Wort Jhwhs, das geschah...” (*Hos 1,1*): *Studien zum Zwölfprophetenbuch*, ed. Erich Zenger, HBS 35 (Freiburg: Herder, 2002), 33–45.

²⁷² An otherwise rare word for “lion” (cf. Hos 5:14; 13:7; Ps 91:13; Prov 26:13; Job 4:10; 10:16; 28:8).

²⁷³ Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 203–6, 246; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 6. und des 5. Jahrhunderts*, 132; Wolff, *Hosea*, 263; Emmerson, *Hosea*, 43–45; Naumann, *Hoseas Erben*, 96–99, 180–81; Jeremias, “Die Anfänge,” (ed. Emerton), 91, n.10. Others defend the authenticity of Hos 11:10 while still allowing for the influence of Amos upon the text’s composition (e.g., Cheyne, *Hosea*, 35).

²⁷⁴ Nogalski attributes the literary similarities to both texts drawing upon similar imagery (*The Book of the Twelve: Hosea-Jonah*, 161).

²⁷⁵ Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 174–78, 190–91, 278–80.

²⁷⁶ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 218–33; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 164–85; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 51–284; idem, “No Future for the Proud Exultant Ones,” 608–27.

²⁷⁷ For an extensive survey of lion imagery in the Hebrew Bible and the ancient Near East, see: Brent A. Strawn, *What Is Stronger than a Lion?: Leonine Image and Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, OBO 212 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005).

Jer 49:19; 50:44; Nah 2:12-14), and members of the people of God (Amos 3:4; Lam 3:10). The imagery depicts irresistible power and inevitable fear (e.g., Amos 3:8). Yet the imagery and language varies across the uses of this metaphor preventing attempts to identify literary influence between these texts. Hosea 11:10 stands apart as a unique place in the Hebrew Prophets where YHWH as lion calls his people home from exile.

The imagery of restoration in Hos 11:10-11a reflects salvific reversals of earlier pronouncements in Hosea. The language of going “after YHWH” (אַחֲרַי יְהוָה יֵלְכוּ) reverses the inaugural charge of Hos 1:2. The imagery of lion as restorer reverses the lion as destroyer in Hos 5:14 (cf. 13:7). Calling the dispersed “sons” from Egypt and Assyria reverses the threats of exile (8:13; 9:3, 6; 10:6; 11:5). The language of Hos 11:10-11a, therefore, does not necessitate a literary horizon extending beyond Hosea. Thus while Hos 10:11 shares imagery with Amos, it fails to support Book of the Four redaction.

Conclusion. Several previously proposed updates linked to the Book of the Four editing fail to evince a literary horizon extending to Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah. The compositions in Hos 1:2-9*; 4:1-3aα; 5:1-2; 11:10; and 14:2-4 all employ characteristic language from Hosea. Of these compositions, Hos 11:10 shares the strongest thematic overlap with Amos. The relationship of Hos 11:10 with the broader Hosea theme, however, suggests that this supplement does not draw on imagery from outside of Hosea. These conclusions, therefore, suggest that only Hos 1:1; 4:15aβb; and 8:14aβb reflect a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four. These findings suggest that editorial activity linking Hosea to the Book of the Four is more limited than past proposals. This conclusion leads to the question of the relationship between these three supplements and the degree to which they reflect a coherent editorial agenda within Hosea.

Hosea and the Book of the Four Literary Horizon: Conclusions

The present study focuses on any redactional additions revealing evidence of a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four. Within these defined parameters, the preceding study identifies only three such passages. First, Hos 1:1 links to the superscriptions of the Book of the Four in two ways: through the word-event formula, and through the regnal dating scheme. Second, Hos 4:15a β b draws upon Amos 4:4a and 5:5 in order to insert a concern over Judean guilt into an otherwise exclusively Northern oracle. Third, Hos 8:14a β b draws upon formulaic language from the Amos Oracles Against the Nations in order to apply divine judgment to Judah. These findings are quite minimal in comparison to past investigations of Book of the Four editing.

Four observations suggest that these updates reflect a single editorial layer in Hosea. First, each update display a unique concern with Judah that draws a comparison between the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. The regnal dating system of Hos 1:1 positions the prophetic message in relation to both kingdoms, suggesting that the ensuing prophetic message, which predominantly focuses on the Northern Kingdom of Israel, applies to both kingdoms. Hosea 4:15a β b updates a list of accusations against the Northern Kingdom of Israel (4:4-19*) to conclude with a focus on the Southern Kingdom of Judah. Similarly Hos 8:14a β b supplements a list of judgments against the Northern Kingdom of Israel (8:7-14*) to include Judah. The addition of Judah to a list of accusations (4:4-19*) and a list of judgments (8:7-14*) against the Northern Kingdom of Israel suggests an operating ideological assumption that Judah and Israel faced similar accusations and thus faced comparable divine judgments.

Schart correctly notes, however, that Hos 4:15a β b and 8:14a β b position Judah differently in relation to the Northern Kingdom of Israel.²⁷⁸ This observation, however, leads to the second shared compositional characteristic of these supplements: Hos

²⁷⁸ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 154.

4:15aßb and 8:14aßb form a frame around the preexisting Hosea oracles that draw a comparison between the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. Scholars widely interpret the periodic emphasis on Judah as evidence of a later Judean editing of an otherwise northern prophetic text.²⁷⁹ Several scholars, however, correctly note that not every reference to Judah should be assumed *a priori* to be an editorial supplement.²⁸⁰ Scholars frequently affirm the authenticity of the Judah references in Hos 5:8-15*, and 6:4-11*, dating them in close proximity to the Syro-Ephraimite War.²⁸¹ The alternation between Judah and Ephraim in Hos 5:8-15* prevents dividing the references to these kingdoms. The oracle announces comparable judgments upon both Judah and Ephraim (vv.8-15*). Hosea 6:4-11* similarly draws both kingdoms into a shared prophetic pronouncement. The opening address of the singular entities “Ephraim” and “Judah,” followed by an oracle targeting a plural subject, presupposes that the ensuing prophetic pronouncement concerns both Judah and Ephraim together. The oracle grammatically necessitates both Ephraim and Judah.²⁸² This oracle accuses both kingdoms for their lack of “fidelity” (דסה) to YHWH.

²⁷⁹ Mowinckel, *Prophecy and Tradition: The Prophetic Books in the Light of the Study of the Growth and History of the Tradition*, 72; Robinson, “Hosea,” 1; Ward, *Hosea*, 246–47; Kraeling, *Commentary on the Prophets*, 2:83; Rudolph, *Hosea*, 25; van Leeuwen, *Hosea*, 18–19; Fohrer and Sellin, *Einleitung*, 464–65; Mays, *Hosea*, 1; Amos et Osée, 66–67; Wolff, *Hosea*, xxvi–xxvii; Childs, *Introduction*, 378–79; Rendtorff, *Das Alte Testament*, 230; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 18; Emmerson, *Hosea*, passim; Naumann, *Hoseas Erben*, 172–76; Holt, *Prophesying the Past*, 23; Bons, *Das Buch Hosea*, 17–18; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 176; Christopher R. Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics: Toward a New Introduction to the Prophets*, STI (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 128–29. Some scholars choose to periodically read “Israel” in place of “Judah.” E.g., Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 13–14.

²⁸⁰ Clements, “Understanding the Book of Hosea,” 419; Alt, “Hosea 5,8-6,6,” 547–48, 556–58, 562–63; Mauchline, “Hosea,” 6:563–64; Amos et Osée, 66–67; Emmerson, *Hosea*, 56–116; Hubbard, *Hosea*, 35; Fohrer and Sellin, *Einleitung*, 463. Willi-Plein comments on the difficulty of grouping the Judah references under a single compositional agenda (*Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 244–45). Others reject the possibility that the Judah references could be secondary additions. E.g., Danell, *Studies in the Name Israel*, 138–40; van Gelderen, *Het boek Hosea*, 8–9; Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea*, 73; Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 14; Gisin, *Hosea*, 9–10, 37–40.

²⁸¹ Alt, “Hosea 5,8-6,6,” 547–48, 556–58, 562–63; Fohrer and Sellin, *Einleitung*, 463; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 77–78, 87–88; Clements, “Understanding the Book of Hosea,” 419; Wolff, *Hosea*, 131–57; Emmerson, *Hosea*, 56–116; Yee, *Composition and Tradition*, 272–82.

²⁸² Diachronic scholars often identify plausible updates to Hos 6:4-11* such as v.5b and v.11b. These supplements, however, do not prevent identifying the target of the earliest literary core of this oracle as both Ephraim and Judah together.

These updates add a new ideological dimension to this preexisting comparison motif in Hos 5:8-15* and 6:4-11*. Whereas Hos 5:8-15* and 6:4-11* assume that the Northern and Southern Kingdoms suffer the same judgments as a result of participation in comparable sins, Hos 4:15a β b and 8:14a β b reveal an awareness of the temporal distinction between the respective fates of these kingdoms. Hosea 5:8-15* and 6:4-11* assume that these two kingdoms suffer their comparable fates together. Hosea 4:15a β b, however, expresses the hope that Judah will not be found guilty, suggesting an awareness of a temporal distinction between the fates of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. Editors placed this update before the preexisting comparison motif in Hos 5:8-15* and 6:4-11*. The addition of Judah to the list of judgments in Hos 8:7-14* thus indicates that Judah has been found guilty just as the Northern Kingdom of Israel was. The use of the jussive form in Hos 4:15a β b, however, suggests a hope that Judah would not follow in the guilt of the Northern Kingdom. This hope thus recognizes a temporal distinction in which Judah's guilt and punishment follows after the guilt and punishment of Israel.

The third literary characteristic linking these supplements is the shared literary horizon. Hosea 1:1 draws Hosea into a shared theological-chronological paradigm with Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah. This superscription thus reveals the editorial commitment that the messages of Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah relate to one another. Similarly Hos 4:15a β b and 8:14a β b each apply distinctive language from Amos to Hosea. The application of Amos language to Hosea oracles reveals that the editors interpreted the relevance of these Hosea passages for a Judean audience using Amos pronouncements.

The fourth shared literary characteristic suggesting that these supplements reflect shared compositional origins is the program for literary integration observed in Hos 4:15a β b and 8:14a β b. These supplements consistently redirect preexisting pronouncements. This redirection applies the preexisting Hosea oracles to a new target. These supplements not only draw upon language from Amos, but they also replicate syntactical structures from their immediate literary contexts, revealing a shared scribal

technique for literary integration. Hosea 4:15a β b replicates the fourfold syntactical structure of vv.14a β b-15a α . Hosea 8:14a β b replicates the concern of “multiplying” (הרבה) and “consume” (ויאכלו) from 8:11, 14.

These observations reveal that Hos 4:15a β b and 8:14a β b reflect the same literary horizon, the same theological paradigm, the same scribal technique for literary integration, and form a framing structure. These observations suggest that Hos 4:15a β b and 8:14a β b share compositional origins. These supplements, furthermore, reflect the same literary horizon and comparison motif found in Hos 1:1. These observations, therefore, support identifying Hos 1:1; 4:15a β b and 8:14a β b as sharing compositional origins in the composition history of Hosea. The presupposed destruction of Judah in Hos 8:14a β b suggests an exilic date for this redactional layer. This dating is further confirmed by the assumed temporal distinction between the respective fates of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms in these updates.

Conclusions: Book of the Four Editorial Activity in Hosea

The case for Book of the Four editing in Hosea rests upon two forms of arguments: the identification of Deuteronomistic editing and the identification of editorially constructed intertextual parallels between these four prophetic texts. The present study finds that the case for Hosea’s inclusion in the Book of the Four rests upon far less evidence than identified by past investigations. Studies of Deuteronomism in Hosea suffer from several methodological difficulties. The primary challenge to identifying Deuteronomistic editing in Hosea stems from the preponderance of thematic parallels with select aspects of Deuteronomism. Idolatry and cultic infidelity feature as prominent themes across several redactional layers in Hosea. Hosea expresses concern over Baal (2:10, 15, 18, 19; 11:2; 13:1) and illicit sacrificial practices (4:12-13a, 14b; 8:11; 10:1-2, 8; 12:12[11]). The Hosea text uses a wide range of terms in reference to idolatry (4:17; 8:3-4, 5-6; 10:5; 13:2) including several euphemisms unique to the Hosea

tradition (5:5; 7:10). The Hosea anti-idolatry polemics operate as part of a broader theological framework that conceptualizes the people's inclinations toward other religious-political powers as infidelity to YHWH (e.g., 5:13; 7:11; 8:9 cf. 7:13; 12:2[1]). The absence of knowledge of YHWH and his Torah (or "law") feature prominently throughout the text (4:6; 5:4; 8:12, 14; 13:6; cf. 8:2), as do accusations assuming a distinctive lack of loyalty to YHWH (6:4; 10:4; 12:1[11:12]). Thus the language of "covenant" in no way seems surprising in light of this theological matrix (6:7; 8:1). Beyond the two instances of ברית ("covenant") in Hosea, the text in general often assumes an operating covenant with YHWH that has been broken, resulting in the manifestation of curses (e.g., 8:7-14*).

This preponderance of thematic similarities with aspects of Deuteronomistic thought justifies the scholarly investigation into the ideological proximity of Hosea to Deuteronomism. The problem with correlating these thematic concerns with a distinctive Deuteronomistic redaction is that these themes are spread across the composition history of Hosea, and they usually employ characteristic language from the Hosea textual tradition rather than distinctive Deuteronomistic vocabulary. Thus the criteria by which one identifies Deuteronomistic editing could vastly change the results of the study. The preceding study concludes that the composition history of Hosea contains few supplements that reflect a Deuteronomistic agenda as a distinguishable editorial agenda from the broader Hosea textual tradition. The most explicit uses of language reminiscent of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History do not serve Deuteronomistic functions (Hos 3:1-5 and 14:1[13:16]).

This study finds only three short updates linking Hosea to other prophetic voices in the Book of the Four. Hosea 1:1; 4:15a β b; and 8:14a β b reveal a shared literary horizon, a shared scribal technique for literary integration into their literary contexts, a shared ideological agenda, and a shared approach to updating preexisting oracles in Hosea. These shared features suggest that these three updates share compositional

origins. These findings suggest that the redaction linking Hosea to other texts in the Book of the Four collection are far less expansive than previously supposed. These updates augment preexisting oracles directed at the Northern Kingdom of Israel in order to apply to the Southern Kingdom of Judah. Furthermore, these updates frame preexisting oracles employing this comparison motif. Hosea 5:8-15*, and 6:4-11* contain preexisting comparisons of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. These oracles suggest that Ephraim and Judah faced comparable accusations and thus suffered comparable judgments. The editorial updates in Hos 4:15ab, and 8:14ab frame this preexisting comparison motif by redirecting the initial accusation against the Northern Kingdom in Hos 4:4-19* to have implications for Judah, and redirecting the summation of covenant curses and judgments following this comparison motif in Hos 8:7-14* to apply to Judah. These updates, however, differ from the preexisting comparison motif in these oracles in that these updates assume a temporal distinction between the fates of these kingdoms. These updates reflect an awareness of Jerusalem's destruction (Hos 8:14ab), indicating an exilic development of the preexisting comparison motif in Hosea.

CHAPTER THREE

Amos and the Book of the Four

Introduction

Already in 1959 James Luther Mays notes that Amos “has had more than his proportional share of scholarly attention.”¹ This prophetic text has since become a central component in the discussion of the formation of the Book of the Twelve. Amos enters Book of the Twelve scholarship with an extensive scholarly tradition of identifying Deuteronomistic redaction.² James Nogalski incorporates this traditionally identified Deuteronomistic editing into his discussion of the Deuteronomistic Book of the Four.³ He then extends Amos’s significance for Book of the Twelve scholarship by exploring the ways in which editors shaped Joel and Obadiah for their place next to Amos.⁴ Aaron

¹ James Luther Mays, “Words about the Words of Amos: Recent Study of the Book of Amos,” *Int* 13 (1959): 259.

² E.g., Werner H. Schmidt, “Die deuteronomistische Redaktion des Amosbuches: zu den theologischen Unterschieden zwischen dem Prophetenwort und seinem Sammler,” *ZAW* 77 (1965): 168–93; Hans Walter Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 2nd ed., BKAT 14/2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1975), 129–38; Jacques Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe à l’apocalyptique: Isaïe, I-XXXV, miroir d’un demi-millénaire d’expérience religieuse en Israël*, vol. 2, 2 vols., EBib (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1978), 519–69; Robert R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 267; Odil Hannes Steck, “Israel und Zion: Zum Problem konzeptioneller Einheit und literarischer Schichtung in Deuteriojesaja,” in *Gottesknecht und Zion: Gesammelte Aufsätze zu Deuteriojesaja*, ed. Bernd Janowski and Hermann Spieckermann, FAT 4 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 194; Simon J. De Vries, *From Old Revelation to New: A Tradition-Historical and Redaction-Critical Study of Temporal Transitions in Prophetic Prediction* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 192; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel*, Rev. Ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 78; Jörg Jeremias, “Rezeptionsprozesse in der prophetischen Überlieferung – am Beispiel der Visionsberichte des Amos,” in *Rezeption und Auslegung im Alten Testament und in seinem Umfeld. Ein Symposium aus Anlass des 60. Geburtstags von Odil Hannes Steck.*, ed. Reinhard Gregor Kratz and Thomas Krüger (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1997), 30; Erich Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39 im Zwölfprophetenbuch: Untersuchungen zur literarischen Verbindung von Prophetenbüchern in babylonischer und persischer Zeit*, OBO 154 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 348; Gunther Fleischer, “Das Buch Amos,” in *Die Bücher Joel und Amos*, by Ulrich Dahmen, NSKAT 23,2 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2001), 127–29.

³ James D. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 217 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993), 74–121.

⁴ James D. Nogalski, *Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 218 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993), 26–48, 58–74; idem, “Not Just Another Nation: Obadiah’s Placement in the Book of the

Schart, more than any other redaction critic, makes Amos central to the formation of the Book of the Twelve. Schart explores the composition history of Amos under the premise that the redaction history of this early prophetic text would preserve editorial evidence of the formation of the Book of the Twelve around it. For Schart, the composition history of Amos supplies a window into the formation of the Book of the Twelve.⁵

Amos's relationship to the Book of the Four, however, differs between scholarly models. The case for Amos's inclusion in the hypothesis rests upon two lines of argumentation that produce inconsistent results. On the one hand, Wöhrle builds his case for Amos's inclusion in the Book of the Four on the identification of Deuteronomistic editing, which links with the composition histories of Hosea, Micah, and Zephaniah.⁶ On the other hand, Schart builds his argument on intertextual parallels between Amos and the rest of the Four.⁷ These different approaches result in assigning different texts to Book of the Four editing, and thus the identification of different editorial agendas and compositional processes within this early collection (see Table 3.1). Amos's place in the Book of the Four hypothesis, however, must further contend with methodological and redaction-critical objections posed to both lines of argumentation. Some redaction critics such as Ina Willi-Plein disagree that Amos underwent Deuteronomistic redaction.⁸

Twelve," in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations, Redactional Processes, Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 89–107.

⁵ Aaron Schart, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs: Neubearbeitungen von Amos im Rahmen schriftübergreifender Redaktionsprozesse*, BZAW 260 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998).

⁶ Jakob Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen des Zwölfprophetenbuchs: Entstehung und Komposition*, BZAW 360 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 51–284.

⁷ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 101–233.

⁸ Ina Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese innerhalb des Alten Testaments: Untersuchungen zum literarischen Werden der auf Amos, Hosea und Micha zurückgehenden Bücher im hebraischen Zwölfprophetenbuch*, BZAW 123 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971), 63–64.

Table 3.1. Proposed Book of the Four Additions in Amos⁹

Aaron Schart	Rainer Albertz	Jakob Wöhrle
<u>Zweiprophetenbuch</u>	1:1b, 9-10, 11-12;	1:1*;
2:8-9*;	2:4-5, 10-12;	2:4-5, 9-12;
3:1a-2, 13-14;	3:1b*, 7;	3:1b, 7;
5:12a;	5:25(?);	4:13*;
6:8;	8:11-12;	5:11, 25-26;
7:9, 11b(?), 17bß;	9:7-10;	7:10-17;
8:3, 14;		8:5, 6b, 11-12;
9:3 (מנגד עירי)		9:7-10
<u>D-Korpus</u>		
1:1, 2, 9-12;		
2:4-5, 10-12;		
3:1b, 7;		
4:6-11*;		
5:11, 25-26*;		
8:4-7, 11-12;		
9:7-10*		

Others suggest that isolated intertextual parallels between these texts do not presuppose a prophetic collection. Skeptics object, for example, that Amos 1:1 differs from the literary pattern of Hos 1:1; Mic 1:1, and Zeph 1:1.¹⁰

⁹ Ibid., 101–69; Rainer Albertz, *Die Exilszeit: 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, BE(S) 7 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001), 164–85; idem, “Exile as Purification: Reconstructing the Book of the Four (Hosea, Amos, Micah, Zephaniah),” in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart, BZAW 325 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 242–45; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 59–137; idem, “‘No Future for the Proud Exultant Ones’: The Exilic Book of the Four Prophets (Hos., Am., Mic., Zeph.) as a Concept Opposed to the Deuteronomistic History,” VT 58 (2008): 610. Although Nogalski first articulates the Book of the Four hypothesis, he does not supply a complete list of redactional additions.

¹⁰ For Book of the Four arguments based upon similarities between the superscriptions, see: Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 85–88; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 39–46; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 166–67; Aaron Schart, “Das Zwölfprophetenbuch als redaktionelle Großeinheit,” *TheoLit* 133 (2008): 233–34; Burkard M. Zapff, “The Book of Micah - The Theological Centre of the Book of the Twelve?,” in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations-Redactional Processes-Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 129; Steven S. Tuell, *Reading Nahum—Malachi: A Literary and Theological Commentary*, Reading the Old Testament (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2016), 114. For objections that Amos 1:1 does not fit the pattern, see: Susanne Rudnig-Zelt, “Die Genese des Hoseabuches: Ein Forschungsbericht,” in *Textarbeit: Studien zu Texten und ihrer Rezeption aus dem Alten Testament und der Umwelt Israels*, ed. K. Kiesow and T. Meurer, AOAT 294 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2003), 359.

The present chapter, therefore, reexamines the evidence for Amos's inclusion in the Book of the Four hypothesis in order to accomplish two primary goals. First, this chapter examines the degree to which Amos reflects evidence of a distinctive Deuteronomistic agenda. Following this study's approach for identifying Deuteronomism, this assessment explores the degree to which these proposed Deuteronomistic passages reflect both Deuteronomistic themes and language. Second, this chapter examines the degree to which editorial updates in Amos reflect a literary horizon extending to Hosea, Micah, and Zephaniah. This chapter concludes by examining the relationship between the passages reflecting ideological proximity to Deuteronomism and the passages reflecting a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four. The following assessment identifies only Amos 1:1bα; 2:4-5, 10-12; 3:1b-2; 5:13; 6:8; 7:9-17 as likely Book of the Four additions.

Deuteronomism in Amos

Introduction to the Quest for Deuteronomism in Amos

Amos scholarship contains one of the strongest scholarly traditions of identifying Deuteronomistic editing among the study of the twelve prophets. Although some scholars claim that the prophet Amos was an early voice in the Deuteronomistic tradition, the discussion of Deuteronomism in Amos predominantly focuses on identifying Deuteronomistic redaction.¹¹ Werner Schmidt and Hans Walter Wolff provided the foundational arguments for Deuteronomistic redaction in Amos, which proved to be influential in establishing the subsequent scholarly tradition. Schmidt provides the first comprehensive study of Deuteronomistic redaction in Amos.¹² He argues for

¹¹ For the proposal that Amos was an early voice in the Deuteronomistic tradition, see: Josef Scharbert, *Die Propheten Israels bis 700 v. Chr.* (Köln: J. P. Bachem, 1965), 188. Wolff argues that the Amos tradition may have served as inspiration for 1 Kings 13 (*Joel und Amos*, 135).

¹² Schmidt, "Die deuteronomistische Redaktion," 168–93. Schmidt identifies Deuteronomistic editing in Amos 1:1*, 9-12; 2:4-5, 10-12; 3:1*, 7; 5:25-26.

Deuteronomistic redaction on the grounds of thematic and lexical similarities with Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History. He concludes that the Deuteronomistic editors shaped the Amos tradition relative to the Deuteronomistic History chronology (1:1). He argues that these editors were concerned with the rejection of the prophetic word and guilt. Wolff incorporates Schmidt's observations into his six-stage composition history of Amos.¹³ Within this model, Wolff identifies the same Deuteronomistic additions as Schmidt, adding only 8:11-12.¹⁴ Several subsequent studies build upon these models for identifying Deuteronomistic editing in Amos.¹⁵ Even Robert Kugler, who otherwise denies Deuteronomistic redaction in much of the Latter Prophets, recognizes the prospect of Deuteronomistic editing in Amos.¹⁶

Nogalski incorporates these observations into his Book of the Four hypothesis by proposing that the otherwise individually identified Deuteronomistic redactions in Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah reflect the shared editing of a corpus.¹⁷ Nogalski argues that the earliest core of Amos circulated independently as two distinct collections (Amos 1-6* and 7-9*). Since the Deuteronomistic supplements span both units, he concludes that they either both circulated in Deuteronomistic circles or were joined by

¹³ Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 129–38.

¹⁴ Wolff recognizes that 8:11-12 could be the earlier work of the Amos school (Ibid., 137–38).

¹⁵ E.g., Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:519–69; Wilson, *Prophecy and Society*, 267; Robert B. Coote, *Amos Among the Prophets: Composition and Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 46–109; J. Alberto Soggin, *The Prophet Amos: A Translation and Commentary* (London: SCM, 1987), 17–18; Steck, “Israel und Zion,” 194; De Vries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 192; Miguel Alvarez, *Relecturas deuteronomísticas de Amos, Miqueas y Jeremías*, Publicaciones Instituto Teológico Franciscano. Serie mayor 10 (Murcia: Editorial Espigas, 1993), 53–82; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 78; Jörg Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, ATD 24/2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), xxi; idem, “Rezeptionsprozesse,” 30; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaia 1-39*, 348; Fleischer, “Das Buch Amos,” 127–29.

¹⁶ Robert A. Kugler, “The Deuteronomists and the Latter Prophets,” in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism*, ed. Linda S. Schearing and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 268 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 136–38.

¹⁷ Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 81.

Deuteronomistic editors.¹⁸ In either case, Amos bears the editorial imprint of Deuteronomistic scribes, which provides links to the Book of the Four.

Schart builds upon Nogalski's thesis by supplying a complete composition history of Amos, and connecting each editorial stage to the growth of the Book of the Twelve.¹⁹ Building upon the earlier observations of Jeremias, Schart argues that Hosea and Amos initially formed the *Zweiprophetenbuch*. This collection of two prophets grew with the subsequent additions of Micah and then Zephaniah. For Schart, these editorial supplements linking Amos with the Book of the Four reflect Deuteronomistic themes but lack Deuteronomistic language. For this reason, he favors identifying this redaction as "D" rather than "Deuteronomistic."²⁰ Schart's assessment thus attributes Amos 2:8aβ, bβ; 3:2, 9-11(?), 13-14; 5:12a; 6:8; 7:9,10-17*; 8:3, 14 to his Tradents layer linking Hosea and Amos. He then extends the *D-Korpus* beyond the initial conclusions of Schmidt and Wolff to include Amos 2:4-5, 10-12; 3:1b, 7; 4:6-11*; 8:4-7; 9:7-10* and possibly Amos 1:9-12 and 8:11-12. Schart concludes that these "D" additions supply both a concern for the rejection of the prophetic word, and an emphasis on the exodus event in Amos.

The subsequent studies of Albertz and Wöhrle return to the language of "Deuteronomism" yet scale back the extent of Book of the Four editing. Albertz proposes a five-stage composition model for Amos with two exilic redactions: the hymns and the Deuteronomistic Book of the Four additions.²¹ Wöhrle defends the label "Deuteronomistic" by arguing for lexical links with Deuteronomy, the Deuteronomistic

¹⁸ Cf. the similar conclusions of John D. W. Watts, "Origin of the Book of Amos," *ExpTim* 66.4 (1955): 109–12.

¹⁹ For an overview of Schart's model, see: Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 98–100. Schart draws upon the earlier work of Jeremias and Wolff (*Ibid.*, 50, n.1).

²⁰ Aaron Schart, "Redactional Models: Comparisons, Contrasts, Agreements, Disagreements," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1998 Seminar Papers*, vol. 2, 2 vols., SBLSP 37 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 903; *idem*, *Die Entstehung*, 56–57, 156, n.2.

²¹ Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 177–78. Albertz attributes 1:1b, 9-10, 11-12; 2:4-5, 10-12; 3:1b*, 7; 5:25 (?) ; 8:11-12; 9:7-12 to the Deuteronomistic Book of the Four redaction.

History, and Jeremiah. He proposes this redaction exhibits historical reflection, the exodus theme, and a concern for the rejection of the prophetic word.²²

A segment of diachronic scholars, however, remain unconvinced that Amos underwent Deuteronomistic editing. Ina Willi-Plein, for example, draws similar literary-critical divisions as the preceding redaction critics, yet expresses skepticism that the evidence warrants the label “Deuteronomistic.”²³ Furthermore, some scholars object that Amos reflects an ideological agenda contrary to Deuteronomism. Jason Radine objects that Amos lacks any reference to the “sin of Jeroboam” as a reason for the fall of the northern kingdom. Radine thus argues that if scholars continue to identify Deuteronomistic influence in Amos, they must conclude that the ideological agenda of this “Deuteronomism” diverges from the Deuteronomistic History in this respect.²⁴ Crüsemann, furthermore, argues that 2 Kgs 14:27 seemingly contradicts the finality of Amos’s judgment against the northern kingdom.²⁵

Although a scholarly tradition identifies Deuteronomistic redaction in Amos, three methodological problems remain. First, Albertz observes that inconsistent terminology plagues the conversation.²⁶ Second, the farther one extends the reach of the Deuteronomistic hand, then the more difficult it becomes to identify a unified editorial

²² Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 134–35. Wöhrle attributes 1:1*; 2:4-5, 9-12; 3:1b, 7; 4:13 * (ומגיד לאדם מה-שחג); 5:11, 25-26; 7:10-17; 8:5, 6b, 11-12; 9:7-10 to Deuteronomistic redaction.

²³ Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 63–64.

²⁴ Jason Radine, “Deuteronomistic Redaction of the Book of the Four and the Origins of Israel’s Wrongs,” in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations-Redactional Processes-Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 287–302.

²⁵ Frank Crüsemann, “Kritik an Amos im deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk: Erwägungen zu 2 Könige 14:27,” in *Probleme biblischer Theologie: Gerhard von Rad zum 70 Geburtstag*, ed. Hans Walter Wolff (Munich: Kaiser, 1971), 57–63. Not all scholars agree with Crüsemann’s premise. See for example: Jacques Briand, “Jeroboam II, Sauveur d’Israel,” in *Melanges Bibliques et Orientaux En l’honneur de M. Henri Cazelles*, ed. André Caquot and M. Delcor, AOAT 212 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1981), 48, n.3.

²⁶ Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 176.

agenda. Vermeylen's identification of widespread Deuteronomistic editing in Amos, for example, defies attribution to a single editorial layer.²⁷ He thus concludes that Amos underwent two Deuteronomistic redactions in order to account for the diversity reflected across the extensively proposed Deuteronomistic supplements. Scharf similarly identifies varying degrees of ideological proximity to different aspects of Deuteronomistic thought in his Tradents-layer and D-Corpus updates. These variances contribute to his conclusion that the Book of the Four developed in stages.²⁸ Third, scholars employ widely divergent criteria for assigning texts to Deuteronomistic editing. Wöhrle strictly requires lexical similarities with other Deuteronomistic passages, whereas Vermeylen at times assigns a passage to a Deuteronomistic hand because it fits the exilic period.²⁹

The passages attributed to Deuteronomistic editors in Amos revolve around five primary themes: the superscription's regnal dating system (1:1bα), the rejection of the prophet (2:10-12; 3:7; 7:9-17; 8:10-11), the concern for covenant and law (1:9-12; 2:4-5), the exodus theme (2:10-12; 3:1b-2; 5:25-26; 9:7-10), and curses and judgments (4:6-11; 5:11).³⁰ The following assessment, therefore, examines each of these five themes

²⁷ Vermeylen's first stage supplements the Oracles Against the Nations with 1:1*, 9-10, 11-12; 2:4-5, 9, 10-12. The second stage forms a Deuteronomistic frame around the Oracles Against the Nations (1:1, 2; 3:3, 7-8), and the remainder of the text (3:1-2 and 9:7-8a). Vermeylen additionally identifies Deuteronomistic additions in 3:14; 5:11-12a, 13, 25-27; 6:1a, 2, 6b; 7:9-17; 8:3, 13-14. Although Vermeylen identifies two layers of Deuteronomistic editing, he admits that it is not always possible to determine to which of the two layers a supplement may belong (*Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:519-69).

²⁸ Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 98-100

²⁹ This tendency in Vermeylen's assessment is most illustrated in his attribution of Amos 6:6b, 7, 8-11 to Deuteronomistic editing (*Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:562-66). Cf. Bosshard-Nepustil who attributes the Amos hymns to Deuteronomistic editors (*Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39*, 348).

³⁰ Some scholars additionally attribute cultic references in Amos to Deuteronomistic editing. See for example, the arguments for Deuteronomistic editing in Amos 3:13-14; 4:4-5; and 5:4-15*: Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:548-52; Coote, *Amos among the Prophets*, 52-53, 76-84; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 75-76. Cultic concerns alone, however, present too vague of an association with Deuteronomistic thought. For this reason many redaction critics identifying cultic pronouncements as editorial additions do not attribute them to Deuteronomistic editors. E.g., Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 130; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 178; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 69, 71, 129-33; Reinhard G. Kratz, *The Prophets of Israel*, CSHB 2 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 48. Some redaction critics further identify 8:5 as a Deuteronomistic addition. E.g., Peter Weimar, "Der Schluss des Amos-Buches: Ein Beitrag zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Amos-Buches," *BN* 16 (1981): 98-99; Wöhrle, *Die frühen*

respectively in order to accomplish two goals. First, the assessment of each theme will consider the degree to which each passage reflects ideological and lexical proximity to other Deuteronomistic texts. Second, the assessment of each theme will examine the degree to which these various passages reflect the ideological coherence indicative of shared compositional origins.

The Superscription and the Question of Deuteronomism: Amos 1:1

Commentators recognize that the Amos superscription exhibits awareness of various component parts from the ensuing prophetic text.³¹ The superscriptional reference to the “words of Amos” (דברי עמוס), his “seeing” (חזה), and the “the earthquake” (הרעש) reflect an awareness of the oracles collection (1:2-6:14*), the vision cycle (7:1-9*; 8:1-3*; 9:1-4*), and the concluding destruction of “shaking” (רעש) the temple (9:1), respectively. The superscriptional reference to King Jeroboam II suggests an awareness of the only other passage referencing this king: Amos 7:9, 10-17. Since redaction critics commonly conclude that these component parts came together after a long editorial process,³² they must determine either that the superscription reflects a single addition

Sammlungen, 107–8. Schart, however, correctly notes that the evidence does not justify separating v.5 from vv.4, 6-7 (*Die Entstehung*, 91, n.144).

³¹ E.g., Watts, “Origin of the Book of Amos,” 109–12; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 149–51; Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 400–401; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 80; Jörg Jeremias, “‘Zwei Jahre vor dem Erdbeben’ (Am 1,1),” in *Altes Testament, Forschung und Wirkung: Festschrift für Henning Graf Reventlow*, ed. Peter Mommer and Winfried Thiel (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994), 15–31; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 53.

³² Many redaction critics identify the vision cycles as an originally independent collection. E.g., Watts, “Origin of the Book of Amos,” 109–12; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 59; Wilhelm Rudolph, *Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona*, KAT 13/2 (Gütersloher: G. Mohn, 1971), 100–1011; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 112–13; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, xix–xx, 96; idem, “Die Anfänge des Dodekapropheten: Hosea und Amos,” in *Congress Volume Paris 1992*, ed. John Adney Emerton, VTSup 61 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 99–100; Dirk U. Rottzoll, *Studien zur Redaktion und Komposition des Amosbuchs*, BZAW 243 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996), 106–7, 285; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 84–86; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 104–5. Within this collection, some suspect the fifth vision of being a later addition. E.g., Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 52–54; 64; John H. Hayes, *Amos the Eighth-Century Prophet: His Times and His Preaching* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1988), 216; Ernst-Joachim Waschke, “Die fünfte Vision des Amosbuchs (9,1-4)–Eine Nachinterpretation,” ZAW 106 (1994): 434–45; Karl Möller, *A Prophet in Debate: The Rhetoric of Persuasion in the Book of Amos*, JSOTSup 372 (London: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 100;

after the completion of a fairly developed version of Amos, or that Amos 1:1 developed in stages along with the broader text of Amos.³³ The existence of repeated components in the superscription, such as two relative clauses and two dating schemas, leads many redaction critics to identify diachronic development in Amos 1:1.³⁴

Unlike the superscriptions of Hosea, Micah, and Zephaniah; Amos 1:1 lacks the word-event formula (היה וברך יהוה) that is often identified as evidence of Deuteronomistic editing.³⁵ Despite the absence of this formula, proponents of Deuteronomistic redaction in Amos identify Deuteronomistic editing in the regnal dating system of v.1ba.³⁶ Amos 1:1 unexpectedly concludes with two dating systems,

Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 114–15. Within this vision cycle, diachronic scholars commonly identify Amos 7:10-17 as an editorial insertion. E.g., Scharbert, *Die Propheten Israels*, 4; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 58–59; Georg Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts* Band 1 in *Die Propheten des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1974), 52–53; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 131–32, 355–57; Peter R. Ackroyd, “Judgment Narrative Between Kings and Chronicles: An Approach to Amos 7:9-17,” in *Canon and Authority: Essays in Old Testament Religion and Theology*, ed. George W. Coats and Burke O. Long (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 74–77; Robert Martin-Achard, *Amos: L’homme, le message, l’influence* (Genève: Labor et Fides, 1984), 52; De Vries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 187; Jeremias, “Die Anfänge,” (ed. Emerton), 104; idem, “Rezeptionsprozesse,” 35–37; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 87–88, 98–99, 102–3; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 177–78, 179; Fleischer, “Das Buch Amos,” 238; Jason Radine, *The Book of Amos in Emergent Judah*, FAT 2 45 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 183–97. For further assessment, see pp.159–162, 197–200.

³³ David Allen Hubbard, for example, identifies the entire superscription as an editorial construction (*Joel and Amos: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC [Leicester: InterVarsity, 1989], 96). Hans Fuhs, on the other hand, identifies a five-stage composition history for Amos 1:1 corresponding with the growth of Amos (“Amos 1,1: Erwägungen zur Tradition und Redaktion des Amosbuches,” in *Bausteine biblischer Theologie: Festgabe für G. Johannes Botterweck zum 60. Geburtstag dargebracht von seinen Schülern*, ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry, BBB 50 [Cologne: Hanstein, 1977], 271–89).

³⁴ E.g., Schmidt, “Die deuteronomistische Redaktion,” 169–70; James Luther Mays, *Amos: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969), 18–19; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 146–51; Gene M. Tucker, “Prophetic Superscriptions and the Growth of a Canon,” in *Canon and Authority: Essays in Old Testament Religion and Theology*, ed. George W. Coats and Burke O. Long (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 69–70; Fuhs, “Amos 1,1,” 271–89; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 77; 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, SymS 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 114, 116–17; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 177–78; Christoph Levin, “Das ‘Vierprophetenbuch’: Ein exegetischer Nachruf,” ZAW 123 (2011): 229–30.

³⁵ See pp.52-58, 219-221, 310-312.

³⁶ E.g., Watts, “Origin of the Book of Amos,” 109; Schmidt, “Die deuteronomistische Redaktion,” 169–73; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 138, 149–51; Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:520; Weimar, “Der Schluss,” 98–99; Soggin, *The Prophet Amos*, 18, 24–27; Alvarez, *Relecturas deuteronomísticas*, 53–55;

suggesting editorial development in this portion of the superscription. Three aspects of Amos 1:1b α suggest that it is an editorial supplement, likely related to Amos 7:9-17. First, the primacy of Uzziah, king of Judah stands apart as unusual in light of Amos's northern orientation. The name "Judah" (יהודה) occurs in only Amos 2:4-5 and 7:10-17. Second, the reference to Jeroboam suggests an awareness of the only other Amos passage referencing this (or any) king: Amos 7:9, 10-17. Finally, Amos 1:1b α characterizes Amos's visionary activity using חזה ("to see"). The vision cycles, however, present Amos's visions using ראה ("to see"). Only Amos 7:10-17 presents Amos's prophetic activity using the root חזה. Amos 1:1b α , therefore, likely exists as an editorial supplement to the superscription that reflects a literary relationship with 7:9, 10-17.

As noted in the assessment of Hos 1:1, the regnal names could reflect dependence on the Deuteronomistic History, but do not supply enough evidence to necessitate this conclusion.³⁷ Amos 1:1b α does not provide any further clues concerning its date of composition or ideological agenda. This dating schema reveals only an editorial agenda assuming a Judean orientation, and compositional affinity with Amos 7:9-17. This compositional affinity suggests that the investigation of Deuteronomism in Amos 7:9-17 will inform the determination of Deuteronomism in 1:1b α .

Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 76–77, 86–89; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 74, 78; Rottzoll, *Studien zur Redaktion*, 13, 287; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaia 1-39*, 348; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 50–54; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 178; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 90–92. Vermeylen and Bosshard-Nepustil identify the following proclamation in Amos 1:2 as Deuteronomistic (Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:521–25; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaia 1-39*, 348). This identification, however, rests more on the plausible attribution of Amos 1:2 to exilic dating than on distinctive thematic or lexical similarities with other Deuteronomistic texts.

³⁷ See pp.52-58. The Deuteronomistic History identifies a variety of sources concerning the Israelite and Judean monarchies, which are currently lost to modern scholars (1 Kgs 11:41; 14:19, 29; 16:14, 20; 2 Kgs 1:18; 14:28; 15:21). The Deuteronomistic listing of these sources does not necessarily make them plausible sources for the regnal dating of Amos 1:1. Rather the Deuteronomistic listing of these sources indicates that one cannot assume that the Deuteronomistic History is the only source of knowledge concerning past kings. Such awareness of past kings may not necessitate a textual source depending upon the temporal proximity to the identified era.

Law, Covenant, and the Question of Deuteronomism in the Oracles Against the Nations: Amos 1:9-12; 2:4-5

The repeated formulaic language of the Amos Oracles Against the Nations bind the individual oracles together into a common literary agenda climaxing with the oracle against Israel (2:6-16).³⁸ Diachronic scholars often interpret deviations from these literary patterns as evidence of later additions to the set.³⁹ A long scholarly tradition thus questions the authenticity of the oracles against Tyre, Edom, and Judah.⁴⁰ Schmidt

³⁸ For form-critical assessments of the patterns linking these oracles, see: Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 164–70; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, 144–46; Fleischer, “Das Buch Amos,” 144–46.

³⁹ Those objecting to the compositional division of the oracles against Tyre, Edom, and Judah often point to literary links between these oracles and the remainder of the Oracles Against the Nations. E.g., Henning Reventlow, *Das Amt des Propheten bei Amos*, FRLANT 80 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), 58–59; Moshe Haran, “Observations on the Historical Background of Amos 1:2-2:6,” *IEJ* 18 (1968): 251–59; Erling Hammershaimb, *The Book of Amos: A Commentary*, trans. John Sturdy (New York: Schocken, 1970), 32–38, 43–46; Keith N. Schoville, “A Note on the Oracles of Amos Against Gaza, Tyre, and Edom,” in *Studies on Prophecy: A Collection of Twelve Papers*, VTSup 26 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 55–63; Shalom M. Paul, “A Literary Reinvestigation of the Authenticity of the Oracles Against the Nations of Amos,” in *De la Tôrah au Messie: études d’exégèse et d’herméneutique bibliques offertes à Henri Cazelles pour ses 25 années d’enseignement à l’Institut catholique de Paris*, ed. Maurice Carrez, Joseph Doré, and Pierre Grelot (Paris: Desclée, 1981), 189–204; Douglas K. Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, WBC 31 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), 308–9, 312–13, 315–16; Hayes, *Amos*, 52–55; Hubbard, *Joel and Amos*, 97; Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Amos: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 24A (New York: Doubleday, 1989), 213–14; Robert B. Chisholm, *Interpreting the Minor Prophets* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990), 70; Shalom M. Paul, *Amos: A Commentary on the Book of Amos*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 59–67, 74–76; Andrew E. Steinmann, “The Order of Amos’s Oracles Against the Nations: 1:3-2:16,” *JBL* 111 (1992): 683–89; John H. Hayes, “Amos’s Oracles Against the Nations (1:2-2:16),” *RevExp* 92 (1995): 159–60, 162–63. For arguments identifying these oracles as later additions, see below.

⁴⁰ E.g., Julius Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten: übersetzt und erklärt*, 3. Ausgabe. (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1898), 69–70, 71–72; Karl Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton: erklärt*, KHC 13 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1904), 151–52, 161–63; Bernhard Duhm, “Anmerkungen zu den Zwölf Propheten. I,” *ZAW* 31 (1911): 2; Sigmund Mowinckel, *Prophecy and Tradition: The Prophetic Books in the Light of the Study of the Growth and History of the Tradition* (Oslo: J. Dybwad, 1946), 58; Artur Weiser, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten I: die Propheten Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona, Micha*, ATD 24 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1949), 119–20; Scharbert, *Die Propheten Israels*, 91; Mays, *Amos*, 33–36; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 16–17; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 23; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 170–71; Ludwig Markert, *Struktur und Bezeichnung des Scheltworts: eine gattungskritische Studie anhand des Amosbuches*, BZAW 140 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977), 208; Samuel Amsler, “Amos et les droits de l’homme (Étude d’Am 1 et 2),” in *De la Tôrah au Messie: Études d’exégèse et d’herméneutique bibliques offertes à Henri Cazelles pour ses 25 années d’enseignement à l’Institut Catholique de Paris (Octobre 1979)*, ed. Maurice Carrez, Joseph Doré, and Pierre Grelot (Paris: Desclée, 1981), 182–83; Rolf Rendtorff, *Das Alte Testament: Eine Einführung* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1983), 232; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 89–97; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 75; Rottzoll, *Studien zur Redaktion*, 22–35; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39*, 348; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 56–57; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 178; Fleischer, “Das Buch Amos,” 127, 146, 147; Martin

inaugurates the tradition of attributing these oracles to Deuteronomistic editing.⁴¹

Arguments for Deuteronomism in Amos 1:9-12, however, differ from the case for Deuteronomism in 2:4-5. The oracles against Tyre and Edom share several literary similarities indicative of common compositional origins, whereas the Judah oracle likely reflects a different compositional stratum.⁴²

Five similarities link the composition of the Tyre and Edom oracles. First, both oracles lack the anticipated concluding reference to divine speech. Second, the condemnation of Tyre for turning communities over to Edom anticipates the following Edom oracle condemning their lack of mercy. Third, both oracles use the language of “brotherhood” (אָר) to denote fraternal transgressions.⁴³ Fourth, the Tyre and Edom

Arneth, “Die Komposition der Völkersprüche in Amos 1,3-2,16,” *ZAR* 10 (2004): 253–56; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 93–101; John Barton, *The Theology of the Book of Amos*, Old Testament Theology (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 42–44; James D. Nogalski, “Preexilic Portions of the Book of the Twelve: Early Collections and Composition Models,” in *The Books of the Twelve Prophets: Minor Prophets – Major Theologies*, ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry, BETL 295 (Leuven: Peeters, 2018), 37–38.

⁴¹ Schmidt, “Die deuteronomistische Redaktion,” 174–78. For further designations of Deuteronomism, see: Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 137, 184–85, 193–95; Markert, *Struktur und Bezeichnung*, 55–58; Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:529–31; Roy Frank Melugin, “The Formation of Amos: An Analysis of Exegetical Method,” in *Society of Biblical Literature 1978 Seminar Papers*, vol. 1, 2 vols., SBLSPS (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978), 384–85; Weimar, “Der Schluss,” 98–99; Haroldo Reimer, *Richtet auf das Recht!: Studien zur Botschaft des Amos*, SBS (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1992), 70–71; Alvarez, *Relecturas deuteronomísticas*, 59–62; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1–39*, 348; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 56–57, 99; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 178.

⁴² For those distinguishing the composition of the Judah oracle from the Tyre and Edom oracles, see: George Arthur Fosbroke, “Amos,” in *Interpreter’s Bible*, (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1956), 774, 781–82, 784–86; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 95, 97; Amsler, “Amos et les droits de l’homme,” 182–83. For those treating the oracles against Tyre, Edom, and Judah as a single composition layer, see: Schmidt, “Die deuteronomistische Redaktion,” 174–78; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 17–18, 60; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 137; Coote, *Amos among the Prophets*, 67–69, 112–17; Peter Weimar, “Sinai und Schöpfung: Komposition und Theologie der Priesterschriftlichen Sinaigeschichte,” *RB* 95 (1988): 98–99; Reimer, *Richtet auf das Recht!*, 70–71; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 56–57; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 178.

⁴³ Such fraternal language likely assumes a covenant relationship between these peoples. For discussion, see: John F. Priest, “Covenant of Brothers,” *JBL* 84 (1965): 400–406; Michael A. Fishbane, “Treaty Background of Amos 1:11 and Related Matters,” *JBL* 89 (1970): 313–18; Juan Manuel Tebes, “La terminología diplomática en los oráculos de Amós contra Tiro y Edom (Am 1,9-12),” *AuOr* 24 (2006): 243–53.

oracles share unusual brevity when compared with the other oracles.⁴⁴ Finally, scholars commonly conclude that these oracles assume a shared exilic or postexilic setting.⁴⁵

Arguments for the Deuteronomism of Amos 1:9-12 rely upon the characterization of Edom as a “brother” as found in Deut 23:8 and the image of a “covenant” (ברית) in the Tyre oracle.⁴⁶ The problem with such arguments is that the phrase “covenant of brotherhood” (ברית אחים) occurs nowhere beyond Amos 1:9. Scholars recognize the centrality of conceptualizing the relationship between YHWH and Israel as a “covenant” in Deuteronomistic thought.⁴⁷ This “covenant theology” reflects the influence of a wider socio-historical context within ancient Near Eastern treaty language.⁴⁸ This treaty

⁴⁴ Cf. The observations of: Arneth, “Die Komposition,” 254–55.

⁴⁵ Nogalski and Strong, on the one hand, read these oracles against the backdrop of Jer 27 (James D. Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea-Jonah*, SHBC [Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2011], 281–82; John T. Strong, “Tyre’s Isolationist Policies in the Early Sixth Century BCE: Evidence From the Prophets,” *VT* 47 [1997]: 207–19). Wöhrle, on the other hand, reads them along with updates to Joel 4[3] (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 92–93, 102).

⁴⁶ Schmidt, “Die deuteronomistische Redaktion,” 174–78; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 137, 184–85, 193–95; Markert, *Struktur und Bezeichnung*, 55–58; Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:529–31; Weimar, “Der Schluss,” 98–99; Alvarez, *Relecturas deuteronomísticas*, 59–61; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1–39*, 348; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 56–57, 99; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 178.

⁴⁷ E.g., Lothar Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im Alten Testament*, WMANT 36 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969); Ernest W. Nicholson, *God and His People: Covenant and Theology in the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986). Contra Perlitt and Nicholson, the presuppositions of covenant theology in the preexilic prophets preclude conclusions that the Deuteronomistic tradition invented covenant theology. Thus while covenant theology remains central to Deuteronomism, variant theological articulations occur beyond the bounds of Deuteronomistic collections. See: Delbert R. Hillers, *Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets*, BibOr 16 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1964), 83–85; F. C. Fensham, “Common Trends in Curses of the Near Eastern Treaties and Kudurru Inscriptions Compared with Maledictions of Amos and Isaiah,” *ZAW* 75 (1965): 155–75; Dennis J. McCarthy, “*Berit* in Old Testament History and Theology,” *Biblica* 53 (1972): 110–21; Alfons Deissler, “Das ‘Echo’ der Hosea-Verkündigung im Jeremiabuch,” in *Künder des Wortes: Beiträge zur Theologie der Propheten*, ed. Lothar Ruppert, Peter Weimar, and Erich Zenger (Würzburg: Echter, 1982), 66; Arvid S. Kapelrud, “The Prophets and the Covenant,” in *In the Shelter Of Elyon: Essays on Ancient Palestinian Life and Literature in Honour of G. W. Ahlström*, ed. W. Boyd Barrick and John R. Spencer (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 175–83.

⁴⁸ E.g., Moshe Weinfeld, “The Common Heritage of Covenantal Traditions in the Ancient World,” in *I Trattati Nel Mondo Antico: Forma, Ideologia, Funzione*, ed. Luciano Canfora, Mario Liverani, and Carlo Zaccagnini (Rome: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 1990), 175–91. The most common comparisons are made with second millennium BCE Hittite treaty language (e.g., Klaus Baltzer, *Das Bundesformular*, WMANT 4 [Neukirchen Kreis Moers: Neukirchener Verlag, 1960], 19–28; Meredith G. Kline, *Treaty of the Great King: The Covenant Structure of Deuteronomy* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963], 13–26; Kenneth A. Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003], 274–307;

language employs kinship terminology for the relationship between peoples.⁴⁹ Amos 1:9 thus reflects this broader use of covenant language to designate a formal relationship between two peoples rather than the theological reappropriation of this language in Deuteronomism's covenant theology.⁵⁰ Schart, who assigns Amos 1:9-12 to his *D-Korpus*, notes the tenuous nature of the evidence.⁵¹ Amos 1:9-12 thus fails to evince Deuteronomistic composition.

The case for Deuteronomism in the Judah oracle rests on different evidence. The Judah oracle disrupts the climactic turn to Israel at the end of the Oracles Against the Nations. The accusation's concern with the law, furthermore, differs from the war crimes

Joshua Berman, "CTH 133 and the Hittite Provenance of Deuteronomy 13," *JBL* 130 [2011]: 25–44; Ada Taggar-Cohen, "Biblical Covenant and Hittite *Ishui* Reexamined," *VT* 61 [2011]: 461–88; Joshua Berman, "Histories Twice Told: Deuteronomy 1–3 and the Hittite Treaty Prologue Tradition," *JBL* 132 [2013]: 229–50). and Neo-Assyrian treaty language (e.g., Dennis J McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament*, New Completely Rewritten., AnBib 21a [Rome: Biblical Institute, 1981], 106–21). While covenant theology reflects similarities with ancient Near Eastern treaty language, historical conclusions concerning the influences and origins of covenant theology must account for the unique characteristics of biblical texts distinguishing them from their ancient Near East context. See for example the more cautious assessment of: Noel Weeks, *Admonition and Curse: The Ancient Near Eastern Treaty/Covenant Form as a Problem in Inter-Cultural Relationships*, JSOTSup 407 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 174–82.

⁴⁹ See characterizations of Edom as "brother" beyond Deuteronomistic constructions in Gen 27:29, 40; Num 20:14; Deut 2:4, 8; 23:8(7); Amos 1:11; Obad 10, 12; Mal 1:2-4. On the importance of kinship language, see the discussion in F. C. Fensham, "Father and Son as Terminology for Treaty and Covenant," in *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. H. Goedicke (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971), 121–35; Frank Moore Cross, *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

⁵⁰ Priest, "Covenant of Brothers," 400–406.

⁵¹ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 56–57, 99. See also the arguments of: Klaus Koch, *Amos: Untersucht mit den Methoden einer strukturalen Formgeschichte*, vol. 2, 3 vols., AOAT 30 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1976), 6, 8; Rottzoll, *Studien zur Redaktion*, 30–35; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 96–97. Some scholars read the oracles against Edom and Tyre against the background of the Jerusalem coalition in Jer 27:1-22, which included the kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon (e.g., Strong, "Tyre's Isolationist Policies," 207–19). Jewish literature suggests that Edom participated in the Babylonian led destruction of Jerusalem (Ps 137:7; Lam 4:21-22; cf. Obad 10-14). This memory suggests that Edom betrayed the coalition, thus accounting for the subsequent focus on Edom's fraternal transgressions against Israel in Obadiah and Joel 4[3]. On account of the language concerning fraternal betrayal, Wöhrle places the oracles against Tyre and Edom in his first Foreign Nations layer, compositionally associated with the redaction of Joel and Obadiah (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 92–93, 102). Cf. Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 152; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 16, 64–65.

of the preceding oracles and the social injustice of the following Israel oracle. Schmidt provides five arguments for the Deuteronomistic orientation of Amos 2:4-5.⁵² Four of these arguments are quickly dismissed. First Schmidt links the “rejection of Torah” to Deuteronomistic thought. Although obedience to the divine command is an important theme in Deuteronomistic texts, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History lack the language of “rejecting” (מָאָס) “law” (תּוֹרָה). This language only occurs in four prophetic passages (e.g., Isa 5:24; Jer 6:19; Hos 4:6; and Amos 2:4).⁵³ Second, Schmidt argues that the paralleling of תּוֹרָה (“law”) and חֹק (“statute”) favors Deuteronomistic composition. The broad use of these terms together across the Hebrew Bible, however, precludes aligning this word-pair with a distinctive Deuteronomistic agenda.⁵⁴ Third, Schmidt correctly notes that the language of “walking” (הֵלֵךְ) “after” (אַחֵר) other gods denotes Deuteronomism. Indeed, Deuteronomy, the Deuteronomistic History, and Jeremiah form a near monopoly on the use of “walking” (הֵלֵךְ) and “after” (אַחֵר) to criticize religious infidelities.⁵⁵ Yet no other Deuteronomistic passage speaks of people “walking after”

⁵² Schmidt, “Die deuteronomistische Redaktion,” 177–78. See also the conclusions of Deuteronomism in: Marti, *Das Dodekapropheten*, 151–52, 165–66; Artur Weiser, *Die Prophetie des Amos*, BZAW 53 (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1929), 89; Watts, “Origin of the Book of Amos,” 109; Samuel Amsler, “Amos, Prophète de La Onzième Heure,” *ThZ* 21 (1965): 320; Mays, *Amos*, 40–42; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 137, 198–99; Markert, *Struktur und Bezeichnung*, 67–71; Melugin, “The Formation of Amos,” 1:384–85; Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:533–35; Walther Zimmerli, “Vom Prophetenwort zum Prophetenbuch,” *TLZ* 104 (1979): 489; Amsler, “Amos et les droits de l’homme,” 182–83; Weimar, “Der Schluss,” 98–99; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, 28–29; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 75; Alvarez, *Relecturas deuteronomísticas*, 61–62; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaia 1–39*, 348; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 56–57, 99, 163–65; Fleischer, “Das Buch Amos,” 127, 146, 147, 157–58; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 178.

⁵³ For this reason Wöhrle argues that the theme of “rejecting Torah” coheres with similar themes elsewhere in editorial supplements, which he attributes to Deuteronomistic editing (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 95–96). The closest Deuteronomistic phrase relates to the rejection of God’s “statutes” in 2 Kgs 17:15.

⁵⁴ Cf. Exod 18:16, 20; Lev 26:46; Deut 4:8; 17:19; 2 Kgs 17:37; Isa 24:5; Amos 2:4; Pss 105:45; 119:33–34, 53–54, 70–72, 112–113, 135–136; Ezra 7:10; Neh 9:13, 14; 2 Chr 19:10; 33:8. In most instances, the language of חֹק (“statute”) and תּוֹרָה (“law” or “Torah”) occurs in a list of synonyms for divine instruction. חֹק and תּוֹרָה only occur together with no other synonyms in Exod 18:16; Deut 17:19; Amos 2:4; and Ps 105:45. It should be noted that Deut 17:19 stands apart from this group as the term תּוֹרָה occurs only as the *nomens rectums* of the phrase כָּל־דְּבַר־הַתּוֹרָה (“all of the words of the Torah”).

⁵⁵ Deuteronomy 4:3; 6:14; 8:19; 11:28; 13:3; 28:14; Judg 2:12, 19; 1 Kgs 11:5, 10; 18:18, 21; 21:26; 17:15; 2 Kgs 13:2; Jer 2:5, 8, 23, 25; 7:6, 9; 8:2; 9:13; 11:10; 13:10; 16:11; 25:6; 35:12; Ezek 20:16;

“their deceptions” (כזב־יהם).⁵⁶ The root כזב (“deception”) infrequently appears in Deuteronomistic literature when compared to its extensive use in Hebrew wisdom and prophetic texts.⁵⁷ Being “led astray” (תעה) by “deception” (כזב) occurs elsewhere only in Ps 58:4 (cf. Ps 4:3). This conclusion about the nature of כזב further discredits Schmidt’s fourth argument that the dual themes of idolatry and Torah support the Deuteronomism of Amos 2:4. The language of “and their lies caused them to err, after which their ancestors walked” fails to evince Deuteronomism.⁵⁸

Schmidt’s final argument has the greatest persuasive power. The language of “keeping” (שמר) the “statutes” (חק) of YHWH occurs frequently, though not exclusively, in Deuteronomistic literature.⁵⁹ The juxtaposition of this potentially Deuteronomistic language with the uncharacteristic language of “rejecting” (מאס) the “law of YHWH” (תורת יהוה) and following after “deception” (כזב) leads some interpreters to identify a limited Deuteronomistic update only in Amos 2:4b.⁶⁰ The brevity of the oracle and the

Hos 2:7[5], 15[13]; 5:11. Cf. Similar phrasing used to denote “following after” YHWH: 1 Kgs 14:8; 2 Kgs 23:3; Jer 2:2; Hos 11:10; 2 Chr 34:31. Compare this usage with the dominant Hebrew convention of denoting a literal “following after” of a person, angelic being, or thing literally leading the way: Gen 24:5, 8, 39, 61; 32:20; 37:17; Exod 14:19; Num 16:25; Josh 3:3 6:9, 8, 13; Judg 9:4, 49; 13:11; 19:3; 1 Sam 6:12; 17:13, 14; 25:42; 30:21; 2 Sam 3:31; 1 Kgs 13:14; 19:20, 21; 2 Kgs 4:30; 6:19; 7:15; Isa 45:14; Ezek 10:11; Prov 7:22; Ruth 2:9; 3:10; Neh 12:32.

⁵⁶ For this reason, some commentators take “deception” (כזב) as a euphemism for idolatry here (e.g., Rudolf Mosis, “כזב,” *TDOT*, 114). The Hebrew Bible does not otherwise use כזב for “idols.”

⁵⁷ כזב occurs only in Judg 16:10, 16; and 2 Kgs 4:16 in the Deuteronomistic History. Compare this infrequency with its occurrence in wisdom literature (Pss 4:3; 5:7; 40:5; 58:4; 62:5, 10; 78:36; 89:36; 116:11; Prov 6:19; 14:5, 25; 19:5, 9, 22; 21:28; 23:3; 30:6, 8; Job 6:28; 24:25; 34:6; 41:1), and the Hebrew prophets (Isa 28:15, 17; 57:11; 58:11; Ezek 13:6, 7, 8, 9, 19; 21:34; 22:28; Hos 7:13; 12:2; Amos 2:4; Mic 2:11; Hab 2:3; Zeph 3:13. Cf. Dan 11:27).

⁵⁸ A concern for the “ancestors” otherwise occurs only in Hos 9:10 and Mic 7:20 in the Book of the Four. For the verb תעה, see only Hos 4:12 (cf. Mic 3:5).

⁵⁹ Deuteronomy 4:40; 6:17; 7:11; 11:32; 12:1; 16:12; 26:16, 17; 1 Kgs 3:14; 8:58, 61; 9:4. Cf. in Exod 12:24; 15:26; Ezek 36:27; Amos 2:4; Mal 3:7; Pss 99:7; 119:5, 8, 145; Neh 1:7; 1 Chr 22:13; 29:19; 2 Chr 7:17; 34:31.

⁶⁰ Rudolph, *Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona*, 120–21; Koch, *Amos*, 2:11, 121. Cf. Siegfried Wagner, “Überlegungen zur Frage nach den Beziehungen des Propheten Amos zum Südreich,” *ThLZ* 96 (1971): 663–66; Adam S. Van der Woude, “Three Classical Prophets: Amos, Hosea and Micah,” in *Israel’s*

lack of corroborating evidence of redaction preclude arguments for supplementation in Amos 2:4-5. Amos 2:4-5 must be considered as a whole. The oracle against Judah, therefore, reveals some thematic parallels with Deuteronomistic thought and one phrase characteristic of Deuteronomistic compositions. This passage, however, also contains several identifiably non-Deuteronomistic elements distinguishing this supplement from other Deuteronomistic compositions.⁶¹

These respective updates to the Amos Oracles Against the Nations fail to evince a unified ideological and literary agenda indicative of shared compositional origins. Rather, Amos 1:9-12 and 2:4-5 better reflect different updates. Whereas Amos 1:9-12 shows no evidence of Deuteronomism, Amos 2:4-5 reveals a thematic proximity to Deuteronomistic thought, and even one phrase that could indicate Deuteronomism. This observation, however, must be considered alongside the several literary features distinguishing the Judah oracle from characteristic Deuteronomistic conventions.

The Rejection of the Prophet and the Question of Deuteronomism: Amos 2:11-12; 3:7; 7:9-17; 8:10-11

The theme of the “rejection of the prophet” supplies one of the strongest parallels with Deuteronomism in Amos. A long scholarly tradition attributes the four passages exhibiting this theme to Deuteronomistic editors (2:10-12; 3:7; 7:9-17; 8:10-11).⁶² The case for Deuteronomism differs amongst these passages. Amos 7:9-17 presents the strongest case for Deuteronomism. Redaction critics commonly identify the narrative

Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honor of Peter Ackroyd, ed. Richard J. Coggins, Anthony Phillips, and Michael A. Knibb (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 39–40.

⁶¹ See also the rejection of “Deuteronomism” in: Duhm, “Anmerkungen zu den Zwölf Propheten. I,” 2; Hayes, *Amos*, 101–4; Hubbard, *Joel and Amos*, 138–40; Norbert Lohfink, “Gab es eine deuteronomistische Bewegung,” in *Jeremia und die “deuteronomistische Bewegung,”* ed. Walter Gross (Weinheim, Germany: Beltz Athenäum, 1995), 329–33.

⁶² Wöhrle attributes מה־שָׂחַו למגיד לאדם from Amos 4:13 to the Deuteronomistic redactors, arguing that it breaks from the cosmological theme of the hymn (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 76, 79). This phrase, however, lacks parallels with Deuteronomy or the Deuteronomistic History. A concern with “revealing” (נגד) anything to “mortals” (אדם) only occurs in Amos 4:13; Mic 6:8; Ecc 6:12; and Neh 2:12.

about Amos (7:10-17) as an interruption to the otherwise first-person prophetic vision reports (7:1-9*; 8:1-3*; 9:1-4*).⁶³ The focus on the house of Jeroboam in 7:9 suggests that this verse serves as an editorial bridge between the third vision and the narrative. Diachronic scholars thus frequently includes 7:9 with the addition of vv.10-17.⁶⁴

Amos 7:9-17 contains the strongest case for Deuteronomism among these “rejection” passages.⁶⁵ In addition to the theme of the “rejection of the prophet,” scholars occasionally claim that Amos 7:10-17 vaguely resembles 1 Kgs 13:1-34.⁶⁶ While the two passages share some similar themes, the differences far outweigh the similarities, mitigating against claims of compositional dependence.⁶⁷ The case for Deuteronomism rather rests upon the rejection of the prophet theme, and two phrases reminiscent of Deuteronomistic style. First, the threat of “death” (מוֹת) “by the sword” (בַּחֶרֶב) occurs

⁶³ E.g., Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 207; Watts, “Origin of the Book of Amos,” 109, 110, 111; Scharbert, *Die Propheten Israels*, 4; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 58–59; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 52–53; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 131–32, 355–57; Ackroyd, “Judgment Narrative,” 74–77; Martin-Achard, *Amos*, 52; De Vries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 187; Jeremias, “Die Anfänge,” (ed. Emerton), 104; idem, “Rezeptionsprozesse,” 35–37; Schar, *Die Entstehung*, 87–88, 98–99, 102–3; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 177–78, 179; Fleischer, “Das Buch Amos,” 238.

⁶⁴ Weiser, *Die Prophetie des Amos*, 18–26, 258; Victor Maag, *Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos* (Leiden: Brill, 1951), 48–49; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 32, n.14; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 131–32, 348–49; Ackroyd, “Judgment Narrative,” 73–74; Melugin, “The Formation of Amos,” 1:386–87; Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:565–66; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, 111–12; idem, “Die Anfänge,” (ed. Emerton), 102–4; idem, “Rezeptionsprozesse,” 37; Schar, *Die Entstehung*, 86, 98–99, 102–3; Fleischer, “Das Buch Amos,” 243–45; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 113.

⁶⁵ E.g., Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:565–67; Melugin, “The Formation of Amos,” 1:386–87; Weimar, “Der Schluss,” 98–99; Alvarez, *Relecturas deuteronomísticas*, 80–81; Jürgen Werlitz, “Amos und sein Biograph: Zur Entstehung und Intention der Prophetenerzählung,” *BZ* 44 (2000): 246–49; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 112–13. Cf. Those noting proximity to Deuteronomistic thought: Coote, *Amos among the Prophets*, 58–61; Helmut Utzschneider, “Die Amazjaerzählung (Am 7,10-17) zwischen Literatur und Historie,” *BN* 41 (1988): 99–100; Jörg Jeremias, “Die Rolle des Propheten nach dem Amosbuch,” in *Hosea und Amos: Studien zu den Anfängen des Dodekapropheton*, FAT 13 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1996), 277–78.

⁶⁶ On the connection with 1 Kgs 13, see: Ackroyd, “Judgment Narrative,” 79–80; Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:566; Coote, *Amos among the Prophets*, 60–61; Kratz, *The Prophets of Israel*, 47. Note also Blenkinsopp and Ackroyd’s proposed similarities with 2 Kgs 14:23-29 (Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 73, 77; Ackroyd, “Judgment Narrative,” 77–81).

⁶⁷ Against this proposed connection, see: A. Graeme Auld, *Amos*, OTG (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986), 28–29.

most frequently in the Deuteronomistic History and Jeremiah.⁶⁸ Second, Wöhrle argues that the declaration וְיִשְׂרָאֵל גִּלָּה מֵעַל אֲדָמָתוֹ (“and Israel will certainly go into exile from his land”) in Amos 7:11, 17 parallels the Deuteronomistic expression גִּלָּה מֵעַל אֲדָמָה (“exile from the land”; 2 Kgs 17:23; 25:21; Jer 52:27).⁶⁹ The Amos declaration of exile in 7:11 and 7:17 uses a grammatical construction unique to Amos. The combination of the infinitive absolute and imperfect forms of גִּלָּה (גִּלָּה יִגְלֶה) occurs elsewhere only in Amos 5:5, suggesting that the editor reappropriates words from elsewhere in Amos when constructing Amaziah’s reported words of Amos.⁷⁰ The formulation, however, still bears some resemblance to the expressions of exile in 2 Kgs 17:23; 25:21; Jer 52:27.

Amos 7:9-17 thus employs one phrase common to Deuteronomistic texts and one phrase that resembles—yet differs from—an infrequent Deuteronomistic declaration. Two further observations, however, distinguish Amos 7:10-17 from the anticipated literary characteristics of Deuteronomism. First, Deuteronomistic descriptions of the destruction of “high places” (בְּמֹזֹת) generally employ the verb סֹר rather than the verb שָׁמַם as found in Amos 7:9.⁷¹ Second, Amos 7:9 and 7:16 spell the name “Isaac” using the unusual יִשָּׁחֵק rather than the more common יִצְחָק, which occurs in Deuteronomistic texts.⁷² This evidence suggests that scholars justifiably explore the literary proximity of Amos

⁶⁸ First Kings 2:8; 2 Kgs 11:15, 20; Jer 11:22; 21:9; 34:4; 38:2; 41:2; 42:17; Ezek 7:15; Amos 7:11; 9:10; 2 Chr 23:14, 21.

⁶⁹ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 112–13. Similar expressions occur with different verbs in Deut 28:21, 63; 29:27; Josh 23:13, 15; 1 Kgs 14:15; 2 Kgs 21:8; Jer 12:14; 24:10; 27:10; 2 Chr 7:20; 33:8. Cf. Amos 9:15

⁷⁰ Cf. 1 Sam 2:27; 2 Sam 6:20

⁷¹ See: 1 Kgs 15:14; 22:44; 2 Kgs 12:4; 14:4; 15:4, 35; 18:4, 22. Cf. Isa 36:7; 2 Chr 15:17; 17:6; 20:33; 32:12.

⁷² See: Deut 1:8; 6:10; 9:5, 27; 29:12; 30:20; 34:4; Josh 24:3, 4; 1 Kgs 18:36; 2 Kgs 13:23. Cf. Exod 2:24; 3:6, 15, 16; 4:5; 6:3, 8; 32:13; 33:1; Lev 26:42; Num 32:11; 1 Chr 1:28, 34; 16:16; 29:18; 2 Chr 30:6. יִשָּׁחֵק additionally appears spelled in this way in the Genesis narratives (17:19-21; 21:1-28:13; 31:18, 42, 53; 32:10; 35:10, 12, 27-29; 46:1; 48:15-16; 49:31; 50:24). Compare with the spelling יִצְחָק, which occurs only in Jer 33:26; Amos 7:9, 16; Ps 105:9.

7:9-17 to Deuteronomism, however, such explorations must account for the distinctive features differentiating the language and style of Amos 7:9-17 from the literary conventions of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History.

Diachronic scholars commonly attribute Amos 2:10-12 to the same Deuteronomistic redaction as 7:9-17.⁷³ The case for Deuteronomism in 2:10-12 rests upon two thematic observations: the theme of the rejection of the prophets (vv.11-12) and the exodus theme (v.10).⁷⁴ The concern with the prophets in 2:11-12 contains two notable literary parallels with 7:10-17, but lacks distinctive evidence of Deuteronomistic phrasing related to the rejection of the prophet. The command to not prophecy in 2:12 parallels 7:16.⁷⁵ The reference to YHWH's raising up "your children to be prophets" (ואקים מביניהם) occurs nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible, although the phrase recalls Amos's response in 7:14 that he is not "the son of a prophet" (ולא בן-נביא אנכי). These parallels suggest that Amos 2:10-12 anticipates 7:10-17. Both passages use similar language to communicate a similar theme, suggesting shared compositional origins. The thematic concern with the reception of the prophet in Amos 2:11-12, however, lacks lexical parallels with other Deuteronomistic texts.

⁷³ For those attributing Amos 2:9-12 to Deuteronomistic editors, see: Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 75; Alvarez, *Relecturas deuteronomísticas*, 62-64; Fleischer, "Das Buch Amos," 127, 163-64; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 98-102; Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:536-39. Cf. Coote, *Amos among the Prophets*, 58-59. For those only identifying vv.10-12 as Deuteronomistic, see: Schmidt, "Die deuteronomistische Redaktion," 178-83; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 137, 172, 185, 205-7; Melugin, "The Formation of Amos," 1:384-85; Weimar, "Der Schluss," 98-99; Soggin, *The Prophet Amos*, 50-51; Gunther Fleischer, *Von Menschenverkäufern, Baschankühen und Rechtsverkehrern: die Sozialkritik des Amosbuches in historisch-kritischer, sozialgeschichtlicher und archäologischer Perspektive*, Athenäums Monografien Theologie 74 (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1989), 36; Reimer, *Richtet auf das Recht!*, 71, 73; Matthias Köckert, "Das Gesetz und die Propheten in Amos 1-2," in *Alttestamentlicher Glaube und biblische Theologie: Festschrift für Horst Dietrich Preuß zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Jutta Hausmann (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1992), 149-52; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, xxi, 26; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39*, 348; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 59-61, 99; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 178, 179. Cf. Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 152, 168-69; Markert, *Struktur und Bezeichnung*, 71-73; Childs, *Introduction*, 402; Arneth, "Die Komposition," 257.

⁷⁴ See below for an assessment of the exodus theme, pp.165-173.

⁷⁵ This command to not prophecy occurs only in Jer 11:21; Amos 2:12; and 7:16.

Amos 3:7 and 8:10-11 similarly concern the prophet, yet do not directly address the rejection of the prophet. Amos 3:7 concerns the special revelation to the prophet whereas 8:11-12 alludes to a forthcoming cessation of prophecy. Although both of these passages echo Deuteronomistic themes, they do so using characteristic wisdom language.⁷⁶ The problem with assigning Amos 3:7 to Deuteronomistic editing is the juxtaposition of one Deuteronomistic phrase with wisdom language. Amos 3:7 identifies the prophets as “his servants” (עבדיו הנביאים), reflecting Deuteronomistic phrasing.⁷⁷ The language of “revealing” (גלה) “council” (סוד), however, otherwise occurs only in Proverbs to denote revealing a secret.⁷⁸ God’s “council” (סוד) similarly occurs primarily in wisdom literature.⁷⁹ This designation of prophets as “servants” appears in later prophetic and apocalyptic literature, allowing for the possibility that its occurrence in Amos 3:7 reflects a later post-Deuteronomistic reception of Deuteronomistic language.⁸⁰ A post-

⁷⁶ For those identifying 3:7 as Deuteronomistic, see: Schmidt, “Die deuteronomistische Redaktion,” 183–88; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 218–19, 225–26; Melugin, “The Formation of Amos,” 1:381–82; Weimar, “Der Schluss,” 98–99; Alvarez, *Relecturas deuteronomísticas*, 69–70; Coote, *Amos among the Prophets*, 58–60; Soggin, *The Prophet Amos*, 18, 58; Reimer, *Richtet auf das Recht!*, 72; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, xxi, 36–37; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 75; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1–39*, 348; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 160; Fleischer, “Das Buch Amos,” 127, 169; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 178–79; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 98–99; Barton, *The Theology*, 45. For those identifying 8:11–12 as Deuteronomistic, see: Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 137, 374–75, 379–80; Hartmut Gese, “Amos 8,4–8: Der kosmische Frevel händlerischer Habgier,” in *Prophet und Prophetenbuch: Festschrift für Otto Kaiser zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Volkmar Fritz, Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann, and Hans-Christoph Schmitt, BZAW 185 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989), 61; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, xxi, 119–120; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 91–92, 99; Fleischer, “Das Buch Amos,” 127, 255–56; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 177–79; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 110.

⁷⁷ First Kings 14:18; 2 Kgs 9:7; 14:25; 17:13; 21:10; 24:2; Ezra 9:11; Jer 7:25; 25:4; 26:5; 29:19; 35:15; 44:4.

⁷⁸ Proverbs 11:13; 20:19; 25:9; Amos 3:7.

⁷⁹ Jeremiah 23:18, 22; Ps 25:14; Prov 3:32; Job 15:8; 29:4. Cf. uses of סוד to mean “assembly”: Pss 89:8; 111:1.

⁸⁰ Ezekiel 38:17; Dan 9:6, 10; Rev 10:7; 11:18.

Deuteronomistic dating better accounts for the juxtaposition of Deuteronomistic and wisdom language as found in late Second Temple apocalyptic literature.⁸¹

Amos 8:11-12 similarly contains a parallel with Deuteronomistic thought, yet associates it with later Second Temple Jewish themes. Defenders of the Deuteronomism of Amos 8:11-12 point to the association of the divine word with “bread” in Deut 8:3. Amos 8:11-12, however, builds beyond this metaphor to articulate something otherwise unforeseen in Deuteronomistic thought: the cessation of prophecy. This cessation theme reflects substantially later developments in some segments of Second Temple Jewish literature (e.g., Zech 13:2-6; 1 Mac 9:27; Pr Azar 15).

Although Amos 8:11-12 responds to Amos 7:10-17 in the final form of Amos, this passage draws upon a wide range of formulaic language from across the Hebrew Bible.⁸² The designation “for hearing the word of YHWH” (כי אם לשמע את דברי יהוה) connects 8:11-12 to 7:16. Amos 8:11-12 employs five additional formulaic utterances suggesting a scribal acquaintance with a broad range of formulaic language across the Hebrew Bible. First, the inaugural declaration “behold the days are coming” (הנה ימים) introduces judgment pronouncements in several passages as found in Amos 8:11.⁸³

⁸¹ E.g., Georg Fohrer, *Die Propheten seit dem 4. Jahrhundert* Band 6 en *Die Propheten des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1976), 66; Auld, *Amos*, 30–31; idem, “Amos and Apocalyptic: Vision, Prophecy, Revelation,” in *Storia e tradizioni di Israele: scritti in onore di J. Alberto Soggin*, ed. Daniele Garrone and Felice Israel (Brescia: Paideia, 1991), 1–10. Cf. Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 152, 173, 174. For those who identify 3:7 as an editorial supplement without attributing it to Deuteronomistic editors, see: Elias Auerbach, “Die grosse Überarbeitung der biblischen Bücher,” in *Congress Volume, Copenhagen 1953*, ed. George W. Anderson et al., VTSup 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1953), 9; Norman H. Snaith, *Amos, Hosea and Micah*, EPC (London: Epworth, 1956), 23; Fosbroke, “Amos,” 6:794–95; Amsler, “Amos, Prophète de La Onzième Heure,” 325, n.27; Emil Gottlieb Heinrich Kraeling, *Commentary on the Prophets*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Camden, N.J: Thomas Nelson, 1966), 144; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 21–22, 60; Rudolph, *Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona*, 102, 157; Markert, *Struktur und Bezeichnung*, 86–87; Reimer, *Richtet auf das Recht!*, 72; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, 36–37.

⁸² Scharf notes how 8:11-12 logically follows the thematic progression from 7:10-17 (*Die Entstehung*, 91–92, 99).

⁸³ Second Kings 20:17; Isa 39:6; Jer 7:32; 9:24; 16:14; 19:6; 48:12; 49:2; 51:47, 52; Amos 4:2; and 8:11. Note that this formula is absent for the LXX of Jer 51:47. The same formula introduces salvific pronouncements in Jer 23:5, 7; 30:3; 31:27, 31; 33:14; Amos 9:13. Cf. Zech 14:1; Mal 3:19 where the “day” (יום) is singular.

Second, the concern with “hearing” (שמע) the “words of YHWH” (דברי יהוה) in v.11 occurs with variation across the Former and Latter Prophets.⁸⁴ Third, the declaration of a “famine” (רעב) in the “land” (ארץ) as well as the “north” (צפון) and “east” (מזרח) word pair occur frequently across the Hebrew Bible.⁸⁵

The final two formulaic utterances favor attributing Amos 8:11-12 to the late Second Temple period. Fourth, the phrase “from sea to sea” (מים עד־ים) occurs only in Amos 8:12; Zech 9:10; and Ps 72:8. Finally, the imagery of people “wandering about” (ישוטטו) seeking the divine “word” (דבר) recalls the command in Dan 12:4 to keep the “words” (דברים) of the scroll secret until the appointed time, for people “will wander about” (ישוטטו). This broad use of formulaic language and imagery combined with the theological and vocabulary similarities with the late texts of Dan 12:4 and Zech 9:10 suggests that Amos 8:11-12 postdates other Deuteronomistic redactions. Amos 8:11-12 may still allude to Deut 8:3, yet the evidence favors a late postexilic dating.

These four passages lack evidence of shared compositional origins. Of these four texts, Amos 7:9-17 reflects the only evidence of distinctive Deuteronomistic language. Scholarly assessments of Deuteronomism in Amos 7:9-17, however, must account for the distinctive features differentiating Amos 7:9-17 from other aspects of Deuteronomistic style. Amos 2:10-12 reflects evidence of shared compositional origins with 7:9-17, yet its language related to the “rejection of the prophet” theme lacks distinctive evidence of Deuteronomism.⁸⁶ Amos 3:7 and 8:11-12 cannot be attributed to the same composition layer. These passages do not directly concern “the rejection of the prophet.” Although

⁸⁴ Joshua 3:9; 1 Kgs 12:24; 22:19; Jer 7:2; Ezek 34:7; Amos 7:16; 8:11; 2 Chr 11:4; 18:18.

⁸⁵ For the declaration of a “famine” (רעב) in the “land” (ארץ), see: Gen 12:10; 26:1; 41:30, 31, 36, 54, 55, 56, 57; 42:5; 43:1; 45:6; 47:4, 13, 20; 2 Sam 24:13; 1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Kgs 4:38; Jer 14:15; 42:16; Ezek 34:29; Amos 8:11; Ps 105:16; Ruth 1:1; 2 Chr 6:28. For the “north” (צפון) and “east” (מזרח) word-pair, see: Josh 16:6; Isa 41:25; Amos 8:12; Dan 11:44. Cf. Judg 21:19. These terms further occur as part of larger lists in: Deut 3:27; Josh 17:10; Isa 43:5-6; Ps 107:3; 1 Chr 9:24; 26:17.

⁸⁶ See below for an assessment of the exodus theme in Amos 2:10-12. See p.163.

these passages each reflect a Deuteronomistic theme, their use of language and motifs reminiscent of late Second Temple Jewish literature suggests that these passages better reflect the later reception of Deuteronomistic language rather than Deuteronomistic editing.

The Exodus Theme and the Question of Deuteronomism: Amos 2:10-12; 3:1b-2; 5:25-26; 9:7-10

Amos contains three formulaic references to the exodus event (2:10; 3:1b; 9:7; see Table 3.2).⁸⁷ The similarities between these formulas lead many redaction critics to assign all or part of their larger literary units to Deuteronomistic editing (2:10-12; 3:1b-2; 9:7-10).⁸⁸ The identical correspondence and shared ideological function uniting Amos 2:10-12 and 3:1b-2 suggests that these passages share compositional origins. Both passages employ the exodus event formula in order to communicate Israel's unique relationship with YHWH. Amos 2:10-12 pairs the exodus event formula with the divine provision of prophets and nazirites whom the people rejected.⁸⁹ This unique occurrence stands in contrast to the fate of the Amorites whom YHWH destroyed (2:9).

⁸⁷ In addition to these passages, Amos 4:10 alludes to the plagues of Egypt and Amos 5:25-26 references the wilderness tradition.

⁸⁸ Some scholars attribute 2:9-12 to Deuteronomistic editors. E.g., Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 75; Fleischer, "Das Buch Amos," 127, 163-64; Alvarez, *Relecturas deuteronomísticas*, 59-61; 62-65; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 98-102; Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:536-39. Cf. Coote, *Amos among the Prophets*, 58-59. For those who limit the Deuteronomism to vv.10-12, see: Schmidt, "Die deuteronomistische Redaktion," 178-83; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 137, 172, 185, 205-7; Melugin, "The Formation of Amos," 1:384-85; Weimar, "Der Schluss," 98-99; Soggin, *The Prophet Amos*, 50-51; Fleischer, *Von Menschenverkäufern*, 36; Reimer, *Richtet auf das Recht!*, 71, 73; Köckert, "Das Gesetz," 149-52; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, xxi, 26; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaia 1-39*, 348; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 59-61, 99; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 178, 179. On the Deuteronomism of 3:1b-2, see: Schmidt, "Die deuteronomistische Redaktion," 173; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 137, 213; Melugin, "The Formation of Amos," 1:381-82; Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:542-47; Weimar, "Der Schluss," 98-99; Coote, *Amos among the Prophets*, 67; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, xxi, 32; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 75; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaia 1-39*, 348; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 63-65, 98-99, 158-60, 184-88; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 177-79; Fleischer, "Das Buch Amos," 127, 166-67; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 79-81. For a defense of the Deuteronomism of 9:7-10, see: Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 94-96, 99; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 117-19.

⁸⁹ For an assessment of the "rejection of the prophet" theme in 2:10-12, see pp.161-162.

Table 3.2. The Exodus Formula in Amos

Reference	Hebrew	English
Amos 2:10	ואנכי העליתי אתכם מארץ מצרים ואולך אתכם במדבר ארבעים שנה לרשת את־ארץ האמרי	Yet <u>I brought you up from the land of Egypt</u> , and I led you through the wilderness forty years to possess the land of the Amorite.
Amos 3:1	שמעו את־הדבר הזה אשר דבר יהוה עליכם בני ישראל על כל־ המשפחה אשר העליתי מארץ מצרים לאמר	Hear this word which YHWH speaks against you O children of Israel, against the whole clan which <u>I brought up from the land of Egypt</u> , saying:
Amos 9:7	הלוא כבני כשׂיים אתם לי בני ישראל נאמ־יהוה הלוא את־ישראל העליתי מארץ מצרים ופלשתיים מכפתור וארם מקיר	Are you not like the children of Cush to me O children of Israel? An utterance of YHWH. <u>Did I not bring Israel up from the land of Egypt</u> , and the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Arameans from Kir?

Amos 3:1b-2 follows the exodus event formula with the first-person divine declaration that “I knew you from all of the clans of the land” (רק אתכם ידעתי מכל משפחות האדמה).⁹⁰ In both cases, the exodus event serves to recall Israel’s unique relationship with YHWH, distinguishing it from the other peoples, as a prelude to Israel’s judgment.

The ideological function of Amos 2:10-12 and 3:1b-2 stands in contrast to the purpose of the exodus formula in 9:7-10*.⁹¹ Amos 9:7-10* contradicts the presupposition

⁹⁰ Diachronic scholars overwhelmingly identify 3:1b as an editorial addition to v.1a on account of the change in grammatical person and speaker. E.g., Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 151–52, 172; Fosbroke, “Amos,” 6:791–92; Amsler, “Amos, Prophète de La Onzième Heure,” 319, n.3; Rudolph, *Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona*, 102, 152; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 137, 213; Melugin, “The Formation of Amos,” 1:381–82; Markert, *Struktur und Bezeichnung*, 83; Weimar, “Der Schluss,” 98–99; Reimer, *Richtet auf das Recht!*, 72–73; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, xxi, 32; Rottzoll, *Studien zur Redaktion*, 108–11; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39*, 348; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 63, 99; Alberty, *Die Exilszeit*, 177–79; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 79–81. The prophetic speech to the second-person plural audience inaugurated in v.1a continues in vv.3-6 as indicated by the third-person reference to YHWH in v.6. This literary evidence suggests that vv.1b-2 interrupt vv.1a, 3-6.

⁹¹ Redaction critics commonly see 9:7-10 as a heterogeneous literary unit. For those who identify v.7, and vv.8-10 as compositionally distinct units, see: Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 207, 223–24; Weiser, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten I*, 174–77; Jochen Vollmer, *Geschichtliche Rückblicke und Motive in der Prophetie des Amos, Hosea und Jesaja*, BZAW 119 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971), 33–37; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 29–30; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 396; Georg Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 6. und des 5. Jahrhunderts* Band 5 in *Die Propheten des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1976), 232. For those who divide vv.8b-10 from vv.7-8a, see: Snaith, *Amos, Hosea and Micah*, 49–50; René Vuilleumier-Bessard, *La tradition culturelle d’Israël dans la prophétie d’Amos et d’Osée*, CahT 45 (Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1960), 26–27; Mays, *Amos*, 156–57, 160; Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:545; Alvarez, *Relecturas deuteronomísticas*, 65–67; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 101–4.

of 2:10-12 and 3:1b-2 that the exodus event distinguishes Israel from the nations and supplies a unique claim to a privileged relationship with God. Amos 9:7 suggests that other nations experienced an exodus event, thus allowing the question, “are you not like the children of Cush to me O children of Israel?” (הלוֹא כבְּנֵי כּוּשׁ יִמּוּךְ לִי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל). The contradictory function of the exodus event formula in 9:7 suggests that it does not share compositional origins with 2:10-12 and 3:1b-2.

Arguments for Deuteronomism based upon the exodus motif in these passages suffer from the widespread usage of exodus formulas across the Hebrew Bible, and the wide variances that occur within these statements.⁹² Lohfink objects to the label “Deuteronomistic” because these formulas use עלה, rather than the more common יצא as found in Deuteronomistic literature.⁹³ Although both variations occur throughout the Deuteronomistic History, Deuteronomy clearly prefers יצא over עלה.⁹⁴ This pattern impedes arguments for Deuteronomism in Amos 2:10-12; 3:1b-2; and 9:7-10*.⁹⁵

Two additional arguments, however, attempt to support the attribution of the exodus formula in 2:10 to Deuteronomistic redaction. First, the exodus reference in 2:10 bears some lexical correspondence with Josh 24:6-8 when one lengthens the supplement

⁹² References to the exodus can employ the verbs עלה (e.g., Deut 20:1), יצא (e.g., Lev 19:36), שלח (e.g., Exod 6:11), גאל (e.g., Exod 6:6), and נצל (e.g., Exod 6:6). Such references may assume God (e.g., Exod 6:7), Pharaoh (e.g., Exod 6:11), Moses (e.g., Exod 32:1), Moses and Aaron together (e.g., Exod 6:26-27), Israel (Exod 16:1), Moses and God together (Num 21:5), or the Angel of YHWH (Judg 2:1) as the active agents in the exodus. Furthermore, the formulaic reference to what the Israelites are delivered from can occur as “Egypt” (e.g., Exod 3:11), the “affliction of Egypt” (e.g., Exod 3:17), “servitude” (e.g., Exod 6:6), “the burden of Egypt” (e.g., Exod 6:7), “the land of Egypt” (e.g., Exod 6:13), “the house of slavery” (e.g., Exod 20:2). Such exodus statements appear in the speech of God, Moses, and an assortment of prophets using first-, second-, and third-person speech.

⁹³ Lohfink, “Gab es eine deuteronomistische Bewegung,” 325–27.

⁹⁴ Deuteronomy references the exodus using עלה, מן, and מצרים only in Deut 20:1. Compare this with the exodus references using יצא, מן, and מצרים in Deut 1:27; 4:20, 37, 45, 46; 5:6, 15; 6:12, 21; 7:8; 8:14; 9:7, 12, 26; 11:10; 13:6, 11; 16:1, 3, 6; 20:1; 23:5; 24:9; 25:17; 26:8; 29:24. Both variations of the phrase, of course, occur extensively beyond Deuteronomy.

⁹⁵ This exact phrase reoccurs in Amos 3:1 and with slight variation in 9:7. There is an additional allusion to the plagues of Egypt in 4:10.

to include v.9. Both passages employ an exodus reference (using יצא) and speak of God's "destroying" (שמד) the Amorites so that the people may "possess" (ירש) their land.⁹⁶ Five observations prevent identifying a literary relationship between these passages. First, Josh 24:6-8 exists as part of a larger conquest narrative in which the Amorites serve as one of many conquered peoples. Amos 2:9-12, however, focuses only on the Amorites. Second, whereas Josh 24:6-8 speaks of the "destruction" (שמד) of the Amorites, Amos 2:9 speaks of the "destruction" (שמד) of "his fruit from above and his roots from below" (פריו ממעל ושרשיו מתחת). Thus the שמד of Amos 2:9 occurs as part of a larger phrase with no parallel in other references to the Amorites.⁹⁷ Third, the ensuing comparisons of the Amorites with the "height of cedars" and the "strength of oaks" lacks a literary parallel elsewhere in Biblical Hebrew literature.⁹⁸ Fourth, the reference to the conquest of the Amorites (v.9) before the exodus and wilderness events appears out of order. Finally, vv.10-12 repeat the Amorite conquest of v.9 as part of the historical overview. This repetition and chronological irregularity suggests that vv.10-12 comprise an addition to v.9.⁹⁹ The

⁹⁶ Although the Amorites feature in Deuteronomistic literature, their widespread occurrence across the Pentateuch and Deuteronomistic History complicates attempts to find a distinctively Deuteronomistic usage pattern. They generally occur among a list of other peoples or as part of the Sihon tradition, unlike Amos 2:9-12. The Amorites occur as part of a list of Canaanite peoples in: Gen 10:16; 14:7, 13; Josh 9:1; Judg 3:5; 1 Kgs 9:20; Ezra 9:1; Neh 9:8; 1 Chr 1:14; 2 Chr 8:7. They occur in lists of conquered peoples in: Gen 15:21; Exod 3:8, 17; 13:5; 23:23; 33:2; 34:11; Num 13:29; 21:13; Deut 7:1; 20:17; Josh 3:10; 5:1; 11:3; 12:8; 13:4; 24:8, 11; Judg 10:11. For the reference to Amorites in relation to the Sihon narrative, see: Num 21:21, 25, 26, 29, 31, 32, 34; 22:2; Num 32:33; Deut 1:4; 2:24; 3:2; 4:46, 47; 31:4; Josh 2:10; 9:10; 12:2; 13:10, 21; 24:12; Judg 11:19, 21, 22, 23; 1 Kgs 4:19; Pss 135:11; 136:19. For additional uses, see: Deut 3:9; Josh 7:7; Judg 1:34, 35, 36; Judg 10:8; 1 Sam 17; 2 Sam 21:2; 2 Kgs 21:11; Ezek 16:3, 45.

⁹⁷ Second Kings 19:30 // Isa 37:31 uses similar language in reference to the remnant of Judah who may survive Sennacherib's threat. This passage, however, uses מטה for "below," whereas Amos 2:9 uses תחת. Job 18:16 uses similar language in his description of the "wicked." Cf. Ezek 17:6.

⁹⁸ The closest parallel occurs in Ezek 31:3, 8, which uses the "cedar" as an image of strength for Assyria. The "cedar" also serves as a metaphor for "strength" in Job 40:14; prideful self-exalted height in Isa 2:13; 14:8; and a symbol for growth in Ps 92:13[12]. "Oaks" serve as a metaphor for prideful height in Isa 2:13.

⁹⁹ For those only identifying vv.10-12 as Deuteronomistic, see: Schmidt, "Die deuteronomistische Redaktion," 178–83; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 137, 172, 185, 205–7; Melugin, "The Formation of Amos," 1:384–85; Weimar, "Der Schluss," 98–99; Soggin, *The Prophet Amos*, 50–51; Fleischer, *Von Menschenverkäufern*, 36; Reimer, *Richtet auf das Recht!*, 71, 73; Köckert, "Das Gesetz," 149–52; Jeremias,

evidence therefore does not support identifying a relationship of dependence between Josh 24:6-8 and Amos 2:9-12.

The second argument for the Deuteronomism of the exodus reference in 2:10 focuses on its juxtaposition with the wilderness tradition.¹⁰⁰ The combination of exodus and wilderness motifs occurs in Deuteronomistic literature with lexical variation.¹⁰¹ The existence of this combination beyond Deuteronomistic compositions raises the question of the degree to which Deuteronomism claims a monopoly on this historical overview.¹⁰²

Whereas the former of these two arguments fails to establish sufficient grounds for attributing Amos 2:10-12 (and by implication 3:1b-2) to Deuteronomistic editors, the latter of these arguments suggests that these supplements share ideological proximity to Deuteronomistic thought. Three additional observations, however, distinguish the language of Amos 2:10-12; 3:1b-2 from conventional Deuteronomistic references to the exodus and wilderness traditions. First, the temporal designation “forty years” (ארבעים שנה) occurs several times in the Deuteronomistic History, but almost never assigns this temporal designation to the wilderness wanderings.¹⁰³ Second, the language of “forty years in the wilderness” (במדבר ארבעים שנה) as found in Amos 2:10 (cf. 5:25) occurs elsewhere only in Num 14:33; 32:13, not in any Deuteronomistic text. The few scattered references to the “40 years” (ארבעים שנה) of wandering fail to align with a single

Der Prophet Amos, xxi, 26; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39*, 348; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 59–61, 99; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 178, 179. Cf. Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 152, 168–69; Markert, *Struktur und Bezeichnung*, 71–73; Childs, *Introduction*, 402; Arneth, “Die Komposition,” 257.

¹⁰⁰ E.g., Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:541.

¹⁰¹ Deuteronomy 1:30-31; 8:14-16; 9:7; Josh 5:4-5; 24:7; Judg 11:16. Note that Deut 1:30-31 and Josh 24:7 lack the immediate juxtaposition of a formulaic exodus statement.

¹⁰² See: Jer 2:6; Ezek 20:9-10; Amos 2:10; Pss 106:9; 136:10-16.

¹⁰³ The only Deuteronomistic History use of “40 years” (ארבעים שנה) in reference to the wilderness tradition occurs in Josh 5:6. Cf. Judg 3:11; 5:31; 8:28; 13:1; 1 Sam 4:18; 2 Sam 2:10; 5:4; 15:7; 1 Kgs 2:11; 11:42; 15:13; 2 Kgs 12:2.

theological tradition.¹⁰⁴ Finally, Amos 3:1b is the only place in which the exodus motif features a “family” (משפחה) “going up” (עלה).¹⁰⁵ Although present in Deuteronomy, the scarcity of such language in the Deuteronomistic History raises the concern that such designations are not characteristic of Deuteronomistic editing.¹⁰⁶

A similar usage of “40 years” (ארבעים שנה) reoccurs in Amos 5:25, leading some scholars to attribute vv.25-26 to Deuteronomistic editors.¹⁰⁷ Redaction critics disagree on the justification for dividing vv.25-26 from its immediate literary context. Amos 5:25 thematically relates to v.22,¹⁰⁸ and the use of the vocative “house of Israel” (בית ישראל) connects to the frame formed around the woe pronouncements of chapters 5 and 6 respectively (5:1, 25; 6:1, 14). Thus Amos 5:25-26 is not so easily removed from its current literary context.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ E.g., Exod 16:35; Num 14:33, 34; 32:13; Deut 1:3; 2:7; 8:2, 4; 29:5; Josh 5:6; Amos 2:10; 5:25; Ps 95:10; Neh 9:21.

¹⁰⁵ The word משפחה occurs in Exod 6:14-27, and a speech to a משפחה references the exodus in Jer 2:4-6. These passages, however, lack further correlation suggestive of an identifiable shared tradition or literary relationship shared by these texts.

¹⁰⁶ The Deuteronomistic History uses “40 years” frequently, but only once does it refer to the 40 years of wandering (Josh 5:6). Cf. Judg 3:11; 5:31; 8:28; 13:1; 1 Sam 4:18; 2 Sam 2:10; 5:4; 15:7; 1 Kgs 2:11; 11:42; 15:13; 2 Kgs 12:2.

¹⁰⁷ Schmidt, “Die deuteronomistische Redaktion,” 188–91; Georg Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 7. Jahrhunderts* Band 2 en *Die Propheten des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1974), 152; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 137, 306, 309–11; Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:555–59; Melugin, “The Formation of Amos,” 1:384–85; Weimar, “Der Schluss,” 98–99; Van der Woude, “Three Classical Prophets,” 41–42; Rottzoll, *Studien zur Redaktion*, 188–92, 198, 287; Alvarez, *Relecturas deuteronomísticas*, 73–76; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1–39*, 348; Fleischer, “Das Buch Amos,” 127, 212; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 178; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 85.

¹⁰⁸ Many scholars assume that the earliest core of the Amos message focused solely on social justice concerns. They thus often identify the limited cultic foci of the text as found in v.22a as later editorial supplements. E.g., Marti, *Das Dodekapropheten*, 195; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 37; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 36, n.26; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 138, 307–8; Markert, *Struktur und Bezeichnung*, 158; Rottzoll, *Studien zur Redaktion*, 194–95; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 81; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 85.

¹⁰⁹ Kratz, for example, identifies the entirety of vv.21-27 as a later addition (*The Prophets of Israel*, 48).

Amos 5:25 alludes to the wilderness wanderings, but without the formulaic language of 2:10 and 3:1. Verse 25 questions the house of Israel concerning the offerings brought to YHWH in the wilderness. The assumed answer presupposes that Israel brought no such offerings. The tradition that the wilderness wanderings lacked any offerings from the Israelites fails to agree with the Priestly tradition, which situates the establishment of Israelite sacrificial ritual at the beginning of this period (Lev 1:1-7:37). Deuteronomy literarily frames its precepts at the end of the wilderness period. The text thus presents many of the instructions concerning sacrifice as future oriented directions for the Israelites to obey once they settle in the land of Canaan.

Arguments for the Deuteronomism of Amos 5:25-26 predominantly rest on the theme of idolatry.¹¹⁰ “Sakkuth” (סכות) and “Kaiwon” (כיוון) occur as deities only in Amos 5:26.¹¹¹ Several scholars suggest a relationship with the deity Sukkoth-Benoth in 2 Kgs 17:30.¹¹² Thus defenders of the Deuteronomistic orientation of Amos 5:26 commonly argue for a literary relationship with 2 Kgs 17:28-30. Andersen and Freedman correctly object that 2 Kgs 17:28-30 reports foreign deities entering the land after the exile of the Northern kingdom. Amos 5:26-27, conversely, assumes that the deities exist in the land prior to this exile, and will be sent out. Amos 5:26-27 and 2 Kgs 17:28-30 assume different deities and different directional movements of these deities.¹¹³

The distinctive phrasing of Amos 5:25-26 fails to otherwise occur in Deuteronomy or the Deuteronomistic History. The designation “which you made for yourselves” (אשר עשיתם לכם) occurs twice in Isaiah (2:20; 31:7), once in Jeremiah (2:28),

¹¹⁰ See only the concern for astral worship in Deut 4:19.

¹¹¹ סכות appears as a place name in Gen 33:17; Exod 12:37; 13:20; Num 33:5, 6; Josh 13:27; Judg 8:5, 6, 8, 14, 15, 16; 1 Kgs 7:46; 2 Chr 4:17. Cf. Pss 60:8[6]; 108:8[7].

¹¹² E.g., Andersen and Freedman, *Amos*, 534; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, 80–81.

¹¹³ Andersen and Freedman, *Amos*, 536–37.

and once in 2 Chronicles (15:16). The notion of “lifting up” an idol similarly occurs with prominence in Isaiah but not Deuteronomy or the Deuteronomistic History.¹¹⁴ Whereas the language of “lifting up” idols often denotes worship or service, Amos 5:26 uses this designation to signal their departure into exile. Whereas the perfect verb in v.25 (הִגְשַׁתֶּם) indicates the temporal reference to the past events in the wilderness, the *weqatal* verb of v.26 signals a transition to future orientation. This verbal transition indicates that v.26 does not speak of past wilderness transgressions, but rather it pronounces actions of the future. The *weqatal* verb form continues into v.27a indicating that v.26 reads with the following announcement of exile. The “lifting up” of astral deities, therefore, prepares for carrying them into exile.¹¹⁵ The collective evidence, therefore, does not support the identification of Deuteronomism in Amos 5:25-26.

Of the three exodus event formulas in Amos, the juxtaposition of exodus and wilderness allusions in 2:10-12 shows the closest proximity to Deuteronomism. Amos 3:1b-2 likely shares compositional origins with 2:10-12, but fails to necessitate Deuteronomism itself. Amos 9:7-10* employs similar language to serve the opposite ideological function as found in Amos 2:10-12; 3:1b-2. The evidence, therefore, suggests that Amos 9:7-10* reflects a different redactional stage than Amos 2:10-12; 3:1b-2. Amos 2:10-12 and 3:1b-2 reflect thematic similarities with the historical overview sequence assumed in Deuteronomistic thought, yet employ different literary conventions. Amos 5:25-26 combines the wilderness wanderings with the theme of idolatry, yet uses phrases and language not found in other Deuteronomistic texts.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Isa 45:20; 46:1, 3, 4, 7. Similar language occurs for the Ark of the Covenant in Exod 37:5; Josh 3:3, 8; 4:9-10; Josh 6:6, 12, 13; 2 Sam 6:3-4, 13, 15.

¹¹⁵ The common identification of Sakkuth and Kaiwon as foreign deities from Mesopotamia would suggest an ironic reversal in which the Israelites adopt the deities of Mesopotamia only to carry them back to Mesopotamia as exiles.

Curses, Judgments, and the Question of Deuteronomism: Amos 4:6-11; 5:11

Some redaction critics assign two additional passages to Deuteronomistic origins on the grounds of perceived similarities with Deuteronomistic presentations of judgments and curses: Amos 4:6-11*; and 5:11. Aaron Schart argues for the inclusion of Amos 4:6-11* in his *D-Korpus* editing on account of perceived similarities with 1 Kgs 8:33-40.¹¹⁶ Schart builds on Wolff's observations of select similarities between Amos 4:6-11 and 1 Kgs 8:33-40 in order to argue for the Deuteronomism of Amos 4:6-11*.¹¹⁷ He argues that the tense change distinguishes vv.6-11* from its current literary context.

Schart's proposal faces two objections. First, many scholars correctly object to the literary-critical divisions separating 4:6-11* from its current context.¹¹⁸ Amos 4:6-11* continues the masculine plural direct address of vv.4-5. This plural direct address switches to the singular in v.12*. This grammatical shift, however, corresponds with the use of the new vocative "Israel" (יִשְׂרָאֵל). The grammatical shift assumes a new antecedent, but not a new addressee. Verse 12* supplies the new antecedent thus accounting for the shift to the singular without necessitating a later editorial hand.

¹¹⁶ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 70–72, 100, 160–62. Schart correctly identifies Amos 4:7aß-8a as a later addition on account of the shift from the use of גֶּשֶׁם to מָטָר to reference "rain" and the shift in the scope of the judgment from a general application to the second-person masculine plural audience to only a portion of the cities and land (Ibid., 71. Cf. Marti, *Das Dodekapropheten*, 183; Markert, *Struktur und Bezeichnung*, 112–13). He further identifies וְהָאֲנִיכֶם וְיָחִיכֶם יֵאָכֵל הַנּוֹם in Amos 4:9 and the phrase וְאָעֵלָה בָּאֵשׁ מִזְחֵיכֶם וּמִזְחֵיכֶם in Amos 4:10 as later additions reflective of Joel (*Die Entstehung*, 71, 100). Joel reflects considerable influence from Amos and employs intertextual allusions as part of its literary program suggesting that Joel may reflect the influence of Amos 4:9-10. For those noting the influence of Amos on Joel, see: Erich Bosshard, "Beobachtungen zum Zwölfprophetenbuch," *BN* 40 (1987): 41–42; Nogalski, *Redactional Processes*, 13–48; Jeremias, "Rezeptionsprozesse," 30; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 261–66; idem, "The First Section of the Book of the Twelve Prophets: Hosea -- Joel -- Amos," *Int* 61 (2007): 138–52; James D. Nogalski, "One Book and Twelve Books: The Nature of the Redactional Work and the Implications of Cultic Source Material in the Book of the Twelve," in *Two Sides of a Coin: Juxtaposing Views on Interpreting the Book of The Twelve*, *Analecta Gorgiana* 201 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009), 24–27; idem, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea-Jonah*, 211–13, 220–21.

¹¹⁷ Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 249–53. Cf. Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39*, 348. Jeremias also speaks of similarities with Deuteronomistic thought (*Der Prophet Amos*, xxi–xxii, 50–52).

¹¹⁸ Alberty, *Die Exilszeit*, 176–77; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 75–76. Cf. Auerbach, "Die grosse Überarbeitung," 9; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 253–54; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, 47–48.

Second, although 1 Kgs 8:33-40 shares thematic overlap with Amos 4:6-11* it employs considerably different vocabulary. Amos 4:6 uses the images of “clean teeth” (נקיון שנים) and a “lack of bread” (חסר לחם) to signal the paucity of food whereas 1 Kgs 8:33-40 only uses the word “famine” (רעב).¹¹⁹ Amos 4:7a speaks of a drought using גשם whereas 1 Kgs 8:35-36 uses מטר, as found in Amos 4:7ab, which Scharf attributes to a later editorial addition.¹²⁰ Amos 4:9 and 1 Kgs 8:37 share the word pair “blight” (שדפון) and “mildew” (ירקון), which also occurs in Deut 28:22; Hag 2:17; and 2 Chr 6:28. First Kings 8:33-40, however, lacks the expanded list of locations and trees affected by the “blight and mildew,” and uses ארבה חסיל for “locusts” unlike the use of גזם in Amos 4:9. Amos 4:10 speaks of “pestilence” (דבר) in an allusion to the plagues of Egypt, whereas 1 Kgs 8:37 speaks of “plague” (נגע) and “disease” (מחלה) without revealing an awareness of the exodus event. The combination of plague, famine, drought, and defeat occurs in a variety of places across Biblical Hebrew literature suggesting a common literary motif for denoting a comprehensive judgment.¹²¹ This lack of lexical overlap argues against a distinctive literary relationship between 2 Kgs 8:33-40 and Amos 4:6-11*.¹²²

The second description of judgment in Amos that some Book of the Four advocates attribute to Deuteronomistic editors occurs in Amos 5:11.¹²³ Such arguments posit that Amos 5:11 employs a Deuteronomistic curse formula. The attribution of Amos

¹¹⁹ The “want” (חסר) of “bread” (לחם) also occurs in 2 Sam 3:29; Ezek 4:17; Prov 12:9.

¹²⁰ Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 71, 100. Amos 4:7 is the only place in which “rain” (גשם) is “withheld” (מנע). The lack of גשם signals judgment in 1 Kgs 17:7; 2 Kgs 3:17; Jer 14:4; Ezek 22:24; Zech 14:17.

¹²¹ Wöhrle similarly argues for a general tradition rather than specific literary relationship between Amos 4:6-11* and 1 Kgs 8:33-40 (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 75–76).

¹²² Cf. The combination of these motifs in Lev 26:14-46; Deut 28:15-68; Ezek 5:12, 17; 14:12-23; 38:22; Jer 15:1-3; 2 Chr 6:24-33; 7:11-18; 20:9. See also the common tripartite list of sword, famine, and pestilence in Jer 14:12; 21:6, 7, 9; 24:10; 27:8, 13; 29:17, 18; 32:24, 36; 34:17; 38:2; 42:17, 22; 44:13; Ezek 6:11, 12; 7:15; 12:16; 2 Sam 24:13, 15; 2 Chr 21:12, 14.

¹²³ Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 77–78, 99, 162–63; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 62, 125–28.

5:11 to Deuteronomistic editors, however, faces the same two objections as found in the case of Amos 4:6-11*. First, the literary-critical evidence does not support dividing 5:11 from its literary context as an addition. Amos 5:11 occurs as part of a widely recognized chiasm spanning 5:1-17 (see Figure 3.1).¹²⁴ Amos 5:11 shifts from the third-person verbs of v.10 to the second-person address characteristic of vv.11-13. The concern for the “poor” frames this unit using the terms *לָלוּ* and *אֲבִיּוֹן*, which commonly occur in Amos.¹²⁵ This grammatical shift between units D’ and C’ corresponds to the grammatical shift observed between units C and D. Amos 5:11-13 employ the first-person divine speech characteristic of the parallel unit in the chiasm (cf. v.5). Amos 5:11 thus grammatically coheres with its context in vv.11-13, which finds a parallel in the chiasm.

Second, this curse formula builds upon binaries of loss or futility. The numerous variations of these binaries across the Biblical Hebrew corpus complicate attempts to align this speech form with a single ideological orientation.¹²⁶ The houses and vineyard binaries feature frequently in these curse formulas.¹²⁷ Isaiah 65:21; Ezek 28:26; and Amos 9:14 reverse these binaries as part of postexilic salvific hope.

¹²⁴ Jan de Waard initially argued for a chiasmic structure across Amos 5:1-17 (“The Chiasmic Structure of Amos V 1-17,” *VT* 27 [1977]: 170–77). Many scholars follow de Waard with slight modifications. E.g., Johan Lust, “Remarks on the Redaction of Amos V 4-6, 14-15,” *OtSt* 21 (1981): 129–54; Pablo R Andiónach, “Amos: memoria y profecía - análisis estructural y hermenéutica,” *RevistB* 45 (1983): 230–31; Nicolas J. Tromp, “Amos 5:1-17: Towards a Stylistic and Rhetorical Analysis,” *OTS* 23 (1984): 56–84; Auld, *Amos*, 50–54; Paul, *Amos*, 158–59; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, 62–63; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 91; Fleischer, “Das Buch Amos,” 189; Möller, *A Prophet in Debate*, 68–69; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 59–60, n.2; Tchavdar S. Hadjiev, *The Composition and Redaction of the Book of Amos*, BZAW 393 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 37; Walter J. Houston, *Amos: Justice and Violence*, Phoenix Guides to the Old Testament 26 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2015), 21–22. Some scholars attempt to expand the chiasm beyond Amos 5. E.g., Paul R. Noble, “The Literary Structure of Amos: A Thematic Analysis,” *JBL* 114 (1995): 210–17.

¹²⁵ Cf. Amos 2:6-7; 4:1; 5:11-12; 8:4-6.

¹²⁶ Cf. Deuteronomy 28:30-34, 38-44; Josh 24:13; Isa 65:21; Jer 29:5, 28; Ezek 28:26; Hos 4:10; Amos 5:11; 9:14; Mic 6:14-15; Zeph 1:13b.

¹²⁷ Deuteronomy 28:30-34, 38-44; Isa 65:21; Ezek 28:26; Amos 5:11; 9:14; Zeph 1:13.

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- A: Lament over Israel (vv.1-3)
 B: Seek and live (v.4)
 C: Prohibited Transgressions (v.5-6)¹²⁸
 D: Injustice (v.7)
 E: Hymn (vv.8-9)¹²⁹
 D': Injustice (v.10)
 C': Punished Transgressions (vv.11-13)
 B': Seek and Live (v.14-15)
 A': Lament (vv.16-17).
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Figure 3.1: Amos 5:1-17 Chiasm

Only Deut 28:30-34, 38-44; Amos 5:11; and Zeph 1:13 envision these binaries as judgments. Deuteronomy 28:30-34, 38-44 incorporates the house and wine binaries into a larger list of pronounced judgments that presuppose the exile (vv.36, 41, 49-57, 64). Thus while Deut 28: 30-34, 38-44 and Amos 5:11 share a literary tradition, Deut 28:30-34, 38-44 expands this speech form beyond that found in prophetic literature. The appearance of this speech form in Amos employs the *לל* and *אביין* word-pair as is expected in Amos.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Amos 5:6 is likely a later editorial addition to vv.4-5 as indicated by the shift from first-person divine discourse to third-person prophetic speech about YHWH and the sudden repetition from vv.4-5. See discussion in Weiser, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten I*, 139; Auerbach, “Die grosse Überarbeitung,” 9; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 272; Markert, *Struktur und Bezeichnung*, 138–39; Fleischer, *Von Menschenverkäufern*, 108; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, 67; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 76; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 75–76, 100; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 64–65, 129. This editorial addition occurs at the end of the list of prohibited transgressions marked as unit C on Table 3.3. A similar addition occurs in vv.14b-15, which once again switch from first-person divine discourse to third-person prophetic speech about YHWH and employs a large degree of repetition from the immediately preceding verses. See compositional discussion marking all or part of vv.14-15 as later editorial additions in: Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 133, 274, 276, 294–95; Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:552; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 76; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 64–65, 129.

¹²⁹ Scholars commonly identify the Amos hymn of 5:8-9 as compositionally distinct from its current context. Its occurrence at the center of the chiasm, however, suggests an intentionally constructed literary function in relation to the final form of Amos 5:1-17 making it both stylistically distinct from, yet rhetorically integrated with its context. See: Snaith, *Amos, Hosea and Micah*, 31; Scharbert, *Die Propheten Israels*, 91; Rudolph, *Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona*, 184–85; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 273; Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:552; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 99; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 60–61.

¹³⁰ Cf. Amos 2:6-7; 4:1; 5:11-12; 8:4-6.

Furthermore, the distinctive imagery of “trampling” or “crushing” the poor occurs elsewhere in Amos, but not in Deuteronomistic literature.¹³¹

This evidence does not support attributing the judgments in Amos 4:6-11* and 5:11 to Deuteronomistic editors. Neither of these passages may be justifiably partitioned as later editorial additions. While Amos 4:6-11* employs some thematic similarities with 1 Kgs 8:33-40, the lexical difference preclude concluding a relationship of literary dependence between these passages. Amos 5:11 represents a binary-curse form found in Deuteronomistic texts. This curse form occurs across a wide range of prophetic literature. The manifestation of this form in Amos employs characteristic Amos language precluding attributing it to distinctively Deuteronomistic editing.

Deuteronomism in Amos: Conclusion

Each of these proposed Deuteronomistic additions in Amos fit into one of three categories. First, the evidence does not support identifying seven of these passages as Deuteronomistic (Amos 1:9-12; 3:7; 4:6-11*; 5:11, 25-26; 8:11-12; 9:7-10*). The case for Deuteronomism in each of these passages relies upon minimal or tenuous links with Deuteronomistic themes. These passages display distinctively non-Deuteronomistic literary features prohibiting the application of the label “Deuteronomistic.”

Second, the evidence is insufficient to conclude whether regnal dating schema of Amos 1:1b α and the exodus formula of 3:1b-2 are Deuteronomistic. The brevity and nature of each passage prevents arguing one way or the other in these cases. The identification of two kings in the absence of any additional Deuteronomistic phrasing does not provide enough evidence to draw a definitive conclusion for Amos 1:1b α . Similarly, the exodus formula in Amos 3:1b-2 could evince Deuteronomism, yet the popularity of the exodus event using a wide diversity of formulas across the Hebrew

¹³¹ Amos 2:7; 4:1; 5:11.

Bible prevents associating this phrase with a distinctively Deuteronomistic style. Both Amos 1:1b α and 3:1b-2, however, share literary relationships with two passages that enjoy closer proximity to Deuteronomistic thought. Amos 1:1b α lexically connects to 7:9-17 through the reference of king Jeroboam and the characterization of Amos's visionary activity using the root הָזַן . Amos 3:1b-2, similarly, replicates the exodus formula from 2:10-12. Thus the Deuteronomism of Amos 1:1b α and 3:1b-2 depends upon the conclusions concerning Deuteronomism in 2:10-12 and 7:9, 10-17.

Finally, only three passages display an identifiable proximity to Deuteronomistic thought. The problem with attributing these passages to Deuteronomistic editors (according to the criteria of this study) is that these passages employ non-Deuteronomistic phrases to communicate these themes. Amos 2:10-12 displays thematic overlap with the Deuteronomistic historical overview juxtaposing the exodus-wilderness themes and the concern with the rejection of the prophet. These themes, however, are not exclusive to Deuteronomism. Amos 7:9-17 employs the rejection of the prophet theme and one Deuteronomistic phrase. Amos 2:4-5 concerns the rejection of law with some language reminiscent of the Deuteronomistic style. While each of these three passages reflect thematic parallels with Deuteronomistic thought, they suffer from the same two objections to the label "Deuteronomistic." First, these thematic parallels with Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History are not exclusive to Deuteronomism. The themes and much of the language upon which arguments of Deuteronomism rest appear in other parts of the Hebrew Bible, complicating arguments for a distinctive Deuteronomistic identity in these passages. Second, each passage has non-Deuteronomistic language differentiating the writing style from that of other identifiable Deuteronomistic compositions. The majority of the language mitigates against the designation "Deuteronomistic."

The preceding assessment, therefore, reveals two conclusions about Deuteronomism in Amos. First, of the twelve passages around which scholarly claims of

Deuteronomistic editing congregate, only five display a notable ideological proximity to Deuteronomism: Amos 1:1b α ; 2:4-5, 10-12; 3:1b-2; 7:9-17. Although each passage parallels a Deuteronomistic theme, the fact that these themes occur beyond Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History, as well as the presence of distinctively non-Deuteronomistic language prevents assigning these texts to a Deuteronomistic editor. The evidence suggests that these passages reflect a distinguishable language register and style from Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History. These passages reflect only an ideological proximity to Deuteronomistic thought.

Second, four of these passages display literary evidence of shared redaction. The exodus formula links Amos 2:10-12 and 3:1b-2. The language concerning the rejection of the prophet links Amos 2:10-12 and 7:9-17. Finally, the mutual concern with Jeroboam II links the regnal dating schema in 1:1b α with 7:9-17. The rejection of the law in 2:4-5 tangentially relates to the similar theme of the rejection of the prophet in 2:10-12 and 7:9-17; yet the Judah oracle lacks literary links with these passages. The remaining passages show signs of different compositional agendas. Amos 9:7-10* serves the opposite ideological function as that found in 2:10-12; 3:1b-2. The concern with the prophetic word in 3:7 and 8:11-12 shows remarkably later composition characteristics than those found in 2:10-12; 7:9-17. The literary-critical evidence does not support identifying Amos 4:6-11*; 5:11, 25-26 as later editorial additions to the text. Amos 1:9-12 lacks links with any other proposed Deuteronomistic passage.

The Book of the Four Literary Horizon in Amos

The scholarly quest for Deuteronomism in Amos, therefore, is not unwarranted. The results of this analysis reveal, however, that fewer passages reflect an ideological proximity to Deuteronomism than many previous composition models suggest. The case for Amos's inclusion in the Book of the Four, however, rests not only on the identification Deuteronomistic editing in Amos, but also on demonstrating that these

editorial updates assume a literary horizon extending to Hosea, Micah, and Zephaniah. Arguments of this nature often require demonstrating that editor(s) of Amos updated the text in light of the other three prophetic messages.

Introduction to Amos and the Literary Parallels Among the Four

As Chapter Two on Hosea reviews, previous scholars note many intertextual parallels between Amos and Hosea.¹³² Although some scholars attribute such similarities to the influence of one prophetic career on the other; most redaction critics attribute such links to later editors.¹³³ Jeremias provides one of the most extensive assessments of these parallels in his argument that the early Hosea tradents updated Hosea in light of Amos, and that the early compilers of Amos reflect the influence of Hosea.¹³⁴

Schart incorporates Jeremias' observations into his argument for the inclusion of Amos in the Book of the Four. Schart positions the composition history of Amos at the center of his model for the formation of the Book of the Twelve.¹³⁵ As a result, his analysis displays considerable sensitivity to literary parallels between Amos the surrounding prophetic texts. Schart's assessment of Amos expands upon the previous

¹³² For a complete review of the scholarship, see pp.102-105.

¹³³ Cheyene and Paton, for example, attribute the similarities to the relationship between the two eighth century prophets. See: Thomas Kelly Cheyene, *Hosea, with Notes and Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1892), 35; Lewis Bayles Paton, "Did Amos Approve the Calf-Worship at Bethel?," *JBL* 13 (1894): 83. Deissler and Herrmann associate these shared traditions with Deuteronomistic circles: Deissler, "Das 'Echo,'" 61–75; Siegfried Herrmann, *Jeremia: Der Prophet und das Buch* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990), 192.

¹³⁴ Jeremias, "Rezeptionsprozesse," 30; idem, "Die Anfänge," (ed. Emerton), 87–106. Reprinted in: idem, "Die Anfänge des Dodekapropheten: Hosea und Amos," in *Hosea und Amos: Studien zu den Anfängen des Dodekapropheten*, FAT 13 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1996), 34–54; idem, "The Interrelationship Between Amos and Hosea," in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honour of John D. W. Watts*, ed. Paul R. House and James W. Watts, JSOTSup 235 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 171–86. Cf. Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 246.

¹³⁵ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 101–55. For those following Schart's model, see: Henrik Pfeiffer, *Das Heiligtum von Bethel im Spiegel des Hoseabuches*, FRLANT 183 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 230–31; Bo H. Lim and Daniel Castelo, *Hosea*, Two Horizons Old Testament commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 32.

observations of Jeremiah in three ways. Each of these expansions, however, reveals an added difficulty to assessing the place of Amos in the Book of the Four. First, Schart expands the range of proposed passages in Amos that echo Hosea. These proposed passages, however, do not always cohere into a single redactional layer. As a result, Schart attributes different parallels to different layers in his multi-stage proposal for the formation of the Book of the Four.¹³⁶ Second, Schart incorporates these parallels into a broader literary program including echoes with Micah and Zephaniah. The assessment of this evidence together, however, reveals that Amos displays more frequent parallels with Hosea than it does with Micah and Zephaniah. Schart's *Zweiprophetenbuch* proposal admirably engages this literary observation, yet raises the question of the degree to which scholars can identify unity across the Book of the Four editorial additions, which demarcates them as a distinctive collection of updates from the broader intertextual program at work in Amos. Finally, Schart suggests that the literary parallels display an assumed linear reading program whereby the editors of Amos assume that readers engage Amos in succession after Hosea. Thus Schart argues that many of the literary mysteries of Amos assume prior knowledge of Hosea.¹³⁷ The existence of a proposed linear reading program, however, has been one of more controversial aspects in the Book of the Four (and broader Book of the Twelve) discussion. While many scholars recognize the existence of literary parallels between these texts, critics often object that these parallels fail to show an assumed linear reading program across these texts.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 158–59, 184–88.

¹³⁷ Schart argues, for example, that the unusual placement of the Oracles Against the Nations in Amos make sense when read in the context of the *Zweiprophetenbuch* as the continuation of Hosea (Ibid., 145–48).

¹³⁸ E.g., Ehud Ben Zvi, “Is the Twelve Hypothesis Likely from an Ancient Reader’s Perspective?,” in *Two Sides of a Coin: Juxtaposing Views on Interpreting the Book of The Twelve*, Analecta Gorgiana 201 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009), 90–94.

The six strongest cases for editorial activity assuming a Book of the Four literary horizon in Amos consist of Amos 1:1ba; 2:4-5; 3:1b-2 (and by implication 2:10-12); 5:13; 6:8; 7:9-17. The following examination proceeds in eight sections. The first six sections will argue that each of these six passages satisfies the first two of the above mentioned criteria: literary-critical evidence of editorial supplementation and evidence of a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four. The seventh section will then consider the limits of these parallels through exploring five additional proposed parallels with Hosea (Amos 2:8; 3:13-14; 5:11, 25-26; 8:4-7) that fail to support the Book of the Four hypothesis demonstrating a literary horizon extending beyond Amos. This assessment will then conclude by assessing the degree to which these parallels reflect a shared editorial agenda, the full range of this editorial agenda in Amos, and the ways in which this editorial agenda distinguishes these updates from the broader phenomenon of intertextuality in the editorial history of Amos.

The Literary Horizon of Amos 1:1ba

Commentators widely recognize that Amos 1:1 reflects a distinctive awareness of the ensuing prophetic text extending to the visions (7:1-9*; 8:1-3*; 9:1-4*) and the rejection narrative (7:10-17).¹³⁹ The existence of two dating systems leads many redaction critics to conclude that the regnal dating system of 1:1ba reflects a later editorial addition.¹⁴⁰ Three characteristics of Amos 1:1ba demonstrate that it is likely an editorial supplement sharing compositional origins with Amos 7:9-17. First, the primary place given to Uzziah, king of Judah in the regnal dating system signals a Judean

¹³⁹ See pp.149-152. For further discussions, see: E.g., Watts, "Origin of the Book of Amos," 109–12; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 149–51; Childs, *Introduction*, 400–401; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 80; Jeremias, "'Zwei Jahre vor dem Erdbeben' (Am 1,1)," 15–31; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 53.

¹⁴⁰ Compare the diachronic assessments of Schmidt, "Die deuteronomistische Redaktion," 169–70; Mays, *Amos*, 18–19; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 146–51; Tucker, "Prophetic Superscriptions," 69–70; Fuhs, "Amos 1,1," 271–89; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 77; Watts, "Superscriptions and Incipits," 114, 116–17; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 177–78; Levin, "Das 'Vierprophetenbuch'," 229–30.

orientation of an otherwise Northern prophetic text. This observation suggests that Amos 1:1ba reflects editorial development reframing the Amos message according to a Judean perspective. The name “Judah” (יהודה) occurs elsewhere in Amos only in Amos 2:4-5 and 7:10-17. Second, the superscription’s reference to Jeroboam suggests an awareness of the only other Amos passage referencing this (or any other) king in Amos 7:9-17. Finally, Amos 1:1ba characterizes Amos visionary activity using חזה. The vision cycles, however, present Amos’s visions using ראה. The only other passage presenting Amos’s prophetic activity using the root חזה occurs in 7:10-17. Amos 1:1ba, therefore, exists as an editorial supplement to the Amos superscription that reveals a close relationship with 7:9-17.¹⁴¹

Although skeptics recognize that the Book of the Four superscriptions supply some of the strongest evidence for shared editorial activity, they frequently point out that Amos 1:1 fails to fit the pattern.¹⁴² Unlike Hos 1:1; Mic 1:1; and Zeph 1:1; the Amos superscription lacks the distinctive word-event formula linking these texts.¹⁴³ The regnal dating formula of Amos 1:1ba reveals striking literary overlap with Hos 1:1 suggestive of an identifiable literary relationship (see Table 3.3). The only difference between the regnal dating systems of these two superscriptions is the extension of the Judean monarchy list in Hos 1:1aβb. This regnal dating in Amos 1:1ba shares four similarities with Hos 1:1aβb suggestive of a literary relationship between these units. First, the

¹⁴¹ The designation of Amos as “among the shepherds” (בנקדים) recalls Amos’s profession in 7:10-17. Unlike the following points of contact with Amos 7:10-17, however, the identification of Amos as a “shepherd” (נקד) lacks a lexical point of contact with the Amos narrative. נקד occurs in Gen 30:32, 33, 35, 39; 31:8, 10, 12; 2 Kgs 3:4; Amos 1:1. Amos 7:14 characterizes Amos as a בוקר.

¹⁴² See, for example, the comments of skeptics such as Bornand and Levin concerning the superscriptional evidence: Rachel Bornand, “Un ‘Livre des Quatre’ Précurseur des Douze Petits Prophètes?,” *ETHR* 82 (2007): 555; Levin, “Das ‘Vierprophetenbuch’,” 222. Skeptics of the Book of the Four hypothesis commonly object that Amos does not fit the superscriptional pattern of Hos 1:1; Mic 1:1; and Zeph 1:1 (E.g., Rudnig-Zelt, “Die Genese des Hoseabuches,” 359).

¹⁴³ For this reason Carl Steuernagel identifies only Hosea, Micah, and Zephaniah as forming a preexilic prophetic collection (*Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament: Mit einem Anhang über die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, SThL [Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1912], 671–72. Cf. Günter Krinetzki, *Zefanjastudien: Motiv- und Traditionskritik + Kompositions- und Redaktionskritik*, RSTh 7 [Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1977], 43–45, 181).

combined identifiers of “Uzziah” (עזיה) and “king(s) of Judah” (מלכ[י]־יהודה) only occurs in 2 Kgs 15:13; Hos 1:1; Amos 1:1; and Zech 14:5 (cf. the alternative spelling in 2 Kgs 15:32; Isa 1:1; 7:1).¹⁴⁴ Second, the combination of Uzziah and Jeroboam only occurs in Hos 1:1 and Amos 1:1.¹⁴⁵ Third, Hos 1:1aβb and Amos 1:1ba both give primacy to the Judean monarchy in a prophetic text otherwise addressing the northern kingdom of Israel. Fourth, in both instances only the Israelite king receives genealogical specification (using בן). These parallel suggests a relationship between these superscriptions.

Table 3.3. Regnal Dating in Hosea and Amos

Verse	Textual Comparison
Hos 1:1	“...In the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, Kings of Judah and in the days of Jeroboam son of Joash king of Israel...” בימי עזיה יותם אחז יחזקיה מלכי יהודה ובימי ירבעם בן־יואש מלך ישראל
Amos 1:1	מלך־יהודה ובימי ירבעם בן־יואש מלך ישראל בימי עזיה “...In the days of Uzziah king of Judah and in the days of Jeroboam son of Joash king of Israel...”

Amos 1:1ba thus satisfies the first two criteria for identifying plausible Book of the Four editorial activity: it reflects evidence of editorial supplementation and it reflects a literary horizon extending to Hos 1:1.¹⁴⁶

The Literary Horizon of Amos 2:4-5

Diachronic scholars generally attribute Amos 2:4-5 to a later redaction updating the Oracles Against the Nations. Amos 2:4-5 disrupts the climactic turn to Israel at the end of the Oracles Against the Nations and displays considerably different concerns than

¹⁴⁴ Uzziah only occurs with the spelling עזיה in 2 Kgs 15:13, 30; Hos 1:1; Amos 1:1; Zech 14:5; Ezra 10:21; Neh 11:4; 1 Chr 6:9. The more common spelling of עזיהו occurs in 2 Kgs 15:32, 34; Isa 1:1; 6:1; 7:1; 1 Chr 27:25; 2 Chr 26:1, 3, 8, 9, 11, 14, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23; 27:2.

¹⁴⁵ The only other references to “Jeroboam, son of Joash” (ירבעם בן־יואש) occur in 2 Kgs 14:23, 27.

¹⁴⁶ For a concluding assessment of the superscriptions in the Book of the Four in relation to similar superscriptions in Joel 1:1; Isa 1:1 and Jer 1:1-2, see pp.366-375.

these other oracles. The concern for the rejection of divine commandments in Amos 2:4-5 stands in contrast to the concern for war crimes against other peoples in 1:3-2:3* and the concern for injustices against their own people in the Israel oracle (2:6-16*).¹⁴⁷ This Judah oracle, however, opens and closes with the formulaic language of the surrounding oracles suggesting a scribal program of literary integration. Amos 2:4 opens with the expected formulaic introduction found in Amos 1:3, 6, 9, 11, 13; 2:1, 6. Amos 2:5 closes with the pronouncement that God will send fire that will “consume the citadels of Jerusalem” (ואכלה ארמנות ירושלם) replicating the language of 1:4, 7, 10, 12, 14; 2:2.

The identifiable difference demarcating Amos 2:4-5 as a distinct editorial addition occurs in the content of the accusation in v.4b. Although this content displays ideological proximity to Deuteronomistic thought, the language differs from expected Deuteronomistic conventions. Amos 4:4b levels three accusations against Judah. Each of these accusations parallels language from Hos 4:4-14* (see Table 3.4).¹⁴⁸ First, Amos 4:4b accuses Judah of “rejecting” (מאס) “law” (תורה). This language only occurs in Isa 5:24; Jer 6:19; Hos 4:6; and Amos 2:4. Hosea 4:6 concerns the “rejection” (מאס) of the priest for rejecting “knowledge” (הדעת מאסת) and forgetting “the law of your God” (ותשכח)

¹⁴⁷ E.g., Marti, *Das Dodekapropheten*, 151–52, 165–66; Weiser, *Die Prophetie des Amos*, 89; Watts, “Origin of the Book of Amos,” 109; Snaith, *Amos, Hosea and Micah*, 17–18; Jean Steinmann, *Le prophétisme biblique des origines à Osée*, LD 23 (Paris: Cerf, 1959), 178; Th C. Vriezen, *De literatuur van Oud-Israël* (Den Haag Servire, 1961), 167; Scharbert, *Die Propheten Israels*, 91; Schmidt, “Die deuteronomistische Redaktion,” 177–78; Samuel Amsler, “Amos,” in *Osée, Joël, Amos, Abdias, Jonas*, CAT 11a (Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1965), 175–76; Amsler, “Amos, Prophète de La Onzième Heure,” 320; Kraeling, *Commentary on the Prophets*, 2:144; Mays, *Amos*, 40–42; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 137, 198–99; Markert, *Struktur und Bezeichnung*, 67–71; Melugin, “The Formation of Amos,” 1:384–85; Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:533–35; Zimmerli, “Vom Prophetenwort zum Prophetenbuch,” 489; Childs, *Introduction*, 402; Amsler, “Amos et les droits de l’homme,” 182–83; Coote, *Amos among the Prophets*, 67–69, 112–17; Weimar, “Der Schluss,” 98–99; Rendtorff, *Das Alte Testament*, 232; Reimer, *Richtet auf das Recht!*, 70–71; Jésus M. Asurmendi, *Amós y Oseas*, 3rd Ed., CuaBi 64 (Navarra: Verbo Divino, 1993), 11; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, 28–29; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 75; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaia 1-39*, 348; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 56–57, 99, 163–65; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 178; Fleischer, “Das Buch Amos,” 127, 146, 147, 157–58; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 94–95; Barton, *The Theology*, 43–44.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 56–57, 99, 163–65.

להיך (תורת אלהיך). Second, Amos 2:4b accuses Judah of not keeping (לא שמרו) his statutes.

Hosea 4:10b announces that the people forsook “keeping” (לשמר) YHWH.¹⁴⁹

Table 3.4. Hosea language in Amos 4:4b

Amos 4:4b	Hosea 4 Text	Hosea 4 Reference
על־מאסם את־תורת יהוה	כי אתה הדעת מאסת ואמאסאך מכהן לי ותשכח תורת אלהיך אשכח בניך גם־אני	v.6b
“...concerning their rejection of the law of YHWH...”	“...for you rejected knowledge so I rejected you as my priest, and you forgot the law of your God, I will forget your children, yes even I!”	
וחקיו לא שמרו	כי־את־יהוה עזבו לשמר	v.10b
“...and his statutes they did not keep...”	“... for YHWH they forsook keeping.”	
ויתעוּם כזביהם	כי רוח זנונים התעה	v.12ba
“...and they were led astray after their falsehoods...”	“... for the spirit of fornication led [them] astray...”	

Third, Amos 2:4b concludes characterizing Judah as being “led astray by their lies”

(ויתעוּם כזביהם). Hosea 4:12 accuses the people of being led astray (תעה) by the “spirit of fornication (רוח זנונים).

Hosea 4:4-14* consists of an accusation against a priest whose rejection of divine instruction (vv.4-6) has two disastrous implications for the people (vv.7-14*). First, the people sin against YHWH, ultimately forsaking him (vv.7-10*). Second, they follow cultic infidelities (vv.12-13). Amos 2:4b takes each of these three elements and condenses them into the accusation against Judah.¹⁵⁰ Amos 2:4-5, therefore, reflects

¹⁴⁹ Hosea 4:10b supplies the only instance in which YHWH serves as the object of שמר. Usually YHWH serves as the *nomen rectum* of a construct chain modifying another object which is “kept” (שמר). E.g., The “way of YHWH” (דרך יהוה) in Gen 18:19; Judg 2:22; 2 Sam 22:22; Ps 18:22[21]; the “charge of YHWH”: (משמרת יהוה) in Lev 8:35; Num 9:23; 31:30, 47; Josh 22:3; 1 Kgs 2:3; 2 Kgs 11:7; 2 Chr 13:11; 23:6; the “commandments of YHWH” (מצות יהוה) in Deut 4:2; 6:17; 8:6; 10:13; 28:9; Josh 22:3; 1 Sam 13:13-14; 2 Kgs 17:19; 18:6; 23:3. Cf. 1 Kgs 11:10; 13:21; the “oath of YHWH” (שבועת יהוה) in 1 Kgs 2:43; and the “word of YHWH” (דבר יהוה) in 2 Chr 34:21.

¹⁵⁰ Against the identification of 2:4b as an editorial addition to vv.4-5, see pp.156-159.

evidence of being an editorial addition to the Amos Oracles Against the Nations and of a literary horizon extending to Hosea.

The Literary Horizon of Amos 2:10-12 and 3:1b-2

As noted in the assessment of Deuteronomism, Amos 2:10-12 and 3:1b-2 share an exodus formula serving a similar ideological function of highlighting Israel's uniquely chosen status in contrast to other peoples.¹⁵¹ These similarities suggest that 2:10-12 and 3:1b-2 share compositional origins. This unique election establishes the contextual background for the ensuing announcements of judgment targeting the people of God. Amos 2:10-12 interrupts the social accusations of vv.6-8 and the ensuing message of judgment in vv.13-16. This interruption supplies an otherwise unexpected historical overview revolving around the exodus event along with a unique concern for the reception of the prophets. The mention of the Amorites in v.9 before the exodus in v.10, suggests a literary-critical division between the two historical references. Verse 9 continues the first-person divine discourse of vv.6-8 without otherwise unexpected shift to direct address in vv.10-12. The concluding declaration of v.9 "and his roots from *below*" (וְיִשְׁרָשׁוּ מִתַּחַת) supplies a lexical link with the beginning pronouncement of v.13, literally reading: "Behold, I am about to press your *below*" (הִנֵּה אֲנִי מַעִיֵּק תַּחְתִּיכֶם).¹⁵²

The review of the divinely orchestrated Ammorite destruction in v.9, therefore, serves to prefigure the coming Israelite judgment (v.13) in much the same way as the

¹⁵¹ See pp.161-162.

¹⁵² Arneth argues that vv.10-12 interrupt a chiasm balancing vv.9 and 13 with vv.14-16 ("Die Komposition," 258-59). Amos 2:14-16 supplies seven sayings revolving around the absence of deliverance. The remainder of Amos lacks a majority of the vocabulary from these verses. The word חֹזֶק occurs in Amos 6:13; מִלֵּט in 9:1; נֶפֶשׁ in Amos 6:8; סוֹס in Amos 4:10; 6:12; and נוֹס in Amos 5:19; 9:1. The notable lexical and thematic overlap with Amos 9:1 suggests that 2:14-16 is an expansion of the ideas found in Amos 9:1. Amos 2:14-16 presumes divine speech as indicated by the concluding בְּאֵם־יְהוָה but lacks the characteristic first-person speech or second-person address found in v.13. The inaugural *weqatal* verb of v.14 assumes its continuation of a preexisting announcement of judgment. The only preceding announcement of judgment occurs in v.13 suggesting that vv.14-16 presuppose the first-person direct divine discourse of v.13.

Amos Oracles Against the Nations (1:3-2:3*) describe the judgment of neighboring peoples as a foreshadowing of the culminating judgment on Israel (2:6-16*). Amos 2:10-12, therefore, interrupts this connection between v.9 and v.13 suggesting that it is a later addition to the Israel oracle. Amos 2:10-12 intentionally integrates into its current literary context by developing the theme of the Amorite conquest found in v.9

Schart argues that the exodus-wilderness theme of Amos 2:10-12 reflects a literary horizon extending to Hosea. He argues that this thematic combination connects to Hos 12:10[9], 14[13] and 13:5, which also link the exodus and a prophet.¹⁵³ The Hosea references, however, use considerably different vocabulary and conceptualize the prophet as the leader of the exodus event. Amos 2:10-12, however, envisions no such specificity for the prophets of vv.11-12. These differences, when considered in light of the vast number of exodus references across the Hebrew Bible, fail to supply sufficient evidence for a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four.

A stronger case for such a literary horizon occurs in the closely related passage of 3:1b-2. Amos 3:1 opens with the widely recognized summons to hear structuring the core of Amos (3:1; 4:1; and 5:1).¹⁵⁴ The summons to hear calls the second-person plural audience identified by the vocative “children of Israel” (בני ישראל) to hear the word that the third-person YHWH speaks against them. The parallel structure shared between “against you O Sons of Israel” (עליכם בני ישראל) at the end of v.1aβ and “against the

¹⁵³ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 158–60. Schart also argues for a connection with Mic 6:4, which is deemed post-Deuteronomistic, and post-Book of the Four in pp.240-246.

¹⁵⁴ Schart argues that these “summons to hear” form an organizing frame across Hosea, Amos, and Micah linking them into a collection of three prophetic texts (Ibid., 64, 184–88). He recognizes key formulaic differences between the “summons to hear” (Hos 4:1; 5:1; Amos 3:1; 4:1; 5:1; 8:4; Mic 3:1, 9; 6:2) thus leading him to conclude that Hos 4:1; 5:1; Amos 3:1; 4:1; 5:1 existed prior to the development of this cross-book editorial purpose. These “summons to hear” occur in only limited subsections of Hosea, Amos, and Micah. Furthermore, in each book they occur in relation to different structural markers unique to that book. These observations suggest that the “summons to hear” in each book does not necessitate literary horizon or editorial structuring function extending across multiple books. For further critique of Schart’s proposal, see pp.288-291. For an assessment of the relationship rhetorical function of Amos 3:1; 4:1; 5:1; and 6:1 together, see Nogalski, “Preexilic Portions,” 38, n.8.

whole clan” (על כל־המשפחה) following in v.1b suggests that the latter rhetorically functions as a continuation of the inaugural summons to hear of v.1a. This continuation in v.1b, however switches from third-person speech about YHWH to first-person divine discourse leading several redaction critics to identify v.1b as a later addition to v.1a.¹⁵⁵ The prophetic speech to the second-person plural audience inaugurated in v.1a continues in vv.3-6 as indicated by the third-person reference to YHWH in v.6. This literary evidence suggests that vv.1b-2 interrupt vv.1a, 3-6.

Amos 3:1b-2 displays the same exodus formula as 2:10-12, yet employs two distinctive literary features suggestive of a literary horizon extending to Hosea. First, the language of “I knew you” to designate a relationship with YHWH is otherwise unknown in Amos, yet forms a key theme in Hosea.¹⁵⁶ Although the language of “knowing YHWH” is not exclusive to Hosea, the juxtaposition of God “knowing” Israel and the exodus motif only occurs in Amos 3:1b-2 and Hos 13:4-5. Second, Amos 3:1b-2 uses פקד and עון, two words that occur frequently in Hosea, but infrequently elsewhere in Amos (cf. only Amos 3:14).¹⁵⁷ פקד (“punish”) and עון (“iniquity”) appear paired together frequently.¹⁵⁸ They appear together in Hosea as part of the formulaic expression “he will remember their iniquity and punish their sins” (יזכר עונם ויפקד חטאותם) occurring in Hos

¹⁵⁵ Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 151–52, 172; Fosbroke, “Amos,” 6:791–92; Amsler, “Amos, Prophète de La Onzième Heure,” 319, n.3; Rudolph, *Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona*, 102, 152; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 137, 213; Melugin, “The Formation of Amos,” 1:381–82; Markert, *Struktur und Bezeichnung*, 83; Weimar, “Der Schluss,” 98–99; Reimer, *Richtet auf das Recht!*, 72–73; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, xxi, 32; Rottzoll, *Studien zur Redaktion*, 108–11; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39*, 348; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 63, 99; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 177–79; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 79–81.

¹⁵⁶ Hosea 2:10[8], 22[20]; 5:3, 4; 6:3; 8:2, 4; 11:3; 13:4, 5. Cf. Hos 5:9; 7:9. See the arguments of: Jeremias, “Die Anfänge,” (ed. Emerton), 96–99; idem, *Der Prophet Amos*, xx, 32–33; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 129–30.

¹⁵⁷ פקד only occurs elsewhere in Amos in 3:14. Compare this infrequency with Hos 1:4; 2:15[13]; 4:9, 14; 8:13; 9:9; 12:3[2]. עון appears nowhere else in Amos, yet occurs in Hos 4:8; 5:5; 7:1; 8:13; 9:7, 9; 10:10; 12:9[8]; 13:12; 14:2[1], 3[2]. See discussion in: Jeremias, “Die Anfänge,” (ed. Emerton), 96–99; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 129–30.

¹⁵⁸ Exodus 20:5; 34:7; Lev 18:25; Num 14:18; Deut 5:9; 2 Sam 3:8; Isa 13:11; 26:21; Jer 36:31; Ps 89:33[32]; Lam 4:22.

8:13 and repeating with slight variation in 9:9 (cf. Jer 14:10). Although Amos 3:1b-2 lacks this formula, the use of this word-pair alongside an exodus reference occurs only elsewhere in Hos 8:13.¹⁵⁹

These two combinations such that the editorial addition in 3:1b-2 reflects distinctive thematic and literary characteristics of Hosea. Such characteristics suggest, therefore, that the editors supplying Amos 3:1b-2 (and by implication 2:10-12) integrated distinctive Hosean features into Amos. Both Amos 2:10-12 and 3:1b-2, furthermore, display a shared program of literary integration. Amos 2:10-12 develops the theme of Amorite context from v.9, thus supplying a supplement that forms the logical continuation of a preexisting utterance in Amos. Similarly, Amos 3:1b-2 opens by replicating the syntactical structure of the immediately preceding על clause. The concluding לאמר in Amos 3:1 signals the rhetorical intention that v.1b serves as a continuation of the “summons to hear” in v.1a rather than the beginning of a new speech.

The Literary Horizon of Amos 5:13

Commentators often see the wisdom orientation of Amos 5:13 as evidence of later editing.¹⁶⁰ Amos 5:13 contains unique language differentiating this saying from the remainder of Amos. Hebrew prophetic literature in general elsewhere lacks שכל (“to be prudent”) and דמם (“to be silent”) in this fashion.¹⁶¹ Whereas Scharf attributes v.13 to his

¹⁵⁹ Hosea 8:13 follows this formula with an allusion to the exodus via a threatened return to Egypt (המה מצרים ישובו).

¹⁶⁰ Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 133, 274, 293–94; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 78–79, 100; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 62–63, 68. Cf. Marti, *Das Dodekapropheten*, 152, 193; Kraeling, *Commentary on the Prophets*, 2:144; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 35–36; Rudolph, *Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona*, 102, 194; Markert, *Struktur und Bezeichnung*, 126–28; Fleischer, *Von Menschenverkäufern*, 115; Rottzoll, *Studien zur Redaktion*, 242.

¹⁶¹ Cf. the substantive participle of שכל in 1 Sam 18:14, 15; Isa 52:13; Jer 23:5 (Cf. Jer 20:1; 2 Chr 30:22) to signify “prosperity.” The participle similarly denotes one who is prudent in Pss 14:2; 41:2; 53:3; Prov 10:19; 16:20; 21:12; Job 22:2 (cf. Dan 11:33, 33, 35; 12:3, 10). שכל primarily refers to “knowing” YHWH in the Hebrew prophetic literature (Isa 41:20; 44:18; Jer 3:15; 9:23; cf. Jer 10:21). For prophetic judgments using דמם, see: 1 Sam 2:9; Jer 25:37; 48:2; 49:26; 50:30 (cf. Jer 8:14; Ps 31:18). The use of “silence” as an image of judgment, however, departs from the usage of this term in Amos 5:13.

D-Korpus editing, Wöhrle illustrates the redaction-critical enigma in his admission of the difficulty attributing this verse to a given compositional layer.¹⁶² The temporal referent “in that time” (בעת ההיא) predominantly occurs to signal forthcoming restorative hope suggesting an awareness of the exile.¹⁶³ The use of this designation in the anticipation of judgment as found in v.13 aligns with preexilic or early exilic usage patterns.¹⁶⁴ Amos 5:13 further describes this defined period of time as “disastrous” (רעה). The designation עת רעה (“a disasterous time”) otherwise occurs only in Mic 2:3 and in Jeremiah pronouncements anticipating the exilic judgment.¹⁶⁵

Scholars widely recognize the similarities between Amos 5:13 and Mic 2:3.¹⁶⁶ Both verses exist as supplements in their current literary contexts. Furthermore, both verses begin with the לכן preposition and conclude with identical designations that “it is a disastrous time” (see Table 3.5). Both verses, furthermore, reveal a shared scribal technique for literary integration in their current literary context. Micah 2:3 replicates the syntax of Mic 2:1 suggesting an intentional scribal program for literary integration.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 184. cf. Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 62–63, 68.

¹⁶³ Isaiah 18:7; Jer 3:17; 30:7; 31:1; 33:15; 50:4, 20; Joel 4:1 [3:1]; Zeph 3:19, 20. Cf. Isa 20:2; 39:1.

¹⁶⁴ Jeremiah 4:11; 8:1; Mic 3:4; Zeph 1:12. Cf. Amos 5:13; Mic 2:3.

¹⁶⁵ Jeremiah 2:27, 28; 11: 12, 14; 15:11. Cf. Ps 37:19; Ecc 9:12.

¹⁶⁶ Sigmund Mowinckel, “Mikaboken,” *NTT* 29 (1928): 8; Jörg Jeremias, “Die Deutung der Gerichtsworte Michas in der Exilszeit,” *ZAW* 83 (1971): 333–35; Theodor Lescow, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5,” *ZAW* 84 (1972): 51; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 170, n.11; James Luther Mays, *Micah: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), 24–26, 64–66; Hans Walter Wolff, *Micah*, BKAT 14/4 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982), 39; Alfons Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten II: Obadja, Jona, Micha, Nahum, Habakuk*, Die neue Echter Bibel 8 (Würzburg: Echter, 1984), 175; Eckart Otto, “Techniken der Rechtssatzredaktion israelitischer Rechtsbücher in der Redaktion des Prophetenbuches Micha,” *SJOT* 2 (1991): 128–32.

¹⁶⁷ See pp.264-269.

Table 3.5. The Literary Horizon of Micah 2:3

Verse	Hebrew Text	English Translation
Amos 5:13:	לכן המשכיל בעת ההיא ידם כי עת רעה היא:	<u>Therefore</u> , those who understand in that time will remain silent, <u>for it is a disastrous time.</u>
Mic 2:3:	לכן כה אמר יהוה הנני חשב עליהמשפחה הזאת רעה אשר לא־תמישו משם צוארתיכם ולא תלכו רומה כי עת רעה היא:	<u>Therefore</u> , thus says YHWH, “Behold, I am about to plan disaster against this clan, From which they will not remove their necks, And [from which] they will not proudly walk away <u>For it is a disastrous time.</u>

Amos 5:13 replicates the bipartite לכן... כי structure of the immediately preceding judgment pronouncement in Amos 5:11-12. Thus Amos 5:13 and Mic 2:3 employ similar language and use shared methods of literary integration suggesting the probability of shared compositional origins. The insertion of these similar units in both Amos and Micah further suggest an intentionally constructed literary horizon extending between Amos and Micah.

The Literary Horizon of Amos 6:8

Two observations demarcate Amos 6:8 as an editorial addition to its current literary context. First, Amos 6:8 interrupts the continuity between the threat of exile in v.7 and the announcement of the fate of those who remain in v.9. Second, Amos 6:8 interjects first-person divine speech into a speech of the prophet. The evidence, therefore, favors identifying Amos 6:8 as an editorial supplement.¹⁶⁸ Schart follows Jeremias in identifying similarities with the language of Hosea, suggesting that Amos 6:8 reflects a literary horizon extending to Hosea.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Redaction-critical conclusions of: Rottzoll, *Studien zur Redaktion*, 168–70.

¹⁶⁹ Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, xx, 89-90; idem, “The Interrelationship,” 184–85; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 83–84, 98–99, 132–33.

The composition of Amos 6:8 must be considered in light of its relationship with not only Hosea, but also other passages in Amos. Amos 6:8, though an editorial supplement, reflects five intratextual similarities with other sayings in Amos. First, the language of YHWH “swearing” (נשבע) occurs in Amos 4:2; 6:8; and 8:7. The statement that “the lord YHWH has sworn by his holiness” (נשבע אדני יהוה בקדשו) in 4:2 serves as a likely precursor to the announcement that “the lord YHWH has sworn by himself” (נשבע) in 6:8. Second, Amos 6:8 shares the “pride of Jacob” (גאון יעקב) with Amos 8:7. Whereas YHWH declares his “loathing” (תאב) for the “pride of Jacob” (גאון יעקב) in Amos 8:7, he “swears” (נשבע) by the “pride of Jacob” (גאון יעקב) in 6:8. This difference rules against shared authorship, suggesting a relationship of literary dependence. Scholars widely recognize the concentration of intratextual parallels in Amos 8:4-7, suggesting that 8:7 draws on 6:8.¹⁷⁰ Third, the length of the ensuing divine speech formula (נאם-יהוה אלהי צבאות) distinguishes it from the plethora of similar formulaic utterances in the Hebrew prophets. The extended divine identifier “YHWH God of Hosts” (יהוה אלהי צבאות) occurs with great frequency in the Amos textual tradition.¹⁷¹ Fourth, the use of the first-person pronoun with a participle as a descriptor of divine identity, disposition, or action, occurs frequently in Amos.¹⁷² Finally, Amos 6:8 targets “citadels” (ארמנות) recalling the Amos Oracles Against the Nations. Each of these intratextual parallels suggests that editors constructed Amos 6:8 with the intention of literarily integrating it into the preexisting Amos textual tradition.

¹⁷⁰ On the compositional nature of Amos 8:4-14, see pp. 163-165, 205-207. For previous conclusions that Amos 8:7 draws on 6:8, see: Jörg Jeremias, “Jakob im Amosbuch,” in *Die Väter Israels: Beiträge zur Theologie der Patriarchenüberlieferungen im Alten Testament. Festschrift für Josef Scharbert* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1989), 146–48; idem, “The Interrelationship,” 184, n.16; Scharbert, *Die Entstehung*, 89-91; 98-99; 132, n.100.

¹⁷¹ Amos 4:13; 5:14, 15, 16, 27; 6:8. This phrase occurs elsewhere only in: Jer 5:14; 15:16; 35:17; 38:17; 44:7; Ps 89:9.

¹⁷² Amos 2:13; 5:1; 6:8; 9:9.

Three additional observations indicate that Amos 6:8 likely reflects a literary horizon extending to Hosea. First, Jeremias and Schart both note the similarities between the “pride of Jacob” (גאון יעקב) in Amos 6:8 and the “pride of Israel” (גאון ישראל) from Hos 5:5; 7:10.¹⁷³ Although generally communicating negative representations of pride, strength, and self-exaltation, the term גאון assumes a unique function when part of a construct chain using a communal identity as the *nomen rectums*.¹⁷⁴ Such uses generally assume that the “pride” (גאון) serves as a designator for a given city. Thus Babylon serves as the “pride of the Chaldeans” in Isa 13:19 and Ashdod serves as the “pride of the Philistines” in Zech 9:6.¹⁷⁵ Amos 6:8 supports identifying the “pride of Jacob” (גאון יעקב) as a city through the use of the word pair “citadels” (ארמנות) and “city” (עיר).

Second, the word pair “citadels” (ארמנות) and “city” (עיר) occurs as the recipient of judgment elsewhere only in Hos 8:14.¹⁷⁶ Hosea 8:14 serves as a Book of the Four editorial supplement fusing Hosea and Amos language.¹⁷⁷ The fact that this word pair occurs only elsewhere in a Book of the Four supplement supplies the second link with Book of the Four editorial activity.

The third link to Hosea occurs in the language of “hatred.” Although the first term for divine disapproval in Amos 6:8 occurs infrequently in the Hebrew Bible (תאב), the

¹⁷³ The “pride of Jacob” additionally occurs in Amos 8:7; Nah 2:3[2]; Ps 47:5[4].

¹⁷⁴ For uses of גאון in association with negative representations of pride, strength, and self-exaltation, see: Lev 26:19; Isa 14:11; Isa 16:6; Jer 48:29; Ezek 7:20, 24; 16:56; 30:6; 30:18; 32:12; 33:28; Zeph 2:10; Ps 59:13; Prov 8:13; 16:18. The term also occurs in reference to the “majesty” of YHWH (Exod 15:7; Isa 2:10, 19, 21; 24:14; Mic 5:3; Job 37:4). Uses in oracles against other nations include: Isa 13:19; 16:6; Jer 13:9; 48:29; Ezek 32:12; Hos 5:5; 7:10; Amos 6:8; 8:7; Nah 2:3; Zech 9:6; 10:11. Cf. Ps 47:5[4].

¹⁷⁵ See Isa 13:19; 23:9; 60:15; Amos 6:8 (cf. Amos 8:7); Zech 9:6. Context could allow for a similar interpretation of Isa 16:6; Jer 48:29; Nah 2:3[2]; Zech 10:11; cf. Jer 13:9; Ezek 16:49; 24:21. See discussion in Joel S. Burnett, “The Pride of Jacob,” in *David and Zion: Biblical Studies in Honor of J.J.M. Roberts*, ed. Bernard F. Batto and Kathryn L. Roberts (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 319–50.

¹⁷⁶ The terms “citadel” (ארמון) and “city” (עיר) occur together as a part of larger lists in Isa 25:2; 32:14. The word pair further occurs in a salvific pronouncement in Jer 30:18.

¹⁷⁷ See pp.113-117.

second term occurs with such frequency that it fails to support intentional echoing between passages (שנא).¹⁷⁸ Divine hatred in the prophets generally targets transgressions (Isa 61:8; Jer 44:4; Zech 8:17; Mal 2:16. Cf. Isa 1:14; Amos 5:21). Only Hosea 9:15 and Amos 6:8 tie this hatred to a location: the city in Amos 6:8 and Gilgal in Hos 9:15.

These three observations suggest that Amos 6:8 reflects a literary horizon extending to Hosea. Amos 6:8, therefore, reveals evidence of being an editorial addition to its current literary context. The frequent intratextual echoing suggesting that editors shaped Amos 6:8 to fit the Amos textual tradition. This addition reflects a literary horizon extending to Hosea and literary characteristics reflective of Book of the Four additions found in Hosea.¹⁷⁹

The Literary Horizon of Amos 7:9-17

The third-person Amos narrative (7:10-17) interrupts the third and fourth vision of the otherwise first-person vision reports (7:1-9*; 8:1-3*; 9:1-4*) suggesting that it is an editorial supplement added to the collection. Amos 7:10-17 employs an unexpected and unique spelling of the name “Isaac,” contains elements of conflict with the monarchy, and identifies Amos’s prophetic activity using חזה (cf. Amos 1:1) in the midst of a series of visions otherwise only using ראה (cf. Amos 7:1, 4, 7; 8:1, 2; 9:1).¹⁸⁰ Amos 7:9, furthermore, foreshadows vv.10-17 in two ways suggesting that it functions as an editorially constructed bridge between the visions and the narrative. First, Amos 7:9

¹⁷⁸ שנא occurs in Amos 6:8 and Ps 119:40, 174. שונא occurs 148 times in the Hebrew Bible.

¹⁷⁹ On the ways in which this supplement reorients the preexisting oracle in Amos 6 for an exilic Judean audience, see pp.377-388.

¹⁸⁰ E.g., Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 207; Watts, “Origin of the Book of Amos,” 109, 110, 111; Scharbert, *Die Propheten Israels*, 4; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 58–59; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 52–53; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 131–32, 355–57; Ackroyd, “Judgment Narrative,” 74–77; Martin-Achard, *Amos*, 52; De Vries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 187; Jeremias, “Die Anfänge,” (ed. Emerton), 104; idem, “Rezeptionsprozesse,” 35–37; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 87–88, 98–99, 102–3; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 177–78, 179; Fleischer, “Das Buch Amos,” 238.

prefigures the threat against Jeroboam (ירבעם) with the “sword” (חרב) that occurs in v.11.¹⁸¹ Second, v.9 identifies the “sanctuaries of Israel” (מקדשי ישראל), which foreshadows the ensuing title “sanctuary of the king” (מקד-מלך). Amos 7:9-10 thus serves as an editorial supplement interrupting the third and fourth Amos visions.

Although some commentators suggest that 7:10-17 originally existed independently of the visions, the narrative reflects evidence of intentional integration into its current literary context.¹⁸² The first four visions group into two pairs whereby 7:1-3 and vv.4-6 parallel each other and 7:7-8 and 8:1-3* parallel each other.¹⁸³ Amos 7:10-17 not only interrupts the third and fourth vision, but it replicates the language from this vision pair in four ways. First, Amos 7:10 replicates the phrase “in the midst of the house of Israel” (בקרב בית ישראל) from 7:8. Second, Amaziah’s command “no longer prophecy” (לא-תוסיף עוד להנבא) echoes the divine announcement “I will no longer pass him over” (לא-אוסף עוד עובר לי) in 7:8 and 8:2.¹⁸⁴ Third, Amos’s response that “YHWH said unto me” (ואמר אלי יהוה) echoes 7:8; 8:2. Finally, the direction “to my people Israel” (אל-עמי ישראל)

¹⁸¹ Amos 7:9, 11 are the only two places in the Hebrew Bible with “Jeroboam” (ירבעם) and “sword” (חרב). Wöhrle argues that Amos 7:9 corrects 7:11 by targeting the “house of Jeroboam” (בית ירבעם) instead of Jeroboam directly. He thus attributes 7:9 and 11 to different compositional layers (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 113). Scharf alternatively concludes that the text presents Amaziah as misrepresenting Amos (*Die Entstehung*, 87–88, 98–99, 102–3). The phrase “with the sword” (בחרב) furthermore, only occurs in Amos in 1:11; 4:10; 7:9, 11, 17; 9:1, 10. The replication of this phrase at the beginning and end of the Amos narrative along with the announcement of exile forms a frame around vv.9-17. Thus while v.9 serves as the conclusion of the third vision announcement and vv.10-17 reflect the narrative, v.9 should still be read as a necessary transition introducing the narrative.

¹⁸² Jeremias argues the narrative existed as an originally independent unit (“Rezeptionsprozesse,” 35–36). On the literary links between Amos 7:10-17 and the visions, see: Fleischer, “Das Buch Amos,” 238–39; Tim Bulkeley, “Amos 7,1-8,3: Cohesion and Generic Dissonance,” *ZAW* 121 (2009): 515–28; Hannes Bezzel, “Der Prophet als Bleilot: Exegese und Theologie in Amos 7,” *Bib* 85 (2014): 524–45.

¹⁸³ Amos 7:1-3 and 4-6 have prophetic intercessions and the declaration of Jacob’s “small” size. Amos 7:7-8 and 8:1-3* pronounce judgment using wordplay. For discussion of these pairs, see: Auld, *Amos*, 16–21; Jeremias, “Rezeptionsprozesse,” 31–32; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 102.

¹⁸⁴ Also observed in: Jeremias, “Rezeptionsprozesse,” 36. The command to “not prophecy” only occurs in Jer 11:21; Amos 2:12; 7:16. Cf. Mic 2:16.

from 7:15 uses the designation for the people of God found in 7:8; 8:2.¹⁸⁵ The inability to partition these echoes as later editorial additions to 7:10-17 suggests that editors shaped the Amos narrative for its place between the third and fourth vision reports.¹⁸⁶

Two literary features of Amos 7:9-17 suggest that this narrative reflects a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four. First, the central theme of the rejection of Amos in 7:10-17 reveals evidence of a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four. The command not to prophesy occurs twice in Amos 7:10-17. Amaziah initially commands the prophet “not again to prophesy” (לֹא-תוֹסִיף עוֹד לְהִנָּבֵא) in v.13.¹⁸⁷ Amos later repeats the prohibition against prophecy in his response in v.16. Here, the prophet extends the prohibition into parallel expressions. The first expression prohibits “prophecy” (נִבְיָא) as found in Amos 7:13, however the second expression prohibits the remarkably rare word: “preaching” (נָטַף). נָטַף only functions to denote “preaching” in five passages in the Hebrew Bible (Ezek 21:2, 7; Amos 7:16; Mic 2:6, 11). This second prohibition in Amos parallels the same use of this rare word in the prohibition of Mic 2:6. Micah 2:6 occurs as part of the earliest core of Mic 1-3*, which makes use of נָטַף to denote prophetic activity elsewhere in 2:11. Although the theme of the rejection of the prophet runs deep in Hebrew prophetic literature, the absence of this language from other prophetic texts suggests that a unique relationship links Amos 7:16 and Mic 2:6. This relationship suggests that Amos 7:9-17 reflects a literary horizon extending to Micah.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ This designation elsewhere occurs in Amos only in 9:14aα. Amos 9:13aα, 14aα is a quote taken from Jer 30:3a.

¹⁸⁶ As concluded by: Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 111; Bezzel, “Der Prophet,” 524–25.

¹⁸⁷ The command “not to prophesy” recalls the theme and language of Amos 2:12. The command to not “prophecy” (נִבְיָא) occurs elsewhere only in Jer 11:31.

¹⁸⁸ The use of “my people” (עַמִּי) further recalls a distinctive literary feature of Micah (1:9; 2:4, 8, 9; 3:3, 5; 6:3, 5, 16). The designation “my people Israel” in Amos 7:15, however, connects to Amos 7:8; 8:2. This designation reoccurs in Amos 9:14aα, which is part of a quote from Jer 30:3a.

Second, the reference to the “high places of Isaac” (במות ישחק) in 7:9 reflects the influence of Hos 10:8.¹⁸⁹ The term במה occurs otherwise in Amos only in 4:13 where it serves as a topographical feature and not a cultic location. The designation “high places of...” followed by a proper noun occurs only four times in the Hebrew prophets: Jer 7:31; Hos 10:8; Amos 7:9; Mic 1:5. The “high places of Judah” (במות יהודה) in Mic 1:5 occurs in a Book of the Four editorial addition reflecting a literary horizon extending to Hosea.¹⁹⁰ Schart further argues that the direct focus on the king in Amos 7:9 is unexpected in Amos, yet appears in Hos 10:1-8. Schart thus concludes that Amos 7:9 reflects the language of במות from Hos 10:8 and the thematic juxtaposition of king and cult from Hos 10:1-8.¹⁹¹ The use of this construction in Hos 10:8 and the Book of the Four supplement in Mic 1:5b-7, when compared to the deficit of such language elsewhere in the Hebrew prophets, supports a literary horizon extending beyond Amos.¹⁹²

Amos 7:9-17 reflects an editorial supplement to the pre-existing vision cycle. This supplement draws upon the language of the third and fourth visions in a scribal program of literary integration. Two aspects of this literary supplement, furthermore, reveal a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four. The prohibition against preaching in Amos 7:16 uniquely parallels Mic 2:6. The reference to the “high places of Isaac” in

¹⁸⁹ Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, 111–12; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 109–10.

¹⁹⁰ See pp.260-264. Biddle additionally notes the similarities between Amos 7:9 and Mic 1:5. See: Mark E Biddle, “‘Israel’ and ‘Jacob’ in the Book of Micah: Micah in the Context of the Twelve,” in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, ed. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, SymS 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 151.

¹⁹¹ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 106–15, 150.

¹⁹² Jeremias and Schart suggest additional similarities between Amos 7:9, 10-17 and Hosea. These similarities, however, do not necessitate an extended literary horizon. Jeremias, for example, argues that the presentation of Bethel as a “royal sanctuary” reflects the ideological influence of Hos 8:5 (“Rezeptionsprozesse,” 36–37). Schart argues that the concluding threat against Amaziah in Amos 7:17 reflects the familial imagery prominent in Hos 1 (*Die Entstehung*, 150.). Although these two narratives have some lexical similarities, the function of these terms, and foci of the passages differ widely enough to prevent attributing these passages to a shared editorial agenda.

Amos 7:9 reflects a language usage pattern found in Hos 10:8, which also occurs in another Book of the Four supplement in Mic 1:5b-7.

The Limits of Book of the Four Literary Horizon: Amos 2:8; 3:13-14; 5:25-26; 8:4-7

One additional feature of the composition of Amos contributes to the scholarly investigation of the extent of literary influence from Hosea. Commentators frequently identify Amos's pointed condemnations of social injustices as a central theme in the text.¹⁹³ This observation leads several diachronic scholars to identify oracles of cultic concern as later editorial additions.¹⁹⁴ While some of these cultic oriented oracles reflect evidence of later editorial development, this scholarly trend raises the question of the degree to which the earliest literary core of Amos assumed a strict division between the sacred and the secular. Jeremias and Scharf develop this scholarly trajectory by arguing that four additional oracles develop the cultic pronouncements of Amos using language and themes from Hosea (Amos 2:8; 3:13-14; 5:25-26; 8:4-7).¹⁹⁵ The following assessment, therefore, examines each of these claims, concluding that they do not necessitate a literary horizon extending to Hosea.

First, Jeremias argues that the cultic focus in 2:8 differs from the social orientation of the surrounding pronouncements.¹⁹⁶ He argues that the phrase "in the house of their god(s)" (בית אלהיהם) reflects the language of Hosea (cf. Hos 8:5-6; 10:5-6; 13:2). Jeremias does not isolate Amos 2:8 as an editorial addition. He thus argues that the

¹⁹³ E.g., R. Bach, "Gottesrecht und weltliches Recht in der Verkündigung des Propheten Amos," in *Festschrift für Günther Dehn*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher (Neukirchen: Kreis Moers, 1957), 23; Asurmendi, *Amós y Oseas*, 15–16; Luiz Alexandre Solano Rossi and Francisco Erdos, "A voz profética de Amós em uma sociedade marcada pela opressão e pela falta de solidariedade," *REFLEXUS* 8 (2014): 27–41.

¹⁹⁴ E.g., Fleischer, "Das Buch Amos," 127–29; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 177–78; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 129–33; Kratz, *The Prophets of Israel*, 48.

¹⁹⁵ Jeremias, "Rezeptionsprozesse," 35–39; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 101–55.

¹⁹⁶ Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, xx, 24; idem, "The Interrelationship," 183–84; idem, "Rezeptionsprozesse," 38.

message of Hosea exerted its influence on the earliest written form of Amos. Schart, however, argues on metrical grounds for the removal of v.8a β ,b β as a cultic editorial supplement drawing on language from Hosea. He finds in this supplement allusions to the altar and an allusion to Bethel.¹⁹⁷

Although redaction critics view metrical arguments with increased skepticism, some scholars consider the “house of their god” suspect for theological reasons.¹⁹⁸ The focus of this verse, however, remains on the social injustice as signaled by the “garments of pledges” (בגדים חבליים) and “wine of fines” (ויין ענושים). The cultic locations balance one another in each line of v.8 objecting to Schart’s argument for metrical alteration. Furthermore, these locations receive judgment later in the Amos text (e.g., Amos 3:14; 5:5-6). Far from revealing characteristic language of Hosea, however, the reference to the “house of their god(s)” (בית אלהיהם) using the pronominal suffix occurs almost exclusively in Chronicles, Nehemiah, and Ezra.¹⁹⁹ Such usage patterns fail to support arguments for a literary horizon inclusive of Hosea in Amos 2:8.

¹⁹⁷ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 59, 131. Schart also identifies the reference to Bethel in Amos 4:4 as an editorial supplement. For other arguments that the “house of their god(s)” alludes to Bethel, see: Jeremy Schipper and Mark Leuchter, “A Proposed Reading of בית אלהיהם in Amos 2:8,” *CBQ* 77 (2015): 441–48.

¹⁹⁸ Markert, *Struktur und Bezeichnung*, 71–72; Arneth, “Die Komposition,” 260, 263.

¹⁹⁹ The location “beside” (אצל) the “altar” (מזבח) occurs in Lev 1:16; 6:3; 10:12; Deut 16:21; 1 Kgs 2:29; 2 Kgs 12:10; and Ezek 9:2. This language, however, never occurs with the same polemical tone as found in Amos. Additionally, the “house of their god(s)” with the pronominal suffix on אלהים as found in Amos 2:8 additionally occurs in Judg 9:27; 1 Chr 10:10. See similarly the use of “house of god” with other pronominal suffixes: Ps 135:2; Dan 1:2; Ezra 7:17, 19, 20; 8:25; 9:9; Neh 10:33, 34, 38, 40; 13:4; 2 Chr 24:5; 32:21. The “house of God” appears with no pronominal suffix in Gen 28:17, 22; Judg 17:5; Ps 42:5; 2 Chr 34:9. Cf. Isa 2:3; Mic 4:2. Compare these occurrences with instances in which the designation אלהים is made definite by way of a definite article: Judg 18:31; 1 Kgs 16:34; Ecc 4:17; Dan 1:2; 5:3; Ezra 3:8; 4:24; 5:2, 13, 14, 16, 17; 6:3, 5, 7, 8, 12, 16, 17, 22; 7:24; 8:36; 10:1, 6, 9; Neh 6:10; 8:16; 11:11, 22; 13:7, 9, 11; 1 Chr 6:33; 9:11, 13, 26, 27; 22:2; 23:28; 25:6; 26:20; 28:12, 21; 29:7; 2 Chr 3:3; 4:19; 5:1, 14; 7:5; 15:18; 23:9; 24:7, 13, 27; 28:24; 31:13, 21; 35:8; 36:18, 19. This usage of the combination of בית and אלהים overwhelmingly occur in Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, significantly objecting to arguments that the use of בית אלהיהם in Amos 2:8 reflects a unique contribution of the Book of the Four editor. Compare these uses with the more common reference to Bethel using אל: Gen 12:8; 13:3; 28:19; 31:13; 35:1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 15, 16; Jos 7:2; 8:9, 12, 17; 12:9, 16; 16:1, 2; 18:13, 22; 1:22, 23; 4:5; 20:18, 26, 31; 21:2, 19 1 Sam 7:16; 10:3; 13:2; 30:27; 1 Kgs 12:29, 32, 33; 13:1, 4, 10, 11, 32; 16:34; 2:2, 3, 23 2 Kgs 10:29; 17:28; 23:4, 15, 17, 19; Jer 48:13; Hos 10:15; 12:5; Amos 3:14; 4:4; 5:5-6; 7:10, 13; Zech 7:2; Ezr 2:28; Neh 7:32; 11:31; 1 Chr 7:28; 2 Chr 13:19.

Second, Schart attributes Amos 3:13-14 to his Tradents layer suggesting that it reflects Hosea language and themes.²⁰⁰ Schart argues that the use of פקד על connects to his Tradents layer in Amos 3:2 and that the unusual language of multiple altars recalls Amos 2:8.²⁰¹ While evidence supports identifying 3:13-14 as an editorial addition, this supplement lacks evidence of a literary horizon extending to Hosea.²⁰² Rather, vv.13-14 reveal evidence of strong intratextual awareness. Schart attributes these verses to his Tradents layer because of parallels to other passages internal to Amos.²⁰³ A careful assessment of Amos 3:13-14, however, reveals that intratextual echoing is the key characteristic of this supplement. The summons to attention reflects the influence of the שמע structuring found in Amos 3:1a; 4:1; 5:1. The formulaic announcement of divine speech in v.13 parallels that of Amos 6:8. The divine response to the “transgressions of

²⁰⁰ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 130. Jeremias similarly argues Amos 3:14 depends upon 3:2 based upon the repeated use of פקד (“Die Anfänge,” [ed. Emerton], 96–99).

²⁰¹ Schart argues for a relationship between Amos 3:14 and Hos 8:11 on account of the shared reference to plural altars. Unfortunately, this word is the only lexical link between the passages making a literary relationship between the passages tenuous.

²⁰² Amos 3:13-15 shift to first-person divine speech and shifts focus from Samaria (3:12) to Bethel (3:14). The new summons to hear in v.13 demarcates this pericope as a new speech unit. The summons to hear, however, reveals a different rhetorical function than that found in the structuring devices of Amos 3:1a; 4:1; 5:1. Amos 3:13 summons the audience to “hear” and “testify” whereas Amos 3:1; 4:1; 5:1 and 8:4 all summon the guilty audience to hear the accusations against them. This collective evidence supports compositionally identifying vv.13-15 as a later editorial addition. See also: Rudolph, *Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona*, 102, 165; Siegfried Mittmann, “Amos 3,12-15 und das Bett der Samarier,” *ZDPV* 92 (1976): 149–67; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, 39; idem, “Die Anfänge,” (ed. Emerton), 98, n.21; Rottzoll, *Studien zur Redaktion*, 132–34; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 178; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 69, 71–72, 129–33; Kratz, *The Prophets of Israel*, 48. Within this unit, v.14bβ stands apart as a likely explanatory supplement. Amos 3:14bα proclaims judgment of the “altars of Bethel” (מזבחת בית-אל), using the unusual plural.

²⁰³ Schart additionally attributes Amos 3:9-11 to his Tradents layer, which assumes a literary horizon extending to Hosea (*Die Entstehung*, 68, 98–99). He argues this on account of the use of the word “citadels” (ארמונות), which assumes a literary horizon extending to the Amos Oracles Against the Nations (cf. Auerbach, “Die grosse Überarbeitung,” 9; Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:528). Schart operates on a composition model that attributes the addition of the Oracles Against the Nations and the Amos visions to a second layer of editing after the formation of the initial core of Amos (3-6*). Links between these three basic units of Amos, therefore, are interpreted as editorially constructed connections. Reimer alternatively argues that the Oracles Against the Nations and the Amos core (3-6*) formed a single layer on account of the several links between them. Passages such as Amos 3:9-11, therefore, support a unified Amos 1-6* text without necessitating subsequent editorial connections (*Richtet auf das Recht!*, 157–60). In either case, Amos 3:9-11 lacks a literary horizon extending beyond Amos.

Israel” (פִּשְׁעֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל) recalls the unique language characteristic of the Amos Oracles Against the Nations (1:3, 6, 9, 11, 13; 2:1, 4, 6). As Schart notes, the language of פָּקַד עַל (v.14) recalls Amos 3:2. Finally the “smiting” (נָכָה) of “houses” (בֵּית) in v.15 serves as an extension of the judgment pronounced in Amos 6:5. Thus although the evidence supports identifying Amos 3:13-15* as a later editorial addition to Amos 3*, this passage fails to necessitate a literary horizon extending beyond the literary boundaries of Amos.²⁰⁴

Third, Jeremias and Schart argue that the Hosea textual tradition influenced the anti-idolatry language in Amos 5:25-26.²⁰⁵ Jeremias argues that the plurality of offerings in v.25 reflects the multitude of altars condemned in Hos 8:11-13; 10:1-2. This condemnation combines with the idealization of the wilderness experience in Hos 2:16-17; 9:10. The condemnation of idolatry in Amos 5:26 further reflects the condemnation of Baal worship in Hosea. Although Jeremias correctly notes thematic parallels between common components in Hosea and uncommon components of Amos, they do not necessitate a relationship of literary influence. Hosea condemns the many altars of Israel, but makes no assumption that the Israelites lacked sacrifices in the wilderness period. The Amos 5:25 question, furthermore assumes a response affirming that the Israelites did not bring offerings during the wilderness experience. Jeremias assumes that Amos 5:25 presents an idealized existence as found in Hosea. Hosea presents a return to the wilderness experience as a return to the idealized relationship with YHWH (Hos 2:16-17; cf. 9:10). Amos 5:25, however, correlates the lack of sacrifices with exilic existence. Amos 5:21-27* revolves around the central concern for justice and righteousness (v.24). The preceding pronouncements indicate the divine rejection of festivals (v.21), offerings

²⁰⁴ Amos 2:14-16 reveals a similar scribal tendency reflecting intratextual echoing and the extension of a judgment found elsewhere in Amos. Amos 2:14-16 expands the judgments of 9:1 in the same way as 3:15 extends the judgments of 6:5. Thus Amos 2:14-16 and 3:13-14ba, 15 share literary intentions and scribal tendencies indicative of shared compositional origins.

²⁰⁵ Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, 80–81; idem, “The Interrelationship,” 184. Cf. Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 81–82.

(v.22), and songs (v.23). The following material assumes two related experiences: the wilderness period when no sacrifices were offered (v.25), and the coming exilic experience (v.26-27*). The correlation of these two experiences suggests that through exile, the Israelites will return to an existence without sacrifices. This coming experience is the realization of the divine rejection of Israelite cultic practices. The wilderness experience in v.25, therefore, does not reflect an idealized existence. Verses 25-26 do not reflect shared assumptions about the wilderness experience with Hosea. They therefore do not necessitate a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four.

Fourth, Schart argues that Amos 8:4-7 shows awareness of Hos 2:13[11] through the shared condemnation of feasts and concern for the “Sabbath” (שַׁבָּת) and “new moon” (חֹדֶשׁ).²⁰⁶ Schart’s proposal faces two objections. First, similar language occurs elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible frequently enough to preclude arguments for literary dependence upon these words alone.²⁰⁷ The reference to “treacherous scales” (מֵאֲזוּי מֶרְמֶה) in v.5, furthermore resembles Prov 11:1; 20:23 (cf. Mic 6:11) in addition to Hos 12:8.²⁰⁸ Albrecht correctly objects that these patterns do not support literary dependence.²⁰⁹

The second objection pertains to the literary-critical divisions used to isolate vv.4-7. A new literary unit begins in v.4 with the inaugural “hear this” (שִׁמְעוּ-זֹאת).²¹⁰ Scholars

²⁰⁶ Schart argues that the hymnic additions postdate the Book of the Four editorial activity in Amos. He thus identifies Amos 8:8 as a later addition associated with the hymnic layer (*Die Entstehung*, 166, n.29). The inclusion of Amos 8:8 with vv.4-7 suggests that Amos 8:4-10 presupposes a version of Amos that already contains the Amos hymns.

²⁰⁷ Second Kings 4:23; Isa 1:13; 66:23; Ezek 45:17; 46:1, 3; Neh 10:34; 1 Chr 23:31; 2 Chr 2:3; 8:13; 31:3. Cf. Lam 2:6.

²⁰⁸ Some redaction critics identify 8:5 as a Deuteronomistic addition. E.g., Weimar, “Der Schluss,” 98–99; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 107–8. Schart, however, correctly notes that the evidence does not justify separating v.5 from vv.4, 6–7 (*Die Entstehung*, 91, n.144).

²⁰⁹ Albrecht, *Die Exilszeit*, 177.

²¹⁰ Against this literary-critical division, see: Wöhrle who reads 8:3 with vv.4-14* as part of his cult-critical layer (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 105).

recognize that vv.4-7 reflect intratextual echoing of pronouncements from earlier in Amos.²¹¹ Scholarly conventions generally end the unit in v.7 because of the shift to hymnic language in v.8.²¹² The inclusion of hymnic language in v.8, however, provides an insufficient literary-critical break. Amos 8:8 parallels the hymnic language of Amos 9:5, but struggles to define its relationship with the editorial activity that supplied the Amos hymns (4:13; 5:8-9; 9:5-6).²¹³ Some scholars include Amos 8:8 in the editorial activity that added the Amos hymns on account of the parallel with 9:5.²¹⁴ Although Amos 8:8 replicates 9:5, it lacks two of the defining characteristics of the Amos hymns: the use of five participle appellatives for YHWH and the primacy granted to the Tetragrammaton. For this reason, Amos 8:8 better reflects intratextual dependency on Amos 9:5.²¹⁵ This proposal accounts for the close literary parallel of a hymnic phrase while omitting all of the characteristic hymnic literary features.

The intratextuality of Amos 8:8 suggests that it shares a compositional agenda with vv.4-7. The opening “concerning this” (העל זאת) presupposes the rhetorical function

²¹¹ E.g., Fosbroke, “Amos,” 6:773; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 132, 372–75; Rendtorff, *Das Alte Testament*, 232–33; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 77; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 166; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 178; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 108–9; Barton, *The Theology*, 48; Nogalski, “Preexilic Portions,” 37–38.

²¹² E.g., Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 49–50, 58.

²¹³ Some researchers include Amos 1:2 among the Amos hymns. See, for example: Klaus Koch, “Die Rolle der hymnischen Abschnitte in der Komposition des Amos-Buches,” *ZAW* 86 (1974): 531, 534; Rendtorff, *Das Alte Testament*, 234; Hubbard, *Joel and Amos*, 97–98; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 92–93; Terence E. Fretheim, *Reading Hosea-Micah: A Literary and Theological Commentary*, Reading the Old Testament (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2013), 117–20. Amos 1:2, however, lacks many of the distinctive characteristics of the three commonly recognized Amos hymns, including the use of participle appellatives for YHWH, and the central focus on the divine name (שם). For these reasons, Schart proposes the Amos hymns reflect similarities with Amos 1:2, but were later additions (*Die Entstehung*, 56, 234, n.1). Fleischer, alternatively, proposes editors added Amos 1:2 at the same time as the hymns, but does not count Amos 1:2 as one of the hymns (“Das Buch Amos,” 129).

²¹⁴ E.g., Rendtorff, *Das Alte Testament*, 234; Hubbard, *Joel and Amos*, 97–98; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 178; Gavin Cox, “The ‘Hymn’ of Amos: An Ancient Flood Narrative,” *JSOT* 38 (2013): 81–108; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 89, 99.

²¹⁵ The Amos hymns do not characteristically draw upon surrounding texts, thus making it unlikely that Amos 9:5 drew upon 8:8.

of continuing a preceding discourse and echoes back to the opening of v.4 (שמעו־זאת). Verse 4 introduces these crimes as taking place in the “land” (ארץ). Verse 7 concludes with the divine pronouncement that YHWH will not forget to judge their deeds (אם־אשכח). Verse 8 then continues announcing that on account of these actions (העל) the “land” (ארץ) will tremble and those within her will mourn. Verse 8 thus provides the logical continuation of vv.4-7, and continues the same literary program as vv.4-7. This intratextual scribal program continues into vv.9-10, suggesting that the editorial addition inaugurated in v.4 uninterrupted to v.10.²¹⁶ Amos 8:4-10, therefore, reflects an intratextual awareness of a version of Amos including the hymns without necessitating a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four.

Each of these four passages is literarily suspect because of their cultic focus. In each case, however, the theological concern with cultic infidelities fails to necessitate a literary horizon extending to Hosea. The evidence does not support dividing Amos 2:8 and 5:25-26 from their current literary contexts as editorial supplements. Amos 3:13-14 and 8:4-7, on the other hand, evince later editorial additions that are part of larger literary units. The literary supplement in 3:13-14 extends to v.15 and the supplement in 8:4-7 extends to v.10. Both 3:13-15* and 8:4-10 display a heavy intratextual literary program, drawing on other pronouncements from Amos without necessitating a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four.

Amos and the Book of the Four Literary Horizon: Conclusions

Amos 1:1bα; 2:4-5; 3:1b-2 (and by implication 2:10-12); 5:13; 6:8; and 7:9-17 each correlate with literary-critical divisions suggesting that they are editorial

²¹⁶ The parallels include: Amos 8:4//2:7; 8:6//2:6; 8:7//6:8; 8:8//9:5; 8:9//5:18 and 8:3; 8:10//5:16-17; 8:13-14//5:2. Lists of parallels, of course, vary depending upon criteria for identifying intratextual echoes. For discussion, see: Fosbroke, “Amos,” 6:773; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 132, 372–75; Rendtorff, *Das Alte Testament*, 232–33; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 77; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 166; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 178; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 108–9; Barton, *The Theology*, 48.

supplements in their current literary contexts. Each of these literary supplements, furthermore, reflects evidence of a literary horizon extending beyond Amos. These passages must be assessed for evidence of shared compositional origins. Several of these passages share thematic and lexical similarities suggestive of compositional origins. Amos 1:1ba and 7:9-17 share the identification of king Jeroboam, the reference to Judah, and the description of Amos's visionary activity using the root *חזה*. Amos 7:9-17 and 2:10-12, furthermore, shares the thematic rejection of the prophet and the language prohibiting prophesying. Amos 2:10-12 and 3:1b-2 share an exodus formula that serves a shared ideological function of highlighting Israel's unique election. Amos 2:4-5 and 6:8 both conceptually culminate in the destruction of Jerusalem.

Each of these six passages (and by implication 2:10-12), however, share four additional characteristics supporting identifying these supplements as a single redactional layer across Amos. First, each of these passages reflects a shared literary horizon extending to other Book of the Four texts. Amos 1:1 parallels the regnal dating system of Hos 1:1. Amos 2:4-5 employs language from Hos 4:6b, 10b, 12b. Amos 3:1b-2 draws upon Hos 8:13; and 13:4-5. Amos 5:13 parallels Mic 2:3, drawing Amos 5:11-17 and Mic 2:1-4 into a parallel structuring relationship. Amos 6:8 employs language and imagery reminiscent of Hos 5:5; 7:10. Whereas each of these texts employs language from the Hosea textual tradition, Amos 7:9-17 alludes to Mic 2:6. Each of these updates, therefore, reflects the same literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four.

Second, each of these supplements evinces a scribal program of literary integration into their current literary contexts. Each passages combines characteristic Hosea language with the syntax and language of Amos in order to integrate the supplement into its current context. Thus Amos 2:4-5 replicates the language and style of the Oracles Against the Nations and Amos 2:10-12 presents itself as the continuation of Amos 2:9. Amos 3:1b-2 and 5:13 replicate the syntactical patterns from the immediately preceding oracles. Amos 6:8 utilizes characteristic language from elsewhere in Amos,

and Amos 7:9-17 replicates language from the immediately surrounding vision reports. Each of these updates, therefore, reflects the same scribal tendency toward literary integration into their immediate literary context.

Third, a majority of these updates to Amos serve a framing function around the preexisting oracles against the Northern Kingdom of Israel. This frame, however, introduces a Judean focus to the otherwise Northern prophetic pronouncements. A majority of these updates congregate around the first Amos oracle targeting the Northern Kingdom of Israel (Amos 2:4-5, 10-12; 3:1b-2) and the concluding visions of judgment (Amos 7:9-17). These updates reframe the intervening Amos accusations revolving around the Day of YHWH pronouncements (Amos 3-6*). As with the framing device in Hosea, these updates augment an initial accusation (2:6-16*) and concluding announcement of judgment (7:1-8:3*) with a Judean awareness. Thus Amos 2:4-5 adds Judah to the Oracles Against the Nations immediately preceding the oracle against Israel and Amos 7:9-17 redirects the prophetic message by way of the rejected prophet to the Southern Kingdom of Judah. These framing components additionally betray the shared theme of rejecting divine instruction through the prophets. The only supplements that do not contribute to this frame are Amos 6:8, which augments a preexisting oracle reflecting the comparison motif (see Amos 6:1); and Amos 5:13, which serves to draw the accusations against the Judean leadership in Mic 2:1-4 into a parallel paradigm of accusation and judgment found in Amos's description of the Day of YHWH in Amos 5:11-17. These updates, therefore, reflect a shared literary horizon, a shared ideological agenda, and a shared scribal tendency toward literary integration. These observations thus support attributing these updates to a single redactional layer spanning Amos.

Conclusion: Book of the Four Editorial Activity in Amos

The case for Book of the Four editorial activity in Amos rests upon two types of arguments: the identification of Deuteronomistic editing in Amos and the identification

of editorially constructed intertextual parallels between these four prophetic texts. The preceding assessment examines the passages employed in each line of argumentation. Both forms of analysis yield strikingly similar results. The assessment of Deuteronomism in Amos identifies a significantly smaller pool of eligible pericopes than many previous assessments propose. This study identifies five passages that display ideological proximity to Deuteronomistic themes (Amos 1:1b α ; 2:4-5, 10-12; 3:1b-2; 7:9-17). With the exception of one phrase in Amos 7:9-17, these passages largely lack characteristic Deuteronomistic language. In addition to lacking characteristic Deuteronomistic language, these passages display identifiably non-Deuteronomistic literary forms suggesting that the compiler(s) of these passages may not be equated with the Deuteronomists of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History.

The assessment of passages evincing a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four yields seven passages that update Amos with language from Hosea and Micah. These seven passages contain striking overlap with the results from the investigation of Deuteronomism. Amos 1:1b α ; 2:4-5, 10-12; 3:1b-2; 5:13; 6:8; and 7:9-17 all display three compositional features suggesting that they share compositional origins as an editorial layer updating Amos in light of Hosea (and Mic 2:6). First, each passage employs Hosea language to update Amos (Amos 7:9-17 additionally employs language from Mic 2:6). Second, each of these passages replicates language and syntax structures from their immediate literary context into the supplement suggesting intentional scribal efforts to integrate these supplements into Amos. Finally, with the exception of 5:13 and 6:8, each passage displays ideological proximity to Deuteronomistic themes, yet employs identifiably non-Deuteronomistic literary constructions.

This editorial layer augments Amos in three ways. First, these updates display a noted Judean perspective. The layer provides primacy to the Judean monarchy in the superscriptional regnal dating schema (1:1b α), supplies the oracle against Judah (2:4-5), and develops Amos's identity as a Judean prophet delivering the word of God to the

northern kingdom (7:9-17). Second, this editorial layer reveals an awareness of Judah's fate as the recipient of divine judgment, which manifests in the destruction of Jerusalem (2:4-5; cf. 6:8). Finally, this editorial layer suggests that the people of God enjoyed a unique election among the peoples (2:10-12; 3:1b-2), which granted them access the prophetic word and divine commands. They rejected this instruction, however, resulting in the manifestation of judgment (2:4-5, 10-12; 7:9-17).

CHAPTER FOUR

Micah and the Book of the Four

Introduction

Micah presents no shortage of literary difficulties for scholars of the Hebrew prophets. A long tradition of biblical interpreters suspects select oracles of textual corruption.¹ The final form of Micah likely contains material composed in the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, Persian, and possibly Hellenistic eras, all incorporated into a relatively brief text resulting in the close juxtaposition of ideologically divergent pericopes.² The identification of prophetic material from each of these eras raises the additional question of identifying when editors first assembled these oracles into a prophetic book.³ Furthermore, scholarly approaches to accounting for these juxtaposed

¹ See for example, the discussion of Mic 1:10-16 below.

² Herbert Marks states that Micah may have the “most extensive redactional history among the Twelve” (“The Twelve Prophets,” in *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. Robert Alter and Frank Kermode [Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1987], 210). Few scholars attribute all of the text to the prophet Micah as found in: Bruce K. Waltke, “Micah: An Introduction and Commentary,” in *Obadiah, Jonah, and Micah: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC 26 (Leicester: InterVarsity, 1988), 147–49; idem, *A Commentary on Micah* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 8–13; Robert B. Chisholm, *Interpreting the Minor Prophets* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990), 131–33; Charles S. Shaw, *The Speeches of Micah: A Rhetorical-Historical Analysis*, JSOTSup 145 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993).

³ For those who trace the first literary form of the book to the preexilic period, see: Gunnar Hylmø, *Kompositionen av Mikas bok* (Lund: Gleerup, 1919), 286–88; Johannes Lindblom, *Micha: literarisch untersucht*, AABo.H VI:2 (Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1929), 134–50; Walter Beyerlin, *Die Kulturtraditionen Israels in der Verkündigung des Propheten Micha*, FRLANT 72 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959); P. G. Rinaldi and F. Luciani, *I Profeti minori, III: Michea, Nahum, Abacuc, Sofonia, Aggeo, Zaccaria, Malachia*, La Sacra Biblia (Torino: Marietti, 1960), 5–6; Erling Hammershaimb, “Einige Hauptgedanken in der Schrift des Propheten Micha,” *ST* 15 (1961): 11–34; René Vuilleumier, “Michée,” in *Michée, Nahoum, Habacuc, Sophonie*, CAT 11b (Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1971), 5–92; Wilhelm Rudolph, *Micha - Nahum - Habakuk - Zephania*, KAT 13,3 (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1975), 24–26; Leslie C. Allen, *The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, and Micah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 251; Shaw, *The Speeches of Micah*. Jeppesen, Metzner, and Utzschneider, on the other hand, see Micah as essentially an exilic construction that drew upon earlier material: Knud Jeppesen, *Græder ikke saa saare: studier i Mikabogens sigte*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Århus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 1987), 118–27; Gabriele Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte des Michabuches*, Europäische Hochschulschriften 635 (New York: Peter Lang, 1998), 185–96; Helmut Utzschneider, *Micha*, ZBKAT 24.1 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2005), 25–29. Jeremias admits that it is impossible to tell when these materials first came together, but he

pericopes have shifted considerably over the last several decades. Early composition studies struggled to provide solutions to the apparently disjointed character of the text.⁴ More recent redaction-critical models, however, adjusted to account for the growing awareness of literary coherence.⁵

Micah scholars widely recognize several similarities between Micah and the other eighth-century BCE prophets.⁶ The alleged late eighth-century BCE career of the prophet

finds a substantial exilic redaction leading him to believe that many of the earlier units were not brought together until that period (“Die Deutung der Gerichtsworte Michas in der Exilszeit,” ZAW 83 [1971]: 330–54). Similarly, Nogalski notes that it is difficult to isolate a pre-Deuteronomistic Micah composition (*Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 217 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993], 279 n.3). Schart proposes that scribes initially compiled the Micah sayings into a book in order to complement the pre-existing Hosea-Amos collection (*Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs: Neubearbeitungen von Amos im Rahmen schriftenerübergreifender Redaktionsprozesse*, BZAW 260 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998], 201–4). Finally, Ehud Ben Zvi and Julia O’Brien argue that Micah should functionally be read as a product of the Persian period. See: Ehud Ben Zvi, “A Deuteronomistic Redaction In/Among the ‘Twelve’?: A Contribution from the Standpoint of the Books of Micah, Zephaniah and Obadiah,” in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism*, ed. Linda S. Schearing and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 268 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 232–61; idem, *Micah*, FOTL 21B (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 9–11; Julia M. O’Brien, *Micah*, Wisdom Commentary 37 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2015), xlvii–lv.

⁴ G. W. Wade, for example, states that Micah lacks any systematic organization (*The Books of the Prophets Micah, Obadiah, Joel and Jonah*, WC [London: Methuen, 1925], xx). See also comments by Lucien Gautier, *Introduction à l’Ancien Testament*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Paris: Lausanne, 1906), 614; Karl Budde, “Verfasser und Stelle von Micha IV, 1–4 (Jes. 2, 2–4),” ZDMG 81 (1927): 157. Some of these early studies even rearrange the oracles of the text in order to restore some form of earlier coherence. For an example of the thematic reorganization of Micah, see: Joseph Halévy, “Le Livre de Michée,” *Revue sémitique* 12 (1904): 97–117, 193–216, 289–312; idem, “Le Livre de Michée,” *Revue sémitique* 13 (1905): 1–22. For an example of the a proposed chronological rearrangement of Micah, see: Paul Haupt, “Critical Notes on Micah,” *AJSL* 26 (1910): 201–52; idem, “The Book of Micah,” *AJSL* 27 (1910): 1–63; Josef Scharbert, *Die Propheten Israels bis 700 v. Chr.* (Köln: J. P. Bachem, 1965), 310–35.

⁵ Already in 1978, Knud Jeppesen writes, “There is, however, no doubt that the discussion will concern itself more with the Book of Micah as a whole than has previously been the case.” (“New Aspects of Micah Research,” *JSOT* 8 [1978]: 23). See also: John T. Willis, “The Structure, Setting, and Interrelationships of the Pericopes in the Book of Micah” (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1966); idem, “The Structure of the Book of Micah,” *SEÅ* 34 (1969): 5–42; idem, “Structure of Micah 3–5 and the Function of Micah 5:9–14 in the Book,” ZAW 81 (1969): 191–214; David Gerald Hagstrom, *The Coherence of the Book of Micah: A Literary Analysis*, SBLDS 89 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988); Kenneth Hugh Cuffey, *The Literary Coherence of the Book of Micah: Remnant, Restoration, and Promise*, LHBOTS 611 (London: T&T Clark, 2015). Although not addressing the issue of macrostructural coherence, one could also point to Danielle Ellul’s study of the thematic unity of the various components in Mic 1–3 (“Michée 1–3,” *ETR* 56 [1981]: 135–47).

⁶ E.g., Wilhelm Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten*, HKAT III.4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897), 189; Karl Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton: erklärt*, KHC 13 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1904), 261; Lindblom, *Micha*, 137–38; Theodore H. Robinson, “Micha,” in *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*,

Micah, however, allows for the parallels with Hosea, Amos, and Isaiah to be the result of pre-literary personal influences between these prophets.⁷ Nogalski's inclusion of Micah in the Book of the Four requires not only attributing some of these literary parallels to later editors, but also treating the compositional implications of parallels with Hosea and Amos apart from the parallels with Isaiah.⁸

Nogalski's hypothesis, furthermore, gave Micah's composition history a privileged place in identifying the ideological agenda of the Book of the Four. Nogalski argues that the Book of the Four forms a four-part macrostructure wherein the first two texts (Hosea and Amos) focus on the Northern Kingdom of Israel and the final two texts focus on the Southern Kingdom of Judah. The proposed exilic edition of these texts included one Northern prophet and one Southern prophet allowing for salvific hope (Hosea and Micah); both of which were followed by one Northern prophet and one Southern prophet solidifying fairly certain judgment (Amos and Zephaniah). This macrostructure suggests that the comparison between the fate of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms forms a key component of the ideological agenda of the Book of the Four. According to Nogalski, the Book of the Four additions to Mic 1:2-9 form the hinge in this macrostructure.⁹ The presence of this hinge assumes a linear reading program

3rd Aufl., HAT 1/14 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1964), 128; Adam S. Van der Woude, "Three Classical Prophets: Amos, Hosea and Micah," in *Israel's Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honor of Peter Ackroyd*, ed. Richard J. Coggins, Anthony Phillips, and Michael A. Knibb (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 47; Christof Hardmeier, "Die Propheten Micha und Jesaja im Spiegel von Jeremia XXVI und 2 Regum XVIII-XX. Zur Prophetie-Rezeption in der nach-joschianischen Zeit," in *Congress Volume: Leuven, 1989*, ed. John A. Emerton, VTSup 43 (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 181–84.

⁷ See for example, those who claim Micah was a disciple of Isaiah: Hans Schmidt, *Die grossen Propheten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1915), 131; Heinrich Ewald, *Die Propheten des alten Bundes: erklärt*, vol. 1, 3 vols., 2. Ausg. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1867), 498; Otto Procksch, *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1950), 207; Otto Procksch, *Jesaja I*, KAT IX,1 (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1930), 17; Otto Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 3. auf. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1964), 549; Th C. Vriezen, *De literatuur van Oud-Israël* (Den Haag Servire, 1961), 171.

⁸ See the criticism of: O'Brien, *Micah*, 32.

⁹ James D. Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Micah-Malachi*, SHBC (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2011), 518–19; idem, "Jerusalem, Samaria, and Bethel in the Book of the Twelve," in *Die Stadt im Zwölfprophetenbuch*, ed. Aaron Schart and Jutta Krispenz, BZAW 428 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 263.

moving from the preceding Northern prophets to the following Southern prophets.¹⁰ The transitional role of Mic 1:2-9* in the Book of the Four thus raises one of the more disputed claims of the hypothesis: a linear reading program spanning all four texts.¹¹

The subsequent investigations of Book of the Four redaction in Micah retain editorial additions in Mic 1:2-9* as key components in this ideological hinge. The different approaches to identifying Book of the Four editing in Micah, however, result in considerable diversity in each respective composition model (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. Proposed Book of the Four Supplements in Micah¹²

Schart	Albertz	Wöhrle
1:1, 2b, 5a, 6-7, 9, 12b(?); 2:3*; 3:1, 2a, 9; 6:2-16*	1:1, 5b-7, 13b; 5:8(?), 9-13	1:1, 5b-7, 9, 12b; 5:9-13; 6:2-4a, 9aob, 10-15

Synchronic and diachronic scholars additionally note the significance of Micah's placement at the center of the larger Book of the Twelve. For discussion, see: Kyu-Sang Yu, "Die Entstehungsgeschichte des 'Dodekapropheten' und sein Kanonisierungsprozeß" (PhD diss., Universität München, 2000), 222–25; Knud Jeppesen, "'Because of You!': An Essay about the Centre of the Book of the Twelve," in *In Search of True Wisdom: Essays in Old Testament Interpretation in Honour of Ronald E. Clements*, ed. Edward Ball, JSOTSup 300 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 196–210; Rainer Kessler, "Das Buch Micha als Mitte des Zwölfprophetenbuchs. Einzeltext, redaktionelle Intention und kontextuelle Lektüre," in *Wort JHWHs, das geschah...* (*Hos 1,1*): Studien zum Zwölfprophetenbuch, ed. Erich Zenger, HBS 35 (Freiburg: Herder, 2002), 139–48; Burkard M. Zapff, "The Book of Micah - The Theological Centre of the Book of the Twelve?," in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations-Redactional Processes-Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 129–48; Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Micah-Malachi*, 519–20, 568–70.

¹⁰ Jörg Jeremias, *Die Propheten Joel, Obadja, Jona, Micha*, ATD 24.3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 126.

¹¹ See the objections of: Ehud Ben Zvi, "Is the Twelve Hypothesis Likely from an Ancient Reader's Perspective?," in *Two Sides of a Coin: Juxtaposing Views on Interpreting the Book of The Twelve*, Analecta Gorgiana 201 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009), 90–94.

¹² Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 177–203; Rainer Albertz, *Die Exilszeit: 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, BE(S) 7 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001), 164–85; Jakob Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen des Zwölfprophetenbuches: Entstehung und Komposition*, BZAW 360 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 138–97.

Unlike in the Amos and Zephaniah, intertextual parallels with the Book of the Four in Micah do not align as frequently with passages suspected of Deuteronomistic composition, resulting in considerable diversity in the proposed composition models.

The present chapter reexamines the evidence for Micah's inclusion in the Book of the Four hypothesis in order to accomplish two primary goals. First, this chapter examines the degree to which the composition history of Micah reflects evidence of a distinctive Deuteronomistic agenda. Following this study's defined methodological approach for identifying Deuteronomism, this assessment explores the degree to which these proposed passages reflect both Deuteronomistic themes and language as identifiable in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History. Second, this chapter examines the degree to which editorial updates in Micah reflect a literary horizon extending to Hosea, Amos, and Zephaniah. This chapter concludes by examining the relationship between the passages reflecting ideological proximity to Deuteronomism and the passages reflecting a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four. The following assessment identifies Mic 1:1, 5b-7, 9; 2:3; 6:9-16* as likely Book of the Four editorial additions.

Deuteronomism in Micah

Introduction to the Quest for Deuteronomism in Micah

As is the case with many studies of Deuteronomistic editing within the prophets, the quest for a hand of a Deuteronomist in Micah takes very different forms as scholars employ differing terms and criteria for identifying Deuteronomism within the text. Unfortunately, the impact of such inconsistencies echoes throughout the recent Book of the Four composition models. Three formative composition studies have laid the foundation for the modern identification of an exilic, Deuteronomistic redaction in

Micah.¹³ First, Jörg Jeremias identifies extensive exilic editing in Micah (1:1*, 1:5b, 7a, 13b; 2:4-5*, 10; 3:4; 5:9-13; 6:14, 16).¹⁴ He identifies these exilic, Deuteronomistic updates based upon lexical or thematic overlap with the perceived Deuteronomistic collections of Hosea, Jeremiah, and the Deuteronomistic History. He concludes that the exilic editors of Micah may be related to the editors of Jeremiah and the Deuteronomistic History. Second, Theodor Lescow similarly identifies exilic, Deuteronomistic edits to Micah based upon Deuteronomistic vocabulary. Unlike Jeremias, however, he does not recognize links with Hosea as necessarily Deuteronomistic (cf. Mic 1:6-7). Lescow furthermore identifies far more of these exilic updates in Micah 4-5.¹⁵ He attributes some additions to an exilic expansion on account of perceived Deuteronomistic language or ideology (e.g., 1:1a, 5b, 13b), whereas he includes other additions on account of a perceived exilic setting (e.g., 1:16; 4:6-8*, 9-10*, 11-13*, 14; 5:1a, 3). Finally, Hans Walter Wolff identifies exilic, Deuteronomistic updates in Micah that resemble the

¹³ Two additional scholars identifying Deuteronomistic editing in Micah deserve mention. First, Bernard Renaud proposes a four-stage composition model for Micah that includes an exilic, Deuteronomistic update consisting of 1:1, 5b, 13b; 2:5, and possibly 2:10a; 3:4. This update involves the revision of 2:3-4; 3:8; and 6:14, 16. He identifies Deuteronomistic similarities with the preexilic compositions of 6:1-8, and 7:1-7 (*La formation du livre de Michée: tradition et actualisation*, EBib [Paris: J. Gabalda, 1977], 383–420; idem, *Structure et attaches littéraires de Michée IV-V*, CahRB 2 [Paris: J. Gabalda, 1964]; idem, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, SB [Paris: J. Gabalda, 1987], 161–73). Second, Adam S. van der Woude divides between Mic 1-5, which were edited by the prophet Micah; and Mic 6-7, which were the work of an eighth-century northern prophet. He proposes that a Deuteronomistic editor combined these independent pieces during the time of Josiah (*Micha*, POT [Nijkerk: G.F. Callenbach, 1976], 1, 10–11, 13–17; idem, “Three Classical Prophets,” 52–53; idem, *Profeet en establishment: een verklaring van het boek Micha*, Exegetische studies 1 [Kampen, Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1985], 25–31, 107–108).

¹⁴ Jeremias, “Die Deutung der Gerichtsworte,” 330–54. Jeremias changes his mind on the dating of Mic 5:9-13. He concludes in later publications that Mic 5:9-13 reflects an Hellenistic era addition due to the influence of Deutero-Zechariah (“Micha 4-5 und die nachexilische Prophetie,” in *Propheten in Mari, Assyrien und Israel*, ed. M. Köckert and Martti Nissinen, FRLANT 201 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003], 110–14; idem, *Die Propheten Joel, Obadja, Jona, Micha*, 119, 191–95).

¹⁵ Theodor Lescow, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5,” ZAW 84 (1972): 46–85. Lescow identifies a preexilic core of Mic 1:3-5a, 8-13a, 14-15; 2:1-11*; 3:1-12*, which receives a series of exilic interpolations (1:1a, 5b, 13b, 16; 2:12), along with the addition of parts of exilic Zion liturgies (4:6-8*, 9-10*, 11-13*, 14; 5:1a, 3).

Deuteronomistic updates that he identifies in Amos.¹⁶ Wolff identifies similarities between the oldest stratum of Mic 4-5 (4:9-5:1, 3, 4a, 5b [5:2, 4, 5a, 6b]) and Jeremiah leading him to conclude that this oldest stratum may be the product of a Jeremiah disciple near the beginning of the exile.¹⁷

Several scholars since these studies recognize Deuteronomistic exilic editing.¹⁸ This cursory review of Jeremias, Lescow, and Wolff reveals slightly different criteria for applying the label “Deuteronomistic.” More significantly, however, these studies reveal a lack of distinction between exilic and Deuteronomistic editing. These scholars often assume that these Deuteronomistic supplements are exilic, and likewise occasionally associate additions with this Deuteronomistic editing simply because they fit in the exile.¹⁹

¹⁶ According to Wolff, Micah receives a series of additions concerned with the cult (1:5, 7a; 2:10b) and the military (1:13b + לַחַיִּים of v.14). Wolff also identifies the introductory theophany (1:3-4) as possibly Deuteronomistic (cf. Amos 1:2). According to Wolff, the same Deuteronomistic circle updated 1:1; 2:3-5, 3:4b, 8; 6:9-16* and added many of the temporal indicators. See Hans Walter Wolff, *Micah*, BKAT 14/4 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982), xxxii–xxviii.

¹⁷ Ibid., xxix–xxx.

¹⁸ E.g., Jacques Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe à l'apocalyptique: Isaïe, I-XXXV, miroir d'un demi-millénaire d'expérience religieuse en Israël*, vol. 2, 2 vols., EBib (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1978), 570–601; Eckart Otto, “Techniken der Rechtssatzredaktion israelitischer Rechtsbücher in der Redaktion des Prophetenbuches Micha,” *SJOT* 2 (1991): 119–50; Odil Hannes Steck, “Israel und Zion: Zum Problem konzeptioneller Einheit und literarischer Schichtung in Deuterocesaja,” in *Gottesknecht und Zion: Gesammelte Aufsätze zu Deuterocesaja*, ed. Bernd Janowski and Hermann Spieckermann, FAT 4 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 194; Miguel Alvarez, *Relecturas deuteronomísticas de Amos, Miqueas y Jeremias*, Publicaciones Instituto Teológico Franciscano. Serie mayor 10 (Murcia: Editorial Espigas, 1993), 83–122; Erich Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1–39 im Zwölfprophetenbuch: Untersuchungen zur literarischen Verbindung von Prophetenbüchern in babylonischer und persischer Zeit*, OBO 154 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 348; William McKane, *The Book of Micah: Introduction and Commentary*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 1–19; Stephen L. Cook, “Micah’s Deuteronomistic Redaction and the Deuteronomists’ Identity,” in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism*, ed. Linda S. Schearing and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 268 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 216–31; Erich Zenger, “Das Zwölfprophetenbuch,” in *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 8th vollständig überarbeitete Auflage., Kohlhammer-Studienbücher Theologie 1.1 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2012), 666.

¹⁹ Wolff, for example, concludes that Mic 5:9–12 [10–13] and 6:2–8 reflect Deuteronomistic features, but could not be Deuteronomistic due to their postexilic dating (*Micah*, xxx, xxxii–xxxiv).

The Book of the Four hypothesis naturally incorporates observations from this scholarly trajectory.²⁰ Book of the Four advocates, however, also acquired the inconsistencies of the previous quest for Deuteronomism. Aaron Schart, for example, finds so many subtle points of contact with Hosea and Amos ranging from Mic 1:1-6:16* that he concludes that the earliest literary core of Micah likely never existed apart from the books of Hosea and Amos.²¹ Albertz, however, identifies a notably different collection of Book of the Four additions that extends no farther than Mic 5:9-13[10-14].²² By not admitting intertextual parallels as evidence for Deuteronomism, Wöhrle identifies a smaller repertoire of Deuteronomistic editing that primarily revolve around the themes of idolatry and militaristic prideful self-exaltation.²³

While many scholars note Deuteronomistic similarities, not all agree that these similarities evince a Deuteronomistic redaction across the entire book.²⁴ Jeppesen, who recognizes Deuteronomistic editing in Micah, cautions that not all similarities with Deuteronomistic themes warrant a Deuteronomistic editor. He recognizes the possibility that the earliest literary pronouncements of the prophet Micah were proto-Deuteronomistic.²⁵ While Micah contains some lexical and thematic similarities with

²⁰ Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 123–38; idem, *The Book of the Twelve: Micah-Malachi*, 512–19.

²¹ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 201–4. Schart identifies the “D” redactions based largely upon similarities with Hosea and Amos in 1:2b, 5a, 6-7, 9, 12b(?), 3:1, 9; 6:1-16*. Kessler observes similar parallels with Hosea and Amos, but attributes them to the texts’ preservation in similar scribal circles rather than the intentional shaping of Micah to align with the books of Amos and Hosea (*Micha*, HThKAT [Freiburg: Herder, 1999], 48–49).

²² Rainer Albertz, “Exile as Purification: Reconstructing the Book of the Four (Hosea, Amos, Micah, Zephaniah),” in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart, BZAW 325 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 235.

²³ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 192–93.

²⁴ Lothar Perlitt, for example, denies Deuteronomism among the texts from the eighth-century prophets. Perlitt strictly defines Deuteronomism as covenant theology (*Bundestheologie im Alten Testament*, WMANT 36 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969], 137).

²⁵ Jeppesen, *Græder ikke saa saare*, 1:346–47. Jeppesen approaches the task of dating material with greater caution in his later work (cf. idem, “‘Because of You!’,” 197). Blenkinsopp similarly allows

other traditionally designated Deuteronomistic texts, Ehud Ben Zvi correctly points out that Micah lacks the formal phrasing indicative of Deuteronomistic editing.²⁶

The case for Deuteronomistic editing in Micah revolves primarily around three thematic parallels with Deuteronomistic thought. First, Mic 1:1 employs the prominent word-event formula and a regnal dating system. Second, the theme of idolatry appears in Mic 1:5b-7 and 5:9-13[10-14]. Some scholars additionally include Mic 1:9, 12b, and 13b on account of lexical and grammatical points of contact with 1:5b-7. Third, the exodus motif features in Mic 6:1-16*. The following assessment, therefore, examines each of these four themes respectively in order to accomplish two goals. First, the assessment of each theme will consider the degree to which each passage reflects ideological and lexical proximity to other Deuteronomistic texts. Second, the assessment of each theme will examine the degree to which these various passages reflect the ideological coherence indicative of shared compositional origins.

The Superscription and the Question of Deuteronomism: Micah 1:1

Redaction-critical investigations commonly identify Mic 1:1 as the product of a diachronic composition process on account of three compositional peculiarities.²⁷ First, the Micah superscription unexpectedly has both a word-event formula and language of a vision report. Second, Mic 1:1 frames the Micah message as pertaining to both Jerusalem

that later Deuteronomic thought may have influenced the earliest writings of Micah (*A History of Prophecy in Israel*, Rev. Ed. [Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox, 1996], 93, 94–95). See also the caution of Rex Mason, *Micah, Nahum, Obadiah*, T&T Clark Study Guides (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 44–48.

²⁶ Ben Zvi, “A Deuteronomistic Redaction,” 240. See also the objections of Jason Radine, “Deuteronomistic Redaction of the Book of the Four and the Origins of Israel’s Wrongs,” in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations-Redactional Processes-Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 287–302.

²⁷ Lindblom, *Micha*, 156–57; Wolff, *Micha*, 2; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 126, 127–28; Jeremias, *Die Propheten Joel, Obadja, Jona, Micha*, 126; Christoph Levin, “Das ‘Vierprophetenbuch’: Ein exegetischer Nachruf,” ZAW 123 (2011): 228.

and Samaria. Samaria, however, otherwise features only in 1:5b-6, where it similarly occurs as part of a comparison of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. Redaction critics commonly identify Mic 1:5b-7 as an editorial update to the earliest literary core of Micah. Third, the regnal dating system separates the אשר relative clause from its assumed antecedent. Thus the Micah superscription makes a comparison that features only once in the later editorial development of the text, suggesting that Mic 1:1 likely reflects a later editorial agenda added to the earliest literary core.²⁸

As with Hos 1:1, arguments for the Deuteronomistic construction of Mic 1:1 depend upon two lines of reasoning: the use of the word-event דבר־יהוה formula and the regnal dating system.²⁹ As seen in the assessment of Hos 1:1, however, the דבר־יהוה formula appears frequently enough across Deuteronomistic and non-Deuteronomistic texts that it becomes an unreliable indicator of Deuteronomistic redaction when assessed by itself.³⁰ Similarly the use of a regnal dating system could evince dependence upon the

²⁸ E.g., Julius Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten: übersetzt und erklärt*, 3. Ausgabe. (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1898), 134; John Merlin Powis Smith, "The Book of Micah," in *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah and Joel*, by John Merlin Powis Smith, William Hayes Ward, and Julius A. Bewer, ICC 24 (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1911), 31–32; Ernst Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, KAT 12/1 (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1922), 262; Lindblom, *Micha*, 13–15; Ina Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese innerhalb des Alten Testaments: Untersuchungen zum literarischen Werden der auf Amos, Hosea und Micha zurückgehenden Bücher im hebraischen Zwölfprophetenbuch*, BZAW 123 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971), 70; Lescow, "Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5," 62–63; Rudolph, *Micha*, 31–32; James Luther Mays, *Micah: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), 36–37; Renaud, *La formation*, 6–7; idem, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 18–19; William McKane, "Micah 1,2-7," ZAW 107 (1995): 428; Jan A. Wagenaar, *Judgement and Salvation: The Composition and Redaction of Micah 2-5*, VTSup 85 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 57.

²⁹ E.g., Jeremias, "Die Deutung der Gerichtsworte," 352–53; Lescow, "Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5," 63; Van der Woude, *Micha*, 13–17; Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:570–71; Alfons Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten II: Obadja, Jona, Micha, Nahum, Habakuk*, Die neue Echter Bibel 8 (Würzburg: Echter, 1984), 170; Van der Woude, *Profeet en establishment*, 28, 46; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 126, 127–28; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 91; Burkard M. Zapff, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Michabuch im Kontext des Dodekapropheten*, BZAW 256 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 245; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39*, 348; McKane, *The Book of Micah*, 25–26; Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte*, 154; Mark E. Biddle, "'Israel' and 'Jacob' in the Book of Micah: Micah in the Context of the Twelve," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, ed. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, SymS 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 146; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 166–67; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 138–39; Jeremias, *Die Propheten Joel, Obadja, Jona, Micha*, 125–27; Zapff, "The Book of Micah," 129.

³⁰ See pp.52-58.

Deuteronomistic History. This regnal dating system, however, does not necessitate such a conclusion.³¹ Other socio-historical scenarios may account for memory of these Judean kings. Micah 1:1 thus lacks sufficient evidence to reach definitive conclusions for or against Deuteronomistic composition. The evidence allows concluding that Mic 1:1 contains an ideologically driven comparison between the Northern and Southern Kingdoms, which reappears only in vv.5b-7 suggesting that these passages reflect shared editorial activity.

Anti-idolatry Polemics and the Question of Deuteronomism: Micah 1:5b-7; 5:9-13[10-14]

Micah contains strikingly few direct references to idolatry, fueling the suspicion that the two primary occurrences of the theme emerge from the later editing of the text.³² Given the central concern for idolatry in Deuteronomistic thought, redaction critics commonly identify Mic 1:5b-7 and 5:9-13[10-14] as Deuteronomistic supplements.

Diachronic scholars often conclude that Mic 1:5b post-dates v.5a on account of the sudden comparison between Samaria and Jerusalem.³³ The earliest literary

³¹ See similar conclusions in: Delbert R. Hillers, *Micah*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 14; Ben Zvi, "A Deuteronomistic Redaction," 250–53.

³² The reference to "high places" (במות) in Mic 1:3 identifies topographical features rather than cultic locations (cf. 1:5b-7). Micah 3:7 identifies "seers" (החזים) and "diviners" (הקסמים), but suggests they encounter the silence of God rather than activities with idols. Micah 4:5 indicates that the "peoples" (העמים) will walk "in the name of his god" (בשם אלהיו), but lacks an anti-idolatry polemic against the people of God.

³³ Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 262–63, 264–65; Lindblom, *Micha*, 157; Alfred Jepsen, "Kleine Beiträge zum Zwölfprophetenbuch," ZAW 56 (1938): 98; Artur Weiser, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten I: die Propheten Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona, Micha*, ATD 24 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1949), 208–9; Rolf Ungern-Sternberg, *Der Rechtsstreit Gottes mit seiner Gemeinde: der Prophet Micha*, BAT 23,3 (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1958), 28; Scharbert, *Die Propheten Israels*, 315; Jeremias, "Die Deutung der Gerichtsworte," 331–32; Lescow, "Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5," 70; Rudolph, *Micha*, 33; Van der Woude, *Micha*, 31; Renaud, *La formation*, 54–55; Hillers, *Micah*, 18; Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten II*, 167, 170–71; McKane, "Micah 1,2-7," 425–26; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 177; Kessler, *Micha*, 87. Contra Freedman who defends the unity of v.5 on the grounds of parallelism ("Discourse on Prophetic Discourse," in *The Quest for the Kingdom of God: Studies in Honor of George E. Mendenhall*, ed. H. B. Huffman, F. A. Spina, and A. R. W. Green [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983], 146–47).

composition of Micah frequently pairs Jacob with Israel as found in 1:5a (cf. 3:1, 8, 9). The designators “Jacob” and “Israel” serve to identify the southern kingdom of Judah in these instances (cf. 3:10-12). Micah 1:5b, however, associates Jacob with Samaria as a distinctive entity apart from the southern kingdom. The differing presupposed identity of “Jacob,” which is otherwise absent from the earliest composition of Micah, suggests that 1:5b is a later addition.³⁴ Furthermore, the text identifies Samaria by name only in Mic 1:1, 5b, 6. The rhetoric surrounding the unexpected introduction of Samaria in Mic 1:6, however, resembles the language applied to Jerusalem in Mic 3:12 (see Table 4.2).³⁵ The similar language suggests editors of Mic 1:6 drew upon Jerusalem’s demise from Mic 3:12 in order to cast the fate of Samaria in similar language. Micah 1:7 then continues the first-person divine discourse of 1:6 along with the third-person feminine singular pronouns referencing Samaria. The inaugural “concerning this” (על־זאת) in v.8, however, recalls the central concern with “all of this” (כל־זאת) in v.5a suggesting that vv.5b-7 serve as an editorial interruption.³⁶

³⁴ On the uses of “Jacob” and “Israel” in Micah, see: Biddle, “‘Israel’ and ‘Jacob,’” 146–65.

³⁵ Of the four prophetic announcements turning a city into a heap of ruins (עִי), three are associated with the Micah tradition (Mic 1:6; 3:12; Jer 26:18; the fourth occurs in Jer 49:3). Many recognize this connection between Mic 1:6 and 3:12. See for example: Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten*, 135; Mays, *Micah*, 47; Wolff, *Micha*, 11; Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten II*, 172, 182; Biddle, “‘Israel’ and ‘Jacob,’” 150. Wagenaar, even translates שָׂדֵה as “hillside” in Mic 1:6 thus creating a parallel with the הָר of Mic 3:12 (“The Hillside of Samaria: Interpretation and Meaning of Micah 1:6,” *BN* 85 [1996]: 26–30).

³⁶ Already in 1938, Jepsen declared that scholars questioned the authenticity of nearly every verse in 1:2-7 (“Kleine Beiträge zum Zwölfprophetenbuch,” 96). Furthermore, scholars oscillate between identifying these verses as a collection of fragmented sayings or a fundamental literary unity. For those treating Mic 1:2-7 as a fragmented collection of sayings, see: D. Deden, *De kleine profeten: uit de grondtekst vertaald en uitgelegd*, De boeken van het Oude Testament (Roermond en Maaseik: J.J. Romen & Zonen, 1953), 203–7; Robinson, “Micha,” 130–33. Conversely, for those who argue for structural unity, see: Fritz, “Das Wort gegen Samaria,” 316–31; Freedman, “Discourse on Prophetic Discourse,” 146–48; Johannes Cornelis de Moor, “Micah 1: A Structural Approach,” in *Structural Analysis of Biblical and Canaanite Poetry*, ed. Willem van der Meer and Johannes Cornelis de Moor, JSOTSup 74 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 172–85; Paul R. Raabe, “The Particularizing of Universal Judgment in Prophetic Discourse,” *CBQ* 64 (2002): 668–69; Kessler, *Micha*, 80–94. Cf. Nogalski, who argues for the basic unity of vv.3-9 (*Literary Precursors*, 135–36).

Table 4.2. Comparison of Micah 1:6 and 3:12

Verse	Hebrew Text	English Translation
Micah 1:6:	³⁷ ושמתי שמרון לעי השדה למטעי כרם והגרתי לגי אבניה ויסדיה אגלה:	⁶ And I will make Samaria <u>a heap of ruins</u> <u>in the field</u> , a place for planting vineyards, and I will cast down into the valley her stones and I will uncover her foundation.
Micah 3:12:	לכן בגללכם ציון שדה תחרש וירושלם עיין תהיה והר הבית לבמות יער:	¹² Therefore, on account of you all Zion will be ploughed into <u>a field</u> , and Jerusalem will become a <u>heap of ruins</u> , and the mountain of the house will be a high place of woods.

The argument for Deuteronomism in Mic 1:5b-7 depends upon the anti-idolatry polemic of vv.5b, 7 and the comparison between Jerusalem and Samaria.³⁸ Wöhrle observes that the *במות* of 1:5b reflects a cultic place against which the Deuteronomistic History repeatedly speaks.³⁹ He further notes that *פסיל* appears in other Deuteronomistic texts, and that its combination with *שרף*, and *אש* occurs in Deut 7:5, 25; 12:3 and Mic 1:7.⁴⁰ While Wöhrle correctly observes that the *במות* are of chief concern in the

³⁷ Many scholars propose emendations due to the unusual construction of *לעי השדה*. Some delete *השדה* (e.g., Lescow, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5,” 82, n.137), whereas others remove the *עי* (e.g., Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 267; Smith, “The Book of Micah,” 34; Jepsen, “Kleine Beiträge zum Zwölfprophetenbuch,” 97, n.3; Herbert Donner, *Israel unter den Völkern: die Stellung der klassischen Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. zur Aussenpolitik der Könige von Israel und Juda*, VTSup 11 [Leiden: Brill, 1964], 94; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 71; Volkmar Fritz, “Das Wort gegen Samaria Mi 1:2-7,” ZAW 86 [1974]: 320, n.26). Wolff removes *לעי השדה* (*Micha*, 11, 16). The textual witnesses do not support such emendations. For those who retain the text as preserved, see: Georg Fohrer, “Micha 1,” in *Das Ferne und nahe Wort. Festschrift Leonhard Rost zur Vollendung seines 70.*, ed. Fritz Maass, BZAW 105 (Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1967), 70; Allen, *The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, and Micah*, 267; Mays, *Micah*, 45–47; Ralph L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, WBC 32 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1984), 15–16; Wagenaar, “The Hillside of Samaria,” 27.

³⁸ For arguments beyond the Book of the Four hypothesis identifying Mic 1:5b-7 as Deuteronomistic, see: Mays, *Micah*, 24–26, 45–48; Wolff, *Micha*, 15–16, 20–21, 24–26. Many scholars also limit the identification of Deuteronomistic editing to v.5b. See for example: Lescow, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5,” 73–74, 84, n.149; Van der Woude, *Micha*, 32–33; Renaud, *La formation*, 10, 14, 387–99; idem, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 26–27.

³⁹ First Kings 3:2, 3, 4; 11:7; 12:31, 32; 13:2, 32, 33; 14:23; 15:14; 22:44; 2 Kgs 12:4; 14:4; 15:4, 35; 16:4; 17:9, 11, 29, 32; 18:4; 21:3; 23:5, 8, 9, 13, 15, 19, 20. Cf. Jer 7:31; 19:5; 32:35.

⁴⁰ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 140–42, 192–93.

Deuteronomistic History, polemics against their existence also occur outside of Deuteronomistic literature.⁴¹ Polemics against פסיל likewise occur outside of Deuteronomistic texts.⁴²

Wöhrle correctly notes the proximity between the פסיל, אש, and the verb שרף in Deut 7:5, 25; 12:3, and Mic 1:7. However, three observations differentiate Mic 1:5b-7 from other Deuteronomistic texts. First, whereas Deut 7:5, 25; and 12:3 command the idols (פסיל) to be burned (שרף) in the fire (אש), Mic 1:5b-7 announces the burning of the harlot's wages (אתנן), not the idols.⁴³ Second, Mic 1:7 parallels פסיל with עצב, which occurs very infrequently in Deuteronomistic literature when compared to the broader Hebrew prophetic corpus. Third, עצב does not occur in the book of Deuteronomy, and refers to idols only twice in the Deuteronomistic History (1 Sam 31:9; 2 Sam 5:21; cf. 1 Chr 10:9). Neither of these two instances reflect a Deuteronomistic polemic. עצב occurs with greater frequency, however, outside of traditionally designated Deuteronomistic literature.⁴⁴ The only other passage that parallels these terms is Isa 10:10-11. Thus although the anti-idolatry polemic of vv.5b-7 reflects ideological overlap with Deuteronomistic concerns, the language distinguishes Mic 1:5b-7 from Deuteronomistic literary conventions.

Nogalski observes that Mic 1:5b assumes familiarity with why Samaria fell. Only the Deuteronomistic History, Hosea, and Amos supply such knowledge, leading Nogalski

⁴¹ Leviticus 26:30; Num 33:52; Ezek 6:6; 16:16; 20:29; Hos 10:8; Amos 7:9. Furthermore, there is no polemic against במית in Deuteronomy. The uses in Deut 32:13; 33:29 do not denote a cultic function.

⁴² Note that פסיל occurs only once in a Deuteronomistic polemic in the Deuteronomistic History (2 Kgs 17:41). The other two occurrences in the Deuteronomistic History do not present a polemic against them (Judg 3:19, 26). פסיל is more favored by the Chronicler (2 Chr 33:19, 22; 34:3, 4, 7). Beyond these passages, polemics against פסיל occur in Isa 30:22; 42:8; Jer 8:19; Ps 78:58. For non-polemical additional references, see Isa 10:10; 21:9; Jer 50:38; 51:47, 52.

⁴³ Wöhrle explains the different use of the words as the result of the influence of Hosea (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 140–42, 192–93). See below for analysis.

⁴⁴ Isaiah 10:11; 46:1; 48:5; Jer 44:19; 50:2; Hos 4:17; 8:4; 13:2; 14:9; Pss 106:36, 38; 115:4; 135:15; 2 Chr 24:18.

to suggest that Mic 1:5b presupposes these texts.⁴⁵ For Nogalski, the Book of the Four presentation of Samaria's fate as an unheeded warning of Jerusalem's fate reflects Deuteronomistic thought (2 Kgs 17:5-20; 21:11-13; 23:19). Micah 1:5b-7 reflects an interjection of the judgment of Samaria into an otherwise Judean oracle in such a way as to create a correlation between the two. Nogalski recognizes that a similar comparison occurs in Isa 10:10-11, but labels these verses as a later gloss dependent upon the same Deuteronomistic ideology. He further acknowledges similar comparisons in Ezek 16:46; 23:4, 34 but concludes that these cannot be the source of the ideological comparison in Mic 1.⁴⁶ While Nogalski correctly observes the ideological overlap with the Deuteronomistic interpretation of history, the Ezekiel passages indicate that the comparison of the fates of the two kingdoms is not exclusive to Deuteronomistic thought.

Nogalski and Wöhrle both observe a relationship between the ideological assumptions of Mic 1:5b-7 and Deuteronomistic thought, but these points of contact are not exclusively Deuteronomistic and fail to employ the distinctive Deuteronomistic style indicative of a Deuteronomistic editor. The literary differences distinguishing Mic 1:5b-7 from Deuteronomism suggest that this passage reflects ideological proximity to Deuteronomistic thought, but a distinguishable editorial style from that identified in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History.

The second passage reflecting a concern with idolatry occurs in Mic 5:9-13[10-14]. Micah 5:9-13[10-14] occurs in part of a larger literary unit of Mic 4-5, which scholars commonly conclude postdates the exile. Scholars widely recognize the distinct literary shift demarcating Mic 4-5 from chapters 1-3.⁴⁷ The text adopts a sudden interest in the "nations" and the "peoples."⁴⁸ The image of Zion's being "plowed like a field,"

⁴⁵ Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Micah-Malachi*, 525-26.

⁴⁶ Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 132-34.

⁴⁷ See the list of literary distinctions in: Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Micah-Malachi*, 549.

⁴⁸ Cf. Mic 4:1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 11, 13; 5:6[7], 7[8], 14[15].

Jerusalem's becoming a "heap of ruins" (3:12), and the "mountain of the house" becoming a "wooded high place," contrasts sharply with the elevation of the "mountain of the house of YHWH" above all other mountains, and the pilgrimage of the nations to Zion in 4:1-3.⁴⁹ Three literary features complicate investigations into the composition of Mic 4-5. First, scholars widely recognize that Mic 4-5 functions as a literary echo chamber for other prophetic texts and themes.⁵⁰ Second, many scholars comment on the fragmented appearance of the literary units. The text frequently shifts themes, pronouns, and verbs giving the impression of a patch-work quilt of juxtaposed pronouncements.⁵¹ Finally, amidst the apparent disjointed juxtaposition of pronouncements, several scholars identify numerous unifying features such as the repeated concern for the "many nations" (using עַם and גּוֹי; see: 4:2, 5, 7, 11, 13; 5:6[7], 7[8]), the four fold use of עָתָה flanked by the similarly sounding אָתָּה (4:8-5:1[2]), and the theme of remnant (4:6-7; 5:6-7[7-8]).

⁴⁹ Scholars commonly affirm the intentionality of the juxtaposition of these oracles on account of the stark contrast. E.g., Eduard Nielsen, *Oral Tradition: A Modern Problem in the Old Testament Introduction*, SBT 11 (Chicago: A. R. Allenson, 1954), 91–92; Willis, "Structure of Micah 3-5," 196; Rick R. Marrs, "'Back to the Future': Zion in the Book of Micah," in *David and Zion: Biblical Studies in Honor of J.J.M. Roberts*, ed. Bernard F. Batto and Kathryn L. Roberts (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 85; Mason, *Micah, Nahum, Obadiah*, 49. Van der Woude alternatively proposes that the sudden shift reflects a change of speaker from Micah to the false prophets as part of the dialogue spanning Mic 2-5 ("Micah in Dispute With the Pseudo-Prophets," VT 19 [1969]: 249–56; idem, "Micah IV 1-5: An Instance of the Pseudo-Prophets Quoting Isaiah," in *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl Dedicatae*, ed. M. A. Beek et al. [Leiden: Brill, 1973], 401; idem, "Three Classical Prophets," 51–52). See similarly: J. G. Strydom, "Micah 4:1-5 and Isaiah 2:2-5: Who Said It First? A Critical Discussion of A. S. van Der Woude's View," OTE 2.2 (1989): 15–28. Contrary to the conclusions of the Dialogue model of van der Woude, the text does not signal a change of speaker or dialogue transition between chapters 3 and 4.

⁵⁰ E.g., Rolland Emerson Wolfe, "The Editing of the Book of the Twelve," ZAW 53 (1935): 93–95; Weiser, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten I*, 262–78; Renaud, *Structure et attaches littéraires*; Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten II*, 182–90.

⁵¹ Smith, for example, identifies Mic 4-5 as a "miscellaneous collection of fragments gathered up from various sources" ("The Book of Micah," 12). See similar assessments by: Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 280–91; Lindblom, *Micha*, 134–56; Paul Frederick Bloomhardt, "Micah," in *Old Testament Commentary: A General Introduction to and a Commentary on the Books of the Old Testament*, ed. Herbert Christian Alleman and Elmer Ellsworth Flack (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1948), 846; Georg Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 6. und des 5. Jahrhunderts* Band 5 en *Die Propheten des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1976), 110, 116–21; Lescow, "Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5," 64.

Many scholars thus argue that the individual units of Mic 4-5 fit into a larger unifying concentric macrostructure.⁵² Others identify catchwords or formal structuring markers linking the various pronouncements of Mic 4-5.⁵³ Composition studies, therefore, commonly divide Mic 4-5 between two or more compositional strata,⁵⁴ which sometimes correlate to the editorial development taking place in other books as well.⁵⁵ Composition dates usually range from the preexilic to Maccabean eras.⁵⁶

⁵² For various renditions of the concentric structuring of Mic 4-5, see: Nielsen, *Oral Tradition*, 85–87; Renaud, *Structure et attaches littéraires*; Allen, *The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, and Micah*, 260; Renaud, *La formation*, 276–84; J. de Waard, “Vers une identification des participants dans le livre de Michée,” in *Prophètes, poètes et sages d’Israël: Hommages à Edmond Jacob à l’occasion de son 70^e anniversaire par ses amis, ses collègues et ses élèves* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1979), 512–13; Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten II*, 167; Otto, “Techniken der Rechtssatzredaktion,” 141–47; Kessler, *Micha*, 174–76.

⁵³ E.g., David J. Bryant, “Micah 4:14-5:14: An Exegesis,” *RQ* 21 (1978): 413; Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Micah-Malachi*, 554.

⁵⁴ Stade famously advocates for a similar two-stage composition process (“Bemerkungen über das Buch Micha,” *ZAW* 1 [1881]: 161–72). For criticisms of Stade’s argument and his subsequent response, see: Wilhelm Nowack, “Bemerkungen über das Buch Micha,” *ZAW* 4 (1884): 277–291; Bernhard Stade, “Bemerkungen zu Nowack, über das Buch Micha,” *ZAW* 4 (1884): 291–297. Variations of the two-stage composition model continue to be popular. See: Sigmund Mowinckel, “Mikaboken,” *NTT* 29 (1928): 14; Wolfe, “The Editing of the Book of the Twelve,” 93–95, 104–8; John Marsh, *Amos and Micah: Introduction and Commentary*, Torch Bible Commentaries (London: SCM, 1959), 106–18; Mays, *Micah*, 26–29. Others, however, conclude that a two-stage process does not account for the assumed ideological developments within the text. Jakob Wöhrle, for example, proposes a five-stage composition process in addition to several subsequent glosses and updates not attached to a specific editorial layer (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 159–71, 191–97).

⁵⁵ Elias Auerbach, “Die grosse Überarbeitung der biblischen Bücher,” in *Congress Volume, Copenhagen 1953*, ed. George W. Anderson et al., VTSup 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1953), 8; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 159–71, 191–97.

⁵⁶ For those who date the earliest composition layer of Mic 4-5 to the preexilic era, see: Wade, *Micah, Obadiah, Joel and Jonah*, xxvi; D. Winton Thomas, “Micah,” in *Peake’s Commentary on the Bible*, ed. H. H. Rowley (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1962), 630; Eissfeldt, *Einleitung*, 552–57; Emil Gottlieb Heinrich Kraeling, *Commentary on the Prophets*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Camden, N.J: Thomas Nelson, 1966), 204; Simon J. De Vries, *Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow: Time and History in the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 303; Bryant, “Micah 4:14-5:14,” 210–30; José N. Carreira, “Kunstsprache und Weisheit bei Micha,” *BZ* 26 (1982): 64–67; Simon J. De Vries, *From Old Revelation to New: A Tradition-Historical and Redaction-Critical Study of Temporal Transitions in Prophetic Prediction* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 196, 197–99; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39*, 410–12. For those who locate the earliest literary core of Mic 4-5 in the exile, see: Wolfe, “The Editing of the Book of the Twelve,” 93–95; Lescow, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5,” 64–81; Mays, *Micah*, 26–29; Wolff, *Micha*, xxix–xxx; Kessler, *Micha*, 46; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 168–71; Jeremias, “Micha 4-5,” 90–115; idem, *Die Propheten Joel, Obadja, Jona, Micha*, 119. For those who date the final stages of composition to the Maccabean era, see: Haupt, “Critical Notes on Micah”; idem, “The Book of Micah”;

Within this composition of Mic 4-5, several scholars identify Mic 5:9-13[10-14] as a Deuteronomistic addition.⁵⁷ Rainer Albertz and Jakob Wöhrle incorporate these arguments for Deuteronomism into their argument that Mic 5:9-13[10-14] serves as a Book of the Four editorial creation.⁵⁸ The compositional placement of Mic 5:9-13[10-14], however, must account for not only the presence of Deuteronomistic terminology, but also lexical overlap with Isa 2:6-8 and portions of Deutero-Zechariah.⁵⁹

Two arguments support the Deuteronomism of Mic 5:9-14[10-15] as a Book of the Four addition. The first argument for Deuteronomism in Mic 5:9-13[10-14] builds upon the concern with cultic infidelities.⁶⁰ Wöhrle identifies four lexical similarities

Hylmö, *Kompositionen*, 286–88; Lescow, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5”; Jeremias, “Micha 4-5”; idem, *Die Propheten Joel, Obadja, Jona, Micha*, 119.

⁵⁷ Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 96–97, 110; Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:594–95; Zapff, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 118–22, 125; Van der Woude, “Three Classical Prophets,” 50, 52–53. Cf. Van der Woude, *Micha*, 178–89. where van der Woude attributes Mic 5:7-14 to Micah’s opponents in his dialogue model. Others date the composition to the exile without necessitating the label “Deuteronomistic” (e.g., Mays, *Micah*, 24–26, 124–27; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39*, 346–347, 372, 408, 438). Jeppesen, for example, identifies Deuteronomistic language in v.12[13], but does not necessitate identifying the editors as Deuteronomistic (*Græder ikke saa saare*, 1:295–97). He later defends an eighth-century dating of 5:13 (and by implication the core of vv.9-14; “Micah 5:13 in the Light of a Recent Archaeological Discovery,” *VT* 34 [1984]: 462–66). Fohrer notes similarities between Mic 5:9-14 [10-15]* and Hos 14:2-9 (*Die Propheten des 6. und des 5. Jahrhunderts*, 121).

⁵⁸ Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 170–71; idem, “Exile as Purification,” 235, 239–40; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 167–69, 192–93.

⁵⁹ The work of Jeremias demonstrates the difficulty of determining the composition of Mic 5:9-13[10-14]. Jeremias initially identified Mic 5:9-13[10-14] as an exilic addition along with other condemnations of cultic offenses (1:2, 2:10, 6:16) and reliance upon horses and chariots (1:13b). Jeremias additionally notes similarities between Mic 5:9-13[10-14]* and Hos 14:4 (“Die Deutung der Gerichtsworte,” 343–46). His subsequent assessments, however, redate Mic 5:9-13[10-14] to the Hellenistic era on account of similarities with Deutero-Zechariah. See: Jeremias, *Die Propheten Joel, Obadja, Jona, Micha*, 119, 191–95; idem, “Micha 4-5,” 110–14. See also Utzschneider who dates the Mic 5:9-14 [10-15] to the late post exile for similar reasons (*Micha*, 27, 123–28). Hillers likewise sees similarities with Deutero-Zechariah, but proposes that Mic 5:9-14[10-15] influenced Deutero-Zechariah (*Micah*, 72–73). Many scholars recognize the additional parallel between Mic 5:9-14[10-15] and Isa 2:6-21. E.g., Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten*, 213–14; Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 292–93; Rolland Emerson Wolfe, “The Book of Micah,” in *The Interpreter’s Bible*, vol. 6, 12 vols. (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1956), 933; Siegfried Julio Schwantes, “A Critical Study of the Text of Micah” (Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, 1963), 140; Van der Woude, *Micha*, 180–82; Waltke, “Micah,” 148, 190; Kessler, *Micha*, 247; Waltke, *A Commentary on Micah*, 333–34; Zapff, “The Book of Micah,” 130. On this parallel, see below.

⁶⁰ Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 170–71; idem. “Exile as Purification,” 235, 239–40.

between Mic 5:9-13[10-14] and condemned cultic infidelities in Deuteronomistic literature.⁶¹ First, Deuteronomistic texts condemn “soothsaying” (עֲנִי) in Deut 18:10, 14 and 2 Kgs 21:6 (cf. 2 Chr 33:6). The condemnation of “soothsaying” is by no means limited, however, to Deuteronomistic literature (cf. Lev 19:26; Isa 2:6; 57:3; Jer 27:9). Second, Wöhrle correctly notes that Deuteronomistic texts make use of פִּסִּיל in their discussions of idolatry. Deuteronomistic texts, however, use פִּסִּיל only to reference the idolatry of Canaanites or foreigners (Deut 7:5, 25; 12:3; Judg 3:19, 26; 2 Kgs 17:41). The term פִּסִּיל references the idolatry of Israel or Judah only outside of traditionally designated Deuteronomistic texts such as in the Chronicler’s account of Manasseh and Josiah’s subsequent reforms (2 Chr 33:19, 22; 34:3, 4, 7).⁶² Third, Mic 5:12[13] targets pillars (מִצְבוֹת) that are condemned in, but not exclusive to, Deuteronomistic literature.⁶³ Finally, condemnation of the אֲשֵׁרָה (“Asherah”) supplies the strongest link with Deuteronomistic literature. References to Asherah appear disproportionately in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History (along with its parallels in 1-2 Chronicles) when compared with non-Deuteronomistic literature.⁶⁴ The problem, however, is that Deuteronomistic literature almost exclusively speaks of the destruction of “Asherah poles” using the verb שָׂרַף or the verb כָּרַת.⁶⁵ Deuteronomy 7:5 supplies the

⁶¹ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 167–69, 192–93.

⁶² Cf. Psalm 78:58; 30:22; 42:8; Jer 8:19; Hos 11:2; Mic 1:7. The remaining references to פִּסִּילִים assume their association with foreign nations: Isa 10:10; 21:9; Jer 50:38; 51:47, 52.

⁶³ Deuteronomy 7:5; 12:3; 16:22; 1 Kgs 14:23; 2 Kgs 3:2; 10:26, 27; 17:10; 18:4; 23:14. Cf. 2 Chr 14:2; 31:1. The condemnation of מִצְבוֹת continues outside of traditionally designated Deuteronomistic literature. See: Exod 23:24; 34:13; Lev 26:1; Jer 43:13; Ezek 26:11; 10:1, 2; Mic 5:12; cf. Isa 19:19; Hos 3:4; Zech 9:8.

⁶⁴ Deuteronomy 7:5; 12:3; 16:21; Judg 3:7; 6:25, 26, 28, 30; 1 Kgs 14:15, 23; 15:13; 16:33; 18:19; 2 Kgs 13:6; 17:10, 16; 18:4; 21:3, 7; 23:4, 6, 7, 14, 15; Cf. 2 Chr 14:2; 15:16; 17:6; 19:3; 24:18; 31:1; 33:3, 19; 34:3, 4, 7. Outside of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History, see only: Exod 34:13; Isa 17:8; 27:9; Jer 17:2; Mic 5:13

⁶⁵ For passages use שָׂרַף, see: Deut 12:3; 2 Kgs 23:4, 6, 15 (cf. 1 Kgs 15:13). For passages using כָּרַת, see: Judg 6:25-26, 28, 30; 2 Kgs 18:4; 23:14 (cf. 1 Kgs 15:13).

only exception in which גרע appears. Micah 5:13 is the only place in which אשרה is destroyed with the verb נחש. The verb נחש otherwise only refers to the uprooting or displacement of a people group in Deuteronomistic literature.⁶⁶

Of Wöhrle's four "Deuteronomistic terms," two are not exclusively Deuteronomistic (מאבות, ענן), and two noticeably break from identifiable Deuteronomistic usage patterns (אשרה, פסיל). These terms, furthermore, do not occur together in Deuteronomistic literature. The pronounced destruction in Mic 5:9-13[10-14] targets six additional entities. The targeting of the paired סוסים ("horses") and מרכבות ("chariots") does not occur in Deuteronomistic literature.⁶⁷ A similar use of סוסים ("horses") and רכב ("chariot") occurs predominantly in narratives in the Deuteronomistic History with polemics against them occurring only in Isa 31:1; and Ps 20:7.⁶⁸ Although the combination of עיר ("city") and מבצר ("stronghold") occurs in Deuteronomistic literature, these words rarely appear together as the subject of such polemics. Furthermore, nowhere in Deuteronomistic literature does ערים ("cities") and מבצרים ("fortresses") function as a word pair as found in Mic 5:10[11]. They predominantly occur in a construct relationship denoting the ערי המבצר ("cities of fortifications").⁶⁹ Micah 5:11[12] threatens כשפים

⁶⁶ See: Deut 29:7; 1 Kgs 14:15; 2 Chr 7:20; Jer 1:10; 12:14, 15, 17; 18:7; 24:6; 31:28; 42:10; 45:4; (Cf. Jer 18:14; 31:40). For additional uses, see: Ezek 19:12; Amos 9:15; Ps 9:7.

⁶⁷ For the pairing of סוסים and מרכבות in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History, see: Josh 11:6, 9; 2 Sam 15:1; 1 Kgs 10:29; cf. 2 Chr 1:17; 9:25. For additional uses of the pair, see: Isa 2:7; Jer 4:13; Joel 2:4-5; Mic 5:9; Nah 3:2; Hab 3:8; Hag 2:22; Zech 6:2-3.

⁶⁸ See: Deut 11:4; Josh 11:4; 1 Kgs 20:1, 21, 25; 2:11; 2 Kgs 5:9; 6:14, 15, 17; 7:6, 14; 10:2. Only in Deut 20:11 do references to horses and chariots (using רכב) occur in the form of a command, which only warns against being fearful before an army with greater military strength. Cf. outside of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History: Exod 14:9, 23; 15:19; Jer 17:25; 22:4; 46:9; 50:37; 51:21; Ezek 23:23-24; 26:7, 10; 39:20; Zech 9:10; Pss 20:8[7]; 76:7[6]; Isa 31:1; 43:17; 66:20.

⁶⁹ See: Josh 10:20; 19:29, 35; 1 Sam 6:18; 2 Kgs 3:19; 10:2; 17:9; 18:8; Cf. 2 Chr 17:19. For similar uses outside of the Deuteronomistic History, see: Num 32:17, 36; Jer 1:18; 4:5; 5:17; 8:14; 34:7; Ps 108:11[10]; Dan 11:15. Only in the list in 2 Sam 24:7 and Mic 5:10, 11] do these two terms not appear in construct.

(“sorcerers”), which occurs infrequently in Deuteronomistic literature.⁷⁰ Finally, Mic 5:12[13] targets the *למעשה ידיך* (“the work of your hands”). Although this designation alludes to idolatry, this function of the phrase is neither limited to Deuteronomistic literature, nor the only function of the idiom within Deuteronomistic literature.⁷¹ Thus while Albertz correctly notes that the polemics against idolatry in Mic 5:9-13[10-14] recalls the Deuteronomistic anti-idolatry agenda, the language of Mic 5:9-13[10-14] does not reflect the distinctive Deuteronomistic style or vocabulary usage. This conclusion suggests that Mic 5:9-13[10-14] is compositionally distinct from the Deuteronomism of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History. Micah 5:9-13[10-14] only reflects an ideological proximity to Deuteronomistic thought.

The second line of argumentation for the Deuteronomism of Mic 5:9-13[10-14] builds upon thematic parallels internal to the Book of the Four. Albertz argues for the Deuteronomism of Mic 5:9-13[10-14] on account of thematic similarities with Hos 8:14; 10:13; 14:4[3]; Mic 1:13b; and Zeph 1:4-6, 1:16.⁷² Hosea 10:13; 14:4[3]; and Mic 1:13b each in some way address reliance upon military strength. While they share this general theme, these texts do not share the lexical or ideological similarities to identify them as Deuteronomistic or necessarily the composition of the same hand. Thus while Mic 5:9-13[10-14] contains the divine declaration of intent to destroy military and cultic objects, Hos 10:13 only accuses the audience of trusting in the power of their warriors, which

⁷⁰ Cf. Exod 7:11; 22:17; Deut 18:10; 2 Kgs 9:22; Isa 47:9, 12; Jer 27:9; Mic 5:11; Nah 3:4; Mal 3:5; Dan 2:2; 2 Chr 33:6.

⁷¹ The phrase *למעשה ידיך* references simply refers to one’s work in a positive sense in Deut 2:7; 14:29; 16:15; 24:19; 28:12; 30:9; Isa 5:12; 19:25; 29:23; 60:21; 64:8; 65:22; Pss 8:7[6]; 19:2[1]; 8:4, 5; 90:17; 92:5[4]; 102:26[25]; 111:7; 138:8; 143:5; Job 1:10; 14:15; 34:19; Sol 7:2[1]; Lam 3:64; 4:2; Ecc 5:5[6]. Less frequently does this phrase explicitly refer to idolatry: Deut 4:28; 27:15; 2 Kgs 19:18; Isa 2:8; 17:8; 37:19; Jer 1:16; 10:3; Hos 14:4; Mic 5:12; Pss 115:4; 135:15; 2 Chr 32:19. The phrase may further be used in a negative sense without necessitating a meaning of idolatry: Deut 31:29; 1 Kgs 16:7 Jer 25:14; 32:30; Hag 2:14. Cf. 2 Kgs 22:17; Jer 25:6, 7; 44:8; 2 Chr 34:25 where the phrase occurs in a negative sense in the context of idolatry but may more generally simply refer to “deeds.”

⁷² Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 168–71; idem. “Exile as Purification,” 235, 239–40.

results in war (v.14). Hosea 14:4[3] contains the continuation of the instructed prayer of repentance inaugurated in 14:3[4]. The affirmation that “Assyria will not save us” and “we will not ride on horses” thus occurs as part of a larger confession with no evidence that these announcements are editorial supplements. While Zeph 1:4-6 condemns idolatry, this text likewise fails to qualify as the product of Deuteronomistic editing.⁷³ Hosea 8:14 accuses Israel and Judah of building fortresses. While Hos 8:14 and Mic 5:10[11], 13[14] share the word עיר, Hos 8:14 reflects distinctive Amos language not found in Mic 5:9-14[10-15].⁷⁴ Finally, Zeph 1:16 shares the word עיר with Mic 5:9-14[10-15] but lacks additional lexical parallels indicative of a literary horizon inclusive of Zeph 1:16. These vague parallels do not link Mic 5:9-13[10-14] to the language of Deuteronomy or the Deuteronomistic History. These parallels, furthermore, lack the lexical similarities and exclusivity necessary to support identifying a shared editorial hand across the Book of the Four.

One of the cardinal obstacles to assigning Mic 5:9-13[10-14] to exilic, Deuteronomistic redaction emerges from the theological and literary similarities between this passage and significantly later developments in prophetic literature. Jeremias dates Mic 5:9-13[10-14] to the Hellenistic era on account of perceived similarities with Deutero-Zechariah.⁷⁵ Micah 5:9-13[10-14] bears two similarities with passages in Deutero-Zechariah. First, Zech 9:10 contains a promise to cut off horses and chariots, reminiscent of that of Mic 5:9[10]. Zechariah 9:10 employs כרת and סוס as in Mic 5:9[10], as well as רכב for “chariot,” which is similar to the use of מרכב in Micah.

⁷³ See pp.312-328.

⁷⁴ See pp.113-117. Cf. Amos 1:4, 7, 10, 12, 14; 2:2, 5.

⁷⁵ Jeremias, “Micha 4-5,” 110–14; idem, *Die Propheten Joel, Obadja, Jona, Micha*, 119, 191–95. Note that Redditt considers Zech 9:9-10 the oldest section of the chapter, dating these verses to the end of the sixth-century BCE on account of the hope surrounding the kingship (*Zechariah 9-14*, IECOT [Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2012], 50–52; idem, “The King in Haggai-Zechariah 1-8 and the Book of the Twelve,” in *Tradition in Transition: Haggai and Zechariah 1-8 in the Trajectory of Hebrew Theology*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, LHBOTS 475 [New York: T&T Clark, 2008], 56–82).

Zechariah 9:10 employs this imagery in a proclamation of coming peace. Micah 5:9[10], however, envisions a process of purification.⁷⁶ Second, Zech 13:2 opens with the similar temporal indicator as Mic 5:9[10] preceding the divine speech announcing the removal of idolatry (see Table 4.3). Formulaic language generally proves ineffective evidence for establishing relationships of literary influence given the frequent and consistent renderings of phrases such as ביום ההוא and נאם יהוה. The use of the formula to introduce a divine announcement to כרת (“cut off”), however, could signal correspondence beyond the formulaic introduction making a literary relationship possible. Unfortunately, whereas the formulas appear similar, the following announcements diverge. Micah 5:9-13[10-14] cuts off various forms of cultic infidelity along with evidences of military strength.

Table 4.3. Formulaic introductions of Micah 5:9[10] and Zechariah 13:2

English	Hebrew Text	English Translation
Mic 5:9[10]:	והיה ביום ההוא נאם יהוה והכרתי	“And it will happen in that day” declares YHWH “that I will cut off...”
Zech 13:2:	והיה ביום ההוא נאם יהוה צבאות אכרית	“And it will happen in that day” declares YHWH of Hosts “I will cut off...”

Zechariah 13:2-6, however, cuts off the שמות העצבים (“names of the idols”) and prophecy.⁷⁷ Thus although Mic 5:9-13[10-14] and Zech 13:2 share literary similarities, the context of Zech 13:2 reflects ideological development beyond that of Mic 5:9-13[10-14].⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Wagenaar attributes the similarities to the use of a common genre (*Judgement and Salvation*, 305–10).

⁷⁷ Some scholars interpret Zech 13:2-6 as an announced end of prophecy (e.g., Hans Walter Wolff, “Prophecy from the Eighth Through the Fifth Century,” trans. W. Sibley Towner and Joy E. Heebink, *Int* 32 [1978]: 18)., Redditt, interprets this passage as a pronouncement only targeting false prophecy (*Zechariah 9-14*, 113–18).

⁷⁸ See the similar uses of this formula in Isa 22:25; Jer 4:9; 30:8; 39:17; 49:26; 50:30; Hos 2:18; Amos 2:16; Obad 8; Mic 4:6; 5:9[10]; Zeph 1:10; Hag 2:23; Zech 3:10; 12:4; 13:2.

The final possible intertextual echo in Mic 5:9-13[10-14] that may indicate a literary horizon extending beyond Micah comes from Isa 2:6-8.⁷⁹ Isaiah 2:6-8 follows a summons for the “house of Jacob” to walk in the “light of YHWH” (v.5). The text assumes that the house of Jacob is in some way not walking in the light of YHWH. Verse 6 addresses YHWH noting that he abandoned his people before proceeding to list the sins for which they were abandoned. Some of these transgressions correspond with that which YHWH intends to destroy in Mic 5:9-13[10-14]. First, both passages reflect a concern with idolatry and shows of military strength. Second, סוסים (“horses”) and מרכבות (“chariots”) feature as problematic indicators of transgressions or infidelity toward YHWH only in Isa 2:7 and Mic 5:9[10].⁸⁰ Third, as in Mic 5:11[12], Isa 2:6 condemns “soothsaying” (עננים). Fourth, only three passages in the Hebrew Bible refer to idolatry as “bowing down” (using the verb חוה) to the “work of one’s hands” (למעשה ידי): Isa 2:8; Jer 1:16; and Mic 5:12[13]. Jeremiah 1:16; of course, lacks the additional correspondences relation Mic 5:9-13[10-14] to Isa 2:6-8.⁸¹ The only accusations in Isa 2:6-8 that lack parallels in Mic 5:9-13[10-14] are the deals with foreigners (Isa 2:6) and accumulation of wealth (2:7): כסף (“silver”), זהב (“gold”), and אצרתיו (“his treasures”). Micah 5:9-13[10-14] employs an expanded vocabulary for cultic infidelity and additionally targets ערים (“cities”) and מבצרים (“fortresses”).

⁷⁹ Nowack, Sellin, and Schwantes, for example, note the parallel but still attribute Mic 5:9-13 [10-14] to Micah (Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten*, 213–14; Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 292–93; Schwantes, “A Critical Study of the Text of Micah,” 140). Waltke cites these similarities in his argument for the eighth-century BCE composition of Mic 5:9-13[10-14] (“Micah,” 148, 190; idem, *A Commentary on Micah*, 12, 333–34). This similarity could yield significant implications for the composition history of Mic 4-5 on account of the parallel pilgrimage of the nations oracle in Isa 2:2-5 and Mic 4:1-5. But such determination extend beyond the intentions of the present study. For this reason Otto and Kessler place Mic 4:1-5* and 5:9-13[10-14] in the same composition layer (Otto, “Techniken der Rechtssatzredaktion,” 144–45; Kessler, *Micha*, 46, 246–49).

⁸⁰ Cf. Isa 31:1; Zech 9:10; and Ps 20:7, which use רכב instead of מרכב.

⁸¹ Micah 5:9[10] likewise shares the ביום ההוא with Isa 2:11, 17. The shared use of this phrase, however, combined with its usage in Mic 4:6 (cf. 4:1) complicates attempts to use ביום ההוא to argue for specific literary awareness extending beyond Micah.

Micah 5:9-13[10-14] shares greater literary points of contact with Isa 2:6-8 than with any Deuteronomistic text, strongly favoring a literary relationship with Isa 2:6-8 over Deuteronomistic dependence. This literary relationship assumes greater significance when one recognizes that Mic 4-5 opens in 4:1-5 with a nearly identical parallel to Isa 2:1-5.⁸² This correspondence suggests that Mic 4-5 opens with a development of Isa 2:1-5 and closes with echoes of Isa 2:6-8, suggesting that Isa 2:1-8 inspired the framing device around Mic 4-5. Both Mic 4:1-5; and 5:9-13[10-14], furthermore, reveal themes and literary parallels reflective of later postexilic developments in prophetic literature.⁸³

The theme of idolatry in Micah fails to reflect evidence of a unified Deuteronomistic editorial layer. Micah 1:5b-7 and 5:9-13[10-14] share only one word: פְּקִיל (“images”). Micah 1:5b-7 shows a central focus on the city of Samaria in such a way that draws a comparison with Jerusalem. Micah 5:9-13[10-14], however, depicts the divine initiative in a judgment that purifies a masculine singular audience of a wider range of cultic infidelity and military strength. Furthermore, while Mic 1:5b-7 reflects an ideological proximity to Deuteronomistic concerns, Mic 5:9-13[10-14] reflects lexical

⁸² On the variances between Isa 2:2-5 and Mic 4:1-5, see: Zapff, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 71–72; Wagenaar, *Judgement and Salvation*, 127–28. For a text-critical discussion, see: Hugh G. M. Williamson, “Isaiah, Micah, and Qumran,” in *Semitic Studies in Honour of Edward Ullendorff*, ed. Geoffrey Khan, *Studies in Semitic Languages and Literatures* 47 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 203–11; idem, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 1-27. Vol. 1, Commentary on Isaiah 1-5*, ICC (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 166–71. For arguments favoring the priority of Isa 2:2-5, see: Bernhard Duhm, *Israels propheten*, 2nd Aufl., *Lebensfragen* 26 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1922), 190; Gerhard von Rad, “Die Stadt auf dem Berge,” *EvTh* 8 (1949): 440–41; Martin Buber, *Der Glaube der Propheten* (Zürich: Manesse, 1950), 216; Hans Wildberger, “Die Völkerwallfahrt zum Zion : Jes 2:1-5,” *VT* 7 (1957): 62–81; idem, *Jesaja*, BKAT 10 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965), 5–87; Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972), 51; Rudolph, *Micha*, 77–78; Mays, *Micah*, 95; Henri Cazelles, “Qui aurait visé, à l’origine, Isaïe 2:2-5,” *VT* 30 (1980): 409–20.

⁸³ Several arguments support the postexilic dating of Isa 2:1-5 and Mic 4:1-5. Among the more conclusive evidence is the late appearance of themes such as the pilgrimage to the nations (e.g., Zech 14:16); the conversion of the nations (e.g., Isa 11:10; 15:6-7; 60; 66:23; Jonah; Zech 2:11) and the assumed existence of a temple. For discussion, see: Smith, “The Book of Micah,” 84; E. Cannawurf, “Authenticity of Micah 4:1-4,” *VT* 13 (1963): 33–35; Mays, *Micah*, 96; Zapff, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 285–86; Helmut Utschneider, *Michas Reise in die Zeit: Studien zum Drama als Genre der prophetischen Literatur des Alten Testaments*, SBS 180 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1999), 162; idem, *Micha*, 27; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 157 n.80.

and thematic similarities suggestive of later postexilic developments in Hebrew prophetic literature. The lack of a shared ideological agenda and substantive lexical similarities preclude assigning these passages to shared editorial activity.

The differences between these passages further suggest that they share different relationships with Deuteronomism in the composition history of Micah. On the one hand, Mic 1:5b-7 reflects thematic parallels with Deuteronomistic concerns, yet lacks distinctive Deuteronomistic language. Furthermore, this editorial supplement employs several literary conventions that distinguish Mic 1:5b-7 from the Deuteronomistic style of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History. Micah 5:9-13[10-14], on the other hand, contains a concern with idolatry as part of a larger intertextual and theological matrix suggestive of later postexilic origins. Thus, Micah 5:9-13[10-14] better reflects the later postexilic receptions of a Deuteronomistic theme.

Associations with Micah 1:5b-7 and 5:9-13[10-14]: Micah 1:9, 12b, 13b

The quest for Deuteronomism in Micah occasionally attributes three additional verses to Deuteronomistic editing on account of a perceived compositional relationship with 1:5b-7 or 5:9-13[10-14]. The first verse commonly associated with Mic 1:5b-7 is Mic 1:9. Micah 1:9 lacks distinctive Deuteronomism itself, yet contains several compositional clues that link it with Mic 1:5b-7. Micah 1:9 presupposes v.8 on account of the opening כִּי clause. Two observations suggest that v.9 presupposes and reflects shared literary concerns with the editorial addition in vv.5b-7. First, the feminine pronoun on מִכְתִּיהָ requires a feminine singular antecedent best supplied by Samaria in vv.5b-7.⁸⁴ Second, the use of “Judah” as a corporate identity appears in the additions of 1:1 and

⁸⁴ Three possible antecedents emerge: the land of v.2a (אֶרֶץ), the “this” pronoun referring to the theophany (זֹאת) in v.5a and v.8, and Samaria in v.5b-7. The transposition of “her wound” to Jerusalem, however, suggests a contrasting city, making Samaria the logical antecedent.

1:5b, which create an explicit contrast with Samaria (cf. 5:1[2]).⁸⁵ Micah 1:9, therefore, reflects a similar use of identifiers and a similar ideological agenda as 1:5b-7, suggesting that v.9 exists as part of its composition layer.⁸⁶

The second verse commonly associated with Mic 1:5b-7 is Mic 1:12b. Micah 1:12b occurs as part of a larger lament in vv.10-16.⁸⁷ Micah 1:10-16 presents a lament concerning the destruction of towns predominantly located in the Judean Shephelah.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Numerous scholars identify Mic 5:2 as a later addition interrupting 5:1, 3. See: Schwantes, "A Critical Study of the Text of Micah," 129–30; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 90–91; Mays, *Micah*, 116–17; Renaud, *La formation*, 230–32, 246–50; idem, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 96–97, 101–3; Jeppesen, *Græder ikke saa saare*, 1:276–78, 415; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39*, 376, 397, 404, 405–6; Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte*, 148–51, 155; Jeremias, "Micha 4-5," 95; idem, *Die Propheten Joel, Obadja, Jona, Micha*, 184.

⁸⁶ As concluded by: Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 181–82; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 169; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 142–43.

⁸⁷ Several scholars attribute the textual difficulties of Mic 1:10-16 to textual corruption (e.g., Ungern-Sternberg, *Der Rechtsstreit Gottes*, 34, n.1; Bruce Vawter, *Amos, Hosea, Micah: With an Introduction to Classical Prophecy*, OTM 7 [Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1981], 133; Juan I. Alfaro, *Justice and Loyalty: A Commentary on the Book of Micah*, ITC [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989], 18). Thus past scholars present no shortage of emendations (e.g., Arvid Bruno, *Micha und der Herrscher aus der Vorzeit* [Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1923], 22–38; Karl Elliger, "Die Heimat des Propheten Micha," *ZDPV* 75 [1934]: 82–99; Schwantes, "A Critical Study of the Text of Micah," 32–53; idem, "Critical Notes on Micah 1:10-16," *VT* 14 [1964]: 454–61; Fohrer, "Micha 1," 74–80; Arnold B. Ehrlich, *Ezechiel, Kleinen Propheten*, Vol 5 en, *Randglossen zur Hebräischen Bible: Textkritisches, Sprachliches und Sachliches*, vol. 5, 7 vols. [Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968], 274–75; Adam S. Van der Woude, "Micha I,10-16," in *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer* [Paris: Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1971], 347–53; Georg Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts* Band 1 en *Die Propheten des Alten Testaments* [Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1974], 168–69; Van der Woude, *Micha*, 37–58; Wolff, *Micha*, 12–14; Hillers, *Micah*, 24–28; Charles S. Shaw, "Micah 1:10-16 Reconsidered," *JBL* 106 [1987]: 223–29; Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte*, 15–17; Nadav Na'aman, "'The-House-of-No-Shade Shall Take Away Its Tax From You' [Micah i 11]," *VT* 45 [1995]: 516–27; Matthew Suriano, "A Place in the Dust: Text, Topography and A Toponymic Note on Micah 1:10-12a," *VT* 60 [2010]: 433–46). Recent scholars, however, present increasing skepticism of the value and certainty of such reconstructions. Wöhrle writes, "Auch wenn der Text dieser Verse schwer zu verstehen ist und eigentlich nur durch extreme Überlieferungsfehler zu erklären sein dürfte, was im einzelnen kaum mehr zu rekonstruieren ist, dürfte die beschriebene Anlage dieser Einheit doch klar sein" (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 143–44). See also the skepticism of Freedman, "Discourse on Prophetic Discourse," 157; Kessler, *Micha*, 99.

⁸⁸ See analysis in: Götz Schmitt, "Moreschet Gat und Libna mit einem Anhang: zu Micha 1:10-16," *JNSL* 16 (1990): 153–72. The association of these localities with the Shephelah leads many historical investigations to correlate the lament in Mic 1:10-16 with an Assyrian invasion through the region. For examples of those favoring Sennacherib's 701 BCE campaign, see: Elliger, "Die Heimat," 81–152; Fritz, "Das Wort gegen Samaria," 316–31; de Moor, "Micah 1," 182–84; Philip J. King, *Amos, Hosea, Micah: An Archaeological Commentary* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1988), 58–59. For examples of those favoring an earlier incursion, see: Lindblom, *Micha*, 39–45; Wolfe, "The Book of Micah," 6:907; Rudolph, *Micha*, 50–51; Wolff, *Micha*, 22; Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte*, 132.

Wöhrle connects the reference to the “gates of Jerusalem” (שַׁעַר יְרוּשָׁלַם) in v.12b to the “gate of my people” (שַׁעַר עַמִּי) in v.9, which in turn presupposes vv.5b-7. He further justifies the separation of v.12b on the grounds of the lack of a concrete threat and the lack of the characteristic pun.⁸⁹

Three problems emerge with the diachronic solutions drawn from these literary observations. First, while v.9 and v.12b both make use of the word שַׁעַר, the שַׁעַר עַמִּי of v.9 functions in apposition to יְרוּשָׁלַם as indicated by the repeated introductory עַד־. Thus the שַׁעַר עַמִּי of v.9 does not reference the “gates of Jerusalem” as found in v.12b, but rather references Jerusalem itself. Second, although Wöhrle correctly observes the lack of a concrete threat, in v.12b, the text does not introduce any concrete threat until the לִכְן of v.14 transitions toward the climactic announcement of exile in v.16. Third, Mic 1:12b identifies Jerusalem as the ultimate target of the coming disaster (רָעָה), agreeing with Mic 3:1-12. Finally, the argument for Deuteronomism in 1:12b is three steps removed from any thematic parallel with Deuteronomy or the Deuteronomistic History. The argument requires three logical steps. First one must identify a literary association between 1:12b and v.9. Next, one must associate v.9 with vv.5b-7 based upon a different set of literary characteristics than those used to posit a relationship between v.9 and v.12b. Finally one then associates vv.5b-7 with Deuteronomism on account of a thematic concern with idolatry, which is lacking from both v.9 and v.12b.⁹⁰ The literary evidence, therefore, does not justify the compositional division of v.12b from the earliest literary composition of Micah.

⁸⁹ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 145. Scharf argues that the language of YHWH’s “disaster” (רָעָה מֵאֵת יְהוָה) recalls Amos 3:6 and 9:4 (*Die Entstehung*, 182–83; cf. Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte*, 131, 153).

⁹⁰ See also, the similar critique of this line of reasoning in: David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 139.

The third verse commonly identified as Deuteronomistic based on its association with Mic 1:5b-7 is Mic 1:13b.⁹¹ Schart links 1:13b to his D-layer in v.5 on account of the parallel use of פשע and חטאת.⁹² The reference to the “transgressions of Israel” (פשעי ישראל) echoes the concern for the “transgressions of Jacob” (פשע יעקב) in v.5b. Albertz links the condemned trust in arms with similar accusations in Isa 30:1-5, 15-17; 31:1-3; Hos 10:13b; 14:4[3].⁹³ This concern with military might supplies the perceived relationship with 5:9-13[10-14].

Wöhrle correctly objects to assigning 1:13b to Deuteronomistic editing on account of a lack of distinctive Deuteronomistic language and ideological orientation.⁹⁴ Four observations mitigate against the compositional separation of Mic 1:13b from its current literary context. First, the “transgression of Israel” (פשע ישראל) fits the literary style of the earliest literary composition of Micah. Micah 1:5a introduces the concerns of the “sins of the house of Israel” (חטאות בית ישראל) and the “transgression of Jacob” (פשע יעקב). The text repeats this concern when the prophet announces that he is “filled with the spirit of YHWH” in order “declare to Jacob his transgression and the Israel his sin” (להגיד ליעקב פשעו ולישראל חטאתו) in 3:8. Second, Mic 1:13 introduces a series of three explicit references to Israel in vv.13-15. Third, although the בן ציון occurs only in the later composition of 4:8, 10, 13, Zion appears in parallel to Jerusalem in the earliest literary

⁹¹ Smith, “The Book of Micah,” 41; Jeremias, “Die Deutung der Gerichtsworte,” 337–39; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 74; Lescow, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5,” 70, 73–74; Mays, *Micah*, 24–26, 57–59; Renaud, *La formation*, 25, 387–99; Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:576–77; Wolff, *Micah*, 18–19, 30–32; Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten II*, 167, 173; Renaud, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 34; de Moor, “Micah 1,” 79; Otto, “Techniken der Rechtssatzredaktion,” 128–32; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39*, 348; Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte*, 131; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 182–83; Siegfried Mittmann, “Eine prophetische Totenklage des Jahres 701 v. Chr.: (Micha 1:3-5a.8-13a.14-16),” *JNSL* 25 (1999): 34, n.14; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 169; idem, “Exile as Purification,” 239; Jeremias, *Die Propheten Joel, Obadja, Jona, Micha*, 123, 138–39, 142.

⁹² Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 182–83.

⁹³ Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 169; idem, “Exile as Purification,” 239.

⁹⁴ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 145, 146.

composition of Micah (3:10, 12). Fourth, the parallel use of *הטאת* and *פֶּשַׁע* occurs in the earliest literary composition of Micah in 1:5a, and 3:8.⁹⁵ These four observations, therefore, suggest a strong relationship between Mic 1:13b and the earliest literary composition of Micah.

The preceding analysis, therefore, concludes that Mic 1:9 likely shares compositional origins with 1:5b-7, yet lacks any distinctive evidence of Deuteronomism itself. Micah 1:12b and 1:13b are not later supplements to the lament of vv.10-16. The language of each of these announcements correlates to the language and style of the earliest literary composition of Micah.

Lawsuit, Exodus, and the Question of Deuteronomism: Micah 6:1-16

Micah 6:1-16 resembles the commonly accepted earliest literary material in Mic 1-3*. Micah 6 supplies judgment oracles that presume an accused city (cf. v.12) inaugurated with *שָׁמְעוּ* (cf. 3:1, 9; 6:1, 2, 9), and use *עַם* in reference to the people of God rather than the nations.⁹⁶ For this reason some scholars defend the authenticity of parts of Mic 6 as the conclusion to the judgment oracles in chapters 1-3.⁹⁷ This chapter, however, contains four differences demarcating it from Mic 1-3*. First, unlike the earliest literary

⁹⁵ Cf. the third use of the word pair in Mic 6:7.

⁹⁶ *עַם* refers to God's people only in 1:9; 2:4, 7, 8, 9, 11; 3:3, 5; 6:2, 3, 5, 16; 7:14. The remaining uses in 1:2; 4:1, 3, 5; 5:6[7], 7[8]; refer to the nations.

⁹⁷ Mason finds no reason to deny chapters 6-7 to Micah (*Micah, Nahum, Obadiah*, 47–48). Some scholars attribute Mic 6:1-7:4 to the hand of the prophet (e.g., C. H. Cornill, "Die Composition des Buches Jesaja," ZAW 4 [1884]: 88–89, fn; Wolfe, "The Book of Micah," 6:899, 936; Hylmö, *Kompositionen*, 286–88). Sellin extends the authentic material from 6:1-7:7 (*Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 258–61, 293–302). Marsh, Vawter, and Dempsey similarly acknowledge their possible authenticity of 6:1-7:6 (Marsh, *Amos and Micah*, 119–24; Vawter, *Amos, Hosea, Micah*, 158–65; Carol J. Dempsey, *Amos, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk*, New Collegeville Bible Commentary: Old Testament 15 [Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2013], 78. Others limit the authentic material to the judgment material in Mic 6:9-15 (e.g., Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 95–104, 110.) or vv.9-16 (Eissfeldt, *Einleitung*, 555). Carreira presents an argument for the inclusion of 6:9-12 with the earliest literary composition of Micah ("Kunstsprache und Weisheit bei Micha," 67–68). Fohrer recognizes similarities between Mic 1-3 and 6:1-7:6, but still dates these latter verses to the fifth century BCE (*Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 165–66; idem, *Die Propheten des 6. und des 5. Jahrhunderts*, 110–11, 177–78).

core of Mic 1-3*, which accuses the societal leaders, Mic 6 broadens judgment to include people as well. Second, Mic 6 introduces a sudden string of allusions to the exodus and wilderness traditions. Third, Mic 6 contains a reference to northern kings.⁹⁸ Finally, scholars claim to identify in Mic 6, similarities with Hosea and other Deuteronomistic texts.⁹⁹

Scholars generally explain these differences in one of two ways, both of which seek to account for the similarities with Deuteronomism and the book of Hosea. Some scholars argue that some form of Mic 6-7 circulated as an independent composition of a northern eighth-century BCE prophet that scribes only later connected to Mic 1-5*.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Omri and the house of Ahab (6:16). Note also the reference to Gilgal (6:5). Scholars remain uncertain of whether biblical references to Gilgal reflect one or multiple locations. Joshua 4:19 locates the Gilgal identified as the Israelite point of entry into the land of Canaan under the leadership of Joshua is as east of Jericho. Gilgal, however, features prominently in the northern literary traditions of Hosea (4:15; 9:15; 12:12) and Amos (4:4; 5:5), as well as the narratives concerning Elijah and Elisha (2 Kgs 2:1; 4:38). For discussion, see: Wade R. Kotter, "Gilgal," *ABD*, 2:1022–24; Michael Avi-Yonah, "Gilgal," *EncJud*, 7:601–2.

⁹⁹ E.g., Mowinckel, "Mikaboken," 21; Adam S. Van der Woude, "Deutero-Micha: Ein Prophet Aus Nord-Israel?," *NedTT* 25 (1971): 365–78; idem, "Three Classical Prophets," 47, 50–51; Wolff, *Micah*, xxxii–xxxiv; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 142–44; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 191–97; Mason, *Micah, Nahum, Obadiah*, 48; Jan Joosten, "YHWH's Farewell to Northern Israel: (Micah 6,1-8)," *ZAW* 125 (2013): 455–58.

¹⁰⁰ For the various iterations of this model, see: Francis Crawford Burkitt, "Micah 6 and 7: A Northern Prophecy," *JBL* 45 (1926): 159–61; Otto Eissfeldt, "Ein Psalm aus Nord-Israel Mi 7:7-20," *ZDMG* 112 (1962): 259–68; Jan Dus, "Weiteres zum nordisraelitischen Psalm Micha 7,7-20," *ZDMG* 115 (1965): 14–22; Bo Reicke, "Liturgical Traditions in Mic 7," *HTR* 60 (1967): 349–67; John T. Willis, "Fundamental Issues in Contemporary Micah Studies," *ResQ* 13 (1970): 88–89; Van der Woude, "Deutero-Micha," 365–78; John T. Willis, "A Reapplied Prophetic Hope Oracle," in *Studies on Prophecy: A Collection of Twelve Papers*, VTSup 26 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 64–76; Van der Woude, *Micah*, 195–99; H. L. Ginsberg, *The Israelian Heritage of Judaism*, Texts and Studies of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary, 1982), 25–31; Johannes Gerhardus Strydom, "Micah, Anti-Micah and Deutero-Micah: A Critical Discussion with A. S. Van Der Woude" (D.Th., University of South Africa, 1988); J. G. Strydom, "Micah of Samaria: Amos's and Hosea's Forgotten Partner," *OTE* 6 (1993): 19–32; Wagenaar, *Judgement and Salvation*, 49–54, 324–25; Joosten, "YHWH's Farewell," 455–58. In addition to similarities with the northern text of Hosea, Mic 6-7 references northern locations and kings. Proponents of the northern origins of Mic 6-7 cite the use of perceived "northern" traditions (e.g., the exodus and wilderness traditions) within these chapters. Critics of the model, however, correctly call into question the *a priori* association of these traditions with northern localities in such a way that demands a northern composition model. See: Jeppesen, "New Aspects," 20–23; Kessler, *Micah*, 225; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 176, n.140. Hillers and Alfaro, therefore, conclude that while the hypothesis of the northern origins of Mic 6-7 is possible, it lacks definitive proof (Hillers, *Micah*, 89–90; Alfaro, *Justice and Loyalty*, 62–63).

Other scholars argue that parts of Mic 6:1-16* reflect later Deuteronomistic composition. Such scholars disagree, however, on what portions of the text reflect a Deuteronomistic hand. Whereas some redaction critics develop composition models attributing large portions of Mic 6 to the Deuteronomist,¹⁰¹ others recognize Deuteronomistic themes but caution against hastily applying the label “Deuteronomistic.”¹⁰²

Book of the Four advocates develop these arguments for Deuteronomism and similarities with Hosea in their arguments that portions of Mic 6 reflect Book of the Four additions to Micah.¹⁰³ They supply four arguments for identifying Deuteronomistic editing in Micah 6:1-16. First, Wöhrle argues for the Deuteronomistic origin of Mic 6:2-4a on the grounds of lexical correspondences to the exodus tradition.¹⁰⁴ The divine speech in Mic 6:2-5 reflects an awareness of numerous literary traditions from the Pentateuch and Deuteronomistic History.¹⁰⁵ The reference to the “house of slavery”

¹⁰¹ E.g., Renaud, *La formation*, 289–357, 387–399; Wolff, *Micha*, xxxii–xxxiv; Renaud, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 119–43; Jeremias, *Die Propheten Joel, Obadja, Jona, Micha*, 120–21.

¹⁰² E.g., Mason, *Micah, Nahum, Obadiah*, 47–48. Hillers and Blenkinsopp recognize similarities with other Deuteronomistic literature, but leave open as whether Deuteronomism influenced this text, or whether this Micah text influenced Deuteronomism (Hillers, *Micah*, 79; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 92–93). Those who date the material in Mic 6 early occasionally identify this chapter as “Protodeuteronomistic” or reflective of “pre-Deuteronomistic” ideas (e.g., Van der Woude, *Micha*, 203; Jeppesen, “New Aspects of Micah Research,” 23).

¹⁰³ Albertz is the notable exception. He proposes that the Book of the Four redaction of Micah ended with 5:9-13[10-14]. He dates Mic 6:2-8 as postexilic on account of the international perspective of 6:1 (Rainer Albertz, “‘Aufrechten Ganges mit Gott wandern...’: Bibelarbeit über Micha 6:1-8,” in *Zorn über das Unrecht. Vom Glauben, der verändern will* [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1996], 44–64; idem, *Die Exilszeit*, 170; idem, “Exile as Purification,” 235. See also Metzner, Kessler, and Utzschneider who date the core of Mic 6 to the postexilic period (Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte*, 167–76; Kessler, *Micha*, 46–47; Utzschneider, *Micha*, 27).

¹⁰⁴ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 174–76, 192–93.

¹⁰⁵ Redaction critics commonly separate 6:1 from the following dialogue on account of the perceived tension and repetition with v.2. E.g., Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 293–94; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 97; Mays, *Micah*, 29–33, 127–32; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 6. und des 5. Jahrhunderts*, 179, n.83; Renaud, *La formation*, 303–5, 326; Wolff, *Micha*, 139; Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten II*, 191; Renaud, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 119; Otto, “Techniken der Rechtssatzredaktion,” 149; Albertz, “Aufrechten Ganges,” 47. Micah 6:1a employs the plural in an introductory שְׁמַעו, which diachronic scholars often link to the international perspective of 1:2 and 5:14[15] on account of the concluding use of שְׁמַעו in 5:14[15] (E.g., Robert Oberforcher, “Entstehung, Charakter und Aussageprofil des Michabuches,” *BK* 51 [1996]: 154; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 185, n.99; Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte*, 159–60; Wöhrle,

recalls Exod 13:3, 14; 20:2; Deut 5:6; 6:12; 7:8; 8:14; 13:6, 11; Josh 24:17; Judg 6:8; Jer 34:13 (see Table 4.4). The close literary similarities indicate not only an awareness of the exodus traditions, but also likely their literary formulations as found in the Pentateuch.

Table 4.4. Common Exodus Language In Mic 6:4a

Verse	Hebrew Text	English Translation
Exod 13:3aα	וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה אֶל־הָעָם זָכוֹר אֶת־ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר יָצָאתָ מֵמִצְרַיִם מִבֵּית עֲבָדִים	And Moses said, “Remember this day in which you came up from Egypt, from the house of slavery.”
Deut 8:14	וְרָם לִבְבְּךָ וְשָׁכַחְתָּ אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ הַמוֹצִיאֲךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם מִבֵּית עֲבָדִים	Then raise up your heart and forget YHWH your God who brought you up from the land of Egypt, from the house of slavery.
Deut 13:11b	כִּי בִקֵּשׁ לְהִדְיָחַךְ מֵעַל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ הַמוֹצִיאֲךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם מִבֵּית עֲבָדִים	For he sought to turn you away from YHWH your God who brought you up from the land of Egypt, from the house of slavery.
Mic 6:4a	כִּי הֵעַלְתִּיךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וּמִבֵּית עֲבָדִים פָּדִיתִיךָ	For I brought you up from the land of Egypt and from the house of slavery I redeemed you.

Although Mic 6:2-5 contains several points of contact with Deuteronomistic literature, its literary horizon extends far beyond Deuteronomistic texts.

The reference to “Moses, Aaron, and Miriam,” logically connects to the preceding exodus reference, but does so in a unique way. Whereas Moses and Aaron frequently appear together outside of the Pentateuch as the identified leaders of the exodus event, the inclusion of Miriam occurs only in Mic 6:4.¹⁰⁶ Miriam’s name only occurs alongside Moses and Aaron in Num 12:4, and the genealogies of Num 26:59 and 1 Chr 6:3.

Although many scholars cite the exodus motif as evidence of Deuteronomistic affinity, the inclusion of Miriam in the list of exodus leaders precludes such conclusions since her name appears nowhere in the Deuteronomistic History, and only once in Deuteronomy

Die frühen Sammlungen, 172–73, 177, 193–94; Jeremias, *Die Propheten Joel, Obadja, Jona, Micha*, 120, 198).

¹⁰⁶ Joshua 24:5; 1 Sam 12:6, 8; Mic 6:4; Pss 77:21[20]; 99:6; 105:26.

(24:9).¹⁰⁷ The inclusion of Miriam in the list of exodus leaders suggests a development beyond the Deuteronomistic articulation of the exodus tradition. This developed articulation in Mic 6:4 presupposes an awareness of the limited Pentateuchal stories featuring Miriam.

The reference to the Balaam narrative in Mic 6:5 further indicates a literary horizon extending beyond traditionally designated Deuteronomistic literature. Balak, king of Moab does not feature prominently in the Hebrew Bible beyond the Balaam story of Num 22-24.¹⁰⁸ The corresponding reference to Balaam son of Beor suggests an awareness of Num 22-24.¹⁰⁹ Deuteronomy 23:5-6 and Josh 24:9-10 recall how Balak hired Balaam to curse Israel, but God prohibited such a turn of events (cf. Neh 13:2). Micah 6:5 lacks this Deuteronomistic acknowledgment of YHWH's intervention, suggesting dependence upon an alternative variation of the Balaam tradition.

Micah 6:5 concludes by referencing “from Shittim to Gilgal” (מִן־הַשִּׁטִּים עַד־הַגִּלְגָּל). Shittim occurs fairly infrequently in the Hebrew Bible. The condemned Israelite intercourse with Moabite women takes place at Shittim (Num 25:1-18); as well as the place from which Israel sent the spies into the land (Josh 2:1; 3:1).¹¹⁰ Gilgal occurs more frequently, serving as the point of entry into Canaan for the children of Israel (Jos 4:19-20; 5:9-10); and Joshua's subsequent base of operations (Josh 9:6; 10:6, 7, 9, 15, 43; 14:6). Gilgal continues to serve as a prominent place of cultic and government leadership throughout the narrative accounts of the conquest and the judges (Judg 2:1; 1 Sam 7:16; 10:8; 11:14-15; 13:4, 7, 8, 12, 15; 15:12, 21, 33). Hosea and Amos criticize Gilgal as a prominent cultic center of the northern kingdom of Israel (Hos 4:15; 9:15; 12:12; Amos

¹⁰⁷ Beyond these uses, Miriam's name only occurs in Exod 15:20, 21; Num 12:1-15; 20:1; 26:59; Mic 6:4; 1 Chr 5:29.

¹⁰⁸ See only Jos 24:9; Judg 11:25; Mic 6:5.

¹⁰⁹ Not that the full designation בַּלַּק מֶלֶךְ מוֹאָב occurs only in Num 23:7 and Mic 6:5.

¹¹⁰ Beyond these references, Shittim only occurs elsewhere in Joel 4:18.

4:4; 5:5). Its occurrence with Shittim in Mic 6:5 favors an intended reference to the conquest tradition since Shittim served as the staging point for the entry into the land, and Gilgal subsequently became the point of entry and base of operations for the conquest stories. Micah 6:2-5, therefore, reflects awareness of exodus, wilderness, and conquest traditions. These verses reflect distinctive language of the literary forms of these stories in the Hexateuch, suggestive of an awareness of the formation of the narratives currently found in Exodus-Joshua.

The broad literary horizon not only incorporates narrative elements from beyond the traditionally designated Deuteronomistic corpus, but also includes literary features that specifically differentiate Mic 6:2-5 from other Deuteronomistic articulations of similar narrative traditions. Thus several scholars conclude that the breadth of traditions featured in Mic 6:2-5 indicates a postexilic, post-Deuteronomistic composition.¹¹¹ Scholars who defend the Deuteronomistic core of Mic 6:2-5 must omit the tradition references that fail to cohere with identifiable Deuteronomistic literary features. Wöhrle, for example, identifies Mic 6:2-4a as part of the Deuteronomistic core of Mic 6 (along with 9aαb, 10-15), thus separating 6:4b-5.¹¹² Unfortunately, aside from the desire to remove the non-Deuteronomistic elements from Mic 6:2-5, vv.4b-5 lack evidence of editorial disjuncture from the preceding text. Micah 6:5 opens with the vocative “my people” (עַמִּי) as found in v.3. The reference to Moses and Aaron naturally fits with the preceding reference to the exodus. The inclusion of Miriam in the list of exodus leaders indicates a likely awareness of the wilderness tradition, where she features more prominently, thus cohering with the subsequent reference to the Balaam narrative. Micah 6:4b-5 coheres with the preceding verses, suggesting that Mic 6:2-5 reflect a broad literary horizon spanning the exodus, wilderness, and conquest stories. Micah 6:2-5,

¹¹¹ Albertz, “Aufrechten Ganges,” 44–64; Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte*, 167–76; Kessler, *Micha*, 46–47; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 170; idem, “Exile as Purification,” 235; Utzschneider, *Micha*, 27.

¹¹² Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 174–75, 192–93.

therefore, reflects a literary horizon extending beyond the boundaries of Deuteronomistic literary memories.

The second argument for Deuteronomism in Micah 1-16* depends upon the use of the קול יהוה (“voice of YHWH”) phrase in v.9aα.¹¹³ Wöhrle observes that the phrase קול יהוה features prominently in Deuteronomistic literature. The Deuteronomistic usage of קול יהוה, however, revolves around the concern for “obedience” (שמע) to the “voice of YHWH” (קול יהוה).¹¹⁴ This function sets the Deuteronomistic use of קול יהוה apart from non-Deuteronomistic functions of the phrase.¹¹⁵ Far from reflecting the Deuteronomistic concern with obedience to the divine command, Mic 6:9 employs קול יהוה as a prelude to the following accusation and pronounced judgment, far more reminiscent of the non-Deuteronomistic usage of the phrase in Isa 30:31 and 66:6. While Wöhrle correctly notes the use of קול יהוה in Deuteronomistic literature, Mic 6:9 does not reflect the phrase’s Deuteronomistic usage or the assumed Deuteronomistic ideology of קול יהוה.

Third, Wöhrle argues that the reference to “dishonest weights” reflects the Deuteronomistic orientation of Mic 6:9aαb, 10-15.¹¹⁶ Although Deut 25:13-16 supports honest measurements, the condemnation of dishonest weights in Mic 6:9* reflects non-

¹¹³ Ibid., 175–76.

¹¹⁴ See: Deut 8:20; 13:19; 15:5; 26:14; 27:10; 28:1, 2, 15, 45, 62; 30:8, 10; Josh 5:6; 1 Sam 12:15; 15:19, 20, 22; 28:18; 1 Kgs 18:12. This function also defines the usage of קול יהוה in the book of Jeremiah (3:25; 7:28; 26:13; 38:20; 42:6, 13, 21; 43:4, 7; 44:23) as well as select other references in Biblical Hebrew literature (Hag 1:12; Zech 6:15; Ps 106:25; Dan 9:10). Cf. Deut 5:25; 18:16.

¹¹⁵ Compare, for example, with the emphasis on the power of the קול יהוה in Psalm 29 (vv.3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9). Cf. Gen 3:8; Exod 15:26; Isa 30:31; 66:6; Mic 6:9. Although Wöhrle recognizes the combined use of שמע and בקול יהוה functions as an indicator of Deuteronomism in the book of Jeremiah for Winfried Thiel, he does not employ the same criteria for labeling the קול יהוה of Mic 6:9 “Deuteronomistic” (Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 175, n.136; Winfried Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26-45: mit einer Gesamtbeurteilung der deuteronomistischen Redaktion des Buches Jeremia*, WMANT 52 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981], 67). Note that Wöhrle does not label the occurrence of קול יהוה in Hag 1:12 Deuteronomistic, although this phrase serves the Deuteronomistic function with the emphasis on “obedience” (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 290–91, 317–20). Wöhrle attributes a similar use of קול יהוה in Zech 6:15 to the “word redaction layer,” which he recognizes has a certain proximity to late Deuteronomistic themes (Ibid., 346, 347, 362–64).

¹¹⁶ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 175–76.

Deuteronomistic language. מאזנים fails to appear in Deuteronomy or the Deuteronomistic History, yet functions to address honest measurements in Lev 19:36; Ezek 45:10; Hos 12:8[7]; Amos 8:5; Prov 11:1; 16:11; 20:23; Job 31:6.¹¹⁷ מאזנים further appears with the combination of כִּס and אֶבֶן in Prov 16:11, as found in Mic 6:11. Thus although Mic 6:11 and Deut 25:13-16 share thematic similarities, the language of Mic 6:11 lacks an identifiable Deuteronomistic style.

Finally, Wöhrle argues that similarities between the curses of Mic 6:14-15 and Deut 28:30-31, 39-41 indicate the Deuteronomistic orientation of Mic 6:9a α b, 10-15.¹¹⁸ Micah 6:14-15 occurs as part of a larger speech unit extending from 9:9a α ,b, 10-16.¹¹⁹ The plural summons to listen addresses the “tribe” (מִטָּה), concerning the feminine city (v.9, 10, 12) in first-person divine speech (6:11, 13, 14). The pronouncement ends with the first-person divine speech addressing a second-person singular entity (6:13-15). The change in grammatical number suggests a change in the assumed addressee, but does not necessitate a diachronic redaction-critical explanation for four reasons. First, Mic 6:9b supplies a plural imperative toward dual vocative singular addressees: the “tribe” (מִטָּה) and the “one who appointed her [the city]” (מִי יַעֲדָה).¹²⁰ Thus the switch to the singular in Mic 6:13-15 does not necessitate a previously unannounced assumed addressee, only the

¹¹⁷ Cf. other appearances in Isa 40:12, 15; Jer 32:10; Ezek 5:1; Ps 62:10[9]; Job 6:2.

¹¹⁸ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 175–76.

¹¹⁹ Micah 6:9a β stands apart as a commonly recognized wisdom insert, added at a later date to v.9. For discussion, see: Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 294; Smith, “The Book of Micah,” 129, 131; Mowinckel, “Mikaboken,” 22; Scharbert, *Die Propheten Israels*, 518; Roger N. Whybray, *The Intellectual Tradition in the Old Testament*, BZAW 135 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974), 148; Mays, *Micah*, 29–33, 144–46; Van der Woude, *Micha*, 221, 224; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 6. und des 5. Jahrhunderts*, 177, n.75; Wolff, *Micha*, 162; Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten II*, 194; Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte*, 45; Kessler, *Micha*, 277; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 175–76.

¹²⁰ Although מִטָּה occurs in the singular in Mic 6:9, its use as a designated collective identity precludes determining definitive principles guiding its grammatical number. The singular form of מִטָּה serves as a grammatical singular (e.g., Num 3:6; 36:9) and plural (Num 36:3, 4, 5). Determining the grammatical number is complicated by the use of מִטָּה along with other collective designators such as “sons of...” (בְּנֵי..., see: Num 10:15-27; 34:14-28).

reduction of the dual vocatives to a singular presumed target. Second, Mic 6:13-15 continues the first-person divine address of 6:9-12. Third, the use of וגם in Mic 6:13 links vv.13-15 to vv.9-12 indicating that the pronounced judgment of vv.13-15 come on account of the announced sins in vv.9-12. Finally, Mic 6:16b provides a unified concluding pronouncement that addresses the second-person masculine singular and plural designations together. Thus Mic 6:16b assumes the juxtaposition of Mic 6:9-12* and vv.13-15.

Micah 6:16, however, poses several challenges to redaction critics. The sudden shift of grammatical person, along with the unexpected references to Omri and Ahab, lead some scholars to identify all or part of v.16 as a later expansion added to vv.9-15.¹²¹ Each component part of Mic 6:16, however, exists as an integral unit either assumed by, or coherent with, the preceding discourse. Micah 6:16aα shifts from the second-person masculine singular direct address (vv.13-15) to a divine speech about a third-person entity. The text accuses this third-person entity of keeping “the statutes of Omri and all of the deeds of the house of Ahab.” The following return to second-person plural direct address (v.16aβ), however, references “their counsel” (במעצותם), thus suggesting that the second-person plural discourse of vv.9-12, 16aβ presupposes the presence of the accusation in 16aα. Micah 6:16b, however, continues the first-person divine speech that unifies vv.9-12 and 13-15. This first-person divine speech, however, contains a triple announcement of destruction targeting the second-person singular addressee (תחי אתך) of vv.13-15, the city’s inhabitants (וישביה לשרקה) of v.12, and the second-person

¹²¹E.g., Jeremias, “Die Deutung der Gerichtsworte,” 342–43; Van der Woude, *Micha*, 234–38; Mays, *Micah*, 29–33, 144–45, 148–49; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 6. und des 5. Jahrhunderts*, 177, n. 78; Renaud, *La formation*, 337–339, 342–343, 387–399; Wolff, *Micha*, 163; Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten II*, 194; Renaud, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 137; Knud Jeppesen, *Græder ikke saa saare: studier i Mikabogens sigte*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Århus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 1987), 337–46, 415; Hardmeier, “Die Propheten Micha und Jesaja,” 184; Otto, “Techniken der Rechtssatzredaktion,” 148; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39*, 348; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 176. See also those who identify development within Mic 6:16: Mowinkel, “Mikaboken,” 23; Kessler, *Micha*, 277; Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte*, 159–60.

plural addressees (וְהָרַפָּה עִמִּי תִשָּׂא) of vv.9-12. The previous reference to the city's inhabitants (v.12) occurs within the address to the second-person plural audience (vv.9-12); yet its clause in v.16b assumes the verb from the preceding announcement to the second-person singular audience (נָתַן).¹²² The juxtaposition of the final pronouncement of shame in v.16bβ (וְהָרַפָּה עִמִּי תִשָּׂא) following the preceding two pronouncements with the ו conjunction suggests that v.16bβ presupposes the preceding similar pronouncements in v.16bα. In verse 16, therefore, the second-person plural address presupposes the second-person singular address. Yet in vv.13-15, the second-person singular address, presupposes the second-person plural address. The component parts of Mic 6:9αβ, 10-16 cannot be satisfactorily divided from one another so as to supply a diachronic account for the alternating grammatical numbers. Micah 6:9αβ, 10-16, therefore, functions as a literary unity.¹²³

The widespread use of similar binary curse forms throughout Biblical Hebrew literature complicates attempts to distinguish between dependence on a given text, or a broadly defined tradition.¹²⁴ Although Mic 6:14-15 employs imagery that echoes throughout Biblical Hebrew literature, these curse formulas generally lack the images of Mic 6:14-15. The majority of these pronouncements, for example, employ the imagery of building homes but not living in them, and planting vineyards but not enjoying their

¹²² For discussion of verb ellipses (or “verb gapping”) as a poetic device in Hebrew, see: Michael O’Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1980), 122–132, 401–404.; Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 23–25; Wilfred G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to Its Techniques*, ed. Mary Watkins, JSOTSup 26 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986), 303–6.

¹²³ Contra Kessler who attributes vv.9α, 12, 13, 14b to the core of Mic 6:9-16 with vv.9b, 10-11 as a second layer and vv.14αβ and 16 as later glosses (*Micha*, 275–77). Note that Kessler’s earlier work attributes Mic 6:9-16 to the earliest literary core of Micah (*Staat und Gesellschaft im vorexilischen Juda: Vom 8. Jahrhundert bis zum Exil*, VTSup 47 [Leiden: Brill, 1992], 54–56).

¹²⁴ Cf. similar curses and their reversals in: Deut 28:30-34, 38-44; Josh 24:13; Isa 65:21; Jer 29:5, 28; Ezek 28:26; Hos 4:10; Amos 5:11; 9:14; Mic 6:14-15; Zeph 1:13b.

produce.¹²⁵ Only two of these curse formulas lack such binaries: Mic 6:14-15 and Hos 4:10. Micah 6:14-15 and Hos 4:10 not only lack the dominant binaries of these other curse formulas, but only these two texts employ the eating/satisfaction (שבע/אכל) binary.¹²⁶ Deuteronomy 28, for example, discusses a lack of eating (v.31) outside of this formulaic genre and lacks the counterpart of “fullness” (שבע). Eating, but not being satisfied, however, is a common pronouncement outside of Deuteronomistic literature (in Lev 26:26; Isa 9:19[20]; Hos 4:10; Mic 6:14; Ps 59:16). Within Deuteronomy, the combination of שבע and אכל only serves to communicate blessing or a positive situation.¹²⁷ Among the uses of this curse genre in Biblical Hebrew literature, Hos 4:10 and Mic 6:14-15 stand apart on account of their distinctive imagery. This evidence suggests that Mic 6:14-15 contains a thematic parallel with Deuteronomistic thought, yet reflects a distinctive manifestation of this speech form.

The case for Deuteronomism in Mic 6:1-16* depends upon four pieces of evidence, each of which yield different relationships to other collections of Deuteronomistic texts. Micah 6:2-5 reflects the exodus and wilderness traditions, but the added awareness of Miriam and the Balaam tradition suggest that these memories reflect a breadth extending beyond traditional Deuteronomistic historical overviews of the exodus-wilderness period. Micah 6:2-5 reflects an awareness of broader Pentateuchal themes suggesting that it is not distinctively Deuteronomistic. Micah 6:9* contains two arguments for Deuteronomism. On the one hand, the reference to the “voice of YHWH” (קול יהוה) is identifiably non-Deuteronomistic. On the other hand the concern for honest

¹²⁵ Deuteronomy 28:30-34, 38-44; Josh 24:13; Isa 65:21; Jer 29:5, 28; Ezek 28:26; Hos 4:10; Amos 5:11; 9:14; Mic 6:14-15; Zeph 1:13b.

¹²⁶ Cf. The language of Lev 26:26; Isa 9:19[20]; Hos 4:10; Mic 6:14; Ps 59:16. שבע and אכל occur more frequently in positive pronouncements and in the context of caring for others. See: Deut 6:11; 8:10, 12; 11:15; 14:29; 26:12; 31:20; Isa 44:16; Joel 2:26; Pss 22:26; 78:29; 81:17[16]; Ruth 2:14; Neh 9:25; 2 Chr 31:10.

¹²⁷ Deuteronomy 6:11; 8:10, 12; 11:15; 31:20. Cf. Joel 2:26; Pss 22:26; 78:29; 81:17[16]; Neh 9:25; 2 Chr 31:10.

measurements reflects a thematic parallel with Deuteronomism yet employs distinctively non-Deuteronomistic language. Micah 6:9*, thus, reflects an thematic overlap with Deuteronomistic thought, yet employs language distinguishing its composition from the editorial style of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History. Similarly, Mic 6:14-15 employs a binary curse form found in expanded form in 28:30-31, 39-41. The language and style of this curse form in Mic 6:14-15, however, reflects notable differences distinguishing it from the manifestation of the form in Deuteronomistic literature. Thus Micah 6:14-15 employs a distinguishable manifestation of this speech form, which also shows up in Deuteronomistic literature.

Deuteronomism in Micah: Conclusions

The case for Deuteronomism in Micah depends upon the identification of three thematic similarities with Deuteronomistic thought in the composition history of Micah: the superscriptional formulation (1:1), the anti-idolatry polemics (1:5b-7; 5:9-13[10-14]) and their affiliate verses (1:9, 12b, 13b), and the lawsuit and exodus motifs (6:1-16*). Each of these passages reveals considerably different ideological proximities to Deuteronomistic thought.

Two passages reflect distinctively non-Deuteronomistic compositional origins on account of thematic similarities and parallels with ideological developments in later postexilic biblical literature. First, Mic 5:9-13[10-14] does contain a concern with idolatry, yet reflects literary similarities with Deutero-Zechariah and dependence on Isa 6:6-8. The relationship with Isa 6:6-8 suggests that Mic 5:9-13[10-14] forms a frame along with Mic 4:1-5, which draws on Isa 2:2-5. This frame includes not only echoes of Deutero-Zechariah, but also the pilgrimage of the nations theme, suggesting a later postexilic date. Second, Mic 6:2-5 reflects broader pentateuchal traditions extending beyond the confines of Deuteronomistic composition suggesting that the exodus and wilderness references do not reflect a distinctive Deuteronomistic agenda.

Three passages reflect thematic parallels with Deuteronomistic concerns, yet employ distinctively non-Deuteronomistic language. First, Mic 1:5b-7 reflects a concern for idolatry yet uses language patterns not otherwise found in Deuteronomistic literature. Second, Mic 6:9* parallels the Deuteronomistic concern for dishonest weights, yet employs the language of the “voice of YHWH” (קוֹל יְהוָה) in a distinctively non-Deuteronomistic way. Finally, Mic 6:14-15 employs a binary curse speech form with is found in Deuteronomistic compositions. The contents of this curse form, however, distinguishes Mic 6:14-15 from Deut 28. Micah 6:9* and 6:14-15 occur as part of a unified composition (6:9aab, 10-16).

Four additional verses rely upon associations with other proposed Deuteronomistic supplements in Micah for their own identification as Deuteronomistic. Of these four verses, only 1:1 and 1:9 reflect the literary and ideological coherence with Mic 1:5b-7 suggestive of shared compositional origins. Micah 1:9 lacks independent associations with Deuteronomism, yet presupposes Samaria from vv.5b-7. Micah 1:1 contains both the word-event formula and regnal dating system, which lack enough distinctive elements of Deuteronomism in order to make a definitive argument for or against Deuteronomistic origins. The shared comparison between Samaria and Jerusalem with Mic 1:5b-7, however, suggests a shared ideological agenda and probable shared compositional origins.

The remaining two verses that occasionally are associated with Deuteronomistic composition due to associations with Mic 1:5b-7 and 5:9-13[10-14] lack sufficient literary-critical evidence supporting their identification as later editorial additions. Both Mic 1:12b and 1:13b cohere with their current literary contexts, and contain only vague thematic parallels with Mic 1:5b-7 and 5:9-13[10-14]. The evidence, therefore, does not support attributing 1:12b and 1:13b to Deuteronomistic editors.

The preceding assessment, therefore, identifies four passages as reflecting ideological proximity to Deuteronomistic thought: 1:1, 5b-7, 9; 6:9aab, 10-16. These four

passages share three similarities suggesting that they share compositional origins. First, these passages reflect ideological proximity to Deuteronomistic thought, yet employ distinctively non-Deuteronomistic vocabulary and literary styles. Second, each of these passages displays a unique city focus. Micah 1:1 and 1:5b-7, 9 concern Samaria and Jerusalem; and Mic 6:9aα,b, 10-16 relates a speech to a city. Finally, each of these updates uses this city language to draw an explicit comparison between the Northern and the Southern Kingdoms. Micah 1:1 frames the Micah message as concerning Jerusalem and Samaria. Micah 1:5b-7, 9 then draws Samaria and Jerusalem into a comparison. Micah 6:9-16* then presents a speech to a city associated with a single tribe (suggesting Jerusalem and Judah), which reflects the influence of Northern kings. These three similarities suggest that Mic 1:1, 5b-7, 9; 6:9-16* reflect a shared ideological agenda and compositional origins.

The Book of the Four Literary Horizon in Micah

Introduction to Micah and the Literary Parallels with the Four

Arguments for Micah's inclusion in the Book of the Four hypothesis invariably intersect with the broader issue of Micah's relationship to the eighth-century prophets.¹²⁸ A majority of Micah's links with the other Book of the Four texts entail points of contact with the two other eighth-century BCE prophets: Hosea and Amos.¹²⁹ The links with Zephaniah, however, are less certain. While some scholars note thematic overlaps with

¹²⁸ Some scholars conclude that similarities between Micah and later prophetic texts are the result of the influence of the Micah tradition upon the later prophetic compositions. See for example: Hardmeier, "Die Propheten Micha und Jesaja"; Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Micah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 24E (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 27; Jun-Hee Cha, *Micah and Jeremiah*, BBB 107 (Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum, 1996), 127–31.

¹²⁹ A long scholarly tradition recognizes Micah's similarities with Amos and Hosea. E.g., Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten*, 189; Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 261; Lindblom, *Micah*, 137–38; Robinson, "Micah," 128; Wolff, *Micah*, xxviii.

the book of Zephaniah, the evidence of a direct literary relationship is more difficult.¹³⁰ Nogalski argues that catchwords link Mic 6 with Zeph 1.¹³¹ Yet the extent of the inclusion of Mic 6 within the Book of the Four remains disputed.¹³² Schart admits fewer direct connections to Zephaniah in the Book of the Four edition of Micah, and Metzner finds none.¹³³

This observed relationship with Hosea and Amos in contrast to Zephaniah raises another question in light of the broader phenomenon of intertextuality. Questions concerning intertextuality in Micah inevitably have to address its relationship with the book of Isaiah. In fact, Micah arguably contains more numerous and more extensive literary links to the book of Isaiah than any other prophetic text.¹³⁴ The implications of these intertextual links for the composition history of Micah, however, depends upon how one positions their composition relative to the earliest literary core of Micah. Locating these links among the earliest compositions of Micah would suggest either a relationship between the authors or dependence upon a shared tradition.¹³⁵ Alternatively, some

¹³⁰ See the thematic overlaps noted by: Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 169–70.

¹³¹ Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 142–44.

¹³² Cf. Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 168–71; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 192–93.

¹³³ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 184–88; Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte*, 180–81.

¹³⁴ Some of the more prominent parallels include Mic 1:1b // Isa 1:1; 2:1; Mic 4:1-5 // Isa 2:2-5; Mic 4:11-13 // Isa 17:12-14; Mic 5:9-13 // Isa 2:6-21. For more comprehensive lists of parallels with the book of Isaiah, see: Carl Friedrich Keil, *The Twelve Minor Prophets*. Vol. 17 of *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament*, trans. James Martin, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1871), 420; Stade, “Bemerkungen,” 164; Weiser, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten I*, 201–2; Gary Stansell, *Micah and Isaiah: A Form and Tradition Historical Comparison*, SBLDS 85 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 2.

¹³⁵ The thesis identifying Micah as some form of a disciple of Isaiah once enjoyed popularity. See for example: Schmidt, *Die grossen Propheten*, 131; Ewald, *Die Propheten des alten Bundes: erklärt*, 1:498; Procksch, *Jesaia I*, 17; idem, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 207; Vriezen, *De literatuur*, 171; Eissfeldt, *Einleitung*, 549. More recent assessments locating the links between the two texts early favor the reliance upon a shared tradition (e.g., Beyerlin, *Die Kulttraditionen Israels*, 9–10; Stansell, *Micah and Isaiah*).

scholars interpret the points of contact between Micah and Isaiah as evidence of later editorial activity.¹³⁶

The close literary relationship with the texts of the other eighth-century BCE prophets, when contrasted with the minimal links to the book of Zephaniah, raises the possibility that Book of the Four advocates misinterpret the intertextual evidence. The links between Micah and the other eighth-century BCE prophets could indicate either a Hezekian era prophetic collection including Isaiah (and excluding Zephaniah),¹³⁷ or simply evidence of a shared eighth-century BCE prophetic milieu. Van der Woude argues, for example, for a temporal and geographical proximity between the earliest literary compositions of Mic 6-7 and Hosea on account of points of contact between the texts and a perceived northern orientation of Mic 6-7.¹³⁸ The Book of the Four hypothesis, therefore requires demonstrating that the intertextual links with the books of Hosea, Amos, and Zephaniah appear as editorial supplements to the earliest literary

¹³⁶ E.g., Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten*, 149–50; Stade, “Bemerkungen,” 161–72; Joachim Becker, *Isaias: der Prophet und sein Buch*, SBS 30 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1968), 47; John T. Willis, “Authenticity and Meaning of Micah 5:9-14,” *ZAW* 81 (1969): 359; Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 434–36; Jeppesen, *Græder ikke saa saare*, 1:84, 416; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 155–58; Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy*, 92; Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte*, 181–82; Zapff, “The Book of Micah,” 131–32; Reinhard G. Kratz, *The Prophets of Israel*, CSHB 2 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 52.

¹³⁷ See for example, the proposed Hezekian collection of Andersen and Freedman: Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Hosea*, AB 24 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), 144; David Noel Freedman, “Headings in the Books of the Eighth-Century Prophets,” *AUSS* 25 (1987): 22; Andersen and Freedman, *Micah*, 6–7. Many scholars argue that a Hosea-Amos-Micah Hezekian era collection better accounts for the intertextual evidence than the Book of the Four hypothesis. See: Dale Allan Schneider, “The Unity of the Book of the Twelve” (PhD diss., Yale University, 1979), 18–43; Anselm C. Hagedorn, *Die Anderen im Spiegel: Israels Auseinandersetzung mit den Völkern in den Büchern Nahum, Zefanja, Obadja und Joel*, BZAW 414 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 95; Byron G. Curtis, “The Zion-Daughter Oracles: Evidence on the Identity and Ideology of the Late Redactors of the Book of the Twelve,” in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, ed. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, SymS 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 167–68, 171–72.

¹³⁸ Van der Woude, “Deutero-Micha,” 365–78; idem, *Micha*, 195–99; idem, “Three Classical Prophets,” 47.

material in Micah in such a way that indicates a shared scribal agenda across these supplements.¹³⁹

The five strongest cases for editorial activity assuming a Book of the Four literary horizon in Micah consist of Mic 1:1, 5b-7 (and v.9); 2:3, 12-13; 6:9-16. The following examination explores the compositional implications of these five intertextual parallels. A sixth section will then consider the limits of Book of the Four literary parallels in Micah, by arguing that perceived parallels in Mic 1:3-4; 3:1-12; and 6:8 do not necessitate a Book of the Four literary horizon. This assessment of intertextual parallels with the Book of the Four in Micah will then conclude by considering the degree to which these intertextual parallels reflect a distinctive editorial agenda suggestive of shared compositional origins.

The Literary Horizon of Micah 1:1

As noted in the assessment of Deuteronomism in the Mic 1:1, the superscription reflects three compositional peculiarities: the use of both the word-event formula and vision report language, the Jerusalem-Samaria comparison as found in 1:5b-7, and the separation of the אשר relative clause from its assumed antecedent.¹⁴⁰ Each of these peculiarities have distinctive points of contact with Hos 1:1 and Amos 1:1 suggesting that the unexpected superscription style in Micah reflects editorial attempts to combine elements from the two earlier texts in the Book of the Four. Although the superscription dates Micah's prophetic career to the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz, scholars generally doubt that the earliest Micah proclamations predated the reign of King Hezekiah.¹⁴¹ The

¹³⁹ O'Brien, for example, disagrees with Nogalski's conclusions concerning reading the Twelve in general, and the Four in particular, as a unit because she finds intertextual links that extend beyond these canonical limits to include the rest of the prophetic corpus (*Micah*, 32).

¹⁴⁰ See pp.219-221.

¹⁴¹ See for example: Smith, "The Book of Micah," 19-21; Mowinckel, "Mikaboken," 3; Weiser, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten I*, 200; Wolfe, "The Book of Micah," 6:898; Norman H. Snaith, *Amos, Hosea and Micah*, Epworth Preacher's Commentaries (London: Epworth, 1956), 83; Marsh, *Amos and Micah*, 79-80; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 165; Mays, *Micah*, 15-16, 37; Jeremias,

superscriptional regnal dating span of nearly 60 years strongly indicates a literary-theological function rather than a record of a historical prophetic career.¹⁴² This observation raises the question of the purpose of their inclusion. The same דבר־יהוה formula of Mic 1:1 appears in Hos 1:1; Joel 1:1; Mic 1:1 and Zeph 1:1 (see Table 4.5).¹⁴³

Table 4.5. דבר־יהוה Superscriptional formula

Verse	Hebrew Text	English Translation
Hos 1:1	דבר־יהוה אשר אליהושע בן־בארי	“The word of YHWH which manifest to Hosea son of Beeri...”
Joel 1:1	דבר־יהוה אשר אליואל בן־פתואל	“The word of YHWH which manifest to Joel son of Pethuel...”
Mic 1:1	דבר־יהוה אשר אלי־מיכה המרשתי	“The word of YHWH which manifest to Micah of Moresheth...”
Zeph 1:1	דבר־יהוה אשר אלי־צפניה בן־כושי	“The word of YHWH which manifest to Zephaniah son of Cushi...”

Table 4.6. Regnal Dating Comparisons

Verse	Hebrew Text	English Translation
Hos 1:1	בימי עזיה יותם אחז יחזקיה מלכי יהודה	“...in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, [and] Hezekiah, kings of Judah.”
Mic 1:1	יوتם אחז יחזקיה מלכי יהודה	“...in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, [and] Hezekiah, kings of Judah.”
Isa 1:1	בימי עזיהו יותם אחז יחזקיהו מלכי יהודה	“...in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, [and] Hezekiah, kings of Judah.”

Joel 1:1 contains no regnal dating and Zeph 1:1 dates to the reign of Josiah. The regnal dating of Mic, however, closely corresponds to that of Isa 1:1 and Hos 1:1 (see Table

Die Propheten Joel, Obadja, Jona, Micha, 126; Dempsey, *Amos*, 75. A few scholars date the Samaria pronouncements to the time of Ahaz. E.g., Thomas, “Micah,” 630; Virgil H. Todd, “The Eschatology of Pre-Exilic Prophets,” *CumSem* 22 (1985): 60.

¹⁴² On this problem, see: Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 127, n.13.

¹⁴³ For the complete analysis of this formula, see pp. 52-58.

4.6). The close correspondence between both the דבר־יהוה formula and regnal dating schema between Hos 1:1 and Mic 1:1 suggests a literary relationship.¹⁴⁴

Micah 1:1 differs from Hos 1:1 in two respects. First, unlike Hos 1:1, Mic 1:1 includes a visionary statement. The visionary statement אשר חזה עלי occurs only in Isa 1:1; Amos 1:1; and Mic 1:1.¹⁴⁵ Unlike Isa 1:1, in which the superscription solely concerns the Southern kingdom of Judah (על־יהודה וירושלם), both Amos and Micah show signs of editorial development to relate their primary prophetic judgments to both kingdoms. Although all evidence suggests that Amos prophesies to the northern kingdom of Israel, the superscription reflects an intentional link to the southern kingdom indicated by the regnal dating relative to a Judean king (עזיה מלך־יהודה). Evidence indicates that the earliest literary core of Micah, on the other hand, addresses the southern kingdom exclusively using the designations Jacob, Israel, and Jerusalem (1:5a, 14, 15; 2:7; 3:1, 8, 9). Explicit references to Samaria only occur in 1:1, 5b, 6, three verses that redaction critics identify as editorial additions.¹⁴⁶ These additions connect the Micah proclamations against the southern kingdom to the northern kingdom of Samaria. The editorial developments in Amos 1:1 and Mic 1:1 reflect a similar agenda that connects the judgments of these prophets to both kingdoms, as well as a similar lexical repertoire.¹⁴⁷

Second, Mic 1:1 lacks the reference to King Uzziah as found in Hos 1:1. Uzziah occurs in the regnal dating of three superscriptions: Isa 1:1; Hos 1:1; and Amos 1:1. Isaiah 1:1 spells “Uzziah” with the terminal *mater lectionis* (עזיהו; cf. Isa 6:1; 7:1), unlike

¹⁴⁴ Additionally, Hos 1:1 and Mic 1:1 employ the same spelling of the name “Hezekiah” (יחזקיה). Isaiah 1:1 spells the name with the terminal *mater lectionis* (יחזקיהו). On the variant spellings of the name Hezekiah, see: Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 186 n.43.

¹⁴⁵ Christoph Levin uses the parallel between Mic 1:1 and Isa 1:1; 2:1 to object to a proposed Book of the Four link based upon the superscriptions (“Das ‘Vierprophetenbuch’,” 229).

¹⁴⁶ See below for assessment.

¹⁴⁷ Watts proposes that the Mic 1:1 follows the pattern of Amos 1:1 (“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, SymS 15 [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000], 117).

in Hos 1:1 and Amos 1:1 (עזיה). Each of the two differences between Hos 1:1 and Mic 1:1 parallels Amos 1:1. The uncommon use of both the דבר־יהוה formula and the visionary statement in Mic 1:1 connects to both Hos 1:1 and Amos 1:1 (see Table 4.7).

Table 4.7. Superscriptional Formulas

Verse	Visionary Formula	Word-event formula
Hos 1:1	...	דבר־יהוה אשר אליהוֹשֶׁעַ בֶּן־בְּאִרִי
Amos 1:1	אשר חזה על־ישראל	...
Mic 1:1	אשר חזה על־שֶׁמְרוֹן וִירוּשָׁלַם	דבר־יהוה אשר אל־מִיכָה הַמְרַשְׁתִּי

Similarly The Micah regnal dating system correlates with the Hosea regnal dating system, lacking only the king found in Amos 1:1 (see Table 4.8). These connections indicate an intentional relationship between these three superscriptions.¹⁴⁸ The regnal formulas thus serve to locate the message of Micah just after the message of Amos.

Table 4.8. Superscriptional Regnal dating

Prophetic Text	Regnal Dating			
Hosea:	Uzziah	Jotham	Ahaz	Hezekiah
Amos:	Uzziah			
Micah:		Jotham	Ahaz	Hezekiah

These observations yield three conclusions. First, the superscription of Micah is an editorial construction reflecting a literary horizon that extends to the books of Hosea and Amos. Second, this literary horizon accounts for all three pieces of the Micah superscription (the דבר־יהוה formula, the regnal dating, and the visionary statement), eliminating the necessity to propose a multi-stage composition process for Mic 1:1.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Three decades prior to the Book of the Four hypothesis, Siegfried Schwantes proposed that a single editor composed Hos 1:1; Amos 1:1; and Mic 1:1 (“A Critical Study of the Text of Micah,” 19–20).

¹⁴⁹ Contra those who argue for a multi-stage composition process for the superscription. See: Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten*, 134; Smith, “The Book of Micah,” 31–32; Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 262; Lindblom, *Micha*, 13–15; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 70; Lescow, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1–5,” 62–64; Rudolph, *Micha*, 31–32; Mays,

Finally, the dependence upon Hos 1:1 and Amos 1:1 explains each of the three literary peculiarities noted by redaction critics in Mic 1:1.

The Literary Horizon of Micah 1:5b-7, 9

The preceding assessment of Deuteronomism in Mic 1:5b-7 yields three compositional conclusions. First, Mic 1:5b-7 exists as an editorial insertion interrupting a preexisting coherence between v.5a and v.8. Micah 1:5b-7 introduces a comparison between Jerusalem and Samaria only otherwise found in Mic 1:1. This comparison employs the designation “Jacob.” Whereas “Jacob” identifies the Southern Kingdom throughout Mic 1-3* (e.g., along with the name “Israel,” 1:5a; 3:1, 8, 9), in 1:5b-7 it assumes the Northern Kingdom as a comparison with the Southern Kingdom. Micah 1:5b-7 thus assumes a different identity for “Jacob” than the rest of Mic 1-3*. Second, Mic 1:9 presupposes Samaria from vv.5b-7, and continues the Jerusalem-Samaria comparison suggesting shared compositional origins with vv.5b-7. Third, vv.12a and 13b do not share compositional origins with vv.5b-7, 9.¹⁵⁰

The use of “harlot” language in Mic 1:7 supplies the grounds for identifying a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four.¹⁵¹ Many scholars prior to the Book of the Four hypothesis note the similarities with the Hosean familial metaphors.¹⁵² Schar

Micah, 36–37; Renaud, *La formation*, 6–7; idem, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 18–19; McKane, “Micah 1,2–7,” 428; Wagenaar, *Judgement and Salvation*, 57.

¹⁵⁰ See pp.236-240.

¹⁵¹ Several scholars prior to the Book of the Four hypothesis identify all or part of v.7 as a later addition to the text. See: Marti, *Das Dodekapropheten*, 268; Smith, “The Book of Micah,” 33; Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 262–63, 265; Lindblom, *Micha*, 157; Jepsen, “Kleine Beiträge zum Zwölfprophetenbuch,” 96–100; Robert H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York, London: Harper & Brothers, 1941), 590; Wolfe, “The Book of Micah,” 6:905–6; Snaith, *Amos, Hosea and Micah*, 83; Marsh, *Amos and Micah*, 88, 90; Vuilleumier, “Michée,” 18, n.2; Lescow, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5,” 82–84; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 166, n.2; Rudolph, *Micha*, 33; Vermeulen, *Du prophète Isaïe*, 2:575–76.

¹⁵² Jepsen, “Kleine Beiträge zum Zwölfprophetenbuch,” 97–99; Jeremias, “Die Deutung der Gerichtsworte,” 336–37; Mays, *Micah*, 24–26, 45–48; Wolff, *Micha*, 20–21, 24–26; Jeppesen, *Græder ikke saa saare*, 1:156–57. Since the Book of the Four hypothesis, see also: Wagenaar, *Judgement and Salvation*,

links the use of זנה to its prevalence in Hosea, the use of פסל to Hos 11:2,¹⁵³ the use of שממה to Hos 5:9, and the use of אתנן with the אתנה of Hos 2:14. The fire imagery he links to the Amos Oracles Against the Nations.¹⁵⁴ Book of the Four advocates correctly observe the absence of similar rhetoric from the remainder of Micah.

The presence of such rhetoric as a characteristic feature of the book of Hosea, naturally suggests a literary relationship of some form.¹⁵⁵ Hosea, however, is not the only Hebrew prophetic text to employ such strong metaphorical language. Ezekiel 16 likewise presents an accusatory message using the language of זנה and אתנן (Ezek 16:15, 16, 17, 26, 28, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 41).¹⁵⁶ Five observations, however, suggest that Mic 1:7 reflects the influence of the Hosea prophetic tradition over that of Ezekiel. First, while both Ezekiel and Hosea express a concern over idolatry, they do so using slightly different vocabulary. The language of פסל and עצב as found in Mic 1:7 appears in Hosea (4:17; 8:4; 11:2; 13:2; 14:9) but not the book of Ezekiel. Second, although Mic 1:5b-7 and Ezek 16 compare the fates of Samaria and Jerusalem, Ezek 16 does so as part of a triad involving Sodom (16:53-59), which does not appear in Micah or Hosea. Third, Ezek 16:53-55 anticipates the restoration of Samaria, Sodom, and Jerusalem. The anticipation of restoration is not only absent from Mic 1:5b-7, but never extends to Samaria in the rest of the composition history of Micah. Fourth, the identification of Jerusalem as the במות

56; Mason, *Micah, Nahum, Obadiah*, 45. Kessler, furthermore, recognizes the point of contact between Mic 1:7 and the Hosea metaphor, but dates the composition of Mic 1:2-9 to the early Persian period (*Micha*, 46-47, 78-79, 83-84).

¹⁵³ Note that פסיל also occurs in Mic 5:12.

¹⁵⁴ Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 178. Cf. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 138-39; Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte*, 63-64, 137, 181; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 168; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 140-42, 192-93; Jeremias, *Die Propheten Joel, Obadja, Jona, Micha*, 116, 121, 123, 133-37; Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Micah-Malachi*, 527.

¹⁵⁵ The language of זנה, אתנן, and עצב does not appear in the rest of Micah, yet occurs quite frequently in the book of Hosea (1:2; 2:7; 3:3; 4:10, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18; 5:3; 8:4; 9:1; 13:2; 14:9).

¹⁵⁶ The language of זנה additionally appears without אתנן in Ezek 6:9; 20:30; 23:3, 5, 19, 30, 43, 44.

(“high places”) following the designation חטאות בית ישראל (“sins of the house of Israel”), recalls the condemnation of the במות און (“high places of Aven”) as the חטאת ישראל (“sin of Israel”) in Hos 10:8.¹⁵⁷ Finally, in Ezek 16:31, 34 Jerusalem pays the אהנן whereas in Mic 1:5b-7, Samaria collects the prostitute’s wages, only to return them to the wages of a prostitute. Hosea 9:1, however, declares that the accused Israel loves (אהב) the prostitute’s wages (אהנן) presuming the acquisition of such payments. Although the harlot metaphor of Mic 1:7 reveals stronger association with Hosea than with Ezek 16, Mic 1:7 does not evince dependence upon any single Hosea pronouncement. While the vocabulary of Mic 1:7 features prominently in Hosea, this language rarely appears clustered suggesting an intentional dependency upon any single Hosea pronouncement.¹⁵⁸

The rhetoric surrounding the unexpected introduction of Samaria in Mic 1:6 not only resembles the Hosea textual tradition, but also draws upon other language in Micah used to describe the destruction of Jerusalem (see Table 4.9).¹⁵⁹ The similar language suggests editors of Mic 1:6 intentionally drew upon Jerusalem’s demise from Mic 3:12 in order to cast the fate of Samaria as comparable to that of Jerusalem. Micah 1:7 then continues the first-person divine discourse of 1:6 along with the third-person feminine singular pronouns referencing Samaria. This reappropriation of Micah language further heightens the comparison of the fates of Jerusalem and Samaria as Mic 1-3* now begins and ends with the destruction of one of these two key cities using the same language.

¹⁵⁷ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 190; Biddle, “‘Israel’ and ‘Jacob,’” 151.

¹⁵⁸ Hosea 9:1 employs both אהנן and זנה, against the accused masculine entity of Israel, but does not explicitly speak of idolatry. Hosea 4:17-18 condemn idols prostitution (זנה) after idolatry (עצב).

¹⁵⁹ Of the four prophetic announcements turning a city into a heap of ruins (עִי), three are associated with the Micah tradition (Mic 1:6; 3:12; Jer 26:18; the fourth occurs in Jer 49:3). Many recognize this connection between Mic 1:6 and 3:12. See for example: Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten*, 135; Mays, *Micah*, 47; Wolff, *Micha*, 11; Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten II*, 172, 182; Biddle, “‘Israel’ and ‘Jacob,’” 150. Wagenaar, even translates שדה as “hillside” in Mic 1:6 thus creating a parallel with the הר of Mic 3:12 (“The Hillside of Samaria,” 26–30).

Table 4.9. Comparison of Micah 1:6 and 3:12

Verse	Hebrew Text	English Translation
Micah 1:6:	¹⁶⁰ ושמתי שמרון לעי השדה למטעי כרם והגרתי לגי אבניה ויסדיה אגלה:	⁶ And I will make Samaria <u>a heap of ruins in the field</u> , a place for planting vineyards, and I will cast down into the valley her stones and I will uncover her foundation.
Micah 3:12:	לכן בגללכם ציון שדה תחרש וירושלם עיין תהיה והר הבית לבמות יער:	¹² Therefore, on account of you all Zion will be ploughed into <u>a field</u> , and Jerusalem will become <u>a heap of ruins</u> , and the mountain of the house will be a high place of woods.

This frame formed using preexisting language from Micah further suggests an intentional program of literary integration into the preexisting style and language of the Micah text.

Micah 1:5b-7, therefore, reflects five unifying characteristics that distinguish this pronouncement as a later addition to the earliest literary composition of Micah.¹⁶¹ First, Mic 1:5b-7 reflects a different assumed identity for Jacob than that of the rest of Mic 1-3*. Second, this changed identity presents an explicit comparison between Samaria and Jerusalem, which the core of Mic 1-3* likewise lacks. Third, the reference to the “high place of Judah” (במות יהודה) in v.5b parallels the “transgression of Jacob” (פשע יעקב).

¹⁶⁰ Many scholars propose emendations due to the unusual construction of לעי השדה. Some delete השדה (e.g., Lescow, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5,” 82, n.137), whereas others remove the עי (e.g., Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 267; Smith, “The Book of Micah,” 34; Jepsen, “Kleine Beiträge zum Zwölfprophetenbuch,” 97, n.3; Donner, *Israel unter den Völkern*, 94; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 71; Fritz, “Das Wort gegen Samaria,” 320, n.26). Wolff removes לעי השדה (*Micha*, 11, 16). The textual witnesses do not support such emendations. For those who retain the text as preserved, see: Fohrer, “Micha 1,” 70; Allen, *The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, and Micah*, 267; Mays, *Micah*, 45–47; Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, 15–16; Wagenaar, “The Hillside of Samaria,” 27.

¹⁶¹ See similar conclusions by: Jepsen, “Kleine Beiträge zum Zwölfprophetenbuch,” 96–100; Lescow, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5,” 82–84; idem, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 6-7,” *ZAW* 84 (1972): 209; Mays, *Micah*, 24–26, 45–48; Mittmann, “Eine prophetische Totenklage,” 33, n.6; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 168–69; idem, “Exile as Purification,” 238–39; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 140–42, 192–93. McKane identifies vv.5a, 6-7 as editorial additions, which are postdated by v.5b (“Micah 1,2-7,” 420–34). Schart makes a similar connection between v.5a and vv.6-7 (*Die Entstehung*, 179).

Within the context of the condemnation of cultic infidelities in vv.6-7, the בְּמוֹת of v.5b assumes a cultic connotation. This cultic connotation contrasts with the purely topographical usage of בְּמוֹת in 1:3 and 3:12. Fourth, Mic 1:5b-7 supplies the only condemnation of cultic infidelities in the core of Mic 1-3*. This uniquely cultic focus contrasts with the socio-political concerns occupying the rest of the condemnations in the core of Mic 1-3*. Finally, Mic 1:5b-7 contains the only explicit references to Samaria beyond the superscription in the entire text of Micah.

The preceding analysis, therefore, leads to three conclusions concerning the nature of Mic 1:5b-7, 9. First, Mic 1:5b-7 reflects an editorial addition to Mic 1*. Second, Mic 1:5b-7, 9 reflects the influence of the Hosea prophetic tradition, but does not contain evidence of literary dependence upon a single Hosea pericope. Finally, editors draw upon key vocabulary from the depiction of the fall of Jerusalem in Mic 3:12.

The Literary Horizon of Micah 2:3

Scholarly assessments generally attribute Mic 2 to the earliest literary composition of Micah. Several commentators identify minor updates and glosses to the chapter. Micah 2 opens with the proclamation of “woe” over the “plotters of wickedness (הַיּוֹשֵׁבֵי-אֶרֶץ) and doers of evil” (2:1-2), followed by the divine announcement that YHWH will thus plot disaster (הַנְּנִי חֶשֶׁב ... רָעָה) against them (2:3).¹⁶² Three observations

¹⁶² The manuscript evidence does not support the proposed emendation of עֲלֵי-מִשְׁכָּבוֹתָם following רָעָה. See discussion by Anthony Gelston, “Commentary on the Critical Apparatus,” in *The Twelve Minor Prophets*, BHQ 13 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2010), 97*. Whereas a significant scholarly tradition of revocalizations and deletions developed in the twentieth century to address the unusual placement of עֲלֵי-מִשְׁכָּבוֹתָם following רָעָה, more recent scholarly assessments reveal greater skepticism of departing from the text-critical evidence in order to solve grammatical and syntactical difficulties (E.g., Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 48–50; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 147–48). For those deleting רָעָה, see: Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten*, 137; Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 272; Smith, “The Book of Micah,” 53, 56–57; Lindblom, *Micha*, 157; Mowinkel, “Mikaboken,” 8; Weiser, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten I*, 216; Schwantes, “A Critical Study of the Text of Micah,” 56–57; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 170, n.9; Van der Woude, *Micha*, 68; William McKane, “Micah 2:1-5: Text and Commentary,” *JSS* 42 (1997): 7; idem, *The Book of Micah*, 59. For those who propose a revocalization or emendation of עֲלֵי-מִשְׁכָּבוֹתָם to solve this problem, see: Halévy, “Le Livre de Michée,” 110; K. Budde, “Micha 2 und 3,” *ZAW* 38 (1919): 3; Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 270; Bruno, *Micha*, 42, 55–56; Robinson, “Micha,” 132; Wagenaar, *Judgement and Salvation*, 63–64.

distinguish Mic 2:3 from its current literary context. First, the earliest literary core of Mic 2-3* contains a striking lack of first-person divine speech. The text consists of either the speech of the prophet (Mic 2:1-2, 5, 7-11; 3:1-4, 8-12), or words attributed to other human agents (2:4, 6).¹⁶³ The only other announcement of divine speech occurs in 3:5 (כה (אמר יהוה), but this announcement is followed by no first-person indicators of a divine speaker. The third-person reference to God (אלהים) indicates a human prophetic speaker. Thus the introductory כה אמר יהוה functions to introduce the prophet's reported summation of the divine announcement rather than quoted divine speech. The first-person divine discourse of Mic 2:3, therefore, stands apart from its current literary context.

The assumed antecedents of Mic 2:4 supply the second observation distinguishing Mic 2:3 from its current literary context. Micah 2:4 opens “In that day, he will lift up against you...” (ביום ההוא ישא עליכם). The verse, therefore, presupposes a masculine third-person singular antecedent. The accused of vv.1-2 occur in the masculine plural. YHWH of v.3 cannot serve as the antecedent since this third-person singular entity serves as the subject that “laments a lament” (ונהה נהי) and “speaks” (אמר) the ensuing speech. The speech in Mic 2:4 cannot come from YHWH on account of the first-person plural assuming the speaker's deprivation of land-inheritance. The third-person masculine singular verbs of v.4 assume the only other preceding third-person masculine singular entity as the subject: the victim of v.2.¹⁶⁴ Micah 2:2 describes the oppressors as extorting “a person along with his house, a man along with his inheritance.” Verse 4 then supplies the lament of the extorted one whose “portion” (חלק עמי) was altered, and whose land was revoked (לשובב שדינו יחלק). Micah 2:3 interrupts the relationship between 2:2 and 2:4.

¹⁶³ Beyond Mic 2-3*, first-person divine speech only appears in the earliest core of Mic 1-3* in 1:15a. Many scholars emend this verb to cohere with the third-person context of Mic 1:10-16. E.g., Wolff, *Micha*, 13; Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte*, 24; Kessler, *Micha*, 99; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 144, n.33.

¹⁶⁴ Similarly concluded by: de Waard, “Vers une identification,” 510.

The third observation differentiating Mic 2:3 from its current literary context involves the assumed target of the accusation. Micah 2:1 introduces the subjects of the accusation as the ones who “devise wickedness” (חשבי־און) and “do evil” (פעלי רע). These subjects are thus targeted as a result of their unrighteous orientation. Micah 2:3, however, introduces a new designation for the target: “this clan” (המשפחה הזאת). Unlike in Mic 2:1-2, the “pride” (רומה) appears as the only identified fault of the accused in v.3. This fault of “pride” appears nowhere else in Micah. Micah 2:3, therefore, assumes a different fault of the accused than that of Mic 2:1-2.

The preceding three observations demonstrate that Mic 2:3 is a later addition to the earliest literary core of Mic 2. Schart claims that Mic 2:3 has two points of contact with Amos, only one of which, however, presents definitive evidence of a literary horizon extending beyond the literary boundaries of Micah.¹⁶⁵ First, the concluding phrase “for this is a disastrous time” (כי עת רעה היא) found in Amos 5:13b and Mic 2:3b β supplies the strongest point of contact between Amos and Micah (see Table 4.10).¹⁶⁶ The problem with defining the relationship between Mic 2:3 and Amos 5:13 is that redaction critics correctly identify both verses as later editorial additions to their immediate literary contexts.¹⁶⁷ Both additions, however, reveal evidence of being related editorial inserts.

¹⁶⁵ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 183–84. See similarly: Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte*, 115, 180; Jeremias, *Die Propheten Joel, Obadja, Jona, Micha*, 123, 147, 149–51; Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Micah-Malachi*, 518–19. Kessler, on the other hand, recognizes these points of contact, but attributes them to the preservation of the books of Amos and Micah in similar circles rather than in an intentionally constructed editorial link between the books (*Micha*, 48–49, 117–18). For studies noting a literary similarity between Mic 2:3 and Amos 5:13 predating the Book of the Four hypothesis, see: Mowinckel, “Mikaboken,” 8; Jeremias, “Die Deutung der Gerichtsworte,” 333–35; Lescow, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5,” 51; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 170, n.11; Mays, *Micah*, 24–26, 64–66; Wolff, *Micha*, 39; Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten II*, 175; Otto, “Techniken der Rechtssatzredaktion,” 128–32.

¹⁶⁶ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 183–84. See similar observations preceding the Book of the Four hypothesis by: Lescow, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5,” 51; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 170, n.11; Wolff, *Dodekapropheten 4, Micha*, 39; Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten II*, 175; Otto, “Techniken der Rechtssatzredaktion,” 128–32.

¹⁶⁷ See pp.192-194.

Not only do they present the structure and conclude with the same declaration “for it is a disastrous time” (כי עת רעה היא), but they both also reflect a similar scribal technique of intratextual literary integration. Micah 2:3, like Amos 5:13, replicates the syntactical structure of the immediately preceding pronouncement suggesting intentional scribal efforts at integrating these supplements into their contexts.

Table 4.10. The Literary Horizon of Micah 2:3

Verse	Hebrew Text	English Translation
Amos 5:13:	לִבְנֵי הַמַּשְׁכִּיל בַּעַת הַהִיא יָדָם <u>כִּי עֵת רָעָה הִיא:</u>	<u>Therefore</u> , those who understand in that time will remain silent, <u>for it is a disastrous time.</u>
Mic 2:3:	לִבְנֵי כָה אָמַר יְהוָה הַנְּנִי חָשַׁב עַל־הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה הַזֹּאת רָעָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא־תִמְשְׁוּ מִשָּׁם צוֹאֲרֵיכֶם וְלֹא תֵלְכוּ רוֹמָה <u>כִּי עֵת רָעָה הִיא:</u>	<u>Therefore</u> , thus says YHWH, “Behold, I am about to plan disaster against this clan, From which they will not remove their necks, And [from which] they will not proudly walk away, <u>For it is a disastrous time.</u> ”

Thus whereas Mic 2:1 resents the accused as “plotters of wickedness” (חֲשַׁב־יָאוֹן) and “evil doers” (וּפְעֵלֵי רָע), Mic 2:3 presents YHWH as the “planner of disaster” (הַנְּנִי חָשַׁב) against the accused. Verses 1 and 3 both present the imminence with which the planned “disasters” will come about. Finally, both verses conclude with a כי clause announcing the reason for such inescapable immanence (see Table 4.11). The preceding assessment of Mic 2:3, therefore, yields three conclusions. First, Mic 2:3 is an editorial supplement interrupting the logical flow between Mic 2:2 and 2:4. Second, Mic 2:3 reflects a literary horizon extending to the book of Amos as indicated by its dependence upon Amos 5 13. Finally, Mic 2:3 reflects an intentionally constructed paralleling of Mic 2:1.

Table 4.11. Structure of Micah 2:1 and 2:3

Structure	Micah 2:1	Micah 2:3
Planner of disaster:	Woe to the ones who devise wickedness and who do evil	Therefore, thus says YHWH: “Behold, I am about to plan a disaster against this clan
Inescapability of Disaster:	upon their beds by the light of morning they carry it out	from which you will not remove your necks nor will you walk about proudly
Reason for inescapability:	because their hand is strong.	because it is a time of disaster.

Schart additionally proposes that על המשפחה הזאת recalls the exodus motif of Amos 3:1-2.¹⁶⁸ When taken in isolation, the shared use of משפחה does not suggest a literary relationship. The use of משפחה to identify the subjects of the announced judgment against the people of God occurs beyond Amos and Micah (cf. Jer 2:4; 8:3). The fact that Mic 2:3bβ shares an additional stronger parallel with Amos, however, increases the probability that the authors of the unified Mic 2:3 were aware of Amos 3:1-2. Three observations, however, suggest that although Mic 2:3 reflects dependency upon Amos 5:13, additional dependency upon Amos 3:1-2 is unnecessary. First, Mic 2:3 shares no further lexical correspondence with Amos 3:1-2.¹⁶⁹ Second, Mic 2:1-4 lacks the exodus theme that features prominently in Amos 3:1-2. Finally, Micah 2:1-4 reveals no awareness of this clan’s position in relation to the nations. If the use of משפחה in Mic 2:3 intended to evoke Amos 3:1-2, this catchword failed to replicate any of the central themes characteristic of its source text.

¹⁶⁸ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 183–84. Several scholars identify על המשפחה הזאת as a later addition. E.g., Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 273; Smith, “The Book of Micah,” 53, 57–58; Lescow, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5,” 51; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 170, n.10; Renaud, *La formation*, 73–74; Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten II*, 175. Wolff identifies this addition as Deuteronomistic due to similarities with Amos 3:1b (*Micha*, 39). Against this tradition, see: Wagenaar, *Judgement and Salvation*, 67–68.

¹⁶⁹ Of Jer 2:4; 8:3; and Amos 3:1-2; Mic 2:3 shares the greatest lexical overlap with Jer 8:3 only due to the shared adjectival use of זאת. Both verses likewise make use of רעה, although Jer 8:3 does so adjectivally unlike Mic 2:3.

Micah 2:3 thus consists of a later editorial addition to the earliest literary composition of Mic 2, which reveals a literary horizon extending to Amos 5 while revealing the intentional preservation of the style and language of Micah. The addition of Mic 2:3, furthermore, appears in a parallel position to that of Amos 5:13 in relation to its literary context. Amos 5:13 supplies a situation that emerges as a result of the preceding accusations (Amos 5:11-12), which precedes the announcement of lament (Amos 5:16-17). Likewise, Mic 2:3 supplies a situation that emerges as a result of the preceding accusations (Mic 2:1-2), which precedes the announcement of lament (Mic 2:4). The addition of Mic 2:3 to Mic 2:1-4* thus serves two purposes. First, this addition arranges the literary units of Mic 2:1-4 so as to parallel those of Amos 5:11-17. Second, the addition of Mic 2:3 reorients the fault of the accused. Not only will the accused “clan” face immanent and inescapable judgment, but they will no longer “walk about proudly” (ולא תלכו רומה). This concern over the pride of the accused appears nowhere else in Micah, making this accusation a unique contribution of this editorial addition.

The Literary Horizon of Micah 2:12

Micah 2:12-13 reflects the most agreed upon addition to Mic 2.¹⁷⁰ The sudden change from prophetic condemnations anticipating a future judgment to the divine proclamation of restoration to the remnant of Israel leads several scholars to identify a literary-critical division between v.11 and v.12.¹⁷¹ Defenses of the authenticity of Mic

¹⁷⁰ For scholars favoring an exilic date, see: Lindblom, *Micha*, 62–68, 154; Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten II*, 178; Claude F. Mariottini, “Yahweh, the Breaker of Israel (Micah 2:12-13),” *PRS* 28 (2001): 389; Jeremias, *Die Propheten Joel, Obadja, Jona, Micha*, 118, 123, 154–56. For scholars favoring a postexilic date, see: Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 6. und des 5. Jahrhunderts*, 132; Wolff, *Micha*, 45–46, 55–56, 58; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 183, n.91; Kessler, *Micha*, 46, 137–38. See also Lescow who dates v.12 to the exilic era and parts of v.13 to the third century BCE (“Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5,” 72, 81).

¹⁷¹ Some scholars at the beginning of the twentieth century proposed moving Mic 2:12-13 to Mic 4, suggesting that it fit better with Mic 4 than Mic 2-3. See, for example, Renaud, *Structure et attaches littéraires*, 20–25; idem, *La formation*, 404–8; idem, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 50–53.

2:12-13 primarily argue for an integral literary function cohering with the rhetorical agenda of the preceding material in Mic 2.¹⁷² Adam S. van der Woude, for example, extends the dialogue of Mic 2:6-8 between the prophetic speaker and the opponents to argue that Mic 2:12-13 reflects the speech of Micah's opposition.¹⁷³ It seems unlikely, however, that the false prophets would concern themselves with restoration after a destruction, which they deny will take place.¹⁷⁴ For this reason, among others, many scholars remain skeptical of van der Woude's dialogue model.¹⁷⁵ An alternative proposal suggests that Mic 2:12-13 originally functioned as a judgment oracle.¹⁷⁶ Mays, for example, proposes a process of editorial development by which redactors transformed the original judgment oracle into a salvation oracle about the remnant.¹⁷⁷ This thesis, however, likewise faces significant objections from the broader scholarly community.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷² E.g., Lamontte M. Luker, "Beyond Form Criticism: The Relation of Doom and Hope Oracles in Micah 2-6," *HAR* 11 (1987): 287-89. See also the defenses of: Allen, *The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, and Micah*, 242-43, 300-303; Waltke, "Micah," 148, 160-61; idem, *A Commentary on Micah*, 12, 131-43.

¹⁷³ Van der Woude, "Micah in Dispute"; idem, "Micah IV 1-5"; idem, *Micha*, 9-10, 61-192; idem, *Profeet en establishment*, 46-93. For similar proposals, see: de Waard, "Vers une identification," 511; Luis Alonso Schökel and José Luis Sicre, *Profetas*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1980), 1050-51; Thomas Arthur Boogaart, "Reflections on Restoration: A Study of Prophecies in Micah and Isaiah about the Restoration of Northern Israel" (Th. D., University of Groningen, 1981), 49-88; Strydom, "Micah, Anti-Micah and Deutero-Micah," 62-68. See also Joyce Rilett Wood who treats Micah as a drama ("Speech and Action in Micah's Prophecy," *CBQ* 62 (2000): 645-62).

¹⁷⁴ As noted by Max Leopold Margolis over a century ago (Max Leopold Margolis, *Micah* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1908), 11). Van der Woude's model requires emending v.11b so as to produce an introduction to the speech of the opponents since, contrary to the style of the previous text, Mic 2:12-13 lacks explicit indication of a change of speaker.

¹⁷⁵ See for example, the criticisms of: Alfaro, *Justice and Loyalty*, 21; Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte*, 125-26; Mariottini, "Yahweh, the Breaker of Israel," 387.

¹⁷⁶ W. Emery Barnes, "Review of *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. Dr. Karl Budde on Mic, ii, iii," *JTS* 25 (1923): 81-84; Gershon Brin, "Micah 2:12-13 A Textual and Ideological Study," *ZAW* 101 (1989): 118-24; Hagstrom, *The Coherence*, 51-54; Marvin A. Sweeney, "Portrayal of YHWH's Deliverance in Micah 2:12-13 Reconsidered," in *God's Word for Our World*, ed. J. Harold Ellens et al., vol. 1, 2 vols., JSOTSup 388 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 315-26.

¹⁷⁷ Mays, *Micah*, 74-76.

¹⁷⁸ Childs, *Introduction*, 432; Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte*, 126; Wagenaar, *Judgement and Salvation*, 14; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 148-52; Terence E. Fretheim, *Reading Hosea-Micah: A*

The sudden shift in grammatical person and change in language suggests that Mic 2:12-13 preserves two editorial supplements.¹⁷⁹ Verse 12 opens with the direct address to the vocative “Jacob” (יעקב). The first-person divine discourse then transitions into speech about the third-person singular entity, indicating a new assumed antecedent. This grammatical shift does not necessitate a literary-critical division because the text supplies the new assumed antecedent: the “remnant of Israel” (שארית ישראל).¹⁸⁰ Thus the divine discourse speaks to Jacob about the remnant of Israel. The second grammatical shift to the third-person feminine plural in the final two words of the verse suggests a new presupposed subject.¹⁸¹ Although the שארית (“remnant”) may assume a feminine plural grammatical construction, the previous reference to the remnant using masculine singular pronouns mitigates against the suggestion that שארית functions as the assumed subject of דבר and עדר (“they will be noisy from the sound of people”). The nouns דבר and עדר typically assume the masculine grammatical gender. The infrequent use of בצרה impedes attempts to identify patterns of grammatical usage to the predominantly feminine singular noun. צאן remains as the final possible subject of תהימנה מאדם (“they will be noisy from the sound of people”). צאן may assume both masculine and feminine plural grammatical

Literary and Theological Commentary, Reading the Old Testament (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2013), 200–201.

¹⁷⁹ On the evidence for diachronic development in Mic 2:12-13, see: Lescow, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5,” 72, 81; Mays, *Micah*, 74–76; Jan A. Wagenaar, “‘From Edom He Went up...’: Some Remarks on the Text and Interpretation of Micah II 12-13,” *VT* 50 (2000): 531–39; idem, *Judgement and Salvation*, 101–4; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 191–92. Others emend the grammatical inconsistencies to follow the more consistent LXX. E.g., Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten*, 139; Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 275–76; Robinson, “Micha,” 136; Vuilleumier, “Michée,” 35; Hillers, *Micah*, 58. The Targum and Vulgate, however, support the MT suggesting that the LXX does not testify to a different *Vorlage* but rather reflects translational efforts to circumvent the grammatical difficulties. See the conclusions of: Wagenaar, *Judgement and Salvation*, 96; Gelston, “Commentary on the Critical Apparatus,” 100*.

¹⁸⁰ שארית takes inconsistent gender and number grammatical constructions throughout the Hebrew Bible. This word may feature as a feminine singular (e.g., 2 Kgs 19:4, 31; Isa 37:4, 32; Jer 11:23; 40:15; 42:2; 50:26), masculine plural (e.g., 2 Kgs 21:14; Jer 8:3; 24:8; 42:15, 19; 43:5; 44:12, 14, 28; Amos 1:8; Zeph 2:7, 9; 3:13; Neh 7:71; 2 Chr 36:20), or masculine singular entity (e.g., Zech 8:6, 11, 12).

¹⁸¹ Van der Woude unnecessarily removes these final two words as a later gloss (*Micah*, 97).

orientations making this word a compatible subject for the feminine plural תהימנה.¹⁸²

Micah 2:12b β thus continues the metaphor of v.12a β -ba. Micah 2:12, therefore, functions as a literary unity without necessitating diachronic solutions to resolve the shifts in grammatical gender.

Verse 13 on the other hand, contains several grammatical shifts indicative of a literary-critical division. First, v.13 assumes a new speaker. Whereas v.12 supplied first-person divine discourse, v.13 speaks about a third-person entity who breaks through and goes up before “them” (עלה הפץ לפניהם). The verse later identifies this figure who “goes up before them” as “their king” (מלכם). The parallel pronouncement to “and their king passed over before them” likewise identifies a subject leading the people: “and YHWH is at their head.” The parallel expression thus identifies YHWH as “their king” suggesting that the third-person singular one who goes up before the people at the beginning of v.13 is likewise YHWH.¹⁸³ Verse 13, therefore, shifts from the first-person divine discourse in v.12 to the third-person speech about YHWH suggesting a new assumed speaker.

Second, this assumed shift in speaker corresponds to a shift in the grammatical number of the subject. Whereas v.12 identifies the שארית as a masculine singular entity and the צאן as a feminine plural entity, v.13 assumes a masculine plural subject, suggesting either a new assumed antecedent, or a grammatical reorientation of a previously identified subject. Third, whereas v.12 speaks of gathering the remnant to a shared place, v.13 concerns leading forth the subjects from a city.¹⁸⁴ Verse 12 thus assumes the remnant currently exists in a scattered state in need of collection. Verse 13 assumes that the

¹⁸² For the use of צאן as a feminine plural entity, see: Gen 30:36, 38, 39, 41, 43; Deut 28:31; Jer 33:13; 50:6; Ezek 34:8, 10, 17, 19, 22, 31; Ps 144:13; 2 Chr 18:16. For the use of צאן as a masculine plural entity, see: Gen 30:39; 31:8; 33:13; 2 Sam 24:17; 1 Kgs 22:17; Isa 60:7; Jer 23:2; Ezek 34:6, 11, 12, 15, 31; 1 Chr 21:17.

¹⁸³ See further arguments by: Mariottini, “Yahweh, the Breaker of Israel,” 77–96.

¹⁸⁴ פָּרַץ typically means to “break through” usually denoting a wall of some sort (J. Conrad, “פָּרַץ,” TDOT, 12: 104–10). Its use along with שָׁעַר strong suggests the exiting of a city.

subjects occupy a single location and are in need of an exodus-like deliverance.¹⁸⁵ Fourth, the grammatical distinctions between v.12 and v.13 correspond to a shift in imagery. The differing assumptions suggest that v.12 and v.13 assume different speakers about different subjects characterized by different assumed conditions. These differences support the compositional division of v.13 from v.12.¹⁸⁶

Textual analyses often note thematic similarities between Mic 2:12-13 and 4:6-7; 5:6-7.¹⁸⁷ Key literary differences, however, mitigate against the common proposal of shared authorship.¹⁸⁸ Micah 2:12 in particular combines the three themes of remnant, restorative hope, and shepherding imagery in such a way that only occurs in four other passages in the Hebrew Bible: Jer 23:3; Zeph 2:7, 9b; 3:13. Jeremiah 23:3, however,

¹⁸⁵ Scholars commonly recognize the “new exodus” motif in v.13. E.g., Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 6. und des 5. Jahrhunderts*, 132; Norbert Mendecki, “Die Sammlung und der neue Exodus in Mich 2:12-13,” *Kairos* 23 (1981): 96–99; Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten II*, 178; Kessler, *Micha*, 151.

¹⁸⁶ See the similar conclusions of Wagenaar, “‘From Edom He Went Up...,’” 531–39; idem, *Judgement and Salvation*, 101–4.

¹⁸⁷ Several scholars link the composition of Mic 2:12-13 with that of Mic 4:6-7 (e.g., Budde, “Micha 2 und 3,” 13–14; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 79–80, 112–13; Lescow, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5,” 71; Alfaro, *Justice and Loyalty*, 31). Other scholars additionally link Mic 2:12-13 with the composition of Mic 5:6-7 (e.g., Scharbert, *Die Propheten Israels*, 327–29; Kessler, *Micha*, 46, 137–38).

¹⁸⁸ Although Mic 2:12 shares the “remnant” language with Mic 4:6-7; 5:6-7, four literary characteristics distinguish 2:12 from these two subsequent pronouncements. First, Mic 4:6-7 and 5:6-7 lacks the “flock” and “shepherding” imagery of Mic 2:12. Micah 5:6-7 presents a conflicting use of similar terminology. Whereas Mic 2:12 presents the “remnant” as the “flock” which YHWH gathers; Mic 5:6-7 presents the “remnant” as a lion that terrorizes the “flock” of the “nations.” Shepherding imagery only occurs in Mic 4-5 in Mic 5:3[4], 4[5], 5[6] to speak of a leader distinct from YHWH. Second, Mic 4:6-7; 5:6-7 reflect an explicit awareness of the remnant’s location among the nations. Micah 2:12, on the other hand, lacks any assumed awareness of the remnants situation in relation to the nations. Third, Mic 4:6-7 reveals the explicit awareness that YHWH served as the source of affliction, an awareness that Mic 2:12 lacks. Fourth, Mic 4:6-7 features the prominence of Zion (cf. Mic 4:1-5; 4:8-5:1, a characteristic lacking from Mic 2:12. Micah 2:13 shares more assumptions with Mic 4-5, but does not contain the stylistic of lexical similarities suggestive of shared editorial composition. Micah 2:13, for example, assumes the presence of another city (cf. 4:10); but in 2:13 the people serve as the subjects of deliverance, whereas lady Zion serves as the subject in 4:10. Additionally, Mic 4-5 articulates not simply deliverance from a foreign entity, but also Zion’s elevation over, and destruction of these nations (cf. 4:11-13; 5:5[6], 6-7[7-8], 8[9]). Some scholars further note thematic similarities with select passages in Deutero-Isaiah and Ezekiel. See: Mowinkel, “Mikaboken,” 10; Lindblom, *Micha*, 62–68, 154; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 79–80, 113; Mendecki, “Die Sammlung,” 96–99; Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten II*, 178; Mason, *Micah, Nahum, Obadiah*, 51.

reflects greater similarities to Mic 4:6-7; 5:6-7[7-8] than Mic 2:12. As with Mic 4:6-7; 5:6-7[7-8], Jer 23:3 presupposes that the remnant has been scattered among the nations, an assumption lacking in Mic 2:12.¹⁸⁹ Jeremiah 23:3-4 indicates that YHWH intends to entrust the flock to new shepherds indicating a hope for the establishment of new royal leaders as found in Mic 4-5, but not Mic 2:12.

Zephaniah 2:7, 9b occur as additions to the Zephaniah Oracles Against the Nations, but do not reflect the same assumed international location of the remnant as found in Jer 23:3; Mic 4:6-7; 5:6-7[7-8]. Whereas Jer 23:3; Mic 4:6-7; 5:6-7[7-8] assume that YHWH scattered the remnant among the nations, Zeph 2:7, 9b assumes that the remnant remains in the land and will extend its borders to the east and the west.¹⁹⁰ Micah 2:12; shares four thematic similarities with the editorial layer in Zephaniah consisting of Zeph 2:7, 9b, 3:13 (see Table 4.12).¹⁹¹ First, they each employ the uncommon combination of the themes of the remnant, restorative hope, and shepherding imagery. Second, each text employs these themes without indicating an awareness of hope for a reestablishment of royal leaders as found in Jer 23:1-4 and Mic 4-5. Third, each of these texts do not locate the “remnant” among the nations. Fourth, each verse primarily anticipates gathering the remnant into a place of safety and rest. These four similarities suggest that these verses share not only similar themes and imagery but also an assumed identity and location for the remnant as well as a shared hope for the future of the remnant. These similarities suggest a plausible relationship between these four verses.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Jeremiah 23:3 further identifies YHWH as the active agent behind the scattering.

¹⁹⁰ Zephaniah 2:7 indicates that the remnant will possess the neighboring coastal land of the Philistines to the east. Zephaniah 2:9b suggests that the remnant will possess the land of Moab and Ammon to the west.

¹⁹¹ For the identification of Zeph 2:7, 9b; 3:11-13 as a shared composition layer across the book of Zephaniah, see pp.355-358.

¹⁹² See pp.426-439.

Micah 2:12, therefore, exists as a later editorial addition to its current literary context and reveals a probable literary horizon extending to salvific passages in Zeph 2:7, 9b, 11-13.

Table 4.12. Comparison of Mic 2:12 and Zeph 2:7, 9b; 3:13

Verse	Hebrew Text	English Translation
Mic 2:12	אסף אססף יעקב כלך קבץ אקבץ שארית ישראל יחד אשימנו כצאן בצרה כעדור בתוך הדברו תהימנה מאדם	I will certainly gather all of you O Jacob. I will certainly collect the remnant of Israel . I will place it united <u>like a flock in an enclosure, like a heard in the midst of his pasture</u> . It will be noisy from the sound of people.
Zeph 2:7	והיה חבל לשארית בית יהודה עליהם ירעון בבתי אשקלון בערב ירבצון כי יפקדם יהוה אלהיהם ושב שבותם	The territory will be for the remnant of the house of Judah . Upon it <u>they will graze</u> . In the houses of Ashkelon <u>they will lie down</u> in the evening, for YHWH their God will visit them and will return what was taken from them.
Zeph 2:9b	שארית עמי יבזום ויתר גוי ינחלום	The remnant of my people will plunder them and they will inherit the remainder of the nation.
Zeph 3:13	שארית ישראל לא־יעשו עולה ולא־ידברו כזב ולא־ימצא בפהם לשון תרמית כ־יהמה ירעו ורבצו ואין מחריד	The remnant of Israel will not do injustice and they will not speak lies and tongues of deception will not be found in their mouths for <u>they will graze and they will lie down</u> and there will not be any terror.

*The Literary Horizon of Micah 6:9-16**

Three observations compositionally distinguish Mic 6:9-16* from vv.1-8.¹⁹³ First, whereas vv.9-16 list specific crimes and judgments; Mic 6:1-8 lacks such specificity. Second, the broad literary horizon of Mic 6:1-8 does not extend to vv.9-16. Finally, Mic 6:9-16* assumes only two parties: the divine accuser, and the guilty constituents of the city. Mic 6:1-8, however, assumes a very different social dynamic. The text assumed a divine accuser, who speaks to his people with the mountains acting as witnesses to the

¹⁹³ The literary-critical evidence favors treating Mic 6:9aα,b, 10-16 as a literary unity. Micah 6:9aβ reflects a later wisdom supplement to this unit. See pp.246-251.

dispute (v.2, 3). The text, however, assumes an additional audience that listens into this dispute (v.1). These three observations distinguish the assumed audience and agenda of Mic 6:1-8 from vv.9-16*.

Although Mic 6:9a**b**, 10-16 reflects some similarities with the earliest literary core of Mic 1-3*, four observations suggest that these verses comprise a later editorial addition to this early collection.¹⁹⁴ First, whereas the core of Mic 1-3* condemn the land owning elite and urban leadership for their social injustices, Mic 6:9a**b**, 10-16 extends the speech to the “tribe” (מטה), and extends the accusation to all of the city’s inhabitants (ישריה). A comparable extension of judgment occurs in the editorial addition identified in Mic 2:3.¹⁹⁵ Second, Mic 6:16a references the northern kings Omri and Ahab. The only other allusion to northern identities in Micah occurs in the editorial addition located in 1:5b-7. Third, Mic 6:9a**b**, 10-16 presents first-person divine speech, which otherwise is uncharacteristic of the earliest literary core of Mic 1-3*.¹⁹⁶ Fourth, Mic 6:9a**b**, 10-16 employs language that is otherwise uncharacteristic of the earliest literary core of Micah.¹⁹⁷ The earliest core of Mic 1-3* lacks references to the “voice of YHWH” (קול)

¹⁹⁴ Three features of Mic 6:9a**b**, 10-16 cohere with the earliest literary composition of Mic 1-3*: the concern with a city (cf. 1:10-16; 2:10; 3:9-12), the use of the imperative “hear” (cf. 3:1, 9), and the call to assemble recalls 2:5. For defenses of the authenticity of the core of Mic 6:9-16, see: Cornill, “Die Composition des Buches Jesaja,” 88–89; Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 258–61, 293–302; Marsh, *Amos and Micah*, 119–24; Wolfe, “The Book of Micah,” 6:899, 936; Lindblom, *Micha*, 136–38; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 95–104, 110; Vawter, *Amos, Hosea, Micah*, 158–65; Carreira, “Kunstsprache und Weisheit,” 67–68; Kessler, *Staat und Gesellschaft*, 54–56; Mason, *Micah, Nahum, Obadiah*, 47–48; Dempsey, *Amos*, 78.

¹⁹⁵ See pp.264-269.

¹⁹⁶ Micah 1:15 represents the only verifiable first-person divine speech in the earliest literary core of Mic 1-3*. This criterion does not constitute definitive evidence for literary-critical divisions apart from other distinguishing literary characteristics. The use of first-person divine speech, however, sets the Mic 1:5b-7 and 2:3 apart as later editorial additions.

¹⁹⁷ Several scholars remove phrases as glosses or later additions on account of stylistic or vocabulary discontinuity in vv.9-16. Van der Woude, for example, removes the “house of the wicked” of v.10 as a gloss (*Micha*, 221, 226–27). Several scholars remove the “tongues of deception” from v.12 (e.g., Smith, “The Book of Micah,” 129, 132; Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 296–98; Mowinckel, “Mikaboken,” 22; Lindblom, *Micha*, 158; Van der Woude, *Micha*, 229; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 6. und des 5. Jahrhunderts*, 177, n.76). Furthermore, several scholars remove the concluding phrase(s) in v.14 (e.g., Mowinckel, “Mikaboken,” 23; Van der Woude, *Micha*, 221, 232; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 6. und*

יהוה; v.9aa).¹⁹⁸ Micah 1-3* lacks one “appointing” the city (יעדה; 6:9b), nor any phrase reminiscent of the “house of the wicked” (בית רשע), the “stores of the wicked” (אצרות), or the “meager measure of the indignant” (איפת רזון זעומה; 6:10). Whereas the earliest literary composition of Mic 1-3* accuses societal leaders (3:1, 5, 9, 11), it makes no reference of the “rich” (עשיריה; 6:12). Finally, whereas the earliest composition of Mic 1-3* describes the ruin of cities (1:10-16; 3:12) and levels judgments against the accused (e.g., 2:5; 3:6-7, 12), the language of “making sick” (חלה), “smiting” (נכה), making “desolate” (שמם), “lacking” food (ישח), being “driven away” (סוג), given to the sword (חרב), “waste” (שמה), “derision” (שקרה), and “disgrace” (חרפה) is unique to Mic 6:9aab, 10-16.¹⁹⁹ The earliest literary core of Mic 1-3* speaks of similar concepts, yet with strikingly little lexical overlap.²⁰⁰

Micah 6:14-15 employs a widely used binary curse form. The widespread use of similar curse formulas throughout Biblical Hebrew literature complicates attempts to distinguish between dependence on a given text, or a broadly defined tradition.²⁰¹ Although Mic 6:14-15 employs imagery that echoes throughout Biblical Hebrew literature, these curse formulas generally lack the images of Mic 6:14-15. The majority of these pronouncements, for example, employ the imagery of building homes but not living in them, and planting vineyards but not enjoying their produce.²⁰² Only two of these curse

des 5. Jahrhunderts, 177, n.77; Renaud, *La formation*, 337, 342–43, 387–99; Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten II*, 194; Renaud, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 136, 137).

¹⁹⁸ The only other reference to the voice of YHWH appears in Mic 6:1. Cf. also Mic 5:3 where the formula כה אמר יהוה appears, but lacks ensuing divine speech.

¹⁹⁹ Note that the root סוג appears in Mic 2:6, but serves a different function than found in Mic 6:14.

²⁰⁰ Micah 1:11, for example, speaks of “disgrace” using עריה־בשת. Micah 1:12 references the disaster of a city using רע. Micah 2:6 speaks of “disgrace” using כלמות.

²⁰¹ Cf. similar curses and their reversals in: Deut 28:30-34, 38-44; Josh 24:13; Isa 65:21; Jer 29:5, 28; Ezek 28:26; Hos 4:10; Amos 5:11; 9:14; Mic 6:14-15; Zeph 1:13b.

²⁰² Deuteronomy 28:30-34, 38-44; Josh 24:13; Isa 65:21; Jer 29:5, 28; Ezek 28:26; Hos 4:10; Amos 5:11; 9:14; Mic 6:14-15; Zeph 1:13b.

formulas lack such binaries: Mic 6:14-15 and Hos 4:10. Micah 6:14-15 and Hos 4:10 not only lack the dominant binaries of these other curse formulas, but only these two texts employ the eating/satisfaction (שבע/אכל) binary.²⁰³ Thus within the context of binary curses in biblical Hebrew literature, Hos 4:10 and Mic 6:14-15 stand apart on account of their distinctive imagery.

Three similarities between Mic 6:14-15 and Hos 4:10-11 suggest a literary relationship between these two passages that extends beyond the dependence upon a common curse genre. First, Hos 4:10 and Mic 6:14 are the only two curse formulas that employ this “eating/satisfaction” (שבע/אכל) binary. Both of these passages open with the same formulaic utterance, differing only in grammatical person and number of the verbs (see Table 4.13). Hosea 4:10 continues with a second binary reflective of the Hosea “harlotry” theme (upon which Mic 1:5b-7 draws). Micah 6:14, however, extends the inaugural “eating/satisfaction” binary with language not otherwise found in these curse formulas. Micah 6:14 employs the *hapax legomena* יָשָׁה, and the only instance when the language of “giving” (נתן) to the “sword” (חרב) follows the concept of “deliverance” (פלט).²⁰⁴ Second, Mic 6:15 employs three binaries that do not occur in the other curse formulas. These binaries each link to the trifold threat in Hosea against the grain, the wine, and the oil (cf. Hos 2:10-11[8-9], 24[22]; 4:11; 7:14; 9:1-2; 14:8[7]).

²⁰³ Cf. the language of Lev 26:26; Isa 9:19[20]; Hos 4:10; Mic 6:14; Ps 59:16. שבע and אכל occur more frequently in positive pronouncements and in the context of caring for others. See: Deut 6:11; 8:10, 12; 11:15; 14:29; 26:12; 31:20; Isa 44:16; Joel 2:26; Pss 22:26; 78:29; 81:17[16]; Ruth 2:14; Neh 9:25; 2 Chr 31:10.

²⁰⁴ “Giving” (נתן) to the “sword” (חרב) occurs also in Jer 15:9; 25:31; Ezek 21:20.

Table 4.13. Hosea 4:10a and Micah 6:14

Verse	Hebrew Text	English Translation
Hosea 4:10a:	ואכלו ולא ישבעו	“And they will eat but not be satisfied...”
Micah 6:14a:	אתה תאכל ולא תשבע	“You will eat but not be satisfied...”

Micah 6:15a opens with the common “sow/reap little” (קצר/זרע) binary, implying a threat to the grain.²⁰⁵ Micah 6:15b α employs the “tread olives/not anoint with oil” binary.²⁰⁶ Micah 6:15b β closes the curse pronouncement with the “treading wine/not drinking” binary. Finally, Mic 6:15b β and Hos 4:11 employ the only uses of “fresh wine” (תירוש) and “wine” (יין) as a word pair. The shared use of these three features indicates a likely relationship between Hos 4:10-11 and Mic 6:14-15.

Whereas Mic 6:14-15 occurs as part of the later addition to the earliest core of Micah, Hos 4:10-11 reflects coherence with the earliest literary composition of Hosea. Hosea 4:10, for example, employs the “harlotry” metaphor (cf. Hos 1:2; 2:7[5]; 3:3; 4:10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18; 5:3; 9:1), and the accusation of abandoning (עזב) YHWH.²⁰⁷ Micah 6:14-15, therefore, begins the curse formula with a reference to Hos 4:10 and ends with a reference to Hos 4:11. The intervening binaries in Mic 6:15 reflect an awareness of the Hosean threat against the grain, wine, and oil triad. Thus Mic 6:14-15 reflects dependence upon the Hosean textual tradition.

Micah 6:9a α b, 10-16 shares five distinguishing characteristics with the previously identified connections to the Book of the Four in Micah. First, Mic 6:9a α b, 10-16 extends the pronounced judgment from select societal elites to more general designations for the populace as observed in Mic 2:3. Second, Mic 6:9a α b, 10-16 employs first-person divine speech as seen in Mic 1:5b-7 and 2:3. Third, Mic 6:9a α b, 10-16 reflects a dependence

²⁰⁵ Cf. Lev 25:11; 2 Kgs 19:229; Isa 37:30; Jer 12:13. See also the metaphorical usage in Hos 8:7; 10:12; Ps 126:5; Prov 22:8; Job 4:8.

²⁰⁶ Micah 6:15b α is the only place in Biblical Hebrew literature where דרך and זית occur together.

²⁰⁷ Compare with the related, but more common accusation of “forgetting” (שכח) in Hos 2:15; 4:6; 8:14; 13:6.

upon the Hosean literary tradition, as observed in Mic 1:5b-7. Fourth, Mic 6:9aαb, 10-16 introduces a comparison with northern identities, as found in Mic 1:5b-7. The Deuteronomistic History remembers Omri and Ahab as wicked kings of the Northern Kingdom (1 Kgs 16:16-30).²⁰⁸ Although the references in Mic 6:16 do not reflect the indicators of Deuteronomism, the comparison of an unnamed third-person masculine singular entity with these kings strongly implies a criticism of an unnamed king by way of comparison to the memory of the Northern Kingdom.²⁰⁹ This condemnation of a ruler (v.16aα) that brings consequences on a collective identity (v.16aβ, bβ) recalls the dual vocatives identifying the “tribe” and the “one who appointed her [the city]” (6:9b).

Finally, Mic 6:9aαb, 10-16, as with 2:3, parallels the structure of the immediately preceding pronouncement in the Book of the Four. Micah 6:9aαb, 10-16 reflects literary dependence upon 3:8-12 as observed in the Mic 1:5b-7 (see Table 4.14). The parallel of seven component parts to each proclamation implies a structural relationship despite of the lack of lexical overlap. Both Mic 3:8-12 and Mic 9aαb, 10-16 directly concern Jerusalem, a focus which remains only implicit beyond the beginning (1:12-13) and end (3:9-12) of the earliest literary core of Micah. Micah 3:8 and 6:9aα each serve a similar role of reinforcing the divine origins of the following pronouncement. Each passage opens with the שמעו summons to hear followed by the vocative. Whereas 3:9 addresses the “heads of the house of Jacob and the rulers of the house of Israel” using the ...בית

²⁰⁸ Second Kings 8:18, 27; 9:7, 8, 9; 10:10; 21:13; cf. Mic 6:16; 2 Chr 21:6, 13; 22:3, 7, 8.

²⁰⁹ The designation “house of Ahab” (בית־אחאב) functions in the Deuteronomistic History as a common referent to the wickedness of the Omri dynasty that led subsequent kings astray. Although the “house of Ahab” (בית־אחאב) functions in a similar way in Mic 6:16, two observations distinguish this verse from Deuteronomistic conventions. First, whereas the “house of Ahab” features prominently in the Deuteronomistic History, the phrase “statutes of Omri” (חקות עמרי) occurs nowhere else in Biblical Hebrew literature. In fact, King Omri’s name only appears in three genealogical references beyond the brief account of his reign and the reference here in Mic 6:16 (1 Kgs 16:30; 2 Kgs 8:26. Cf. 1 Chr 27:18). Second, Mic 6:16 returns to the second-person masculine plural address announcing that “and you walked in their counsel (במעצותם). The use of the uncommon word מעצה for “counsel” distinguished Mic 6:16 from the more common Deuteronomistic language of walking in their “ways” (דרך) when speaking of the repeated generational shortcomings of the Israelite kings. E.g., 1 Kgs 15:26, 34; 16:2, 19, 26; 22:53; 2 Kgs 8:18, 27; 16:3; 21:21. For other uses of מעצה see: Jer 7:24; Hos 11:6; Pss 5:11; 81:13; Prov 1:31; 22:20.

(“house of...”) formula, 6:9b addresses the more general “tribe” and the “one who appointed her [the city].” Micah 6:10 supplies its own extension of the “house of...” formula through the designation “house of wickedness.” Each passage articulates the unjust social ills (3:9b-10; 6:11), before directly addressing the injustice of the city’s constituents (3:11; 6:12a). The presence of the city’s constituents supplies another unique point of contact between 3:8-12 and 6:9a**b**, 10-16. Although the earliest literary core of Micah implicitly concerns the injustices of the Jerusalem constituents by way of condemning the ruling class and societal elite (2:1-3:7*), the text only explicitly names Jerusalem at the beginning (1:12-13) and end (3:9-12) of the text’s earliest literary core.

Table 4.14. Structural Comparison of Mic 3:8-12 and 6:9a**b**, 10-16

Parallels	Mic 3:8-12	Mic 6:9a b , 10-16
Indicator of the announcement’s divine origins:	⁸ ואולם אנכי מלאתי כח את־רוח יהוה ומשפט וגבורה להגיד ליעקב פשעו ולישראל חטאתו	⁹ קול יהוה לעיר יקרא
Summons to hear: “House of...” designation:	⁹ שמעו־נא זאת ראשי בית יעקב וקציני בית ישראל	שמעו מטה ומי יעדה ...בית רשע אצרות רשע ...
Articulation of injustice:	המתעבים משפט ואת כל־הישרה יעקשו ¹⁰ בנה ציון בדמים וירושלם בעולה	¹¹ האזכה במאזני רשע ובכיס אבני מרמה
Condemnations of Jerusalem’s citizens:	¹¹ ראשיה בשחד ישפטו וכהניה במחיר יורו ונביאיה בכסף יקסמו ועל־יהוה ישענו לאמר הלוא יהוה בקרבנו לא־תבוא עלינו רעה	¹² אשר עשיריה מלאו חמס וישביה דבר־שקר ולשונם רמיה בפיהם
Their deceptive speech:		
Resulting Judgment:	¹² לכן...	¹³ וגם־אני...

Of these explicit pronouncements, Jerusalem’s constituents only feature in Mic 3:9-12. Micah 6:12a employs the only other explicit articulation concerning the Jerusalem constituency in Micah. Each condemnation of the constituents leads to a common accusation: untrustworthy words (3:11; 6:12b). These accusations lead to the expected articulation of judgment (3:12; 6:13-16).

The preceding analysis yields four conclusions about the composition of Mic 6 in relation to the Book of the Four hypothesis. First, the earliest literary core of Mic does not extend to Mic 6. Second only 6:9aab, 10-16 reflects a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four. Third, although Mic 6:9aab, 10-16 does not qualify as Deuteronomistic, this passage reveals dependence upon the Hosean literary tradition. Fourth, as with Mic 1:5b-7, 6:9aab, 10-16 not only reflects dependence upon the Hosean literary tradition, but also reveals dependence upon Mic 3:8-12 suggesting that the redactors responsible for adding 6:9aab, 10-16 imitated the patterned of 3:8-12 so as to integrate this passage into the pre-existing Micah composition.

The Limits of the Book of the Four Literary Horizon in Micah

The quest for Book of the Four editorial activity in Micah has led to the identification of several addition parallels with Hosea, Amos, and Zephaniah. Schart identifies so many additional parallels in Mic 1-3* that he concludes that Mic 1-3* reflects the influence of other Hosea and Amos from its earliest composition layer. This conclusion leads Schart to propose that Micah was formed to be a continuation of the preexisting Hosea-Amos collection.²¹⁰ The collective scholarly conversation identifies Mic 1:3-4; 3:1-12; and 6:8 as possible additional echoes of Book of the Four texts. The following assessment, however, concludes that these passages fail to support the Book of the Four hypothesis.

First, scholars commonly recognize the parallel between Mic 1:3-4, and Amos 1:2 and 4:13. Metzner and Albertz include Mic 1:3-4 in their list of Book of the Four editorial updates to Micah on account of this parallel.²¹¹ Amos 1:2 employs similar

²¹⁰ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 201–4. Schart identifies the “D” redactions based largely upon similarities with Hosea and Amos in 1:2b, 5a, 6-7, 9, 12b(?), 3:1, 9; 6:1-16*. Kessler observes similar parallels with Hosea and Amos, but attributes them to the texts’ preservation in similar scribal circles (*Micha*, 48–49).

²¹¹ Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte*, 137, 180; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 168–69. Schart attributes Mic 1:3-4 to a later hymnic layer that accompanied the addition of Nahum and Habakkuk into the Book of

thematic imagery, but utilizing different vocabulary to serve a different literary function.²¹² Three differences between Amos 1:2 and Mic 1:3-4 preclude the possibility of shared editorial intentions. First, Amos 1:2 and Mic 1:3-4 share no lexical overlap. Thus the conceptual similarities do not necessitate textual dependence.²¹³ Second, in Amos 1:2, the voice of YHWH causes the topographical effects whereas in Mic 1:3-4 the theophanic arrival of YHWH causes the topographical upheaval. Amos 1:2 does not constitute a theophany as observed in Mic 1:3-4. Finally, Amos 1:2 assumes the divine presence in Jerusalem as the voice goes out against those beyond Jerusalem. This pronouncement preceding the Oracles Against the Nations suggests that the nations serve as the target of the following judgment.²¹⁴ Whereas Amos 1:2 assumes that the nations are the objects of divine wrath, Mic 1:3-4 is syntactically connected with v.5a by way of the summation כל־זאת.²¹⁵ Verse 5a presents the people of God (“Jacob” and the “house of

the Twelve. This layer included additions across the Book of the Four, including the Amos hymns (Amos 4:13; 5:8-9; 9:5-6), Hos 4:3; Mic 1:3-4; and Zeph 1:2-3 (*Die Entstehung*, 177, 238–39, 246). This collection of additions, however, includes a mixture of theophanic and hymnic elements. The Amos hymns, for example, employ a distinctive use of participular appellatives for YHWH that climax in the pronouncement of the tetragrammaton. The remaining texts in this proposed layer, however, lack these distinctive elements. Schart concludes that this layer incorporated preexisting hymnic elements in order to account for the stylistic differences. Micah 1:3-4 functions as a theophany (rather than a hymn) employing topographical creation language (בְּמוֹתֵי אֶרֶץ, הַהָרִים, הַעֲמֻקִּים). Hosea 4:3 and Zeph 1:2-3 lack both theophanic qualities and topographical creation language. Hosea 4:3 and Zeph 1:2-3 rather employ the language of living creatures.

²¹² A relationship between Mic 1:3-4 and Amos 1:2 is also recognized by: Lescow, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5,” 59, n.56; Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Micah-Malachi*, 524.

²¹³ Jeremias identifies Amos 1:2 and Mic 1:3-4 as two early expressions of a common form (*Theophanie: die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung*, WMANT 10[Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965], 11–16).

²¹⁴ This presumption reflects a development from the earlier conception of the Oracles Against the Nations that culminate in the oracle against Israel suggesting that judgment ultimately comes against the people of God.

²¹⁵ Schart dates the theophany to after the composition of v.5a. He must conclude that an editor added the כל of v.5 when inserting the theophany (*Die Entstehung*, 177, n.70). Cf. Lescow who identifies כל־זאת as the work of editors (“Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5,” 54).

Israel”) as the recipients of judgment. Amos 1:2 and Mic 1:3-4, therefore, presuppose that judgment targets different groups and serves different functions.

Amos 4:13 reflects a stronger association with Mic 1:3-4.²¹⁶ A connection to Amos 4:13, would imply a literary connection to the other Amos hymn fragments (5:8-9; 9:5-6) as suggested by Schart.²¹⁷ The Amos hymns, however, employ a distinctive style that is not shared by Mic 1:3-4. The Amos hymns each use participular appellatives for YHWH. Micah 1:3-4 uses only one participle serving a verbal function (יָצָא). The Amos hymns, furthermore, each end with a declaration of the divine name, which Mic 1:3-4 lacks. Finally, each hymn follows a five-fold literary device.²¹⁸ Micah 1:3-4, however, occurs at the beginning of the book. These observations preclude a shared editorial agenda between Amos 4:13 and Mic 1:3-4.

Although Mic 1:3-4 and Amos 4:13 share some similarities, these significant stylistic differences mitigate against concluding that they share a direct literary relationship. An assessment of the redactional stratification of Mic 1:3-4, furthermore, must account for the relationship of this piece to its immediate literary context. It’s location in the redaction of Micah must account for syntactical links to both the preceding and following verses. One should not presuppose *a priori* the late dating of the Mic 1:3-4 theophany.²¹⁹ Inscriptional evidence testifies to the antiquity of similar theophanic

²¹⁶ Alberty argues that the introductory כִּי־הִנֵּה and repeated עַל־בְּמוֹתַי אֶרֶץ indicate the Deuteronomistic composition of Mic 1:3-4 (*Die Exilszeit*, 168–69). Van der Woude, however, correctly notes that lack of Deuteronomistic vocabulary and ideology in this passage (*Micha*, 28–30). Similarities between Mic 1:3-4 and Amos 4:13 are also noted by: Klaus Koch, “Die Rolle der hymnischen Abschnitte in der Komposition des Amos-Buches,” *ZAW* 86 (1974): 512–13; Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten II*, 170; Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte*, 137, 180. The *kethib* of Mic 1:3-4 employs the *scriptio plena* spelling of בְּמוֹתַי. The *qere*, however, preserves the *scriptio defective* spelling as found in Amos 4:13.

²¹⁷ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 177, 238–39, 246.

²¹⁸ Amos 4:13 follows the announcement of five plagues in 4:6-11. Amos 5:8-9 follows five “if... then...” judgment clauses. Finally, Amos 9:5-6 follows the five judgment visions of Amos 7:1-9:4.

²¹⁹ For examples of those who locate Mic 1:3-4 with the earliest literary composition of Micah, see: Lescow, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5,” 54; Van der Woude, *Micha*, 28–30; Carreira, “Kunstsprache und Weisheit,” 59; Mittmann, “Eine prophetische Totenklage,” 102; Wagenaar, *Judgement and Salvation*, 55; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 188.

language.²²⁰ The כּל־זֹאת of 5a presupposes the preceding material in Mic 1:3-4. Micah 1:5a announces the “transgression of Jacob” (פֶּשַׁע יַעֲקֹב) and “sins of the house of Israel” (חַטָּאוֹת בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל) in continuity with the earliest core of Mic 1-3 (cf. 2:7; 3:1, 8, 9), suggesting that 1:3-5a comprises part of the earliest literary composition of Micah.²²¹ The opening כִּי־הִנֵּה of Mic 1:3 similarly presupposes preceding discourse.²²² The language of Mic 1:2a does not fit with the earliest literary composition of Mic 1-3*, however, three observations suggest that 1:2b connects to Mic 1:3-5a. First, the כִּי־הִנֵּה of 1:3 presupposes preceding material. Second, 1:2b introduces YHWH as a witness located in his holy temple. Micah 1:3 then presents him as “coming down from his place,” thus cohering with the spatial identification of YHWH’s presence in Mic 1:2b. Micah 1:2b, therefore, begins the theophany that continues in 1:3-4. Finally, the וַיְהִי of Mic 1:2b now supplies expected introductory syntax.²²³ Micah 1:2b-5a, therefore, supplies the introduction to the earliest literary composition of Micah. This theophany does not reveal a literary horizon extending beyond the book itself.

²²⁰ E.g., “Kuntillet ’Ajrud: Plaster Wall Inscription,” trans. P. Kyle McCarter (*COS* 2.47D: 173).

²²¹ There is no need to emend חַטָּאוֹת to the singular following the LXX as proposed by Mittmann, “Eine prophetische Totenklage,” 33, n.7.

²²² Every occurrence of כִּי־הִנֵּה in the Hebrew Bible presupposes preceding discourse. See: 1 Sam 27:8; Isa 3:1; 26:21; 60:2; 66:15; Jer 25:29; 30:3; 34:7; 49:15; 50:9; Ezek 30:9; Hos 9:6; Joel 4:1; Amos 4:2, 13; 6:11; 9:9; Mic 1:3; Zech 3:9; 11:16; Mal 3:19; Pss 11:2; 48:5; 59:4; 73:27; 83:3; 92:10; Song 2:11. To identify Mic 1:3 as the beginning of the earliest literary composition of Micah, therefore, requires the deletion of כִּי־הִנֵּה. See, for example, Mittman who deletes the כִּי־הִנֵּה on metrical grounds (“Eine prophetische Totenklage des Jahres 701 v. Chr.,” 33, n.3). A long scholarly trajectory preceding Stade alternatively links the Micah theophany (1:3-4) to 1:2 as a single editorial supplement on account of the opening כִּי־הִנֵּה of v.3. See: Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 262, 265–67; Bernhard Stade, “Streiflichter auf die Entstehung der jetzigen Gestalt der alttestamentlichen Prophetenschriften,” *ZAW* 23 (1903): 163; Hermann Guthe, “Der Prophet Micha,” in *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, ed. E. Kautzsch and Alfred Bertholet, vol. 2 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1923), 55; Wolfe, “The Book of Micah,” 6:899, 902–3; Marsh, *Amos and Micah*, 87–88; Fritz, “Das Wort gegen Samaria,” 320–24. See also McKane and Wessels who explore the syntactical link without diachronic considerations: McKane, “Micah 1,2-7,” 423–25; idem, *The Book of Micah*, 29–31; W. J. Wessels, “Micah 1, An Apt Introduction to Power Talks,” *SK* 19 (1998): 441.

²²³ Gelston observes that 1QpMic contains the tetragrammaton followed by a ה, leading him to propose that the verb may have followed the tetragrammaton (Gelston, “Commentary on the Critical Apparatus,” 95*). The Targum and LXX, however, both support the MT reading.

Micah 3:1-12 supplies a second passage in which one Book of the Four advocate identifies numerous parallels with Hosea and Amos. Scholars commonly assign Mic 3 to the earliest literary composition of Micah with only minor updates and later additions.²²⁴ Although few scholars make arguments for Deuteronomistic editing in Mic 3,²²⁵ Schart argues for six literary points of contact between Mic 3 and the texts of Hosea and Amos. Three of these literary points of contact rely upon isolated words or sayings that occur with great enough frequency that it becomes difficult to posit a relationship of literary influence between any two texts. Schart first notes that Mic 3:5 makes use of נֶשֶׁךְ, as found in Amos 5:19; 9:3. Second, he suggests that the concept of building a city on bloodshed in Mic 3:10 recalls Hos 4:1-2. Third, Schart argues that the יהוה בקרבנו only makes sense against the backdrop of Amos 5:17; 7:8, 10.²²⁶ While Schart correctly notes that each of these literary features resemble select literary characteristics in Hosea and Amos, these similarities fail to necessitate a literary horizon extending beyond Micah. The נֶשֶׁךְ of Mic 3:5 functions substantially differently than the נֶשֶׁךְ of Amos 5:19; 9:3.²²⁷ Additionally with the 28 occurrences of נֶשֶׁךְ across the Hebrew Bible, Amos 5:19; 9:3 and

²²⁴ Several scholars, for example, identify the וְאָמַר in v.1 as a later addition to the chapter. E.g., Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten*, 140; Budde, “Micha 2 und 3,” 16–17; Schwantes, “A Critical Study of the Text of Micah,” 83–84; Ehrlich, *Ezechiel, Kleinen Propheten*, 5:278; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 80, 111; Lescow, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5,” 47–48; Wolff, *Micha*, 64–65.

²²⁵ Renaud and Wolff argue that a Deuteronomistic editor added the phrase יהוה רוח to 3:8 on account of the use of the phrase in Judg 3:10; 11:29; 13:25; 14:6, 19; 15:14; 1 Sam 10:6; 16:13; 19:9; 2 Sam 23:2; 1 Kgs 22:24; 2 Kgs 2:16 (Renaud, *La formation*, 135–37, 387–99; Wolff, *Micha*, xxviii; Renaud, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 66–67). The use of יהוה רוח, however, is not limited to traditionally identified Deuteronomistic compositions within the Deuteronomistic history. Additionally, this designation appears significantly beyond Deuteronomistic texts complicating arguments for Deuteronomism based on this phrase (cf. Isa 11:2; 40:7, 13; 59:19; 63:14; Ezek 11:5; Hos 13:15; Mic 2:7; 3:8; 2 Chr 18:23; 20:14). Schart, for example, concludes, “ist diese These zwar möglich, aber kaum wahrscheinlich” (*Die Entstehung*, 185).

²²⁶ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 188–89.

²²⁷ Micah 3:5 employs the participle of נֶשֶׁךְ to signify “food” that the prophets receive whereas Amos 5:19 employs נֶשֶׁךְ in its description of the Day of YHWH in which one who flees a lion enters a house only to be “bitten by a snake.” Amos 9:3 similarly reflects the “bite” of the sea serpent.

Mic 3:5 lack additional lexical overlap indicative of a distinctive relationship of literary awareness.²²⁸ The concern over building a city בְּדָמִים (“on bloodshed”) extends beyond Mic 3:10 and Hos 4:1-2 suggesting that this expression reflects a common idiom rather than the literary echoing of passages (cf. Hab 2:12). Finally, the divine presence in Amos 5:17; 7:8, 10 brings judgment whereas Mic 3:11 cites the divine presence as the evidence claimed for the false security of Jerusalem. The confidence in the security brought by the divine presence bears far greater resemblance to the Zionist confidence combatted by Jeremiah (Jer 7:4, 8) than to a theme found elsewhere in the Book of the Four.

Fourth, Schart argues that the accusation in Mic 3:2a reflects a reversal of Amos 5:15a indicative of a literary horizon extending beyond Micah.²²⁹ While Mic 3:2a and Amos 5:15a share select overlap, the extense use of the theme of “evil and good” beyond Micah and Amos prohibits arguing for a direct literary relationship on these words alone (cf. Pss 52:5; 97:10; Prov 13:21). The occurrence of this theme across a wide variety of genres rather favors explaining the similarities as the result of a flexible colloquial expression employed by a variety of authors for different purposes.

Fifth, Schart identifies the בַּעַת הַהִיא of v.4 as a reference to Amos 5:13 (cf. Mic 2:3).²³⁰ Whereas Mic 2:3 reflects the repetition of the entire כִּי clause paralleling Amos

²²⁸ נִשָּׁךְ occurs in Gen 49:17; Exod 22:24; Lev 25:36, 37; Num 21:6, 8, 9; Deut 23:20, 21; Jer 8:17; Ezek 18:8, 13, 17; Amos 5:19; 9:3; Mic 3:5; Hab 2:7; Ps 15:5; Prov 23:32; 28:8; Ecc 10:8, 11. Aside from the word נִשָּׁךְ, Mic 3:5 only shares the similar divine speech formula and the verb קָרָא with Amos 5:16.

²²⁹ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 184.

²³⁰ Ibid. Many scholars identify this temporal marker as a later update. E.g., Smith, “The Book of Micah,” 71; Lindblom, *Micha*, 158; Schwantes, “A Critical Study of the Text of Micah,” 88; Lescow, “Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5,” 47; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 171, n.14; Van der Woude, *Micha*, 104, 106; Jeppesen, *Græder ikke saa saare*, 2:203-4, 415; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39*, 348. Several scholars locate this update in the exile on account of the perceived relationship between בַּעַת הַהִיא and the concluding כִּי עַתָּה רָעָה הִיא (“for it is a disastrous time”) of Amos 5:13. E.g., Jeremias, “Die Deutung der Gerichtsworte,” 335; Renaud, *La formation*, 129, 387-99; idem, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 60-61; Rodney R. Hutton, “Eating the Flesh of My People: The Redaction History of Micah 3:1-4,” *Proceedings, Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Society* 7 (1987): 131-42; Jörg Jeremias, “Tradition und Redaktion in Micha 3,” in *Verbindungslinien, Festschrift für Werner H. Schmidt zum 65.*, ed. Axel Graupner, Holger Delkurt, and Alexander B. Ernst (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000), 145; Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte*, 180.

5:13, the temporal indicator of Mic 3:4 appears frequently throughout the Hebrew Scriptures in a variety of functions.²³¹ This frequency challenges attempts to definitively prove compositional literary dependence. The fact that Mic 3:4 shares only one additional lexeme (פנה) with Amos 5 (vv.8, 19), further obfuscates claims of literary dependence between Mic 3:4 and Amos 5:13.²³²

Finally, Schart argues Mic 3 employs the *Höraufufe* (“summons to hear”) structure also found in Hos 4:1; 5:1; Amos 3:1; 4:1; 5:1; 8:4 (cf. Mic 6:2). Schart argues that this structuring strategy extends across Hosea, Amos, and Micah, but omits Zephaniah, thus supporting his argument for the gradual growth of the Book of the Four.²³³ The diverse uses of שמע within Micah challenge the identification of the “summons to hear” as a literary structuring device in the book.²³⁴ Schart’s proposal correctly notes the distinction between these summons as indicated by his association of only three uses of שמע (Mic 3:1, 9; 6:2) with the Book of the Four stage of composition. The same challenge applies to attempts to associate these “summons to hear” with the similar “summons” in Hosea and Amos. For this reason, Schart proposes that the summons in Hos 4:1; 5:1; Amos 3:1; 4:1; 5:1 predate this stage of composition. The

²³¹ בעת ההיא occurs in Josh 5:2; 6:26; 11:10, 21; Judg 3:29; 4:4; 11:26; 12:6; 21:14, 24; 1 Kgs 8:65; 11:29; 14:1; 2 Kgs 8:22; 16:6; 18:16; 20:12; 24:10; Isa 18:7; 20:2; Jer 3:17; 4:11; 8:1; 31:1; Amos 5:13; Mic 3:4; Zeph 1:12; 3:19, 20; Esth 8:9; Ezra 8:34; Neh 4:16; 1 Chr 21:28, 29; 2 Chr 7:8; 13:18; 16:10; 21:10; 28:16; 30:3; 35:17.

²³² פנה occurs 2291 times in the Hebrew Bible making its common occurrence problematic for arguments of dependence. Note that Mic 3:4 additionally makes use of the verb רעע that is related to the adjective רעה, which occurs in 5:13, 14, 15. The frequency of this adjective (568 occurrences), however, likewise precludes arguments of literary dependence.

²³³ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 184–88. Biddle follows Schart, offering additional parallels between Mic 2-3 and Amos (“‘Israel’ and ‘Jacob,’” 152). Numerous scholars before Schart consider the “summons to hear” an important component in the structuring of Micah. Mays divides the structure of the book around Mic 1:2 and 6:1 (*Micah*, 2–3). John T. Willis similarly structures Micah around the “summons to hear” in Mic 1:2; 3:1; 6:1 (“The Structure, Setting, and Interrelationships”; idem, “The Structure of the Book of Micah,” 5–42). Willi-Plein argues that exilic editors shaped the Micah proclamations around four “summons to hear” (Mic 1:2-2:11; 3:1-8, 9-12; 6:2-16; *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 111).

²³⁴ Scholars such as Mason and Hagstrom caution against constructing too firm of a structure around the “summons to hear” (Mason, *Micah, Nahum, Obadiah*, 15; Hagstrom, *The Coherence*, 128).

composition stage in which editors shaped Micah to follow Schart's proposed "Book of the Two" entailed only the extending of the *Höraufufe* structure to Amos 8:4 and Mic 3:1, 9; 6:2.²³⁵

Of Schart's structuring "summons to hear," Mic 6:2 stands apart as an outlier. Micah 6:2 contains the only summons to any form of a personified geographical figure in a list that otherwise only summons human agents (see Table 4.15). This observation suggests that Mic 6:9 (which Schart excludes from his *Höraufufe* structure), better fits this collection of "summons to hear" than Mic 6:2. Of Schart's structuring "summons to hear," Mic 6:2 stands apart as an outlier. Micah 6:2 contains the only summons to any form of a personified geographical figure in a list that otherwise only summons human agents (see Table 4.15). This observation suggests that Mic 6:9 (which Schart excludes from his *Höraufufe* structure), better fits this collection of "summons to hear" than Mic 6:2. The repeated "summons to hear" in Mic 3 face additional challenges. The repeated use of שמעו־נא in Mic 3:1, 9 occurs as part of two larger refrains in the chapter. These refrains, however, lack a literary awareness extending beyond Micah (see Table 4.16). Whereas Hosea and Amos speak of יעקב ("Jacob"), they do not use ראש to designate its leaders.²³⁶ The designation יעקב ("Jacob"), however, occurs frequently in the earliest literary composition of Micah, and ראש appears in 3:10 to identify the accused "leaders."²³⁷ Hosea and Amos likewise speak of the בית ישראל ("house of Israel"), but do not speak of its קצין ("rulers").²³⁸

²³⁵ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 184–88.

²³⁶ Cf. Hos 10:11; 12:13; Amos 3:13; 6:8; 7:2, 5; 8:7; 9:8. Amos only uses ראש to designate physical "tops" or "heads." See: Amos 1:2; 2:7; 6:7, 12; 8:10; 9:1, 3.

²³⁷ Cf. Micah 1:5; 2:7; 3:1, 8, 9; including the use of בית־יעקב in 2:7.

²³⁸ Cf. Hosea 1:4, 6; 5:1; 12:1; Amos 5:1, 25; 6:1, 14; 7:10; 9:9.

Table 4.15. Aaron Schart's *Höraufrufe* structure

Verse	Hebrew Text	English Translation
Hos 4:1	שמעו דברי־יהוה בני ישראל	"Hear the word of YHWH, O children of Israel..."
Hos 5:1	שמעו־זאת הכהנים והקשיבו בית ישראל	"Hear this O Priest! Pay Attention O house of Israel..."
Amos 3:1	שמעו את־הדבר הזה אשר דבר יהוה עליכם בני ישראל	"Hear this word which YHWH spoke against you O children of Israel..."
Amos 4:1	שמעו הדבר הזה פרות הבשן	"Hear this word you cows of Bashan..."
Amos 5:1	שמעו את־הדבר הזה אשר אנכי נשא עליכם קינה בית ישראל	"Hear this word which I am lifting up concerning you, a dirge O children of Israel..."
Amos 8:4	שמעו־זאת השאפים אביון	"Hear this you who trample the poor..."
Mic 3:1	שמעו־נא ראשי יעקב וקציני בית ישראל	"Hear this O heads of Jacob and rulers of the house of Israel..."
Mic 3:9	שמעו־נא זאת ראשי בית יעקב וקציני בית ישראל	"Hear this O heads of the house of Jacob and rulers of the house of Israel..."
Mic 6:2	שמעו הרים את־ריב יהוה	"Listen O mountains to the disputation of YHWH..."

Table 4.16. Micah 3:1, 9 Refrain

Verse	Hebrew Text	English Text
Mic 3:1	ואמר <u>שמעו־נא ראשי יעקב</u> <u>וקציני בית ישראל</u> הלוא לכם לדעת את־המשפט	And I said, " <u>Hear O leaders of Jacob</u> <u>and rulers of the house of Israel</u> Are you not capable of knowing justice?"
Mic 3:9	<u>שמעו־נא זאת ראשי בית יעקב</u> <u>וקציני בית ישראל</u> המתעבים משפט ואת כל־הישרה יעקשו	<u>Hear this O leaders of the house of</u> <u>Jacob</u> <u>and rulers of the house of Israel</u> Those who abhor justice and who twist all that is right.

The designation בית ישראל (“house of Israel”) occurs in the earliest literary composition of Micah in 1:5a. The literary refrains in Mic 3:1 and 9, therefore, do not evince a literary horizon extending beyond Micah. They rather fit within the context of the earliest composition of Micah, which associates יעקב (“Jacob”) with the בית ישראל (“house of Israel”) in 1:5a; and accuses those who use their positions of power to oppress others by way of land seizure (Mic 2:1-2; 4-9) and unjust rulership (Mic 3:1-3, 5-7, 9-12). The function of the refrain in Mic 3:1 and 9, therefore, does not assume the “summons to hear” structure from Hosea and Amos.²³⁹

Although Schart correctly identifies six literary similarities between Mic 3 and the books of Hosea and Amos, the preceding analysis determines that none of his observations reveal evidence of an editorially constructed literary horizon extending beyond Micah. The evidence suggests, therefore, that Mic 3:1-12 existed as part of the earliest literary composition of Micah, which accuses the Judean leadership for their oppression and injustice toward the vulnerable.

The third proposed echo of the Book of the Four occurs in Mic 6:8. Nogalski and Schart argue that Mic 6:8 reflects an awareness of previous proclamations in Hosea and Amos.²⁴⁰ Nogalski notes that the concept of “doing justice” reflects the concerns of Hos 2:21; 12:17; Amos 5:7, 15, 24; 6:12. Furthermore, חסד features prominently in Hos 2:21; 4:1; 6:4, 6; 10:12; 12:7. Schart argues that the orientation toward טוב coheres with Amos 5:14.²⁴¹ Schart further sees the question ומה־יהוה דורש (“and what does YHWH seek?”) as a contrast to the Book of the Four concern with seeking YHWH (cf. Hos 10:12; Amos

²³⁹ Wöhrle likewise rejects Schart’s gradual growth of the Book of the Four (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 241–44). Kessler proposes that the shared use of שמע as a structuring device in these texts indicates that they were preserved in similar circles without necessitating an intentional editing of the books together (*Micha*, 49).

²⁴⁰ Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 143; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 195–97. Deissler likewise notes similarities between Mic 6:8 and themes in Hosea and Amos (*Zwölf Propheten II*, 193–94).

²⁴¹ Cf. the uses of טוב in Hos 2:9; 3:5; 4:13; 8:3; 10:1, 11; 14:3; Amos 5:14–15; 6:2; 9:4.

5:4, 5, 6, 14; Zeph 1:6). Nogalski and Schart each note that the description of this commission as that which “he told you” (הגיד לך) indicates the assumption that these concerns were already encountered.²⁴²

Although Nogalski and Schart correctly observe the similarities between Mic 6:8 and some general themes in Hosea and Amos, the commissions in Mic 6:8 reflect concerns found in Hebrew literature extending far beyond Hosea and Amos. The concept of “doing” (עשה) “justice” (משפט), for example, occurs fairly frequently in Biblical Hebrew literature, but the combination of these two words do not occur in Book of the Four texts outside of Mic 6:8 (cf. Mic 7:9).²⁴³ Similarly, the concern for חסד and טוב, while appearing in Hosea and Amos, features prominently across Biblical Hebrew literature.²⁴⁴ The *hapax legomenon* צנע alone fails to invoke a widespread motif in Biblical Hebrew literature. The breadth of texts concerned משפט (שמר or השגה), חסד and טוב is too great to build a case for a distinctive Book of the Four editorial program.

Micah 6:8 functions as a direct response to the preceding interlocutor of vv.6-7 thus suggesting a compositional relationship. Far from revealing a literary horizon extending to Hosea, Amos, and Zephaniah, Mic 6:6-7 only employs speech that reflects broadly defined points of contact with other Biblical Hebrew texts.²⁴⁵ The combination of

²⁴² Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 143; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 195–97. Cf. Albertz who dates Mic 6 later than Nogalski and Schart (“Aufrechten Ganges,” 44).

²⁴³ Cf. Gen 18:19, 25; Lev 9:16; 18:4, 5, 26; 19:37; 20:22; 25:18; Num 9:3, 14; Deut 4:14; 10:18; 33:21; 2 Sam 8:15; 1 Kgs 3:28; 6:12; 7:7; 8:45, 49, 59; 10:9; 2 Kgs 17:34; Isa 56:1; 58:2; Jer 5:1; 7:5; 9:23; 22:3, 15; 23:5; 33:15; Ezek 5:7-8; 11:12, 20; 18:5, 8, 17, 21, 27; 20:24; 33:14, 19; 39:21; 45:9; Mic 6:8; 7:9; Pss 9:5, 17; 106:3; 119:121; 146:7; Prov 21:3, 7, 15; 1 Chr 18:14; 28:7; 2 Chr 6:35, 39; 9:8. In Hosea God does משפט (2:21). משפט appears as judgment against others (5:1, 11; 6:5; 10:4). Hosea 12:7 commands the audience to hold on to love and justice (12:7), but lacks the use of עשה. Amos similarly accuses the audience of manipulating משפט (5:7; 6:12) and tells them to keep משפט (5:15, 24) but once again, without the use of עשה.

²⁴⁴ Notice, however, that Mic 6:8 is the only place commanding the audience to “love” (אהב). These two terms appear together most frequently in announcements that God has חסד for those who אהב him (Exod 20:6; Deut 5:10; 7:9; Dan 9:4; Neh 1:5).

²⁴⁵ The combination of “God” (using אלהים) and “heights” (מרום) only occurs in Mic 6:6 and Ps 71:19. Cf. Isa 33:5; 57:15; Jer 25:30; Pss 7:8[7]; 10:5; 18:17[16]; 92:9; 93:4; 102:20[19]; 144:7; Lam 1:13;

the question (vv.6-7) and answer (v.8) reflect a shared preferential elevation of love and obedience over sacrifice, which is not limited to the Book of the Four editorial intentions.²⁴⁶ Thus while Mic 6:8 shares themes with parts of Hosea and Amos, the prevalence of these themes in Biblical Hebrew literature, and the relationship between Mic 6:8 and vv.6-7 precludes attempts to associate Mic 6:8 with a distinctive Book of the Four redaction.

Nogalski's argument for including Mic 6:8 among Book of the Four editorial additions relates to his argument identifying fourteen catchwords and four thematic parallels linking Mic 6 with Zeph 1:1-2:3 (see Table 4.17).²⁴⁷ Nogalski's literary links appear across at least two compositional layers in Mic 6 and three compositional layers in Zeph 1:1-2:3.²⁴⁸ The links situated in Mic 6:7-8 do not support the Book of the Four hypothesis since they occur in compositions revealing a literary horizon extending beyond the Book of the Four.²⁴⁹ Furthermore, the catchwords appearing in Zeph 1:3, 18 occur in redactional additions that post-date the Book of the Four updates to the book of Zephaniah.

Job 31:2. The use of כָּפַף to designate "bowing down" occurs only in Isa 58:5; Mic 6:6; Pss 57:7; 145:14; 146:8. The concept of giving "one thousand rams" has parallels in 2 Kgs 3:4; 1 Chr 29:21; and 2 Chr 17:11.

²⁴⁶ Deuteronomy 10:12; 1 Sam 15:22; Isa 1:11; Jer 7:22-23; Hos 6:6; Pss 40:6; 51:16; Prov 21:3.

²⁴⁷ Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 142–44. Nogalski notes, however, that "The intricacy of the involvement of Mic 6 and Zeph 1:1-2:3 doubtless needs further study" (144).

²⁴⁸ The preceding analysis distinguishes between 6:1-8 and vv.9aαb, 10-16 as two distinct compositions, both the product of a diachronic process. On the composition of Zeph 1:1-2:3, see pp.312-331, 346-355.

²⁴⁹ The references to child sacrifice in Mic 6:7 and Zeph 1:5 share several differences. Zephaniah 1:5 condemns child sacrifice in a list of cultic deviances. Micah 6:7 references child sacrifice in the hyperbolic language communicating the divine transcendence. The vocative use of אֲדָמָה in 6:8 reflects differing rhetorical intentions than the undoing of creation in Zeph 1:3. The use of שָׁמַיִם to reference the identity of the idolatrous priests in Zeph 1:4 reflects a considerably different function than the wisdom addition in Mic 6:9aβ. The only catchword from Mic 6:7-8 that could reflect similar compositional function with Zeph 1:1-2:3 is the use of "justice" (cf. Zeph 2:3). Thus the catchwords of Mic 6:7-8 do not necessitate a literary horizon extending to the book of Zephaniah.

Table 4.17. Nogalski's Links between Mic 6 and Zeph 1:1-2:3

	Parallel	Micah Reference	Zephaniah Reference	Parallel	Micah Reference	Zephaniah Reference
Catchwords	"Justice"	Mic 6:8	Zeph 2:3	"desolation"	Mic 6:13	Zeph 1:13, 15
	"Man"	Mic 6:8	Zeph 1:3	"Sin"	Mic 6:13	Zeph 1:17
	"name"	Mic 6:9	Zeph 1:4	"eat"	Mic 6:14	Zeph 1:18
	"voice"	Mic 6:9	Zeph 1:10, 14	"Sow/plant"	Mic 6:15	Zeph 1:13
	"city"	Mic 6:9, 12	Zeph 1:16	"destruction"	Mic 6:16	Zeph 1:15
	"wicked"	Mic 6:10, 11	Zeph 1:12	"inhabitants"	Mic 6:16	Zeph 1:4, 18
	"house"	Mic 6:10, 16	Zeph 1:9, 13	"statute"	Mic 6:16	Zeph 2:1
Themes	Child Sacrifice	Mic 6:7	Zeph 1:5	Curse Formula	Mic 6:14-15	Zeph 1:13
	Searching city	Mic 6:9f	Zeph 1:12	Condemnation of Northern Cultic Practices	Mic 6:16	Zeph 1:4-5

Eleven of Nogalski's catchwords occur in Mic 6:9-16* and the earliest literary composition of Zeph 1:1-2:3*. These catchwords, however, reflect several differences between the passages complicating attempts to explain these similarities by way of a shared literary horizon. Five of the catchwords reflect lexical variations or synonyms. Thus whereas Mic 6:10-11 makes use of רשע, Zeph 1:12 employs the verbal root רעע. When speaking of "desolation," Mic 6:13 uses the verb שָׁמַם, 6:16 employs שָׁמָה, Zeph 1:13 uses שְׁמָמָה, and Zeph 1:15 uses מְשׂוּאָה. Micah 6:15 uses the language of קָצַר and זָרַע for the "sow/reap" binary whereas Zeph 1:13 uses נָטַע and שָׁתָה. Finally, the use of חֻקֹּת in reference to statutes (Mic 6:16), has no corresponding catchword in the book of Zephaniah.²⁵⁰ Of the remaining five catchwords, two serve different rhetorical functions

²⁵⁰ Nogalski links the use of חֻקֹּת to Zeph 2:1, which lacks a synonym for the word. His list likely rather intended to correlate Mic 6:16 to the use of מִשְׁפָּט in Zeph 2:3 (*Literary Precursors*, 143, n.70).

and three are common across the Hebrew prophetic literature.²⁵¹ Nogalski's catchword argument is plausible, yet the frequency with which these terms occur in prophetic literature make arguments of an intentional linking function difficult to prove.

Nogalski's observed thematic connections provide stronger evidence for a plausible link between Mic 6:9-16* and Zeph 1:1-2:3. Although the focus on Jerusalem is common enough in Hebrew prophetic literature to not necessitate a shared literary horizon, the remaining two thematic similarities support indentifying a plausible shared editorial agenda. First, Nogalski observes that Mic 6:14-15 and Zeph 1:13b employ a similar curse formula built on reversal binaries. As previously observed, Mic 6:14-15 differs from the majority of variations of this curse genre as preserved in biblical Hebrew literature. The evidence suggests, however, that Mic 6:14-15 reflects literary dependence upon the Hosean literary tradition, specifically Hos 4:10-11. Zephaniah 1:13b employs an alternative set of binaries reflecting dependence on Amos 5:11 rather than Hos 4:10 and Mic 6:14-15.²⁵² Thus whereas Mic 6:14-15 and Zeph 1:13b employ different variations of the curse formula that do not require literary dependence between one another, they each reflect literary dependence upon a previous articulation of this curse formula in a Book of the Four text.

Nogalski observes a second theme that provides a plausible editorial link between Mic 6:9-16* and Zeph 1:1-2:3: the editorially constructed condemnation of northern cultic practices. As previously observed, the redactions in Mic 1:5b-7 and 6:9aαb, 10-16 introduce a comparison with the northern kingdom of Israel into Micah. Micah 1:5b, 7; 6:16 introduces cultic references and allusions to religious impurities into these

²⁵¹ קול serves as the voice of God in Mic 6:9 but the sound of distress in Zeph 1:10, 14. The use of בית in Zeph 1:13a differs from its corporate use in Mic 6:10, 16. The use of בית in Zeph 1:9 could reference a corporate identity, however, the parallel reference to the physical structure (מפתח) may indicate that בית references a literal building. Only עיר, חטא, and ישוב serve similar functions, yet these three words do so in numerous prophetic texts.

²⁵² See pp.352-355.

comparisons. Zephaniah 1:4-5 opens the earliest literary core of the book of Zephaniah with a string of condemnations of cultic infidelities. Zephaniah 1:6 then supplies an editorial addition to the condemnations that is based upon the exhortation to the northern kingdom in Amos 5:4 suggesting that the editorial addition saw relevance in the northern proclamation for the southern audience (cf. Zeph 2:3).²⁵³

Although Nogalski's catchword evidence do not necessitate a shared literary horizon linking early versions of the books of Micah and Zephaniah, his two strongest thematic similarities link the editorial additions of Mic 6:9a**ab**, 10-16 and the editorial additions of Zeph 1:6, 13b; and 2:3. Nogalski's observations indicate that the literary dependence upon the Hosean tradition in Mic 6:9-16* and the literary dependence upon Amos 5 in Zeph 1:6, 13; 2:3 reveal similar editorial intentions indicative of a shared agenda at work in their composition histories. These observations, however, do not support including Mic 6:8 in among the Book of the Four editorial additions.

Micah and the Book of the Four Literary Horizon: Conclusions

Micah contains five additions reflecting a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four: Mic 1:1, 5b-7; 2:3, 12; 6:9a**ab**, 10-16. Micah 1:9 must be considered with this collection on account of its compositional relationship with 1:5b-7. Mic 1:1, 5b-7; 2:3; 6:9a**ab**, 10-16 share five shared compositional characteristics suggesting that they reflect a single redactional layer. First, Mic 1:5b-7 (and v.9); 2:3; and 6:9a**ab**, 10-16 all extend the articulation of judgment from the leadership to include more general articulations of the populace. Second, Mic 1:5b-7 (and v.9); 2:3; and 6:9a**ab**, 10-16 insert first-person divine speech, which the earliest core of Micah 1-3* (with the exception of one verb in Mic 1:15) largely lacks. Third, Mic 1:1, 5b-7 (and v.9); 2:3; and 6:9a**ab**, 10-16 reveal dependence upon either the Hosean or Amos literary traditions. Micah 1:5b-7

²⁵³ See pp.346-352.

and 6:9a**ab**, 10-16* draw upon the Hosean tradition. The use of harlotry imagery from Mic 1:5b-7 and the binary curse formula in Mic 6:9a**ab**, 10-16 appear juxtaposed in Hos 4:10-12. The editorial addition in Mic 2:3 parallels Amos 5:13, and serves to conform Mic 2:1-4 and Amos 5:11-17 into a structural parallel. Micah 1:1 combines distinctive characteristics of Hos 1:1 and Amos 1:1. Fourth, as a result of dependence upon these northern prophetic texts, Mic 1:1, 5b-7, 9; 2:3; and 6:9a**ab**, 10-16 all draw a comparison between the northern and southern kingdoms. Thus Mic 1:1, 5b-7, 9 compare Samaria to Jerusalem. Micah 2:3 applies a northern judgment pronouncement (Amos 5:13) to the southern kingdom. Micah 6:9a**ab**, 10-16 concludes with an explicit comparison of an unnamed king with the heritage of Omri and Ahab (v.16). Finally, Mic 1:5b-7 (and v.9); 2:3; and 6:9a**ab**, 10-16 all incorporate language and literary structures from its immediate literary context in Micah suggestive of the intentional integration of these additions into a recognized preexisting composition. Micah 1:5b-7, 9 thus parallels the language used of Jerusalem in Mic 3:12. Micah 6:9a**ab**, 10-16 similarly employs a parallel structure as Mic 3:8-12. Micah 2:3 replicates the rhetorical structure of 2:1.

Micah 2:12 stands apart from this collection suggesting that it likely reflects a different compositional stratum in the redaction history of Micah. The remnant supplement in Mic 2:12 reveals similarities with the remnant supplements in Zeph 2:7, 9b; 3:11-13. Unlike Mic 1:1, 5b-7, 9; 2:3; 6:9a**ab**, 10-16 that focus exclusively on judgment, Mic 2:12 introduces the concept of a remnant. The restorative hope of Mic 2:12 set this verse apart from the other links to the Book of the Four suggesting that v.12 comprises a later supplement. Its ideological and thematic proximity to Zeph 2:7, 9b; 3:11-13 suggest shared compositional intentions. Micah 2:12 and Zeph 2:7, 9b; 3:11-13 all present the uncommon combination of the remnant, restorative hope, and shepherding imagery while lacking the expectations for the restoration of royal leadership reflected in Mic 4-5. Each of these texts presumes the same location of the remnant among the nations, and anticipates their gathering into a common place of safety and rest in the near

future. The shared assumptions and ideological agenda of Mic 2:12 and Zeph 2:7, 9b; 3:11-13 suggests that the books of Micah and Zephaniah underwent shared editorial updating, which does not appear among the other books in the Twelve.

Conclusions: Book of the Four Editorial Activity in Micah

The results of the investigation of Deuteronomism and the results of the investigation of Book of the Four intertextual parallels reveals striking overlap in the composition history of Micah. The study of Deuteronomism reveals that Mic 1:1, 5b-7, 9; 6:9a**ab**, 10-16 each parallel Deuteronomistic themes, yet employ vocabulary and stylistic conventions differentiating them from Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History. The quest for intertextual parallels evincing a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four reveals that each of these editorial additions, along with Mic 2:3, and 12 reflect the influence of Hosea, Amos, and Zephaniah.

The evidence indicates that Mic 1:1, 5b-7, 9; 2:3; 6:9a**ab**, 10-16 share an editorial agenda and literary horizon suggestive of a shared compositional hand. Micah 2:12 stands apart reflecting a different editorial agenda suggesting a later editorial addition. These redactions draw upon the Hosean tradition to add explicit comparisons to the northern kingdom at the beginning and end of the earliest literary composition of Micah. These additions, furthermore, frame Mic 1-3* with an explicit city focus, suggesting an interpretation that saw Mic 1-3* as specifically applying to a city facing judgment. Micah 2:3 then parallels Amos 5:13 drawing Mic 2:1-4* into a structural parallel with Amos 5:11-17 (see Figure 4.1). The insertion of these editorial supplements at strategic points in the earliest literary core of Micah serves to frame the Judean sins as following in the path of their northern counterparts (1:1, 5b-7, 9; 6:9a**ab**, 10-16) thus they will face the same time of reckoning (2:3). Micah 1:1, 5b-7, 9; 2:3, 12; 6:9a**ab**, 10-16, therefore, support the conclusion that at two points in the composition history of Micah, editors updated this text with a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four.

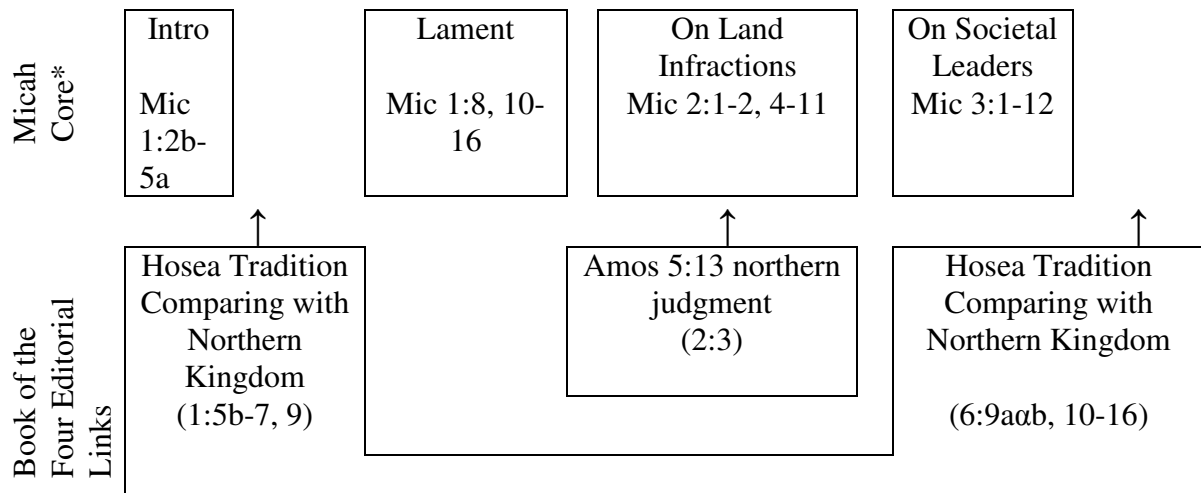


Figure 4.1: Editorially Constructed Links to the Book of the Four

CHAPTER FIVE

Zephaniah and the Book of the Four

Introduction

Some might call Zephaniah the “weak link” in the Book of the Four hypothesis. Hosea, Amos, and Micah share temporal proximity and several thematic similarities that do not always extend to Zephaniah.¹ Rachel Bornand critiques the Book of the Four hypothesis observing that scholars inconsistently place Zephaniah in variously proposed precursory collections to the Twelve.² Contrary to the Book of the Four hypothesis, some scholars place Zephaniah in a Josianic era collection with Nahum and Habakkuk on account of several lexical and thematic similarities.³

¹ Dale Allan Schneider, “The Unity of the Book of the Twelve” (PhD diss., Yale University, 1979), 18–43; Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Hosea*, AB 24 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), 146–49; David Noel Freedman, “Headings in the Books of the Eighth-Century Prophets,” *AUSS* 25 (1987): 9–13. See also the critique of: Martin Beck, *Der “Tag YHWHs” im Dodekapropheten: Studien im Spannungsfeld von Traditions- und Redaktionsgeschichte*, BZAW 356 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), 138; Anselm C. Hagedorn, *Die Anderen im Spiegel: Israels Auseinandersetzung mit den Völkern in den Büchern Nahum, Zefanja, Obadja und Joel*, BZAW 414 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 95; Anselm C. Hagedorn, “When Did Zephaniah Become a Supporter of Josiah’s Reform?,” *JTS* 62 (2011): 460.

² Rachel Bornand, “Un ‘Livre des Quatre’ Précurseur des Douze Petits Prophètes?,” *EThR* 82 (2007): 553, 564.

³ Schneider, “The Unity,” 44–71; Byron G. Curtis, “The Zion-Daughter Oracles: Evidence on the Identity and Ideology of the Late Redactors of the Book of the Twelve,” in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, ed. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, SymS 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 167–68, 171–72; Martin Roth, *Israel und die Völker im Zwölfprophetenbuch: eine Untersuchung zu den Büchern Joel, Jona, Micha und Nahum*, FRLANT 210 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 88–93. For discussions of thematic and lexical parallels between these three texts, see: Paul R. House, “Dramatic Coherence in Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah,” in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts*, ed. Paul R. House and James W. Watts, JSOTSup 235 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 195–208; Heinz-Dieter Neef, “YHWH und die Völker: Beobachtungen zur Theologie der Bücher Nahum, Habakuk, Zephaniah,” *TBet* 31 (2000): 82–91; Walter Dietrich, “Three Minor Prophets and the Major Empires: Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives on Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah,” in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations, Redactional Processes, Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 147–56.

Although Zephaniah contains minimal intertextual parallels to Hosea, Amos, and Micah, it contains an abundance of thematic similarities with Deuteronomism such as a concern for idolatry (Zeph 1:4-5); seeking YHWH (Zeph 1:6; 2:3); and binary curse form (Zeph 1:13). For this reason, arguments for Book of the Four editing in Zephaniah based upon Deuteronomism attribute a wider range of passages to such editorial activity. As a result, the assemblage of texts one attributes to Book of the Four editing differs depending upon whether or not one searches for Deuteronomism or intertextual parallels with the Four (see Table 5.1). Jakob Wöhrle, who identifies Book of the Four redaction based on Deuteronomism, attributes a large portion of the final form of Zephaniah to this Book of the Four editing. Conversely Schart, who devotes more attention to the intertextual parallels between the Four, identifies far fewer instances of Book of the Four editing in Zephaniah.

Table 5.1. Proposed Book of the Four Additions in Zephaniah⁴

Aaron Schart	Rainer Albertz	Jakob Wöhrle
1:1, 6, 13b, 17aß; 2:1-3 (?); 3:11-13(?)	1:1, 3-6, 13b, 17aß; 2:3a; 2:5-3:8ba* (excluding 2:7, 9, 10-11), 3:11-13	1:1, 4-6, 13b; 2:1-2, 3*, 4-6, 8-9a; 3:1-4, 6-8a, 11-13

Each approach, furthermore, faces a unique set of objections based upon Zephaniah's socio-historical context. Arguments for Zephaniah's inclusion in the Book of the Four based upon intertextual parallels with Hosea, Amos, and Micah must account

⁴ Aaron Schart, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs: Neubearbeitungen von Amos im Rahmen schriftenerübergreifender Redaktionsprozesse*, BZAW 260 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998), 205–18; Rainer Albertz, *Die Exilszeit: 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, BE(S) 7 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001), 164–85; idem, “Exile as Purification: Reconstructing the Book of the Four (Hosea, Amos, Micah, Zephaniah),” in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart, BZAW 325 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 241–42; Jakob Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen des Zwölfprophetenbuchs: Entstehung und Komposition*, BZAW 360 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 198–228; idem, “‘No Future for the Proud Exultant Ones’: The Exilic Book of the Four Prophets (Hos., Am., Mic., Zeph.) as a Concept Opposed to the Deuteronomistic History,” *VT* 58 (2008): 610. Although Nogalski first articulates the Book of the Four hypothesis, he does not supply a complete list of redactional additions.

for the temporal distance between Zephaniah and these eighth-century BCE prophetic traditions. Parallels with Hosea, Amos, and Micah might not necessitate editorial activity assuming a Book of the Four literary horizon. Rather, parallels from the eighth-century BCE prophets in the sixth-century prophetic tradition of Zephaniah could just as easily signal the Zephaniah traditions dependence upon earlier prophetic voices. The case for Zephaniah's inclusion based upon Deuteronomism similar faces a challenge from Zephaniah's sixth-century BCE context. The temporal proximity of the Zephaniah tradition to the Josianic reforms allows for the possibility that Deuteronomistic themes represent Zephaniah's socio-historical context rather than a later editorial agenda binding Zephaniah to the Book of the Four.

The present chapter, therefore, reexamines the evidence for Zephaniah's inclusion in the Book of the Four hypothesis in order to accomplish two primary goals. First, this chapter examines the degree to which the composition history of Zephaniah reflects evidence of a distinctive Deuteronomistic editorial agenda. Following the methodological approach for identifying Deuteronomism in prophetic literature, this assessment will consider the degree to which these proposed passages reflect both Deuteronomistic themes and Deuteronomistic language as identifiable in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History. Second, this chapter examines the degree to which editorial updates in Zephaniah reflect a literary horizon extending to Hosea, Amos, and Micah. This chapter concludes by examining the relationship between the passages reflecting ideological proximity to Deuteronomism and the passages reflecting a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four. This chapter concludes by identifying two plausible layers of Book of the Four editorial activity: an early exilic augmentation of judgment in Zephaniah 1:1, 6, 13b; 2:3 and a later exilic expression of salvific hope in Zeph 2:7b, 9; 3:11-13.

Introduction to the Quest for Deuteronomism in Zephaniah

The claims of Deuteronomistic editing in Zephaniah have recently come under increasing skepticism, especially in light of the emerging concerns over Pan-Deuteronomism. Zephaniah contains several thematic and ideological similarities with Deuteronomy (see Table 5.2). These similarities, along with perceived links with other forms of Deuteronomistic literature (2 Kings and Jeremiah), fueled the quest for a Deuteronomistic redaction of Zephaniah.

Many scholars not surprisingly claim to identify evidence of Deuteronomistic redaction in Zephaniah.⁵ While there are many thematic parallels with Deuteronomy, Zephaniah contains strikingly little lexical correspondence indicative of a distinct Deuteronomistic style. Thus scholars arguing for Deuteronomistic editing in Zephaniah inevitably build their arguments on proposed parallels to a wide assortment of Deuteronomistic texts,⁶ as well as claims of a more general Deuteronomistic themes.⁷

⁵ E.g., Günter Krinetzki, *Zefanjestudien: Motiv- und Traditionskritik + Kompositions- und Redaktionskritik*, RSTh 7 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1977), 240–41; Klaus Seybold, *Satirische Prophetie: Studien zum Buch Zefanja*, SBS 120 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1985), 83–94; Bernard Renaud, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, SB (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1987), 178–80; Marco Striek, *Das vordeuteronomistische Zephaniahbuch*, BBET 29 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999), 235–41.

⁶ Whereas some scholars such as Norbert Mendecki argue for Deuteronomistic editing in Zephaniah on account of similarities with Deuteronomy (“Deuteronomistische Redaktion von Zef 3,18–20?,” *BN* 60 [1991]: 27–32), others more frequently draw upon parallels with the Deuteronomistic History and Jeremiah. E.g., Seybold, *Satirische Prophetie*, 75–79, 85; idem, *Nahum, Habakuk, Zephania*, ZBK 24/2 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1991), 94–95; Klaus Koenen, *Heil den Gerechten, Unheil den Sündern!: Ein Beitrag zur Theologie der Prophetenbücher*, BZAW 229 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), 38–40; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 172–73; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 202, 209–10; Hagedorn, *Die Anderen im Spiegel*, 134–38.

⁷ E.g., The theme of “seeking YHWH” in Zeph 1:6; 2:3. See: Seybold, *Satirische Prophetie*, 87–88; Renaud, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 200; James D. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 217 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993), 192–93; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 206–7. For an example of an argument for Deuteronomism based upon a general style, see: Guy Langohr, “Livre de Sophonie et la critique d’authenticité,” *ETL* 52 (1976): 5.

Table 5.2. Zephaniah and Deuteronomy Similarities

Zeph Ref.	English Translation	Deut. Ref.	English Translation
Zeph 1:13:	“...and they will build houses but not dwell in them...”	Deut 28:30:	“...You will build a house, but will not live in it...”
Zeph 1:13:	“...and they will plant vineyards and not drink of their wine.”	Deut 28:39:	“You will plant vineyards and you will tend them, but you will not drink wine nor gather [the grapes]...”
Zeph 1:15:	“...a day of darkness and gloom, a day of clouds and thick clouds”	Deut 4:11:	“... while the mountain burned with fire unto the very heart of the heavens: darkness, clouds, and thick clouds.”
Zeph 1:17:	“And I will afflict mankind so that they walk like the blind...”	Deut 28:29:	“And you will group about at noon just as the blind grope...”
Zeph 1:18:	“Neither their silver nor their gold will be able to deliver them in the day of YHWH’s anger and with the fire of his jealousy will consume all the land”	Deut 32:21-22:	“They made me jealous on account of what was not god... For a fire is kindled in my anger... and it consumes the land and its produce...”
Zeph 3:5	YHWH is righteous in her midst; he does no injustice in the morning. In the morning [is] his judgment, he gives to the light [and] it does not fail. He does not know injustice [or] shame.	Deut 32:4	“The Rock, his deeds are sound for all of his ways are just. A God of faithfulness and without injustice. He is righteous and upright.”
Zeph 3:17	He will rejoice over you with rejoicing. He will renew his love. He will rejoice over you with shouts.	Deut 28:63	“And it will be that just as YHWH delighted in bringing good upon you... thus YHWH will delight to destroy you...”
Zeph 3:19	“...and I will give them praise and a name in all the land of their shame,”	Deut 26:19	“And he will raise you up over all the nations which he made, [giving you] praise, a name, and beauty...”

The hand of the Deuteronomist became so prevalent that the scholarly conversation turned to the question of whether or not Zephaniah ever existed in a pre-Deuteronomistic form.⁸ Advocates of the Book of the Four hypothesis thus link these identified Deuteronomistic supplements in Zephaniah with similar additions to Hosea, Amos, and Micah, yet they inherit the all of the conversational inconsistencies.⁹

Naturally, critics now object to the widespread identification of Deuteronomism in Zephaniah. Ben Zvi notes the lack of direct quotes from Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History. He objects that Zephaniah lacks any phrasing commonly identified as Deuteronomistic.¹⁰ Hagedorn argues against Albertz and Wöhrle's attribution of the Zephaniah Oracles Against the Nations to Deuteronomistic editing on the grounds that the representation of the nations in 2:4-15* functions differently than the function of the nations in the Deuteronomistic History.¹¹ Others argue that the previously identified Deuteronomistic redactions lack exclusively Deuteronomistic phrases and vocabulary.¹² Even some advocates of the Book of the Four hypothesis note that these Book of the Four redactions lack clear characteristics of Deuteronomistic speech.¹³

⁸ Seybold, for example, claims that the individual Zephaniah oracles were only first combined on a single scroll by the hand of the text's Deuteronomistic redactor (*Satirische Prophetie*, 83–93; idem, *Nahum, Habakuk, Zephania*, 85–86). Contra Seybold, Striek argues that there was in fact a pre-Deuteronomistic version of Zephaniah (*Das vordeuteronomistische Zephaniahbuch*, 221–33).

⁹ E.g., Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 176–78; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 172–73; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 224–26.

¹⁰ Ehud Ben Zvi, “A Deuteronomistic Redaction In/Among the ‘Twelve’?: A Contribution from the Standpoint of the Books of Micah, Zephaniah and Obadiah,” in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism*, ed. Linda S. Schearing and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 268 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 232–61. Ben Zvi utilizes Moshe Weinfeld's list of Deuteronomistic phrases for his search for Deuteronomistic language in Zephaniah (*Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1972], 320–365).

¹¹ Hagedorn, *Die Anderen im Spiegel*, 297. For the arguments of Albertz and Wöhrle see: Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 172–73; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 217.

¹² Robert A. Kugler, “The Deuteronomists and the Latter Prophets,” in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism*, ed. Linda S. Schearing and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 268 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 140–41; Tchavdar S. Hadjiev, “Zephaniah and the ‘Book of the Twelve’ Hypothesis,” in *Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel*, ed. John Day, LHBOTS 531 (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 325–38; Christoph Levin, “Das

The temporal proximity between the prophet Zephaniah and the Josianic reforms further complicates the quest for Deuteronomistic editing.¹⁴ Multiple historical factors may account for the perceived Deuteronomistic characteristics of the text without necessitating a Deuteronomistic editor. Smith, for example, identifies the prophet Zephaniah as a forerunner of the Deuteronomistic reforms.¹⁵ Robertson proposes that Zephaniah advocated for the reforms after the 622 BCE discovery of the “Book of the Law.”¹⁶ Others simply treat Zephaniah and the reforms as products of a shared cultural milieu.¹⁷ The dating of the origins of the Zephaniah message, therefore, has compositional implications for the identification of Deuteronomism in the text.

There are four primary positions dating the earliest proclamations of Zephaniah in relation to the Josianic reforms.¹⁸ First, some scholars argue that Zephaniah prophesied

‘Vierprophetenbuch’: Ein exegetischer Nachruf,” *ZAW* 123 (2011): 227. See also the skepticism of Boadt who describes the “Deuteronomistic language” as “vague” (*Jeremiah 26-52, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Nahum*, OTM 10 [Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1982], 203).

¹³ Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 166. See also Aaron Scharf’s justification for using the term *D-Korpus* rather than the label “Deuteronomistic” (*Die Entstehung*, 46).

¹⁴ This complication is recognized, for example, by: Timo Veijola, “Zefanja und Joschija,” in *Der Tag wird kommen: Ein interkontextuelles Gespräch über das Buch des Propheten Zefanja*, ed. Walter Dietrich and Milton Schwantes, SBS 170 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1996), 11.

¹⁵ He writes, “It may be, indeed, that Zephaniah himself was one of the group who wrought out the Deuteronomic Code and aided in the promulgation of the reform.” See: John Merlin Powis Smith, “The Book of Zephaniah,” in *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah and Joel*, by John Merlin Powis Smith, William Hayes Ward, and Julius A. Bewer, ICC 24 (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1911), 180.

¹⁶ O. Palmer Robertson, *The Books of Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 27, 254–56.

¹⁷ E.g., Adele Berlin, *Zephaniah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 25A (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 14–15; Rex Mason, *Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Joel* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 32; Johannes Vlaardingerbroek, *Zephaniah*, HCOT (Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 22–24; Michael Ufok Udoekpo, *Re-Thinking the Day of YHWH and Restoration of Fortunes in the Prophet Zephaniah: An Exegetical and Theological Study of 1:14-18*, ATD (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 255–61.

¹⁸ The debated dating of the earliest literary core of Zephaniah revolves around six primary pieces of evidence: the superscription dating to the reign of Josiah (1:1); the anti-idol polemic including the enigmatic proclamation against the “remnant of Baal” (1:4-6); the polemic against societal leaders including the “sons of the king” (1:8-9); the awareness of an imminent threat to Judean localities (1:10-11); the references to the “remnant” of Judah (2:7, 9; 3:13); and awareness of the fall of Nineveh (2:13-15).

early in the reign of Josiah and thus functioned as a forerunner to the reforms.¹⁹ This proposal allows scholars to take seriously the superscriptional regnal dating, while accounting for the anti-idol polemics that seem incongruous with post-reform Jerusalem. They attribute the awareness of an imminent threat in 1:10-11 either to a doubtful Scythian invasion,²⁰ or to a later editor updating the text in light of the Babylonian

¹⁹ E.g., Albin van Hoonacker, *Les douze petits prophètes, traduits et commentés* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1908), 498; Ermenegildo Florit, “Sofonia, Geremia e la cronaca di Gadd,” *Bib* 15 (1934): 9; Albertus Hendrik Edelkoort, *Nahum, Habakuk, Zefanja: drie profeten voor onzen tijd* (Amsterdam: Albertus Hendrik, 1937), 69–77; Augustin George, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 2nd ed., La Sainte Bible (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1958), 51–52; Otto Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 3. auf. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1964), 572–73; Miloš Bič, *Trois prophètes dans un temps de ténèbres, Sophonie, Nahum, Habakuk*, LD 48 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968), 39–41; Carl-A. Keller, “Nahoum - Habacuc - Sophonie,” in *Michée, Nahoum, Habacuc, Sophonie*, CAT 11b (Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1971), 180–81; Georg Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 7. Jahrhunderts Band 2* in *Die Propheten des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1974), 13; John D. W. Watts, *The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, CBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 154; Wilhelm Rudolph, *Micha - Nahum - Habakuk - Zephaniah*, KAT 13,3 (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1975), 255; Guy Langohr, “Rédaction et composition du livre de Sophonie,” *Mus* 89 (1976): 155; idem, “Livre de Sophonie,” 2–4, 7; Karl Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten II: Die Propheten Nahum, Habakuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Sacharja, Maleachi*, 8., unveränderte Aufl., ATD 25/2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 56–57; Mária Eszenyei Széles, *Wrath and Mercy: A Commentary on the Books of Habakkuk and Zephaniah*, trans. George A. F. Knight, ITC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 61; J. J. M. Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1991), 163–64; Rainer Kessler, *Staat und Gesellschaft im vorexilischen Juda: Vom 8. Jahrhundert bis zum Exil*, VTSup 47 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 61; Paul-Gerhard Schwesig, *Die Rolle der Tag-JHWHs-Dichtungen im Dodekapropheten*, BZAW 366 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 283; Steven S. Tuell, *Reading Nahum—Malachi: A Literary and Theological Commentary*, Reading the Old Testament (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2016), 112, 116, 120; Wilda C. M. Gafney, *Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah*, Wisdom Commentary 38 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2017), 139.

²⁰ For those who see a Scythian incursion behind Zeph 1:10-11, see: Joseph Lippl, *Das Buch des Propheten Sophonias*, 3rd ed., BibS(F) (Berlin: Freiburg im Breisgau, 1910), 9–17; Hubert Junker, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten: Nahum, Habakuk, Sophonias, Aggäus, Zacharias, Malachias*, vol. 2, 2 vols., Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments 8,3,2 (Bonn: Hanstein, 1938), 65; Friedrich Nötscher, *Zwölfprophetenbuch: oder Kleine Propheten*, Die Heilige Schrift in Deutscher übersetzung, Echter-Bibel. Das Alte Testament (Würzburg: Echter, 1948), 127; Abraham Malamat, “The Historical Setting of Two Biblical Prophecies on the Nations,” *IEJ* 1 (1950): 154–59; John Skinner, *Prophecy and Religion: Studies in the Life of Jeremiah* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1951), 35–52; Henri Cazelles, “Sophonie, Jeremie, et les Scythes en Palestine,” *RB* 74 (1967): 24–44. For challenges to the Scythian hypothesis, see: James Philip Hyatt, “The Peril from the North in Jeremiah,” *JBL* 59 (1940): 500–502; Aarre Lauha, *Zaphon: der Norden und die Nordvölker im Alten Testament*, AASF B49 (Helsinki: Der Finnischen Literaturgesellschaft, 1943), 23–24, 59–60; Richard Paul Vaggione, “Over All Asia?: The Extent of the Scythian Domination in Herodotus,” *JBL* 92 (1973): 523–30; Nadav Na’aman, “The Kingdom of Judah under Josiah,” *TA* 18 (1991): 36–38; John Bright, *A History of Israel*, 4th ed. (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2000), 315. For recent defenses of the Scythian invasion, see: A. R. Millard, “The Scythian Problem,” in *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt. Studies in Honour of H. W. Fairman*, ed. John Ruffle, G. A. Gaballa, and Kenneth A. Kitchen (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1979), 119–22; J. Maxwell Miller and John H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah*, 2nd Ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox,

incursions at the beginning of the sixth century BCE. The second proposal interprets Zephaniah as an advocate for the reforms around 622 BCE.²¹ This position explains the “remnant of Baal” (1:4-6) as evidence that the reforms were already underway. The third position argues that the Zephaniah message originated after the reign of Josiah.²² Such scholars interpret the superscription as a later redactional addition associating Zephaniah’s message with the great reformer-king. The prophet Zephaniah condemned the return to idolatry and foreign subservience in the wake of Josiah’s death with Babylon posing the immediate threat in Zeph 1:10-11. The final proposal sees Zephaniah as a postexilic composition for which the fictive superscription provides only a literary setting. This proposal accounts for the intertextuality with both Deuteronomistic and non-Deuteronomistic texts without positing a lengthy composition process.²³

2006), 446–47, 453–54; Karl Strobel, “‘Kimmeriersturm’ und ‘Skythenmacht’: eine historische Fiktion,” in *Leggo!: Studies Presented to Frederick Mario Fales on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, ed. Giovanni B. Lanfranchi et al., *Leipziger altorientalistische Studien* 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 793–842. For those who attribute 1:10-11 to a later editor updating the text in light of the post-Josianic Babylonian incursions, see: Langohr, “Rédaction et composition,” 56–57; Keller, “Nahoum,” 180.

²¹ E.g., Duane L. Christensen, “Zephaniah 2:4-15: A Theological Basis for Josiah’s Program of Political Expansion,” *CBQ* 46 (1984): 669–82; Robertson, *The Books of Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, 254–56; Marvin A. Sweeney, *King Josiah of Judah: The Lost Messiah of Israel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 185–97; idem, *Zephaniah: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 14–18, 85; idem, “Metaphor and Rhetorical Strategy in Zephaniah,” in *Relating to the Text: Interdisciplinary and Form-Critical Insights on the Bible*, ed. Timothy J. Sandoval and Carleen Mandolfo, *JSOTSup* 384 (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 120–30; idem, “Dating Prophetic Texts,” *HS* 48 (2007): 71–72; Udoekpo, *Re-Thinking the Day of YHWH*, 92–94. See also: Marvin A. Sweeney, “Zephaniah: Prophet of His Time--Not the End Time!,” *BRev* 20.6 (2004): 34–40.

²² E.g., Eduard König, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament, mit Einschluss der Apokryphen und der Pseudepigraphen Alten Testaments*, Sammlung theologischer Handbücher. Zweiter Teil: Altes Testament 1 (Bonn: E. Weber, 1893), 352–53; James Philip Hyatt, “The Date and Background of Zephaniah,” *JNES* 7 (1948): 25–29; Donald Leigh Williams, “Date of Zephaniah,” *JBL* 82 (1963): 77–88; Brian Peckham, *History and Prophecy: The Development of Late Judean Literary Traditions*, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 420–33; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 180, 181–87.

²³ Ehud Ben Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah*, BZAW 198 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991), 347–58; Erhard S. Gerstenberger, “Der Hymnus der Befreiung im Zefanjabuch,” in *Der Tag wird kommen: ein interkontextuelles Gespräch über das Buch des Propheten Zefanja*, ed. Walter Dietrich and Milton Schwantes, SBS 170 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1996), 104–6; Russell Mack, *Neo-Assyrian Prophecy and the Hebrew Bible: Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, PHSC 14 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2011), 326–39. Whereas Ben Zvi and Gerstenberger see Zephaniah as a product of the Persian period, Smith and Lacheman famously dated the text to c. 200 BCE (“The Authorship of the Book of Zephaniah,” *JNES* 9 [1950]: 137–42).

The multiple positions on the dating of the earliest material of Zephaniah allows for multiple explanations for the alleged “Deuteronomistic” features of the text. Each of these positions may, of course, attribute the Deuteronomistic characteristics to an exilic, Deuteronomistic redaction, but each of them likewise has alternative explanations readily available. Thus the quest for Zephaniah’s Deuteronomism should consider not only what literary features qualify as “Deuteronomistic,” but also whether or not these Deuteronomistic features qualify as secondary additions and thus warranting a specifically Deuteronomistic redaction.

The case for Deuteronomism in Zephaniah largely revolves around five themes: the superscription (1:1), cultic concerns and seeking YHWH (1:4-6; 2:3), augmented curse language (1:13), sinning against YHWH (1:17), and the Oracles Against the Nations (2:4-3:8*; especially 2:5; 3:2, 7).²⁴ The following assessment, therefore, examines each of these five themes respectively in order to accomplish two goals: First, the assessment of each theme will consider the degree to which each passage reflects ideological and lexical proximity to other Deuteronomistic texts. Second, this assessment will examine the degree to which these various passages reflect the ideological coherence indicative of shared compositional origins. The following examination will argue that only one editorial update (1:17aβ) reflects evidence of Deuteronomistic composition. Four additional passages (1:1, 6, 13b; 2:3) reflect ideological proximity to Deuteronomism, yet lack a distinctive language register indicative of Deuteronomistic editing.

²⁴ Mendecki further argues for Deuteronomistic editing in Zeph 3:18-20 (“Deuteronomistische Redaktion,” 27–32). Zephaniah 3:18-20, however, does not feature in Book of the Four composition models because of its post-deuteronomistic literary features, such as its dependence on Mic 4:6-7. Nogalski links this editorial work with his Joel layer (*Literary Precursors*, 215). Wöhrle places Zeph 3:18-19 in his first Foreign Nations layer along with 2:7, 9b-10, 13-15; 3:8b (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 226–27).

The Superscription and the Question of Deuteronomism: Zephaniah 1:1

Scholarly persuasions concerning the originality of the Zephaniah superscription have shifted over the course of the twentieth century.²⁵ Whereas earlier scholars saw the superscription as an original component of Zephaniah communicating accurate historical information, more recent assessments view Zeph 1:1 as a later redactional addition.²⁶ The attribution of Zephaniah's prophetic activity to the reign of Josiah fails to cohere with two of the assumed historical situations described in the following oracular pronouncements. This disagreement suggests that Zeph 1:1 is an editorial construction serving a literary-theological purpose that reframes the ensuing pronouncements. First, prophetic activity during the reign of Josiah fails to cohere with the presentation of an immanent threat against the Jerusalem region in 1:10-11. With recent arguments casting doubt on the previously proposed Josianic era Scythian threat to Jerusalem,²⁷ the only military incursions warranting the alarm in vv.10-11 are the post-Josianic Babylonian attacks at the beginning of the sixth century BCE.²⁸ Second, prophetic activity in the

²⁵ For remarks on this scholarly shift, see: Langohr, "Livre de Sophonie," 1-2.

²⁶ For early assessments affirming the authenticity of Zeph 1:1, see: van Hoonacker, *Les douze petits prophètes*, 503-7; Lippl, *Das Buch*, 3, 7-8. For more recent attributions of Zeph 1:1 to a later editor, see: D. Deden, *De kleine profeten: uit de grondtekst vertaald en uitgelegd*, De boeken van het Oude Testament (Roermond en Maaseik: J.J. Romen & Zonen, 1953), 279; Charles L. Taylor, "The Book of Zephaniah," *IB* (New York: Abingdon, 1956), 1013-14; Ramir Augé, *Profetes menors*, *Biblia versió dels textos originals i comentari pels monjos de Montserrat 16* (Montserrat: Monestir de Montserrat, 1957), 389; George, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 54; Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten II*, 57-58; Simon J. De Vries, *From Old Revelation to New: A Tradition-Historical and Redaction-Critical Study of Temporal Transitions in Prophetic Prediction* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 203. For a recent analysis affirming that Zeph 1:1 existed in the earliest literary form of the text without tying the superscription to the hand of the prophet, see: Hagedorn, "When Did Zephaniah," 462; idem, *Die Anderen im Spiegel*, 98, 111-12.

²⁷ See p.310 n.20.

²⁸ Redaction critics attributing Zephaniah's prophetic career to the Josianic era, therefore, must separate 1:10-11 as an editorial supplement. E.g., Keller, "Nahoum," 180; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 7. Jahrhunderts*, 13; idem, *Die Propheten des 6. und des 5. Jahrhunderts Band 5 en Die Propheten des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1976), 178-79; Langohr, "Rédaction et composition," 56-57. Zephaniah 1:10-11, however, coheres with other pronouncements in Zeph 1, which assume a concrete socio-historical context at the end of the Jerusalem monarchy (1:4-5, 8-9). The obscure reference to the "remnant of Baal" (שאר בעל) in v.4 suggests a period in which the Baal cult exists in a weakened or diminished state as a result of an attempt to eliminate its constituency, suggesting post-Josianic reforms. Zephaniah 1:8-9 targets the Jerusalem "officials" (השרים) and "sons of the king" (בני המלך) assuming a functional monarchy and bureaucratic system characterized by foreign assimilation and subservience

Josianic era fails to account for the condemnations of idolatry and foreign subservience found in the first chapter (1:4-5, 8-9).²⁹ The literary evidence, therefore, suggests that the superscription dating the Zephanian prophetic message to the reign of Josiah was a later redactional development reflecting ideological rather than historical intentions.

A long scholarly tradition identifies Zeph 1:1 as a Deuteronomistic composition on account of the *דבר־יהוה* formula and the system for regnal dating.³⁰ As observed in the assessment of Hos 1:1, however, the *דבר־יהוה* formula occurs frequently across Hebrew prophetic literature, complicating attempts to align its use with Deuteronomistic editing. Similarly, the regnal dating to the era of Josiah could depend upon the narrative of the Deuteronomistic history, but given the significance of Josiah near the end of the Jerusalemite monarchy, composition studies should by no means assume that the Deuteronomistic History serves as the only source of knowledge for this king. Thus while

(הלבשים מלבוש נכרי). Zephaniah 1:10-11 literarily connects to the preceding condemnations and the following judgments by the repeated use of *והיה* followed by a temporal indicator (1:8, 10, 12, 13). Verses 10-11, therefore, cannot be divided from their current context as later editorial additions. See also: Rainer Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament: From the Beginnings to the End of the Monarchy*, trans. John Bowden, vol. 1, 2 vols., OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 189–95; Walter Dietrich, “Die Kontexte des Zefanjabuches,” in *Der Tag wird kommen: ein interkontextuelles Gespräch über das Buch des Propheten Zefanja*, ed. Walter Dietrich and Milton Schwantes, SBS 170 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1996), 28–29; Christoph Uehlinger, “Astralkultpriester und Fremdgekleideter, Kanaanvolk und Silberwäger: Zur Verknüpfung von Kult- und Sozialkritik in Zef 1,” in *Der Tag wird kommen: ein interkontextuelles Gespräch über das Buch des Propheten Zefanja*, ed. Walter Dietrich and Milton Schwantes, SBS 170 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1996), 50–53.

²⁹ This problem leads many scholars to conclude that Zephaniah prophesied during the childhood of Josiah prior to the reforms. The proposal that the *בני המלך* (“sons of the king”) of v.8 references the youth of Josiah, however, is unlikely given the use of the plural *בני*. Furthermore, the proposed youth of Josiah fails to account for the imminent threat in Zeph 1:10-11. For discussion dating the Zephanian message to after the reign of Josiah, see: König, *Einleitung*, 352–53; Hyatt, “The Date,” 25–29; Williams, “Date of Zephaniah,” 77–88; Peckham, *History and Prophecy*, 420–33; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 180, 181–87.

³⁰ Hans Walter Wolff, *Hosea*, 3rd ed., BKAT 14/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1976), 2; Hubert Irsigler, *Gottesgericht und Jahwetag: die Komposition Zef 1, 1-2, 3, unters auf der Grundlage der Literarkritik des Zefanjabuches*, ATSAT 3 (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1977), 431–40; Krinetzki, *Zefanjabuchstudien*, 43–45; Rainer Edler, *Das Kerygma des Propheten Zefanja*, FThSt 126 (Freiburg: Herder, 1984), 70–71; Seybold, *Satirische Prophetie*, 83–89; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 181–87; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 40–46; Striek, *Das vordeuteronomistische Zephaniajabuch*, 45–48; Hubert Irsigler, *Zefanja*, HThKAT (Freiburg: Herder, 2002), 61–62, 82–84; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 198.

each of these pieces of evidence could signal Deuteronomistic composition, neither of them necessitate such conclusions.³¹

Cultic Transgressions, Seeking YHWH, and the Question of Deuteronomism: Zephaniah 1:4-6; 2:3.

The case for Deuteronomism in Zeph 1:4-6 and 2:3 rests upon two arguments: the concern for idolatry in 1:4-5 and the shared concern for “seeking YHWH” in 1:6 and 2:3.³² The strongest argument for Deuteronomism stems from the concern for cultic transgressions in Zeph 1:4-5. Proponents of Deuteronomism in vv.4-6 note the lexical similarities with the Josianic reforms in 2 Kgs 23:1-27.³³ Both passages target בעל (“Baal;” cf. 2 Kgs 23:4, 5; Zeph 1:4), the rare הכמרים (“idolatrous priests;” cf. 2 Kgs 23:5; Zeph 1:4) along with the more frequent כהנים (“priests;” cf. 2 Kgs 23:8, 9, 20; Zeph 1:4), cultic practices upon הגגות (“roofs;” cf. 2 Kgs 23:12; Zeph 1:5), צבא השמים (“host of heaven;” cf. 2 Kgs 23:4; Zeph 1:5), and מלכם (“Milcom;” cf. 2 Kgs 23:13; Zeph 1:5).³⁴

The close temporal proximity between Zeph 1:4-5 and the Josianic reforms complicates attempts to identify 2 Kgs 23:1-27 as a source text for Zeph 1:4-5. These

³¹ For the complete analysis of this formula, see pp.52-58. For a concluding assessment of the superscriptions in the Book of the Four in relation to similar superscriptions in Joel 1:1; Isa 1:1 and Jer 1:1-2; see pp.366-375.

³² Book of the Four advocates further link Zeph 3:11-13 to 1:4-6; 2:1-3 on account of the “humble and poor people” (עם עני ודל) who will “seek refuge in the name of YHWH” (וחסו בשם יהוה), recalling themes from Zeph 2:3. Thus some build a case for Deuteronomism based on those who will “seek refuge in the name of YHWH” (וחסו בשם יהוה; e.g., Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 173; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 214). These arguments, however, depend upon identifying intratextual similarities with other passages attributed to Book of the Four editing in Zephaniah rather than distinctive evidence of Deuteronomism as found in Deuteronomy or the Deuteronomistic History. For an assessment of Zeph 3:11-13 in relation to the Book of the Four, see pp.355-358.

³³ Seybold, *Satirische Prophetie*, 94–95; Koenen, *Heil den Gerechten*, 38–40; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 171–72; Hagedorn, *Die Anderen im Spiegel*, 134–38; idem, “When Did Zephaniah,” 463–64; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 200–203. Cf. Ben Zvi who notes the lexical similarities between Zeph 1:4-6 and 2 Kgs 23 without pursuing the diachronic or literary dependency implications (*A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah*, 72).

³⁴ On the vocalization of מלכם, see: Nicholas R. Werse, “Of Gods and Kings: The Case for Reading ‘Milcom’ in Zephaniah 1:5bβ,” *VT* (Forthcoming).

similarities could equally arise from a similar socio-historical context near the end of monarchic Jerusalem without necessitating shared editors or literary influence. Many historical critics attribute this anti-idol polemic to the earliest literary core of Zephaniah on account of its historical specificity.³⁵

Despite these lexical parallels, six differences between Zeph 1:4-5 and 2 Kgs 23 preclude the probability of literary dependence. First, Zeph 1:4-5 lacks key characteristic features of central importance in 2 Kgs 23:1-27, such as references to Asherah and the “high places” (vv.4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 15, 19, 20).³⁶ Second, the list of foreign deities and syncretistic cultic practices targeted in 2 Kgs 23:1-27 is so exhaustive that it shares some degree of lexical overlap with a wide range of anti-idolatry polemics without necessitating shared editing or literary influence.³⁷ Third, Levin argues against the Deuteronomism of Zeph 1:4-5 by noting lexical similarities with anti-idolatry polemics in Ezek 14:13 and Jer 19:13.³⁸ He thus argues that the language of Zeph 1:4-5 is not exclusively Deuteronomistic and not a definitive indicator of Deuteronomism. Fourth, Zeph 1:4-5 targets the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judah as transgressors. Second Kings 23:1-3, however, presents the people of Judah and Jerusalem as willing participants in the reforms. Fifth, 2 Kgs 23 orders the Josianic reforms geographically, first dealing with Jerusalem (vv.4-14) and then the region of Bethel and Samaria (vv.15-20). In both

³⁵ Friedrich Horst, “Zephanja,” in *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*, 3rd Aufl., HAT 1/14 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1964), 187; Langohr, “Livre de Sophonie,” 5–6; Josef Scharbert, “Zefanja und die Reform des Joschija,” in *Künder des Wortes: Beiträge zur Theologie der Propheten*, ed. Lothar Ruppert, Peter Weimar, and Erich Zenger (Würzburg: Echter, 1982), 248; Renaud, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 199–202; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 208–9; Irsigler, *Zefanja*, 119; Hadjiev, “Zephaniah,” 327.

³⁶ See also the objection by Aaron Scharf (*Die Entstehung*, 207–9).

³⁷ In addition to the previously mentioned idols and forms of syncretistic cultic practices, 2 Kgs 23:1-27 also targets astral and sun worship (23:5, 11), Topeth (23:10), Molech (23:10), the altars of Manasseh (23:12), the Wadi Kidron (23:6, 12), Astarte (23:13), Chemosh (23:13), and the altar at Bethel (23:15).

³⁸ Levin, “Das ‘Vierprophetenbuch’,” 227.

instances, the reforms revolve around two localities: the temple and high places.³⁹

Zephaniah 1:4-5, however, shows no concern for the temple or the high places. Finally, Hadjiev observes that the “remnant of Baal” as found in Zeph 1:4 makes little sense in light of the assumed success of 2 Kgs 23.⁴⁰ These objections suggest that literary dependence on 2 Kgs 23:1-27 and a distinctive Deuteronomistic agenda does not account for language of Zeph 1:4-5.⁴¹

Contrary to claims of Deuteronomistic composition, the pericope’s assumed socio-historical context better explains the polemic in Zeph 1:4-5.⁴² The divine declaration proclaims that YHWH will “cut off from this place” (והכרתי מן-המקום הזה) four groups guilty of cultic grievances, which many scholars associate with prominent foreign cults during the seventh century BCE.⁴³ Some scholars find the “remnant of Baal” (שאר הבעל) difficult since the Hebrew Bible others does not attribute a remnant to an idol or deity.⁴⁴ Polemics against Baal fit in the time period before the fall of Jerusalem, yet are absent from postexilic literature.⁴⁵ The reference to a “remnant” suggests a weakened

³⁹ The Jerusalem reforms cleanse the temple (v.4, 6-7, 11-12) and destroy cultic infidelities associated with high places (v.5, 8-10, 13-14). Similarly Josiah’s actions in the north involve the destruction of the Bethel temple (vv.15-19) and the high places extending up to Samaria (vv.15, 19-20).

⁴⁰ Hadjiev, “Zephaniah,” 327.

⁴¹ Beck argues against labeling Zeph 1:4-6 “Deuteronomistic (*Der “Tag YHWHs,”* 118–22). Striek on the other hand finds mild Deuteronomistic updating in this passage (*Das vordeuteronomistische Zephaniahbuch*, 92–106). Cf. similarly Erich Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39 im Zwölfprophetenbuch: Untersuchungen zur literarischen Verbindung von Prophetenbüchern in babylonischer und persischer Zeit*, OBO 154 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 333–35.

⁴² Cf. Veijola, “Zefanja und Joschija,” 12–13; Irsigler, *Zefanja*, 106.

⁴³ E.g., Florit, “Sofonia,” 10–11; Dietrich, “Die Kontexte,” 28–29; Uehlinger, “Astralkultpriester,” 50–53.

⁴⁴ Book of the Four advocates such as Scharf explain the שאר הבעל in light of anti-Baal polemics in the Book of the Four as presented in Hosea since the foreign deity Baal appears nowhere else in the Book of the Twelve (Joel 1:8 and Nah 1:2 employ the word בעל but not in reference to the foreign deity; *Die Entstehung*, 209).

⁴⁵ Anti-Baal Polemics occur in Jer 2:8, 23; 7:9; 9:13; 11:13, 17; 12:16; 19:5; 23:13, 27; 32:35; 37:13; Hos 2:10, 15, 18, 19; 11:2; 13:1. Note that the use of בעל in Isa 1:3; 16:8; 41:15; and 50:8 does not reference the deity. The Deuteronomistic History remembers Baal as one of the foreign deities whose

constituency that survived a recent assault threatening their existence. Such a designation assumes the failure of the Josianic reforms to completely remove Baal worship. Second Kings 23 lacks this assumption as indicated by the attribution of the destruction of Jerusalem to Manasseh's provocations, rather than the survival of idolatry beyond the reforms (23:26-27). Although the Deuteronomistic History remembers three attempted purges of Baal worship in Israelite history (1 Kgs 18:16-40; 2 Kgs 10:18-36; 23:4-7), the Josianic reforms (2 Kgs 23:4-7) has the closest temporal proximity to Zephaniah. The language of the שאר הבעל ("remnant of Baal") thus presupposes a socio-historical context following the Josianic reform efforts in which a remnant of Baal worshippers survived.

Second, the divine proclamation threatens the "idoltrous priests with the priests" (שם הכמרים עמ־הכהנים). The elusive הכמרים appear elsewhere only in 2 Kgs 23:5 and Hos 10:5.⁴⁶ Second Kings 23:5, 8, 9, 20 present both הכמרים and הכהנים as cultic functionaries targeted during Josiah's reforms at the end of the seventh century BCE. Either literary dependency upon 2 Kgs 23:1-27 or an assumed socio-historical context at the end of monarchic Jerusalem adequately explains the condemnation of the "idoltrous priests with the priests." The preceding literary evidence favors the latter explanation.

The third group targeted in Zeph 1:4-5 consists of those who "bow down upon the roof to the host of heaven" (את־המשתחווים עלי־הגגות לצבא השמים). References to rooftop

worship exemplified the cultic infidelity toward YHWH that led to the destruction of Israel and Judah (e.g., 1 Kgs 16:31, 32; 18:18, 19, 21, 22, 25, 26, 40; 19:18; 22:54; 2 Kgs 3:2; 10:18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28; 11:18; 17:16; 21:3; 23:4, 5).

⁴⁶ Some scholars partition עמ־הכהנים as a gloss on text-critical grounds. E.g., Smith, "The Book of Zephaniah," 187–88; Gillis Gerleman, *Zephaniah: textkritisch und literarisch untersucht* (Lund: Gleerup, 1942), 6; Taylor, "Zephaniah," 1014–15; George, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 55, 62; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 7. Jahrhunderts*, 14, n.2; Arvid Schou Kapelrud, *The Message of the Prophet Zephaniah: Morphology and Ideas* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1975), 23; Rudolph, *Micha*, 262; Langohr, "Livre de Sophonie," 5–6; Krinetzki, *Zefanjastudien*, 182; Irsigler, *Gottesgericht und Jahwetag*, 18–22; Edler, *Das Kerygma*, 102; Bernard Renaud, "Le livre de Sophonie: le jour de YHWH thème structurant de la synthèse rédactionnelle," *RSR* 60 (1986): 4–5; Ben Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah*, 67 nn.109, 69; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 207–208 n.174; Irsigler, *Zefanja*, 104. Although the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever appears to support the MT, Anthony Gelston concludes that the OG reflects wrestling with the difficulty presented by the unusual הכמרים ("Commentary on the Critical Apparatus," in *The Twelve Minor Prophets*, BHQ 13 [Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2010], 126*).

cultic practices accumulate around memories of late monarchic Jerusalem. In addition to 2 Kgs 23:4, 12; Jer 32:29 condemns such cultic infidelities. Jeremiah 19:13 even associates rooftop cultic practices with the worship of the “hosts of heaven” as found in Zeph 1:4-5 (but not 2 Kgs 23:1-27).⁴⁷ An assumed context at the end of the seventh century BCE best explains the reference to worshipping the “host of heaven” on rooftops.

The final group targeted in Zeph 1:4-5 are those who “bow down, swearing by YHWH and swearing by Milcom” (את־הַמִּשְׁתַּחֲוִים הַנִּשְׁבָּעִים לַיהוָה וְהַנִּשְׁבָּעִים בַּמֶּלֶךְ). The MT vocalizes מֶלֶךְ as “their king,” agreeing with Ziegler’s critical edition of the OG. Ziegler’s critical textual apparatus, however, notes numerous Greek manuscripts that alternatively read μελχόμ (“Milcom”) or μολοχ (“Molech”).⁴⁸ The Lucianic OG (G^L), Vulgate (V), Bohairic codex (Bo) and Syriac (S), however, read “Milcom;” whereas the Achmîmic codex (Akh) reads “Molech.”⁴⁹ Targum-Jonathan (T^J) uses פתכריהון denoting “their idols.” The Hebrew Bible does not speak of swearing “by” (ב) a human figure.⁵⁰ Thus most scholars see מֶלֶךְ as a reference to a diety of some sort. Some commentators follow the MT, reading “their king” as a title for a deity.⁵¹ With the exception of the

⁴⁷ When used in a non-cultic sense, the host of heaven appear as part of God’s created order (Isa 34:4; 45:12; Jer 33:22; Dan 8:10; Neh 9:61) and also in Micaiah’s vision (1 Kgs 22:19; cf. 2 Chr 18:18). There is not enough lexical overlap between Zeph 1:4-5 and Jer 19:13 to support a model of dependence proposed by William Holladay (“Reading Zephaniah with a Concordance: Suggestions for a Redaction History,” *JBL* 120 [2001]: 673).

⁴⁸ Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Duodecim prophetae*, 2 Durchgesehene Auflage., Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum 13 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 276.

⁴⁹ 8HavXII_{GR} is incomplete at this point, however, Emmanuel Tov reconstructs ἐν τῷ μελχομ (*The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever: 8 Hēv XII Gr*, DJD 8 [New York: Clarendon, 1990], 95). For the Coptic readings, see: Willem Grossouw, *The Coptic Versions of the Minor Prophets: A Contribution to the Study of the Septuagint*, MBE 3 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1938), 73.

⁵⁰ Contra Marvin A. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets*, vol. 2, 2 vols., Berit Olam (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 502–3; idem, *Zephaniah*, 70–71. Hebrew texts speak of swearing by YHWH or an extension of his identity such as his name. Gen 24:3; Lev 19:12; Jud 21:7; 1 Kgs 1:17; 2:42; Isa 48:1; 65:16; Jer 12:16; 22:5; 44:26; Zech 5:4; Pss 63:12; 89:36; Dan 12:7; Neh 13:25; 2 Chr 36:13.

⁵¹ E.g., Liudger Sabottka, *Zephania: Versuch einer Neuübersetzung mit philologischem Kommentar*, BibOr 25 (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1972), 24–25; Ralph L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, WBC 32 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1984), 126–27. Cf. Kapelrud, *The Message*, 23–24. Cf. Those who identify references to מֶלֶךְ as a sacrificial practice: Otto Eissfeldt, *Molk als opferbegriff im punischen und*

“queen of heaven,” however, the Hebrew Bible generally reserves the title “king” only for YHWH.⁵² The reading of “Molech” fails to account for the final ם- in מלכּם.⁵³ Thus a majority of scholars identify “Milcom” as the most probable reading.⁵⁴

hebräischen, und das ende des gottes Moloch, Beiträge zur religionsgeschichte des altertums 3 (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1935); Ivan Jay Ball, “A Rhetorical Study of Zephaniah” (Th.D., Graduate Theological Union, 1972), 27–33. Against this interpretation, see: George C. Heider, *The Cult of Molek: A Reassessment*, JSOTSup 43 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985); John Day, *Molech: A God of Human Sacrifice in the Old Testament*, UCOP 41 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

⁵² The only other instance in which “king” could signal a deity other than YHWH is Amos 5:26. Text-critical difficulties, however, obfuscate the significance of Amos 5:26 as a comparative example. See for discussion: Charles D. Isbell, “Another Look at Amos 5:26,” *JBL* 97 (1978): 97–99.

⁵³ On reading “Molech,” see: Charles Lee Feinberg, *The Minor Prophets*, Combined ed. (Chicago: Moody, 1976), 223; Edler, *Das Kerygma*, 120–21; Eszenyei Széles, *Wrath and Mercy*, 78–79; Michael Weigl, *Zefanja und das “Israel der Armen”*: eine Untersuchung zur Theologie des Buches Zefanja, ÖBS 13 (Klosterneuburg: Österreichisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1994), 21; Berlin, *Zephaniah*, 76–77; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 207; Hadjiev, “Zephaniah,” 327; James D. Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Micah-Malachi*, SHBC (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2011), 716. Berlin notably argues that the final ם- on מלכּם is the possessive pronoun. Deity names, however, otherwise lack possessive pronouns in Biblical Hebrew. Biblical Hebrew affixes possessive pronouns only on the title אֱלֹהִים. E.g., Hos 1:7; 3:5; 7:10; 12:10[9]; 13:4; 14:2[1].

⁵⁴ Ferdinand Hitzig, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*, 4. Aufl. (Leipzig: Leipzig, 1881), 301; Milton S. Terry, “Zephaniah,” *The Old and New Testament Student* 11 (1890): 262; Wilhelm Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten*, HKAT III.4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897), 282; Julius Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten: übersetzt und erklärt*, 3. ausgabe. (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1898), 151; Karl Marti, *Das Dodekapropheten: erklärt*, KHC 13 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1904), 363; van Hoonacker, *Les douze petits prophètes*, 510; Smith, “The Book of Zephaniah,” 188–89; Bernhard Duhm, “Anmerkungen zu den Zwölf Propheten. II,” *ZAW* 31 (1911): 94; Ernst Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, KAT 12/1 (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1922), 374; Gerleman, *Zephania*, 70; Deden, *De kleine profeten*, 281; Arvid Bruno, *Das Buch der Zwölf: Eine rhythmische und textkritische Untersuchung* (Stockholm, 1957), 124; Horst, “Zephania,” 190–91; Keller, “Nahoum,” 189; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 7. Jahrhunderts*, 14; Rudolph, *Micha*, 262, 265–66; Watts, *The Books*, 157; Krinetzki, *Zefanjabuch*, 50; Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten II*, 58, 62; Dominique Barthélemy, ed., *Critique textuelle de l’Ancien Testament*, vol. 3, 3 vols., OBO 50 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 884; Carroll Stuhlmueller, *Amos, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk*, Collegeville Bible Commentary 15 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1986), 100; Paul R. House, *Zephaniah: A Prophetic Drama*, BLS 16 (Sheffield: Almond, 1988), 127; Seybold, *Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephania*, 95; Veijola, “Zefanja und Joschija,” 12; Helmer Ringgren, Heinz-Josef Fabry, and Klaus Seybold, “מִלְכָּם,” ed. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, trans. Douglas W. Stott, *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 368; Strick, *Das vordeuteronomistische Zephaniah*, 99; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 202; John J. Ahn, “Zephaniah, A Disciple of Isaiah?,” in *Thus Says the Lord: Essays on the Former and Latter Prophets in Honor of Robert R. Wilson*, ed. John J. Ahn and Stephen L. Cook, LHBOTS 502 (New York: T&T Clark, 2009), 302; Gelston, “Commentary on the Critical Apparatus,” 126*–127*; Walter Dietrich, *Nahum, Habakkuk, Zefanja*, IEKAT (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2014), 204, 208–9; Tuell, *Reading Nahum—Malachi*, 119; Werse, “Of Gods and Kings,” forthcoming; Gafney, *Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah*, 145–147.

Milcom features in 1 Kgs 11:5, 33 as a snare to Solomon.⁵⁵ Second Kings 23:13 includes “Milcom” among a list of three deities (including Ashtoreth of Sidon and Chemosh of Moab) for whom Solomon built high places. These high places apparently stood in Judah until Josiah’s reforms in 2 Kgs 23:1-27. The high places that are so prominent in 2 Kgs 23 (vv.4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 15, 19, 20), however, are absent from Zeph 1:4-5. Zephaniah 1:5 rather testifies to a scenario in which the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judah take oaths to YHWH by the name of another deity: Milcom.⁵⁶

The anti-idolatry pronouncements of Zeph 1:4-5, therefore, do not reflect dependence upon 2 Kgs 23, nor a shared editorial agenda. Zephaniah 1:4-5 presents first-person divine speech against third-person transgressors in a way that coheres with the other sayings in Zeph 1 that assume a late monarchic Jerusalem setting. Thus while many scholars attribute v.7 to later editorial activity,⁵⁷ vv.8-12 assume preexilic Jerusalem. Verse 8 targets the “officials” (השרים), “sons of the king” (בני־המלך), and “all who wear the garments of foreigners” (כל־הלבשים מלבוש נכרי).⁵⁸ These accused groups presuppose

⁵⁵ The MT of 1 Kgs 11:7 reads “Molech” where “Milcom” likely serves as the earlier reading. See the many G^{mss} reading “Milcom.” See: Alan England Brooke, Norman McLean, and Henry St John Thackeray, eds., *I and II Kings*, Vol. II, Part II of *The Old Testament In Greek* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1930), 248.

⁵⁶ Milcom also likely appears of concern in Jer 49:1, 3. As with Zeph 1:5bβ, the MT of Jer 49:1, 3 reads “their king” where “Milcom” likely features as the earlier reading. G, V, and S all read “Milcom” in Jer 49:1, 3. See: Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Jeremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Jeremiae*, 2 Durchgesehene Auflage., Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum 15 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), 310–11; Georg A. Walser, *Jeremiah: A Commentary Based on Ieremias in Codex Vaticanus* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 372; Gillian Greenberg et al., eds., *The Syriac Peshiṭta Bible with English Translation. Jeremiah, Šurath Kthobh* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2013), 302–3.

⁵⁷ E.g., Krinetzki, *Zefanjastudien*, 53; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 189–90; Dietrich, “Three Minor Prophets,” 155. Cf. De Vries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 203; Rüdiger Lux, “‘Still alles Fleisch vor JHWH...’: Das Schweigegebot im Dodekapropheten und sein besonderer Ort im Zyklus der Nachtgesichte des Sacharja,” *Leqach* 6 (2005): 104–5. Contra Beck who identifies Zeph 1:7 as part of the earliest literary composition of Zephaniah (*Der “Tag YHWHs,”* 91–93). Seybold, on the other hand, argues for the authenticity of Zeph 1:7, yet suggests that it was placed according to later editorial intentions (*Satirische Prophetie*, 23–25). Others alternatively propose that v.7 is misplaced (e.g., Marti, *Das Dodekapropheten*, 363; Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 387; Edler, *Das Kerygma*, 184–87).

⁵⁸ Early scholars attempting to reconcile the anti-syncretism polemics of Zeph 1:4-5, 9 with a Josianic era dating (1:1) often interpreted the reference to the “sons of the king” as an allusion to the youth of Josiah. E.g., Augustin George, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, Bible de Jérusalem (Paris: Editions du Cerf,

the preexilic era before the dissolution of the Jerusalemite monarchy. Jerusalem returned to vassal status beneath the Mesopotamian superpowers after the death of Josiah when his sons Jehoiakim and Zedekiah successively gained power by pledging support to either Egypt or Babylon respectively. The reference to those “jumping over the threshold” (הדולג על-המפתח) in v.9 suggests continued cultic allusions reminiscent of vv.4-5.⁵⁹

Zephaniah 1:4-5, therefore, grammatically coheres with material commonly attributed to the earliest literary core of Zeph 1 assuming a late preexilic context.⁶⁰

The primary challenge to assigning Zeph 1:4-5 to the earliest literary core of Zeph 1 is the presence of two linking features suggesting that vv.4-5 presuppose preceding material in vv.2-3*.⁶¹ Many scholars recognize the dependence of Zeph 1:2-3 on creation language from Gen 1-11 suggesting a postexilic date of composition.⁶² First, the

1952), 51–52; Taylor, “Zephaniah,” 1007–8; Bič, *Trois prophètes*, 39–41; Eszenyei Széles, *Wrath and Mercy*, 61; Watts, *The Books*, 154; Keller, “Nahoum,” 180–81; Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten II*, 56–57; Eissfeldt, *Einleitung*, 572–73; Florit, “Sofonia,” 9; Norman K. Gottwald, *The Hebrew Bible: A Socio-Literary Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 390; Richard D. Nelson, *Historical Roots of the Old Testament (1200-63 BCE)*, BibEnc 13 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), 178; Kessler, *Staat und Gesellschaft*, 61; Emil Gottlieb Heinrich Kraeling, *Commentary on the Prophets*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Camden, N.J.: Thomas Nelson, 1966), 260; Th C. Vriezen, *De literatuur van Oud-Israël* (Den Haag Servire, 1961), 177; Tuell, *Reading Nahum—Malachi*, 112, 116, 120; Robert B. Chisholm, *Interpreting the Minor Prophets* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990), 201. Such a reading is not likely since “sons” (בני) is plural. Veijola suggests that the “sons of the king” more likely refers to the sons of Josiah (“Zefanja und Joschija,” 16–18).

⁵⁹ Cf. 1 Sam 5:5. For discussion, see: Kessler, *Staat und Gesellschaft*, 63; Sweeney, *Zephaniah*, 76.

⁶⁰ See also Zeph 1:10-11, which breaks from the first-person divine speech, yet presupposes an immanent threat against Judah suggestive of the Neo-Babylonian incursions. See: Hyatt, “The Date,” 27; Williams, “Date of Zephaniah,” 79–81.

⁶¹ Scholars commonly identify והמכשלות את-הרשעים in v.3 as a later addition on text-critical grounds. See: Smith, “The Book of Zephaniah,” 186; Gerleman, *Zephanja*, 3–5; Renaud, “Le livre de Sophonie,” 4; Krinetzki, *Zefanjastudien*, 182; Weigl, *Zefanja*, 8; Koenen, *Heil den Gerechten*, 38; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 205. Gelston, however, argues that the presuppose the MT reading and that the OG likely omitted the phrase due to its difficulty (“Commentary on the Critical Apparatus,” 126*).

⁶² Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten*, 150–51; Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 372; Gerleman, *Zephanja*, 4–5; Sabottka, *Zephanja*, 10–12; Irsigler, *Gottesgericht und Jahwetag*, 100–101; Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten II*, 60–61; Renaud, “Le livre de Sophonie,” 6–8; Renaud, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 199; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 187–88; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaia 1-39*, 318; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 206–7; Irsigler, *Zefanja*, 101–2; Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Micah-Malachi*, 713; idem, “Zephaniah’s Use of Genesis 1-11,” *HBAI* 2 (2013): 354–55; David P. Melvin, “Making All Things New (Again): Zephaniah’s Eschatological Vision of a Return to Primeval Time,” in

repetition of והכרתי (“and I will cut off”) in v.3 and v.4 provides a lexical link between the two units. Second, the opening *waw* in v.4 on ונטיתי (“and I will stretch out”) suggests that the pronouncement in v.4 presupposes a preceding proclamation.⁶³ On account of these observations, some scholars treat Zeph 1:2-6 as a single literary unit.⁶⁴

Creation and Chaos: A Reconsideration of Hermann Gunkel's Chaostkampf Hypothesis, ed. Joann Scurlock and Richard H. Beal (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 273–76. For those who recognize the Genesis echoes in vv.2-3 but without attributing this passage to later editorial development, see: Ball, “A Rhetorical Study,” 45–49; Michael De Roche, “Zephaniah 1:2-3: The ‘Sweeping’ of Creation,” *VT* 30 (1980): 104–9; Berlin, *Zephaniah*, 81–82; Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets*, 2:500; idem, *Zephaniah*, 62–65; idem, “Dating Prophetic Texts,” 72–73.

⁶³ The Hebrew prophets rarely use the *waw* to open a prophetic oracle that does not presuppose preceding discourse. The only use of the *waw* after a divine speech formula occurs when the formula interrupts a preceding oracle. Thus the *waw* following the formula does not introduce a new oracular utterance but rather continues the oracle that precedes the formula. See, for example, the use of the *waw* following נאם יהוה in 2 Kgs 9:26; 19:34; Isa 14:22, 23; 17:3; 37:35; 59:21; 66:2, 18; Jer 1:15; 2:9; 7:13, 32; 8:1 (kethib); 8:4; 9:21, 24; 15:20; 16:11, 14, 16; 19:6, 12; 21:14; 23:3, 5, 7, 13, 23, 29, 32, 33, 34; 25:9, 30; 27:11, 15, 22; 29:14 (2x); 24; 30:3, 21; 31:16, 17; 21, 27, 31, 38; 33:14; 34:22; 39:17; 45:5; 46:27; 48:12; 49:17, 27, 33, 37, 39; 50:21, 35, 52; Amos 2:12; 4:7; 9:13; Oba 1:8; Mic 5:9; Nah 2:14; 3:5; Zeph 1:4; Hag 2:4 (2x), 14, 23; Zech 1:3, 16; 2:15; 3:9; 5:4; 11:6; Mal 1:2. See also the use of the *waw* in direct speech when following לאמר in Gen 9:9; Exod 30:18, 23; 31:12; Lev 20:1; Num 3:12; Num 9:2; 18:25; Deut 13:15, and when following אמר יהוה in Isa 57:19; Jer 30:3; Ezek 30:6; Mal 1:2, 10, 13, 14; 2:2, 16; 3:7. An oracle in the Hebrew prophets opens with the *waw* in only two circumstances. First, when the *waw* is adjoined to a temporal indicator denoting temporal immediacy (e.g., “and now...”) as in Num 20:3; 2 Kgs 5:6; 10:2. Second, the *waw* may open an oracle when attached to the vocation as in Ezek 7:2; 21:24; 22:2; 27:2; 37:16. The only possible example of an oracle opening with the *weqatal* form as would be necessitated in Zeph 1:4 is the opening והיה in Isa 2:2. This exception, of course, depends upon how one defines its redactional relationship with the second Isaian superscription in 2:1 and the preceding oracle in Isa 1. In either case, the evidence demonstrates the extreme unlikelihood of an earlier version of Zephaniah opening with the *w-qatal* form. For further discussion, see: Bruce Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 519–42; Bill Arnold and John H. Choi, *A Guide to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 87–91; Paul Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Rome: Pontificio istituto biblico, 2006), 367–77. One could alternatively propose that the redactor supplied the *waw* thus providing a syntactical link between the pre-existent and added material. Such a proposal however, is unlikely since it would suggest that the opening verb of Zeph 1:4 was originally a perfect denoting completed action. A perfect verb does not fit in the context of vv.4-5, which orients the oracle toward a future threat.

⁶⁴ Langohr, “Livre de Sophonie,” 5; Kapelrud, *The Message*, 22; Krinetzki, *Zefanjastudien*, 45–48; Philip J. Nel, “Structural and Conceptual Strategy in Zephaniah, Chapter 1,” *JNSL* 15 (1989): 155–59. See also Sweeney who sees v.3 as the beginning of a new literary unit, which extends to v.6 (*The Twelve Prophets*, 2:499–503; idem, *Zephaniah*, 62). These two connections between v.3 and v.4 become central to Raabe’s argument against the traditional redactional division of universal from particular judgment oracles in prophetic literature (“The Particularizing of Universal Judgment in Prophetic Discourse,” *CBQ* 64 [2002]: 669–70).

The dependence of Zeph 1:2-3* on creation language in Gen 1-11 rests upon three observations. First, the categories of creation in Zeph 1:3 replicate the creation categories in the primeval history. Genesis 1:26 summarizes the diversity of life created on the fifth day of creation as the fish of the sea (דגת הים), birds of the air (עוף השמים), beasts (בהמה), and all the creeping things (ובכל־הרמש הרמש על־הארץ; Gen 1:26; cf. 1:28). Zephaniah 1:3 presents the created categories in the opposite order signifying the undoing of creation.⁶⁵ The primary difference between the formation of creation in Gen 1 and the undoing of creation in Zeph 1:3 is the replacement of the “creeping things” with “mankind,” which serves to form the hendiadys אדם ובהמה. Krinetzki links this change with the Genesis account of the flood, which targets “man and beast” (Gen 6:7).⁶⁶ The combination of “man and beast” occurs frequently in prophetic pronouncements of judgment.⁶⁷ Second, Zeph 1:3 employs the same wordplay between אדם and אדמה found in Gen 2:7; 3:17, 19; 6:7; 7:23. Finally, although the phrase מעל פני האדמה occurs outside of the primeval history, this phrase appears with striking frequency within Gen 1-11 (see Table 5.3). The מעל פני האדמה formula occurs sufficiently beyond Gen 1-11 to not necessitate dependency upon the primeval history. This use of the phrase along with the creation categories and wordplay between אדם and אדמה, however, strongly dependency upon the literary tradition of Gen 1-11.

⁶⁵ Many scholars note what Ricardo Volo Pérez calls themes of “antigénesis” or “anticreación” (“La subversión de la creación en el lenguaje figurado de los profetas,” *Proyección* 58 [2011]: 238).

⁶⁶ Krinetzki, *Zefanjastudien*, 45–46, 51–52.

⁶⁷ Jeremiah 7:20; 21:6; 36:29; 50:3; 51:62; Ezek 14:13, 17, 19, 21; 25:13; 29:8, 11; 32:13; Hag 1:11. See also the use of “man and beast” in the reversal of judgment: Jer 31:27; 32:43; 33:10, 12; Ezek 36:11; Zeph 2:8; Zech 2:8.

Table 5.3. מעל פני האדמה Formulaic Uses

Within the Genesis Primeval History	Beyond the Genesis Primeval History
Gen 1:29: על-פני הארץ	Exod 32:12: מעל פני האדמה
Gen 2:6: את-כל-פני-האדמה	Deut 6:15: מעל פני האדמה
Gen 4:14: מעל פני האדמה	1 Sam 20:15: מעל פני האדמה
Gen 6:1: על-פני האדמה	1 Kgs 9:7: מעל פני האדמה
Gen 6:7: מעל פני האדמה	1 Kgs 13:34: מעל פני האדמה
Gen 7:3: על-פני כל-הארץ	Jer 28:16: מעל פני האדמה
Gen 7:4: מעל פני האדמה	Amos 9:8: מעל פני האדמה
Gen 7:23: על-פני האדמה	Zeph 1:2: מעל פני האדמה
Gen 8:8: מעל פני האדמה	Zeph 1:3: מעל פני האדמה
Gen 8:9: על-פני כל-הארץ	
Gen 8:13: מעל הארץ	
Gen 8:13: פני האדמה	
Gen 11:4: על-פני כל-הארץ	
Gen 11:8: על-פני כל-הארץ	
Gen 11:9: על-פנע כל-הארץ	

Herein lies the problem: on the one hand, literary dependence upon an early version of Gen 1-11 including the Priestly creation account and the flood, would suggest a postexilic date of composition, which would make Zeph 1:2-3* a later composition added to Zeph 1:4-6*. Zephaniah 1:4, however, opens with the *w-qatal* form presupposing preceding material. The opening *waw* in v.4 cannot be a redactional addition to the oracle because such a proposal would suggest that v.4 originally opened with a perfect verb denoting a past completed action. A perfect verb however does not fit contextually within vv.4-5, which clearly expresses a future oriented threat. The introductory *waw* on the opening *w-qatal* verb, therefore, must be original to the verse. Verse 4, therefore, presupposes future oriented first-person divine speech. Zephaniah 1:2-3* provides the presupposed divine discourse, yet post-dates the assumes historical context in vv.4-5. The three literary observations dating Zeph 1:2-3* after Zeph 1:4-5, however, all apply to Zeph 1:3*. Zephaniah 1:3* contains the creation categories, the wordplay between אדם and אדמה, and the formula for sweeping judgment. Zephaniah 1:2, however, only contains the formula for sweeping judgment, which as previously noted, is not exclusively limited to Gen 1-11 (see Table 5.3). Furthermore, Zeph 1:2 supplies the

first-person divine speech presupposed in Zeph 1:4-5. The odd combination of אסף and סוף appears elsewhere in the earliest literary core of an early sixth-century BCE prophetic composition (Jer 8:13).⁶⁸ The literary evidence, therefore, supports Seybold's attribution of Zeph 1:2 to the earliest literary core of Zephaniah.⁶⁹

The Genesis language found in Zeph 1:3* was therefore likely added on account of the use of מעל פני האדמה in Zeph 1:2, which appears frequently enough beyond Gen 1-11 not to necessitate literary dependence upon Gen 1-11. An editor thus added Zeph 1:3* as a *Fortschreibung* revealing both awareness of the primeval history as well as dependency upon its literary context within Zephaniah. The original addition (excluding והמכשלות את־הרשעים) consisted of three clauses that both replicate features of the immediate literary context in Zeph 1 while infusing them with the language of Genesis (see Table 5.4). The first two clauses open with the replicated use of אסף as found in Zeph 1:2, followed by the creation categories. The final clause employs the והכרתי from v.4 along with the repeated מעל פני האדמה נאם־יהוה as *Wiederaufnahme*. The only alteration was the addition of האדם thus supplying the wordplay known from the primeval history. Removing the Genesis inspired addition in v.3 leaves a coherent first-person divine speech beginning with the imperfect and continuing with the *w-qatal* form.

⁶⁸ There is not enough lexical overlap, however, to require Jeremian dependence upon the Zephaniah text as argued by Holladay, "Reading Zephaniah," 672. Those who forgo emendations often point to Jer 8:13 as evidence of the idiomatic function of juxtaposing אסף and סוף (e.g., Ben Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah*, 51–53; Marvin A. Sweeney, "A Form-Critical Reassessment of the Book of Zephaniah," *CBQ* 53 (1991): 394 n.14; idem, *Zephaniah*, 58–61; Berlin, *Zephaniah*, 72.).

⁶⁹ Seybold, *Satirische Prophetie*, 21–23; idem, *Nahum, Habakuk, Zephaniah*, 93–94.

Table 5.4. Redactional Development of Zeph 1:2-4

Section	English Translation	Hebrew Text
Original Oracle	² “I will certainly gather all from upon the face of the land,” declares YHWH.	אֶסֶף אֶסֶף כָּל מֵעַל פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה נְאֻם־יְהוָה:
Genesis Supplement	³ “I will end man and beast, I will end the birds of the air and the fish of the sea	אֶסֶף אָדָם וּבְהֵמָה אֶסֶף עוֹף־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְדָגֵי הַיָּם
Gloss:	And [I will make] the wicked a heap of ruins	וְהַמְכְשֻׁלוֹת אֶת־הָרָשָׁעִים
<i>Wiederaufnahme</i>	And I will cut off humanity from upon the face of the land,” declares YHWH.	וְהִכְרַתִּי אֶת־הָאָדָם מֵעַל פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה נְאֻם־יְהוָה:
Original Oracle	⁴ And I will stretch out my hand against Judah and against all of the inhabitants of Jerusalem and I will cut off...	וְנִטִּיתִי יָדִי עַל־יְהוּדָה וְעַל כָּל־יוֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם וְהִכְרַתִּי

Zephaniah 1:4-5, therefore, condemns syncretism, revealing ideological similarities with Deuteronomistic thought. Concern for idolatry and syncretistic cultic practice, however, is by no means exclusive to a Deuteronomistic agenda. Zephaniah 1:4-5 contains lexical overlap with 2 Kgs 23:1-27, but this overlap is the result of a shared socio-historical context and not literary dependence or intentional scribal editing.⁷⁰

Whereas Jakob Wöhrle sees Zeph 1:6 as the continuation of the string of direct object clauses found in vv.4-5,⁷¹ some commentators conclude that v.6 constitutes a later addition to the text due to the transition from concrete-historical to “eschatological”

⁷⁰ Against identifying Deuteronomism in Zeph 1:4-6, see: Beck, *Der “Tag YHWHs,”* 118–22; Levin, “Das ‘Vierprophetenbuch’,” 227.

⁷¹E.g., Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 202 n19.

prophecy.⁷² Schart correctly identifies three differences compositionally distinguishing v.6 from vv.4-5. First, v.6 marks a transition from first-person divine discourse to third-person speech. Second, vv.4-5 condemn idolatry and syncretism whereas v.6 condemns a more general lack of devotion to YHWH. Finally, v.6b reveals uncommon grammar and is longer than expected.⁷³

Table 5.5. “Seeking YHWH” in Zephaniah

Verse	Hebrew	English
Zeph 1:6b	ואשר לא־בקשו את־יהוה ולא דרשהו	“...and those who did not seek YHWH and did not search [for] him.”
Zeph 2:3a	בקשו את־יהוה כל־ענוי הארץ אשר משפטו פעלו	“Seek YHWH all you humble of the land who carry out his judgment...”

The theme of “seeking YHWH” in v.6 reappears in 2:3 suggesting a probable literary relationship (see Table 5.5). Zephaniah 2:3, as with v.6, reveals evidence of being a later editorial addition to its current context. Zephaniah 2:1-3 employs two imperatives to two audiences signaled by two vocatives. The fact that Zeph 2:1-2 and 2:3 reflect different presuppositions precludes the possibility that the “shameless nation” and the “humble of the land” functioned as two appellatives designating the same audience.⁷⁴ Whereas vv.1-2 assumes the audience’s awareness of previous pronouncements (בטרם לדת) and manifestations of judgment (בטרם לא־יבוא עליכם חרון אף־יהוה), v.3 assumes the existence of a group that survives judgment. Furthermore, v.3 introduces “the humble of

⁷² E.g., Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 368; Gerleman, *Zephania*, 7; Keller, “Nahoum,” 180, 189; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 7. Jahrhunderts*, 14, n.4; Langohr, “Livre de Sophonie,” 6; Irsigler, *Gottesgericht und Jahwetag*, 109, 111; Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten II*, 62; Edler, *Das Kerygma*, 79–80; Renaud, “Le livre de Sophonie,” 5; Striek, *Das vordeuteronomistische Zephaniah*, 101; Taylor, “Zephaniah,” 1010, 1015. Marti, for example, dates v.6 to the second century BCE (*Das Dodekapropheton*, 360).

⁷³ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 208.

⁷⁴ For those arguing that the “shameless nation” and the “humble of the land” are two appellatives designating the same audience, see: Theodore Ferdinand Karl Laetsch, *The Minor Prophets* (St. Louis, MO: Concordia, 1956), 365–66; Keller, “Nahoum,” 198–99; Watts, *The Books*, 164–65.

the land” as a new target audience, which recalls the description of those left in the land after the Babylonian deportations.⁷⁵ This address to a specific group of people identified by a lowly state of being in the land contrasts with the address in vv.1-2 to a designated “nation.” Many scholars fix this problem by removing all or part of v.3 as secondary, or by inserting the preposition כ before כל-ענוי הארץ that allegedly dropped out through haplography.⁷⁶

Proponents of Deuteronomism in Zephaniah, therefore, often attribute the “seeking YHWH” theme in Zeph 1:6 and 2:3 to Deuteronomistic editing.⁷⁷ The theme of seeking YHWH using דרש and בקש both appear in Deut 4:29 as well as select instances in the Deuteronomistic History (Judg 6:29; 1 Sam 28:7; cf. 1 Chr 16:10-11). Such language, however, also appears in wisdom literature (Pss 24:6; 105:4; cf. Ps 38:13; Prov 11:27;

⁷⁵ See description in: Haroldo Reimer, “Sozialkritik und Zukunftsperspektiven in Zef 1-2,” in *Der Tag wird kommen: ein interkontextuelles Gespräch über das Buch des Propheten Zefanja*, ed. Walter Dietrich and Milton Schwantes, SBS 170 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1996), 47.

⁷⁶ This emendation turns the “humble of the land” into a model for the nation to emulate. See: Rudolph, *Micha*, 273–74; Krinetzki, *Zefanjestudien*, 257; Edler, *Das Kerygma*, 18. For those who remove all or part of v.3 as secondary, see: Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 367–68; Smith, “The Book of Zephaniah,” 214; Taylor, “Zephaniah,” 1010, 1022–23; George, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 55; Horst, “Zephania,” 192; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 7. Jahrhunderts*, 19, n.9; Irsigler, *Gottesgericht und Jahwetag*, 116–17; A. S. van der Woude, *Habakuk, Zefanja*, POuT (Nijkerk: G.B. Callenbach, 1978), 108–9; Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten II*, 67–69; Koenen, *Heil den Gerechten*, 30–31; Daniel Hojoon Ryou, *Zephaniah’s Oracles Against the Nations: A Synchronic and Diachronic Study of Zephaniah 2:1-3:8*, BibInt (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 294–95; Vlaardingerbroek, *Zephaniah*, 115–16; Irsigler, *Zefanja*, 204–5; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 205–8; Tchavdar Hadjiev, “Survival, Conversion and Restoration: Reflections on the Redaction History of the Book of Zephaniah,” *VT* 61 (2011): 571–72; idem, “The Theological Transformations of Zephaniah’s Proclamation of Doom,” *ZAW* 126 (2014): 515. Against this position see Hadjiev, who argues for the unity of vv.1-3 on account of the triple exhortation to “seek” in v.3, the threefold repetition of בטרם in v.2, and the triple reference to the anger of YHWH (“Survival,” 572).

⁷⁷ For those who remove all or part of v.3 as secondary, see: Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 367–68; Smith, “The Book of Zephaniah,” 214; Taylor, “Zephaniah,” 1010, 1022–23; George, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 55; Horst, “Zephania,” 192; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 7. Jahrhunderts*, 19, n.9; Irsigler, *Gottesgericht und Jahwetag*, 116–17; van der Woude, *Habakuk, Zefanja*, 108–9; Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten II*, 67–69; Koenen, *Heil den Gerechten*, 30–31; Ryou, *Zephaniah’s Oracles Against the Nations*, 294–95; Vlaardingerbroek, *Zephaniah*, 115–16; Irsigler, *Zefanja*, 204–5; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 205–8; Hadjiev, “Survival,” 571–72; idem, “The Theological Transformations,” 515. On the Deuteronomism of 1:6 and 2:3, see e.g., Renaud, “Le livre de Sophonie,” 5, 13; Seybold, *Nahum, Habakuk, Zephania*, 94–95; Alberty, *Die Exilszeit*, 171–73; Hagedorn, *Die Anderen im Spiegel*, 463–64; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 202, 205–8.

Job 10:6), and elsewhere in the prophets (e.g., Isa 65:1; Jer 29:13; cf. Ezek 34:6).

Hadjiev, therefore, correctly objects that the theme of “seeking YHWH” overlaps with Deuteronomistic thought, but fails to necessitate Deuteronomism.⁷⁸

Some commentators buttress arguments for Deuteronomism in v.6 by noting the concern with those who have “turned away from YHWH” (הנסוגים מאחרי יהוה). The phrase *הנסוגים מאחרי יהוה* frequently appears in the Deuteronomistic History (e.g., Josh 22:16, 18, 23, 29; 1 Sam 12:20; 2 Kgs 17:21; cf.: Num 14:43; 2 Chr 25:27; 34:33). The Deuteronomistic concept of “turning from YHWH,” however, generally employs the verbs *שוב* or *סור*, rather than the root *סג* as found in Zeph 1:6 (cf. Isa 59:13). Zeph 1:6 thus expresses a similar concept as found in Deuteronomistic texts, yet uses non-Deuteronomistic language.

The preceding assessment of the themes of cultic transgressions and seeking YHWH (Zeph 1:4-6 and 2:3) yields three conclusions. First, the concern over cultic infidelities in Zeph 1:4-5 reflects conceptual overlap with the Deuteronomistic concern over idolatry, yet claims of Deuteronomistic editing or dependence upon Deuteronomistic texts does not adequately account for the literary representations of these transgressions in Zeph 1:4-5. Zephaniah 1:4-5 rather reflects a socio-historical context at the end of the Jerusalem monarchy suggesting that it exists as part of the earliest literary core of Zeph 1. Second, Zeph 1:6 and 2:3 both reflect editorial additions to their current literary context and the shared concern with “seeking YHWH.” These supplements likely share a compositional relationship. Third, the theme of “seeking YHWH” overlaps with Deuteronomistic concerns, but is not exclusively Deuteronomistic. Furthermore, Zeph 1:6 reflects identifiably non-Deuteronomistic language to express the theme of turning from YHWH. Zephaniah 1:6 and 2:3, therefore, reflect ideological overlap with

⁷⁸ Hadjiev, “Zephaniah,” 327. Konstantin Zobel traces the theme of “seeking YHWH” concluding that the book of Deuteronomy received the tradition from the eighth-century prophets (*Prophetie und Deuteronomium: die Rezeption prophetischer Theologie durch das Deuteronomium*, BZAW 199 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992], 88–107).

Deuteronomism, yet distinctive language differentiating these supplements from the Deuteronomistic style known from Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History.

Binary Curses and the Question of Deuteronomism: Zephaniah 1:13

Zephaniah 1:8-12 employs the first-person divine discourse and the historical specificity presupposing a late preexilic context, which appears in vv.4-5.⁷⁹ The repeated introductory והיה followed by a temporal indicator (בעת or ביום) unifies vv.8-12.⁸⁰ Verse 13, however, breaks the pattern by employing the והיה without a temporal indicator. Furthermore, a strong scholarly tradition identifies v.13b as a later editorial addition on account of its perceived link with Amos 5:11 and its similarities with the Deuteronomistic curse formulas in Deut 28 and 30.⁸¹ Book of the Four advocates thus attribute v.13b to Deuteronomistic Book of the Four editors.⁸²

⁷⁹ Zephaniah 1:8-12 targets the “officials” (השרים) and “sons of the king” (בני־המלך) who likely submitted to foreign superpowers as indicated by their accusation along with “all who are clothed in the garments of foreigners” (כל־הלבשים מלבוש נכר). These accused groups presuppose the preexilic era before the dissolution of the Jerusalemite monarchy. Jerusalem returned to vassal status beneath the Mesopotamian superpowers after the death of Josiah when his sons Jehoiakim and Zedekiah successively gained power by pledging support to either Egypt or Babylon respectively. This historical context accounts for the awareness of a threat to Jerusalem’s locality in vv.10-11.

⁸⁰ Martin Beck and Jakob Wöhrle argue against the trend of identifying the temporal indicators of vv.8-12 as secondary editorial additions to the text (Beck, *Der “Tag YHWHs,”* 93; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 203). For those who remove the temporal indicators as secondary, see: Striek, *Das vordeuteronomistische Zephaniahbuch*, 201–2; Irsigler, *Gottesgericht und Jahwetag*, 96; Edler, *Das Kerygma*, 103–4; Seybold, *Satirische Prophetie*, 86; De Vries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 202–3; idem, *Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow: Time and History in the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 299–300.

⁸¹ Cf. especially Deut 28:30-34, 38-44. See: Friedrich Schwally, “Das Buch Ssefanjâ: eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung,” ZAW 10 (1890): 175; Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 365; Smith, “The Book of Zephaniah,” 203; Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 368; Taylor, “Zephaniah,” 1009, 1018; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 7. Jahrhunderts*, 17, n.7; Irsigler, *Gottesgericht und Jahwetag*, 104–5; Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten II*, 65; Edler, *Das Kerygma*, 81–82; Seybold, *Satirische Prophetie*, 33, 87; Renaud, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 210; Seybold, *Nahum, Habakuk, Zephania*, 86, 99; Striek, *Das vordeuteronomistische Zephaniahbuch*, 111–12; Vlaardingerbroek, *Zephaniah*, 97, 101–2; Lothar Perlitt, *Die Propheten Nahum, Habakuk, Zephania*, ATD 25/1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 113; Beck, *Der “Tag YHWHs,”* 94. Those defending the authenticity of Zeph 1:13b generally argue that the verse draws upon common formulaic curse language. See for example: van Hoonacker, *Les douze petits prophètes*, 514; Delbert R. Hillers, *Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets*, BibOr 16 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1964), 28–29; Ben Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah*, 115–16; Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, 181; Berlin, *Zephaniah*, 88–89; Sweeney, *Zephaniah*,

The case for Deuteronomism primarily depends upon the association of the binary curse formula of Zeph 1:13b with Deuteronomistic speech on account of similar forms in Deut 28:30-34, 38-44. Variations of this binary speech form, however, occur across the Hebrew prophets, obfuscating attempts to align manifestations of this curse with a specific theological stream of tradition (Josh 24:13; Isa 65:21; Jer 29:5, 28; Ezek 28:26; Amos 5:11; 9:14).⁸³ Only three of these passages use the language of building houses and vineyards as a threat: Amos 5:11; Zeph 1:13b; and Deut 28:30. The curses in Deut 28 are far more extensive and far reaching than the limited pronouncements in Amos 5:11 and Zeph 1:13b. This feature of Deut 28 suggests a concerted effort to combine the range of variation available in this speech form into a single, all-encompassing pronouncement. Deuteronomy 28 is thus aware of a greater range of variability in the curse formula than expressed in Amos 5:11 and Zeph 1:13b. In this respect, Amos 5:11 and Zeph 1:13b share more in common with one another than they do with Deut 28. Furthermore, Deut 28:36-37 presupposes the exile. Amos 5 presupposes the fall of the northern kingdom (1-3, 27), but not the sixth-century BCE exile of Judah. Amos 5:11 thus serves as a more probable source for Zeph 1:13b than Deut 28.⁸⁴

The binary curse formula of Zeph 1:13b, therefore, shares ideology and language with a Deuteronomic use of this formula. The occurrence of this formula in a wide range of prophetic texts with multiple variations, however, prohibits aligning this speech form with a specific Deuteronomistic agenda. Zephaniah 1:13b, therefore, could evince

95–96; Jeremy D. Smoak, “Building Houses and Planting Vineyards: The Early Inner-Biblical Discourse on an Ancient Israelite Wartime Curse,” *JBL* 127 (2008): 30–31.

⁸² Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 209–10; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 173; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 204. Nogalski attributes all of v.13 to Book of the Four editors (*Literary Precursors*, 190–91). See opposing arguments in Beck, *Der “Tag YHWHs,”* 122–24.

⁸³ Many of these passages use this speech form to reverse its curses as part of expressing postexilic salvific hope. Amos 9:14 intentionally reverses Amos 5:11. Isaiah 65:21 and Ezek 28:26 likewise use the imagery in a restorative sense usually indicative of the postexilic era.

⁸⁴ See further assessment in pp.175-178.

Deuteronomism, but by no means necessitates such a conclusion. Rather, the probability of dependence upon Amos 5:11 suggests that Zeph 1:13b draws this speech form from a pronouncement that predates the Deuteronomistic language and ideology that crystalizes in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History.

Sinning Against YHWH and the Question of Deuteronomism: Zephaniah 1:17aβ

The pronouncement “for against YHWH they have sinned” (כי ליהוה חטאו) breaks from the first-person divine discourse of v.17 by employing a third-person reference to YHWH. For this reason, redaction critics frequently identify Zeph 1:17aβ as a gloss.⁸⁵ Book of the Four advocates argue on account of the grammatical discontinuity and the perceived Deuteronomistic nature of the concern over “sinning against YHWH” that v.17aβ is a Deuteronomistic addition.⁸⁶ The concern over “sinning” (חטא) against “YHWH” (יהוה) appears almost exclusively in the writings of Deuteronomy, the Deuteronomistic History, and Jeremiah.⁸⁷ The three exceptions include Exod 10:16; Num 32:23; and Isa 42:24. Zephaniah 1:17aβ therefore reveals both Deuteronomistic ideology and phrasing supporting its designation as “Deuteronomistic.” Zephaniah 1:17aβ supplements the preexisting divine declaration of judgment in vv.17-18a*. This supplement serves to remind the audience of the reason for the pronounced judgment.

⁸⁵ Marti, *Das Dodekapropheten*, 366; Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 389; Gerleman, *Zephanja*, 21; Deden, *De kleine profeten*, 283–84; Taylor, “Zephaniah,” 1020; George, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 54–55, 65; Horst, “Zephanja,” 192; Keller, “Nahoum,” 195; Rudolph, *Micha*, 263–64; Langohr, “Rédaction et composition,” 51, 61; idem, “Livre de Sophonie,” 11; Georg Fohrer, *Die Propheten seit dem 4. Jahrhundert* Band 6 in *Die Propheten des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1976), 100, n.46; Edler, *Das Kerygma*, 200–202; Weigl, *Zefanja*, 90. For defenses of its authenticity, see: Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, 184–85; Udoekpo, *Re-Thinking the Day of YHWH*, 141.

⁸⁶ Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 191; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 211; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 173. Wöhrle, however, includes v.17aβ in the *Grundschrift* as part of v.14-18 (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 199–200, 221).

⁸⁷ Deuteronomy 1:41; 9:16; 20:18; Jos 7:20; 1 Sam 7:6; 1 Sam 12:23; 14:33, 34; 2 Sam 12:13; 2 Kgs 17:7; Jer 8:14; 16:10; 40:3; 44:23; 50:7, 14. Cf. Num 14:40; 32:23; Judg 10:15; 1 Sam 2:25; 2 Sam 24:10; 2 Kgs 17:21; Jer 3:25.

*The Oracles Against the Nations and the Question of Deuteronomism: Zephaniah 2:4-3:8**

Although several scholars identify evidence of Deuteronomistic updating in the Zephaniah Oracles Against the Nations, few attribute the formation of the entire collection to Deuteronomistic editors.⁸⁸ Albertz and Wöhrle, however, argue that the Deuteronomistic Book of the Four editors added the earliest literary core of the Oracles Against the Nations on the grounds that the literary-critical evidence does not justify dividing previously identified Deuteronomistic updates from their current literary contexts in the collection.⁸⁹ They thus argue that these Deuteronomistic phrases occur as part of the earliest literary core of Zeph 2:4-3:8*. The Zephaniah Oracles Against the Nations reflect two phrases commonly identified as Deuteronomistic: the דבר־יהוה construction in 2:5bα, and the concern for obedience and discipline in 3:2a, 7aα.

Several scholars identify the דבר־יהוה formula in 2:5bα as a Deuteronomistic supplement.⁹⁰ Two observations challenge this compositional conclusion. First, as noted in the assessment of Zeph 1:1 the presence of the widely used דבר־יהוה formula does not necessitate Deuteronomism.⁹¹ The Deuteronomistic History only uses this phrase (including the על) to designate a word against a foreign entity (Sennacherib) once (2 Kgs 19:21). Thus while the Deuteronomistic composition of Zeph 2:5 remains possible, it is

⁸⁸ See below for scholars identifying Deuteronomistic updates in Zeph 2:4-3:8*.

⁸⁹ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 209–10; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 172–73. This proposal runs counter the majority of scholars who identify a pre-deuteronomistic core to the Zephaniah Oracles Against the Nations. E.g., Christensen, “Zephaniah 2:4-15,” 669–82; Sweeney, “A Form-Critical Reassessment,” 388–408; Ryou, *Zephaniah’s Oracles Against the Nations*, 291–319; Striek, *Das vordeuteronomistische Zephaniahbuch*, 217–33; Sweeney, *Zephaniah*, 107–9; Dan’el Kahn, “The Historical Setting of Zephaniah’s Oracles Against the Nations (Zeph 2:4-15),” in *Homeland and Exile: Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Bustanay Oded*, ed. Gershon Galil, Mark Geller, and Alan Millard, VTSup 130 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 439–53; Hagedorn, *Die Anderen im Spiegel*, 111–29; idem, “When Did Zephaniah,” 465–67.

⁹⁰ For conclusions of Deuteronomism in Zeph 2:5bα, see: Seybold, *Satirische Prophetie*, 46; Striek, *Das vordeuteronomistische Zephaniahbuch*, 142–43, 237.

⁹¹ See pp.310-312.

by no means necessitated in light of the current assessment. The absence of further corroborating evidence of Deuteronomism prevents aligning 2:5ba with Deuteronomism.

Second, as Wöhrle correctly observes, 2:5ba is not so easily divided from its immediate literary context.⁹² Diachronic scholars often divide parts of v.5 on account of the grammatical shifts in the oracle. These grammatical shifts cohere with shifting antecedants and addressees. These changes form a chiasm uniting vv.5-6 (see Table 5.6).

Table 5.6. Zephaniah 2:5-6 structure

Chiasm	Function	English Translation
A	Third-person discourse targeting the territory of the sea	“Woe to the inhabitants of the territory of the sea, the people of the Cherethites.
B	Direct address	The word of YHWH is against you
C	Vocative	O Canaan
C’	Vocative	O Land of the Philistines
B’	Direct Address	I will destroy you. There will be no inhabitant
A’	Third-person discourse targeting the territory of the sea	And the territory of the sea of the dwellings of Crete will be shepherds and Gederah a glock.”

Sections A and A’ employ third-person address whereas sections B and B’ switch to second-person address. The variance in gender in B and B’, therefore, presupposes the grammatical gender differences from the vocatives in C and C’. The grammatical shift in v.5ba, therefore, does not justify separating this pronouncement as a later addition.

The strongest argument for Deuteronomism in Zeph 2:4-3:8* stems from parallels between Zeph 3:2 and Jer 7:28 (cf. Jer 35:13).⁹³ The concluding Jerusalem oracle (3:1-4)

⁹² Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 217.

⁹³ Zephaniah 3:3-4 additionally parallels Ezek 22:25-38. The two passages share condemnations of “her princes within her” (שריה בקרבה; cf. Zeph 3:3; Ezek 22:27), the presentation of leaders as “roaring lions” (אריית שאגים; cf. Zeph 3:3; Ezek 22:25), the accusation of having done “violence to the Torah” (חמסו תורה; cf. Zeph 3:4; Ezek 22:26), and the accusation of “profaning the sacred” (חללוי־קדש; cf. Zeph 3:4; Ezek 22:26).⁹³ For a thorough comparison and analysis of Zeph 3:3-4 and Ezek 22:25-38, see: Ben Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah*, 190–206. Scholarly assessments commonly conclude that Ezek 22:25-28 expands beyond the material found in Zeph 3:3-4 using uniquely Ezekielian language suggesting that Ezek 22:25-28 draws upon Zeph 3:3-4. E.g., Harold Louis Ginsberg, “Some Emendations in Isaiah,” *JBL* 69 (1950): 54; Rudolph, *Micha*, 287–88; Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, vol. 1, 2 vols., 2nd

poses a challenge to scholarly assessments of the composition of the Oracles Against the Nations. Some scholars see this Jerusalem oracle as an authentic final pronouncement in the Zephaniah Oracles Against the Nations, functioning to conclude the collection in much the same way as the Israel oracle (Amos 2:6-16*) concludes the Amos Oracles Against the Nations.⁹⁴ Other scholars argue that Zeph 3:1-4 initially enjoyed a closer relationship with Zeph 1, and was later moved to its current position after the addition of 2:4-15*.⁹⁵ Still others such as Seybold and Hadjiev suggest that Zeph 3:1-8* is a postexilic addition in some form.⁹⁶

The temporal proximity between the literary contexts of Zeph 3:2 and Jer 7:28 complicates attempts to identify a direction of influence between these two passages (see Table 5.7). Both pronouncements appear in literary contexts presupposing late preexilic Jerusalem. Several scholars identify the parallel with one of Jeremiah's "Deuteronomistic" sermons as evidence of Deuteronomistic editing in Zephaniah.⁹⁷

ed., BKAT 13 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1979), 521–22; Edler, *Das Kerygma*, 151–60; Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 462–63; Mark F. Rooker, "The Use of the Old Testament in the Book of Ezekiel," *FM* 15.2 (1998): 47–48. Ben Zvi contrarily concludes that both passages draw upon a shared textual tradition (*A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah*, 190–206). Irsigler alternatively argues that the preexilic Ezekiel pronouncement influenced Zephaniah (*Zefanja*, 324–26).

⁹⁴ Keller, "Nahoum," 199; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 172; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 212; James D. Nogalski, "Zephaniah 3: A Redactional Text for a Developing Corpus," in *Schriftauslegung in der Schrift: Festschrift für Odil Hannes Steck*, ed. Reinhard G. Kratz, Thomas Krüger, and Konrad Schmid, BZAW 300 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 210; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 174–75; idem, *The Book of the Twelve: Micah-Malachi*, 736; idem, "Preexilic Portions of the Book of the Twelve: Early Collections and Composition Models," in *The Books of the Twelve Prophets: Minor Prophets – Major Theologies*, ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry, BETL 295 (Leuven: Peeters, 2018), 40–41. Wöhrle objects because Zeph 2:4-3:8* uses the Oracles Against the Nations to warn the people whereas Amos uses them to show how Israel's sins have outdone those of their neighbors (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 217 n. 73). See a similar objections by Kyu-Sang Yu, "Die Entstehungsgeschichte des 'Dodekapropheten' und sein Kanonisierungsprozeß" (PhD diss., Universität München, 2000), 209–11; Hagedorn, *Die Anderen im Spiegel*, 113.

⁹⁵ E.g., Rudolph, *Micha*, 255–56; Langohr, "Rédaction et composition," 53; Seybold, *Satirische Prophetie*, 89.

⁹⁶ Seybold, *Satirische Prophetie*, 83–93; Hadjiev, "The Theological Transformations," 510.

⁹⁷ E.g., Striek, *Das vordeuteronomistische Zephaniahbuch*, 169–71; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 172–73; Irsigler, *Zefanja*, 322–23; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 209–10; Perlitt, *Die Propheten*, 134. Moshe Weinfeld lists לִקְה מוֹסֵר as a deuteronomistic phrase (*Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 352,

Table 5.7. Zephaniah 3:2 and Jeremiah 7:28 Parallel

Verse	Hebrew Text	English Text
Zeph 3:2:	לֹא שָׁמְעָה בְּקוֹל לֹא לִקְחָה מוֹסֵר בִּיהוָה לֹא בִטְחָה אֶל־אֱלֹהֶיהָ לֹא קִרְבָּה	<u>She has not listened to the voice,</u> <u>she did not receive discipline,</u> in YHWH she did not trust, to her God she did not draw near.
Jer 7:28:	וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם זֶה הַגּוֹי אֲשֶׁר לֹא־שָׁמְעוּ בְּקוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיוּ וְלֹא לִקְחוּ מוֹסֵר אֲבָדָה הָאֱמוּנָה וְנִכְרְתָה מִפִּיהֶם	And you will say to them, “This is the nation <u>which did not listen to</u> <u>the voice</u> of YHWH their God, <u>and did</u> <u>not receive discipline.</u> Truth has perished for it is cut off from their lips.”

Skeptics object that the concern with obedience enjoys considerable popularity across the Hebrew Bible. They suggest that these similarities do not necessitate Zephaniah dependence upon Jeremiah.⁹⁸ Hadjiev further objects to the designation “Deuteronomistic,” noting that although similar language occurs in Jeremiah, it does not appear in Deuteronomy or the Deuteronomistic History. He concludes that the accusation that Jerusalem “did not accept instruction” (לֹא לִקְחָה מוֹסֵר) was either a wisdom phrase (cf. Prov 1:3; 8:10; 24:23), or an idiom coined by Zephaniah.⁹⁹ Even Bright and Weinfeld recognize that לֹא לִקְחָה מוֹסֵר does not occur in Deuteronomy or the Deuteronomistic history. The phrase rather occurs with frequency outside of the allegedly Deuteronomistic prose sermons of Jeremiah in the earlier poetic compositions.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, the concern over not “hearing” (שָׁמַעַ) “a voice” (קוֹל), is widespread in the Hebrew literature.¹⁰¹ Although

401). The frequency of the phrasing in Jeremiah (e.g., Jer 5:3; 2:30; 17:23; 32:33; 35:13) when compared to its relative scarcity in Zephaniah (3:2, 7), suggests that the phrase is far more characteristic of the Jeremian writing style than that of Zephaniah. Cf. Holladay who proposes Jeremiah borrowed from Zephaniah (“Reading Zephaniah,” 680–81).

⁹⁸ Sweeney, *Zephaniah*, 161; Martin Beck, “Das Tag YHWHs-Verständnis von Zephania iii,” *VT* 58 (2008): 172; Hagedorn, *Die Anderen im Spiegel*, 130.

⁹⁹ Hadjiev, “Zephaniah,” 327–28.

¹⁰⁰ John Bright, “The Date of the Prose Sermons of Jeremiah,” *JBL* 70 (1951): 25–26, 31; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomist School*, 6–7 n.4.

Hadjiev correctly observes the prevalence of “receiving” (לקח) “correction” (מוסר) in wisdom literature (Prov 1:3, 8:10; 24:32), the accusation of “not receiving correction” curiously only occurs in the texts of Jeremiah and Zephaniah.¹⁰² Thus these shared phrases between Jeremiah and Zephaniah fail to evince Deuteronomism as seen in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History.

Although the concern with “hearing a voice” and “Receiving correction” occur independently of one another across the Hebrew Bible, the combination of these themes appears only in Zeph 3:2 and Jer 7:28, suggesting of either an intertextual relationship or a shared mediating source (whether an oral idiom or written tradition). The prominence of this concern in the Jeremian text (cf. Jer 2:30; 5:3, 17:23; 32:33; 35:13), when compared to its deficit elsewhere in Zephaniah (cf. only Zeph 3:7), suggests that the idiomatic expression is more at home in the Jeremian literary tradition than that of Zephaniah. The evidence therefore, favors concluding that the Jeremian literary tradition as found in Jer 7:28 influenced Zeph 3:2. Although the evidence favors an intertextual relationship between Zeph 3:2 and Jer 7:28, Hadjiev correctly notes that this relationship does not necessitate the hand of a Deuteronomistic editor. As noted above, the shared phrasing between Zeph 3:2 and Jer 7:28, although uniquely combined in these two verses, exists in alternative forms broadly enough beyond the books of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History to preclude necessitating *a priori* Deuteronomistic identification.

The similar use of תקחי מוסר in Zeph 3:7 leads to the shared grouping of v.7 with v.2 as evidence of Deuteronomistic editing.¹⁰³ Zephaniah 3:6-8*, however, contains four

¹⁰¹ Exodus 4:1, 8, 9; Num 14:22; Deut 8:20; 9:23; 28:15, 45, 62; Josh 5:6; Jud 2:2, 20; 6:10; 20:13; 1 Sam 2:25; 12:15; 15:19; 28:18; 2 Sam 12:18; 13:14; 1 Kgs 20:36; 2 Kgs 18:12; Jer 3:13, 25; 7:28; 9:9, 12; 22:21; 32:23; 40:3; 42:21; 43:7; 44:23; Ezek 19:9; 26:13; Nah 2:13; Pss 58:6; 81:11; 106:25; Prov 5:13; Job 3:18; Dan 9:10, 14. Cf. Jer 42:13.

¹⁰² Jeremiah 2:30; 5:3; 7:28; 17:23; 32:33; 35:13; Zeph 3:2, 7.

¹⁰³E.g., Strick, *Das vordeuteronomistische Zephaniahbuch*, 169–72, 185–88.

distinctive stylistic shifts.¹⁰⁴ First vv.6-8 shifts into the explicit first-person divine discourse. Second, vv.6-8 returns to the concern of the “nations.” Third, v.8aa returns to the masculine plural imperatives that characterized 2:1-2. Finally, vv.6-8 employ a large number of themes and vocabulary found earlier in Zephaniah. Zephaniah 3:6 declares “I have destroyed nations” (הכרתי גוים) recalling the preceding Oracles Against the Nations characterized by the repeated use of גוי (2:1, 5, 9, 11, 14). The destruction of their “defenses” (פנה) recalls Zeph 1:16. The description of these nations lacking travelers and inhabitants (3:6) recalls the proclaimed state of abandonment against the Philistine city states (2:5-6*) as well as the threat against Moab and Ammon (2:8-9*). The “nations” appear again in v.8 in which YHWH declares his intention to “gather the nations” (לאסף גוים) further recalling the inaugural command (התקוששו וקושו) leveled at the “undesirable nation” (הגוי לא נכסף) in 2:1. The Oracles Against the Nations further open with the pronouncement of YHWH’s burning anger (חרון אף־יהוה) in 2:1-2 and now end with the promise that YHWH will pour out his burning anger (חרון אפי) in 3:8. The return to the masculine plural imperatives of 2:1-3 in v.8 supplies an imperatival frame around the Oracles Against the Nations. Finally, scholars widely recognize the similarities between

¹⁰⁴ Zephaniah 3:8bβγ stands apart as a later editorial addition to vv.6-8. Verse 8bβγ employs language from Ezek 22:31 in order to reframe the function of the nations in the Oracles Against the Nations. The כִּי clause of 2:4 links the Oracles Against the Nations to the rhetorical purposes of the imperatival discourse in 2:1-3. Zephaniah 3:6-8a,ba then present the judgment of the nations as a warning for Jerusalem. Zephaniah 3:8bβγ, along with its parallel expression in 1:18aβb, universalizes the judgment and reconceptualizes the nations as the objects of divine wrath rather than simply warnings. Zephaniah 1:18aβb and 3:8bβγ therefore serve as an editorially constructed frame around the Zephaniah Oracles Against the Nations in order to reconceptualize the theological function of these oracles. A long scholarly tradition identifies later editorial development in Zeph 3:8. E.g., Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 368, 390; Gerleman, *Zephania*, 56; Horst, “Zephania,” 196; Rudolph, *Micha*, 290; Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten II*, 77; Edler, *Das Kerygma*, 109; Weigl, *Zephania*, 161–64; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39*, 318; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 219–20; Judith Gärtner, “Jerusalem - City of God for Israel and for the Nations in Zeph 3:8, 9-10, 11-13,” in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations-Redactional Processes-Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 277–78. See also Langohr who sees all of 3:8 as a later addition along with the rest of the text (“Rédaction et composition,” 51, 58; idem, “Livre de Sophonie,” 22–26)

Zeph 1:18 and 3:8.¹⁰⁵ The sudden shift to heightened intratextual awareness in Zeph 3:6-8*, therefore, suggests that the literary similarity between Zeph 3:2 and 3:7 is best explained by the unique literary program at work in 3:6-8*. Zephaniah 3:7 replicates the דבר־יהוה as part of the intratextual literary style of 3:6-8* suggesting that v.7 presupposes 3:2 without necessitating shared compositional dependence upon Jer 7:28.

The Zephaniah Oracles Against the Nations, therefore, fail to support claims of Deuteronomistic composition or Deuteronomistic editing. The concern with “receiving correction” in 3:7 reflects dependence upon 3:2, but no distinctive Deuteronomistic agenda or language. The language concerning “receiving correction” and “hearing a voice” in Zeph 3:2 reveals probable dependence upon Jer 7:28, yet the absence of these phrases from Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History suggests that they do not serve as indicators of Deuteronomistic editing. Wöhrle correctly notes that the דבר־יהוה formula of 2:5 may not be compositionally divided from its immediate literary context, yet the abundance of this phrase across the Hebrew Bible fails to provide distinctive evidence of Deuteronomism.

Deuteronomism in Zephaniah: Conclusions

These proposed Deuteronomistic updates to Zephaniah each fit one of three categories. First, the evidence does not support attributing Zeph 1:4-5 or 2:4-3:8* to Deuteronomistic editors. The socio-historical context at the end of the Jerusalem monarchy best accounts for the anti-syncretism polemic in Zeph 1:4-5. The grammatical continuity with other passages in Zeph 1 revealing a concrete historical specificity indicative of late-preexilic Jerusalem suggests that Zeph 1:4-5 serves as part of the

¹⁰⁵ E.g., Renaud, “Le livre de Sophonie,” 28–29; Ben Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah*, 132–33, 224; Peter Weimar, “Zef 1 und das Problem der Komposition der Zefanjabrophetie,” in “*Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf*”: Studien zum Alten Testament und zum Alten Orient: Festschrift für Oswald Loretz zur Vollendung seines 70 Lebensjahres mit Beiträgen von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen, ed. Manfred Dietrich and Ingo Kottsieper, AOAT 250 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1998), 811; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 204, 206–7; Hadjiev, “The Theological Transformations,” 509.

earliest literary core of this first chapter. The Oracles Against the Nations, furthermore, lacks convincing evidence of Deuteronomism. Zephaniah 3:7 draws language from Zeph 3:2 as part of the intratextual editorial agenda of 3:6-8a. Zephaniah 3:2 draws language from Jer 7:28. This language, however, fails to appear in Deuteronomy or the Deuteronomistic History suggesting that it does not evince a distinctive Deuteronomistic agenda. Zephaniah 2:5, furthermore, employs the *דבר־יהוה* formula, the frequency of which fails to support distinctive Deuteronomism. The lack of additional Deuteronomistic evidence in the large literary scope of the Oracles Against the Nations, therefore, suggest that the *דבר־יהוה* formula of 2:5 should not be taken as evidence of Deuteronomism.

Second, four passages display ideological or conceptual overlap with Deuteronomism, but lack the distinctive Deuteronomistic language necessary to identify a Deuteronomistic hand. First, Zeph 1:1 employs the common *דבר־יהוה* formula in an editorially constructed superscription, yet lacks any further confirmations that this language results from distinctive Deuteronomistic editing. Next, Zeph 1:6 and 2:3 emerge from shared editing and overlap with the Deuteronomistic concern for “seeking YHWH.” Yet not only does Deuteronomism fail to claim an ideological monopoly on this theme, but 1:6 displays distinctively non-Deuteronomistic language. Finally, Zeph 1:13b displays the binary curse genre, which is found in one other Deuteronomistic text. As with the theme of “seeking YHWH,” however, Deuteronomism does not claim a monopoly on this curse formula.

While each of these four passages show points of contact with Deuteronomistic thought, they suffer from the same objection to the label “Deuteronomistic.” The thematic parallels with Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History are not exclusive to Deuteronomism. These themes and much of the language upon which arguments of Deuteronomism rest appear in other parts of the Hebrew Bible, complicating arguments for a distinctive Deuteronomistic identity in these passages. Zephaniah 1:6 even reflects

distinctively non-Deuteronomistic language. The evidence suggests that these passages reflect a distinguishable language register and style from the Deuteronomism of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History. These passages only reflect an ideological proximity to Deuteronomistic thought.

Third, Zephaniah contains only one instance of identifiable Deuteronomistic editing. Zephaniah 1:17a β breaks from its immediate literary context as an editorial addition and employs distinctive Deuteronomistic language in order to communicate the Deuteronomistic theme of “sinning against YHWH.”

These findings limit the claims of Deuteronomistic editing in Zephaniah. Arguments for a single Deuteronomistic redaction, furthermore, suffer from a lack of cohesiveness binding these units together. Whereas Zeph 1:6 and 2:3 reflect a probable compositional relationship concerned with “seeking YHWH,” Zeph 1:1, 13b, and 17a β lack an identifiable literary relationship suggestive of shared compositional origins.

The Book of the Four Literary Horizon in Zephaniah

Introduction to Zephaniah and the Literary Parallels with the Four

The argument for a Book of the Four redaction in Zephaniah on intertextual grounds faces two significant challenges: the minimal intertextual links with Hosea, Amos, and Micah; and the significant number of additional intertextual links beyond the Book of the Four texts. Schart recognizes that there are fewer intertextual links between Zephaniah and the other texts in his *D-Korpus* than those found between Hosea, Amos, and Micah.¹⁰⁶ Schart argues that the “exodus” is a key theme in the D-passages unifying the *D-Korpus* (Hos 2:17; 12:10, 14; Amos 2:10; 3:1; 9:7; Mic 6:4), yet fails to identify this theme in the D redactions of Zephaniah.¹⁰⁷ Schart, of course, addresses these literary

¹⁰⁶ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 169.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 158–59.

observations in his proposal for the gradual development of the Book of the Four collection. Schart suggests that Hosea and Amos formed the earliest multi-prophet collection. Scribes later expanded the collection in two subsequent stages to include first Micah and subsequently Zephaniah. According to Schart's model Zephaniah's late inclusion thus accounts for the fewer in number, and thematically different intertextual links with the other three texts.¹⁰⁸

Subsequent Book of the Four advocates disagree with Schart's explanation for this irregularity.¹⁰⁹ These seemingly fewer links with Hosea, Amos, and Micah calls into question the validity of proposing an early collection of these four prophetic texts based upon intertextual similarities.¹¹⁰ Zephaniah scholars, furthermore, provide more than one possible explanation for the intertextual similarities with other prophetic texts. The temporal distance between Zephaniah and the eighth-century prophets leaves open the possibility that the earliest proclamations of the prophet Zephaniah were familiar with, and perhaps influenced by, earlier prophetic traditions.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 218–20.

¹⁰⁹ E.g., Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 241–44.

¹¹⁰ Rex Mason, for example, calls Zephaniah the “prophetic corpus in miniature” because of its links, intertextuality, and thematic parallels with other prophetic books (*Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Joel*, 16–18. Cf. Greg A. King, “The Message of Zephaniah: An Urgent Echo,” *AUSS* 34 [1996]: 211–22). Julia O’Brien even presents Zephaniah as a summary of the themes found in Hosea-Micah (*Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, AOTC [Nashville: Abingdon, 2004], 89; idem, “Nahum - Habakkuk - Zephaniah: Reading the ‘Former Prophets’ in the Persian Period,” *Int* 61 [2007]: 177). Furthermore, many scholars observe intertextual links with the three “major” prophetic books. See for example: Erich Bosshard, “Beobachtungen zum Zwölfprophetenbuch,” *BN* 40 (1987): 34–35, 49–56; idem, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39*, 326–30; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 200; Holladay, “Reading Zephaniah,” 671–84; Ahn, “Zephaniah,” 292–307; Udoekpo, *Re-Thinking the Day of YHWH*, 87; Rachel Küng, “Eclairages sur la question des XII à partir du livre de Sophonie,” in *Les recueils prophétiques de la Bible: origines, milieux, et contexte proche-oriental*, ed. Jean-Daniel Macchi, Christophe Nihan, and Thomas C. Römer (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2012), 431.

¹¹¹ Arvid Kapelrud, for example, argues that Zephaniah was familiar with, and influenced by, the pronouncements of Amos (*The Message*, 38, 45, 51–52, 54, 55. Cf. Hadjiev, “Zephaniah,” 328–32). The proposal that Zephaniah was dependent upon Amos frequently appears in conversations concerning the Day of YHWH in Zeph 1:7, 14–18*. E.g., Hermann Spieckermann, “Dies irae: der alttestamentliche Befund und seine Vorgeschichte,” *VT* 39 (1989): 199–205; Mason, *Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Joel*, 30; Reimer, “Sozialkritik,” 42–43; Udoekpo, *Re-Thinking the Day of YHWH*, 266–69; Eszenyei Széles, *Wrath and Mercy*, 63.

The second challenge facing the Book of the Four hypothesis is the widespread intertextuality extending beyond the texts of Hosea, Amos, and Micah. Adele Berlin, James Nogalski, and David Melvin identify extensive intertextual connections with Gen 1-11.¹¹² Holladay proposes a strong relationship between the texts of Zephaniah and Jeremiah.¹¹³ Several scholars recognize similarities between Zeph 3:3-4 and Ezek 22:25-28,¹¹⁴ as well as the influence of Isaiah in Zeph 2:15; 3:9-10, 14-20.¹¹⁵ Defenders of the Book of the Four hypothesis, therefore, must demonstrate that the links between these four texts show unique characteristics distinguishing them from the broader intertextual phenomenon within Zephaniah.

The scholarly conversation concerning intertextuality within Zephaniah, therefore, raises two primary complications for the Book of the Four hypothesis. First, the limited number of links with the texts of Hosea, Amos, and Micah, when compared to the greater frequency with which links are found between those three texts themselves, calls into question whether Zephaniah should be included in the Book of the Four hypothesis on intertextual grounds. Second, compositional conclusions based upon intertextual links

¹¹² Berlin, *Zephaniah*, 111–13, 120–24; Adele Berlin, “Zephaniah’s Oracle Against the Nations and an Israelite Cultural Myth,” in *Fortunate the Eyes That See: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Astrid B. Beck et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 175–84; Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Micah-Malachi*, 704–6; idem, “Zephaniah’s Use of Genesis 1-11,” 356–60; Melvin, “Making All Things New,” 227.

¹¹³ Holladay, “Reading Zephaniah,” 671–84.

¹¹⁴ E.g., Ginsberg, “Some Emendations in Isaiah,” 54; Rudolph, *Micha*, 287–88; Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, trans. Ronald Clements, vol. 1, 2 vols., Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 466–67; Edler, *Das Kerygma*, 151–60; Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 462–63; Ben Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah*, 190–206; Rooker, “The Use of the Old Testament,” 47–48.

¹¹⁵ E.g., Otto Kaiser, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament: eine Einführung in ihre Ergebnisse und Probleme* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1969), 183–84; Georg Fohrer and Ernst Sellin, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 11, durchgesehene und erw. Aufl. ed. (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1969), 502; Renaud, “Le livre de Sophonie,” 16; Bosshard, “Beobachtungen,” 49–51; Odil Hannes Steck, “Zu Zef 3:9-10,” *BZ* 34 (1990): 90–95; Terence Collins, *The Mantle of Elijah: The Redaction Criticism of the Prophetic Books*, BibSem 20 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 63; Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39*, 324 n.2; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 214; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 173; Ahn, “Zephaniah,” 292–307; Nogalski, “Zephaniah 3,” 212; Gärtner, “Jerusalem,” 279–82.

with the texts of Hosea, Amos, and Micah must account for the broader intertextual phenomenon within Zephaniah. For these reasons, several surveys of the Book of the Four hypothesis recognize the possible exclusion of Zephaniah from the collection.¹¹⁶

The case for Book of the Four editing in Zephaniah based upon intertextual parallels largely rests upon five passages: the superscription (1:1), the concern for “seeking YHWH” (1:6; 2:3), the binary curse formula (1:13), and the concern for the remnant (Zeph 3:11-13). The following assessment, therefore, will examine each of these five passages before considering their compositional relationship with one another.

The Literary Horizon of Zephaniah 1:1

As noted in the assessment of Deuteronomism in Zeph 1:1, two literary features suggest that the Zephaniah superscription is a later editorial addition to the earliest literary core of Zephaniah.¹¹⁷ First, attributing Zephaniah’s prophetic activity to the reign of Josiah fails to account for the immanent threat against Judah assumed in Zeph 1:10-11. Such a threat does not manifest until the post-Josianic Babylonian incursions into the region. Contrary to commentators who separate Zeph 1:10-11 as a later addition to the collection, this oracle coheres with oracular collection structured around the four fold repetition of יהיה—the first three instances of which employ a temporal modifier (e.g., יהיה ביום in v.10).¹¹⁸ Verses 10-11, therefore, cannot be compositionally divided from

¹¹⁶ E.g., Barry A. Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Study in Text and Canon*, SBLDS 149 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 192–94; Gabriele Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte des Michabuches*, Europäische Hochschulschriften 635 (New York: Peter Lang, 1998), 180–81; Jean-Daniel Macchi, “Les Douze Petits Prophètes,” in *Introduction à l’Ancien Testament*, by Thomas C. Römer, Christophe Nihan, and Jean-Daniel Macchi, 2nd éd., MdB 49 (Genève: Labor et Fides, 2009), 461–62; Reinhard Gregor Kratz, “Hosea und Amos im Zwölfprophetenbuch,” in *Prophetenstudien: kleine Schriften II*, FAT 74 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 276–77. For additional objections to the inclusion of Zephaniah with Hosea, Amos, and Micah, see: Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39*, 344–50.

¹¹⁷ See pp.310-312.

¹¹⁸ Contra Keller, “Nahoum,” 180; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 7. Jahrhunderts*, 13; idem, *Die Propheten des 6. und des 5. Jahrhunderts*, 178–79; Langohr, “Rédaction et composition,” 56–57. Martin Beck and Jakob Wöhrle argue against the trend of labeling the temporal indicators of vv.8-12 as secondary editorial additions to the text (Beck, *Der “Tag YHWHs,”* 93; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 203). For those separating the temporal indicators, see: Striek, *Das vordeuteronomistische Zephaniahbuch*, 201–2;

their current literary context assuming a concrete historical scenario at the end of monarchic Jerusalem. Second, the concern with cultic infidelities and foreign subservience in Zeph 1:4-5, 8-9 better fits the post-Josianic era than the reign of Josiah.

Although Deuteronomistic composition of Zeph 1:1 remains uncertain, the superscription of Zephaniah still reveals two points of contact with the superscriptions of Hosea, Amos, and Micah; suggesting a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four. First, Zephaniah 1:1 shares the דבר־יהוה formula Hos 1:1 and Mic 1:1 (see Table 5.8). Although the דבר־יהוה formula occurs with great variation across the Hebrew Bible, the exact coherence of this particularly long manifestation of the formula occurs only in Hos 1:1; Joel 1:1; Mic 1:1; and Zeph 1:1.¹¹⁹

Table 5.8. The דבר־יהוה formulas in Book of the Four Superscriptions

Superscription Reference	Hebrew Text
Hos 1:1	דבר־יהוה אשר היה אל־הושע
Mic 1:1	דבר־יהוה אשר היה אל־מיכה
Zeph 1:1	דבר־יהוה אשר היה אל־צפניה

The combination of this formula with the regnal dating coherence, however, suggests that Zeph 1:1 reveals a literary horizon extending exclusively to the Book of the Four (excluding Joel 1:1). Critics object that whereas Hosea, Amos, and Micah share regnal datings, the Zephaniah superscription dates the proclamations to the reign of King Josiah, more than half of a century after the final king to appear in the Hosea, Amos, and Micah regnal formulas (King Hezekiah).¹²⁰ Such objections overlook the implications of

Irsigler, *Gottesgericht und Jahwetag*, 96; Edler, *Das Kerygma*, 103–4; Seybold, *Satirische Prophetie*, 86; De Vries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 202–3; idem, *Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*, 299–300.

¹¹⁹ For an assessment of the relationship with Joel 1:1, see pp.366–375.

¹²⁰ See critiques by: Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaia 1–39*, 349; Bornand, “Un ‘Livre des Quatre’,” 564.

Zephaniah's unusual four-generation genealogical list.¹²¹ The lack of the designation "king" leads some scholars such as Ben Zvi to argue that the Hezekiah of Zephaniah's genealogy is not the idealized Jerusalemite king.¹²² The Hebrew Bible remembers three Hezekiahs, raising the possibility that the Hezekiah of Zeph 1:1 is not the Jerusalemite king.¹²³ The unusual length of this genealogical list, however, suggests that the concluding name likely indicates a well-known figure, or someone whom the editors assumed was recognizable. Wöhrle argues that biblical genealogies recounting four or more generations often end with a great individual or well-known figure.¹²⁴ Probability suggests, therefore, that the editors assumed the audience's awareness of Hezekiah,

¹²¹ James Nogalski cites Robert Wilson's study of ancient genealogies in the biblical world to demonstrate the unusual nature of a four-generation genealogical list. Nogalski correctly notes, following Wilson, that the common convention for non-royal genealogies provided only two generations. Wilson does, however, provide examples of three- and four-generation genealogies. Thus while the Zephaniah genealogy remains highly unusual, the length of this list is not without precedent. See: Robert R. Wilson, *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World*, YNER 7 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 59–64, 114–19; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 185–86 n.41.

¹²² See, for example, Klaus Seybold who initially denies that the Hezekiah of Zeph 1:1 is the Jerusalemite King (*Satirische Prophetie*, 63), but later changes his mind (*Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah*, 91–92). Ehud Ben Zvi further denies that the Hezekiah of Zeph 1:1 is a reference to King Hezekiah. Ben Zvi's argument, however, is largely based upon a text-critical variant commonly regarded as a corruption in the Syriac, which changes the name to "Hilkiah" (*A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah*, 46–51).

¹²³ The biblical text preserves the names of King Hezekiah son of Ahaz (2 Kgs 18–20), Hezekiah a descendent of Jeconiah (1 Chr 3:23), and a Hezekiah listed among the returnees from exile (Ezra 2:16). The memory of three individuals with the name "Hezekiah" does not necessitate that the Hezekiah of Zeph 1:1 must be equated with one of these three. The presence of three Hezekiahs only indicates that there were more Hezekiahs than the Jerusalemite king, thus supporting the possibility that a Hezekiah other than King Hezekiah was meant. On the variant spellings of the name Hezekiah, see: Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 186 n.43.

¹²⁴ Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 36. Many other scholars conclude on similar grounds that "Hezekiah" of Zeph 1:1 supplies an honorary linking of Zephaniah's genealogical list with King Hezekiah. See for example: Gene Rice, "The African Roots of the Prophet Zephaniah," *JRT* 36 (1979): 21–22; Robertson, *The Books of Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, 253; Tuell, *Reading Nahum—Malachi*, 116. Deirdre Fulton, in her study of Achaemenid Era genealogies argues that genealogies extending beyond three generations frequently serve to support claims of authority. For discussion, see: Deirdre N. Fulton, "What Do Priests and Kings Have in Common? Priestly and Royal Succession Narratives in the Achaemenid Era," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context*, ed. Oded Lipschits, Gary N. Knoppers, and Manfred Oeming (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 225–41; Gafney, *Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah*, 137–138.

which suggests that the figure concluding Zephaniah’s genealogy was the famous Jerusalemite king. The intentional linking of Zephaniah’s genealogy with King Hezekiah links with the dating formulations of Hosea, Amos and Micah (see Table 5.9).

Table 5.9. Superscriptional References to Judean Kings¹²⁵

Prophetic Text	Regnal Dating			
Hosea:	Uzziah	Jotham	Ahaz	Hezekiah
Amos:	Uzziah			
Micah:		Jotham	Ahaz	Hezekiah
Zephaniah:				Hezekiah (from Zephaniah’s genealogy)
				Josiah

The combined honorary linking of Zephaniah with King Hezekiah along with the use of the formula דְּבַר־יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר הָיָה אֵלַי, which also occurs in Hos 1:1 and Mic 1:1, suggests that the superscription reflects a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four.¹²⁶

The Literary Horizon of Zephaniah 1:6 and 2:3

As noted in the assessment of Deuteronomism, Zeph 1:6 and 2:3 share the theme of “seeking YHWH.” Three observations suggest that Zeph 1:6 exists as an editorial supplement to vv.4-5.¹²⁷ First, v.6 unexpectedly transitions from first-person divine discourse to third-person speech about YHWH. Second, v.6 shifts thematic focus from

¹²⁵ In addition to the provided list of Judean kings, the texts of Hosea and Amos additionally date the proclamations of the prophet relative to Jeroboam son of Joash, king of Israel. Whereas Jeroboam II (c. 788-748 BCE) was a contemporary of Uzziah (c. 785-760 BCE) and Jotham (c. 759-744 BCE) kings of Jerusalem, the inclusion of kings Ahaz (c. 743-728 BCE) and Hezekiah (c. 727-699 BCE) in Hos 1:1 extend the dating relative to Judean kings far longer than the dating relative to Israelite kings.

¹²⁶ The relative dating to the reigns of Uzziah and Jeroboam II links the superscription of Amos to Hosea. See pp.183-186.

¹²⁷ On identifying v.6 as secondary, see: Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 360; Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 368; Gerleman, *Zephaniah*, 7; Taylor, “Zephaniah,” 1010, 1015; Keller, “Nahoum,” 180, 189; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 7. Jahrhunderts*, 14, n.4; Langohr, “Livre de Sophonie,” 6; Irsigler, *Gottesgericht und Jahwetag*, 109, 111; Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten II*, 62; Edler, *Das Kerygma*, 79–80; Renaud, “Le livre de Sophonie,” 5; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 208; Striek, *Das vordeuteronomistische Zephaniahbuch*, 101.

the cultic infidelities of vv.4-5 to a general lack of devotion to YHWH. Finally, vv.4-6 threaten to “cut off” five distinctive groups marked by the *אֶת* preposition. The first two signal cultic groups (the “remnant of Baal” and the “idolatrous priests with the priests”), whereas the second two focus on “those who bow down” (*וְאֵת־הַמִּשְׁתַּחֲוִים*). The *אֶת* clause of v.6, however, breaks from the pattern by lacking a parallel and supplying a longer description of the targeted groups. Thus Zeph 1:6 with its concern for seeking YHWH exists as a secondary addition to the assemblage of accusations in vv.4-5.

While Zeph 1:6 is a later editorial addition to vv.4-5, the evidence suggests that the redactors shaped this supplement to literarily integrate into its immediate literary context. Zephaniah 1:6 opens with the *וְאֵת* pattern of v.5. This syntactical construction establishes v.6 as the continuation of the accusation series uniting v.4 and v.5. Verse 6 continues the focus on second-person masculine plural targets. The adoption of the syntactical structure established in vv.4-5 indicates that editors crafted the v.6 supplement to literarily integrate into its current literary context.

Determining the composition of Zeph 2:1-3 remains more difficult. Scholarly analyses disagree on whether to reading Zeph 2:1-3* as the conclusion of the oracles against Jerusalem,¹²⁸ or the beginning of the Oracles Against the Nations.¹²⁹ The literary links to the preceding Jerusalem judgment oracles and the following Oracles Against the Nations indicates that Zeph 2:1-3* likely serves as a transition piece between the two prophetic genres. On the one hand the allusion to the “day of YHWH’s anger” (*יּוֹם אַף־יְהוָה*) and the “burning anger of YHWH” (*חֲרוֹן אַף־יְהוָה*) echo the preceding announcement

¹²⁸ E.g., P. G. Rinaldi and F. Luciani, *I Profeti minori, III: Michea, Nahum, Abacuc, Sofonia, Aggeo, Zaccaria, Malachia*, La Sacra Bibbia (Torino: Marietti, 1960), 101; Kapelrud, *The Message*, 27–33; Krinetzki, *Zefanjestudien*, 192–93; van der Woude, *Habakkuk, Zefanja*, 105–12; Bosshard, “Beobachtungen,” 49–50; Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, 162, 189–90; Dietrich, “Die Kontexte,” 20; Vlaardingerbroek, *Zephaniah*, 44–54; Hadjiev, “Survival,” 573; Dietrich, *Nahum*, 189.

¹²⁹ E.g., Sweeney, “A Form-Critical Reassessment,” 397–99; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 204–5; Isigler, *Zefanja*, 41–42, 46, 189–93; Hagedorn, *Die Anderen im Spiegel*, 113. On the difficult placement of Zeph 2:1-3, see: Langohr, “Rédaction et composition,” 53; Reimer, “Sozialkritik,” 44.

concerning the day of YHWH (Zeph 1:14-18*). On the other hand, Zeph 2:1-3* opens a new speech unit with the first imperative of the text. The introduction of the Oracles Against the Nations with second-person imperatives, suggests that Zeph 2:1-3* serves as a framing device designed to guide the function of the Oracles Against the Nations as a warning for the intended audience: the הגוי לא נכסף. This function explains the opening כי clause in v.4, since the ensuing Oracles Against the Nations serve the purposes of the introductory address.¹³⁰ Zeph 2:1-3* addresses the הגוי לא נכסף (“undesirable nation”), recalling the concern for the “nations” (גוי) in the following oracles (Zeph 2:5, 9, 11, 14; 3:6, 8). Zephaniah 2:1-3*, therefore, transitions between the Day of YHWH proclamation (1:14-18*) and the ensuing Oracles Against the Nations (2:4-3:4*).

Although Zeph 2:1-3* serves a transitional function, questions remain concerning its compositional unity. Seybold, for example, argues for a three-stage redactional development of Zeph 2:1-3.¹³¹ Hadjiev, on the other hand, argues that the triple exhortation to “seek” in v.3, the threefold repetition of בטרם in v.2, and the triple reference to the anger of YHWH all supports the unity of the passage.¹³² The primary problem, however, is that Zeph 2:1-3 employs two imperatives to two audiences indicated by the use of two separate vocatives. The fact that Zeph 2:1-2 and 2:3 reveal different presuppositions precludes the possibility that the “shameless nation” and the “humble of the land” functioned as two appellatives designating the same audience.¹³³ Whereas vv.1-2 assumes the audience’s awareness of previous pronouncements (בטרם לדת) and manifestations of judgment (בטרם לא יבוא עליכם חרון אף־יהוה), v.3 assumes the

¹³⁰ On this function, see: Sweeney, “A Form-Critical Reassessment,” 398–99; Gafney, *Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniyah*, 163.

¹³¹ Klaus Seybold, “Text und Textauslegung in Zef 2:1-3,” *BN* 25 (1984): 49–54.

¹³² Hadjiev, “Survival,” 572.

¹³³ For those arguing that the “shameless nation” and the “humble of the land” are two appellatives designating the same audience, see: Laetsch, *The Minor Prophets*, 365–66; Keller, “Nahoum,” 198–99; Watts, *The Books*, 164–65.

existence of a group that survives judgment. Furthermore, v.3 introduces “the humble of the land” as a new target audience, which recalls the description of those left in the land after the Babylonian deportations.¹³⁴ This address to a specific group of people identified by a lowly state of being in the land contrasts with the address in vv.1-2 to a designated “nation.” Many scholars fix this problem by removing all or part of v.3 as secondary, or by inserting the preposition כ before כל-ענוי הארץ that allegedly dropped out through haplography.¹³⁵ The absence of textual evidence supporting the emendation, however, suggests that vv.1-2 and v.3 address two different audiences with different presupposed experiences in relation to divine judgment. The evidence suggests, therefore, that Zeph 2:3 serves as an editorial supplement to vv.1-2.

Three additional observations suggest that the editors of v.3 shaped this supplement to serve as the continuation of vv.1-2. First, Zeph 2:3 continues the second-person masculine plural imperatives of vv.1-2. Second, Zeph 2:3 replicates the trifold syntactical pattern of v.2. Thus while v.2 employs the trifold use of בטרם, v.3 employs בקש three times. Finally, v.3 concludes by replicating the concluding phrase of v.2 (יום אף-יהיה). These three observations suggest that although v.3 exists as an editorial addition to vv.1-2, the editors crafted this supplement to serve as the continuation of the preexisting imperative discourse. This observation indicates that the editors of Zeph 2:3 shaped this supplement to literarily integrate into its current literary context.

¹³⁴ Reimer, “Sozialkritik,” 47.

¹³⁵ This emendation turns the “humble of the land” into a model for the nation to emulate. See: Rudolph, *Micha*, 273–74; Krinetzki, *Zefanjastudien*, 257; Edler, *Das Kerygma*, 18. For those who remove all or part of v.3 as secondary, see: Marti, *Das Dodekapropheten*, 367–68; Smith, “The Book of Zephaniah,” 214; Taylor, “Zephaniah,” 1010, 1022–23; George, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 55; Horst, “Zephanja,” 192; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 7. Jahrhunderts*, 19, n.9; Irsigler, *Gottesgericht und Jahwetag*, 116–17; van der Woude, *Habakuk, Zefanja*, 108–9; Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten II*, 67–69; Koenen, *Heil den Gerechten*, 30–31; Ryou, *Zephaniah’s Oracles Against the Nations*, 294–95; Vlaardingerbroek, *Zephaniah*, 115–16; Irsigler, *Zefanja*, 204–5; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 205–8; Hadjiev, “Survival,” 571–72; idem, “The Theological Transformations,” 515.

Four similarities between Zeph 1:6 and 2:3 suggest that these two verses share compositional origins. First, both of these verses are later editorial additions to the earliest literary composition of Zephaniah. Second, these verses are the only two appearances of the theme of “seeking YHWH” in Zephaniah.¹³⁶ Third, both verses show evidence of intentional integration into their current literary context. Zephaniah 1:6 continues the chain of direct objects from v.5 as indicated by the opening ואת and the continued targeting of the second-person masculine plural entity. Zephaniah 2:3 continues the masculine plural imperative style of vv.1-2 and employs the resumptive יום אף-יהיה that concludes v.2. Fourth, both verses conform their literary contexts to a shared ideological framework revolving around the binary between the social elite and the humble of the land. Thus Zeph 1:6 presents the failure to “seek YHWH” as the accusation justifying the judgment of the societal elite, whereas Zeph 2:3 presents “seeking YHWH” as the means by which the remaining humble of the land may survive.

Some scholars recognize lexical parallels between Zeph 1:6; 2:3 and the earlier pronouncements of Hosea and Amos. Scharf identifies similarities between the use of מאחרי יהוה in Zeph 1:6 and Hos 1:2, as well as the phrase בקש את יהוה in Zeph 1:6 and Hos 3:5; 5:6.¹³⁷ In Zeph 2:3, Scharf points to the similar use of אולי in Amos 5:15, and צדקה in Amos 5:7; 6:12; and the verb סתר with Amos 9:3.¹³⁸ Kapelrud sees Amos 2:7; 5:10; 8:4; and Mic 6:8 as prophetic precedents for the concern for the poor and afflicted in Zeph 2:3.¹³⁹ The problem with such arguments is that the frequency of these lexical parallels precludes arguing that Zeph 1:6 and 2:3 reflects a distinctive literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four.

¹³⁶ Zephaniah does not use בקש or דרש outside of these verses.

¹³⁷ Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 208.

¹³⁸ Although Scharf sees similarities with the language of Amos, he attributes Zeph 2:1-3 to a post-*D-Korpus* addition on account of conceptual differences concerning עניים with D-Amos 8:4 (Ibid., 211–12).

¹³⁹ Kapelrud, *The Message*, 32. See also, Reimer, “Sozialkritik,” 47.

The evidence for a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four rather rests upon the correlation between the theme of “seeking YHWH” in Zeph 1:6; 2:3 and Amos 5:4-5. Critics such as Hadjiev object, however, that the widespread appearance of the theme of “seeking YHWH” in Biblical Hebrew texts problematizes arguments for an intertextual relationship based upon this theme.¹⁴⁰ Although the concept of “seeking YHWH” is fairly common in Biblical Hebrew, three unique characteristics of this theme shared between Amos 5:4-5 and Zeph 1:6; 2:3 suggest that these passage share a probable literary relationship. First, the presentation of “seeking YHWH” as the key to surviving judgment only occurs in two places: Amos 5:4-5; and Zeph 2:3.¹⁴¹ Second, Both of these passages present “seeking YHWH” as the key to survival in the context of the Day of YHWH manifest against the people of God. Thus Amos 5:4-5 presents “seeking YHWH” as the key for surviving the Day of YHWH against the Northern Kingdom of Israel. Zephaniah 1:6 and 2:3 frame the Zephaniah Day of YHWH pronouncement (1:14-16) with an ideological binary that presents the failure to seek YHWH as the crime that brought the judgment (1:6), and thus advocates for seeking YHWH as the proposed course of action for surviving the ensuing divine judgment (2:3). Third, both the Amos and the Zephaniah passages display a notable concern with “judgment” (משפט) and “righteousness” (צדקה; Amos 5:7, 24 and Zeph 2:3). These three unique features suggest that Zeph 1:6; 2:3 and Amos 5:4-5 share a literary relationship. Since Amos 5:4-5 exists

¹⁴⁰ E.g., Hadjiev, “Zephaniah,” 327, 329.

¹⁴¹ Isaiah 55:6-7 calls the people to seek YHWH so that they may obtain mercy. Within its context in Trito-Isaiah, however, this passage speaks of seeking YHWH as the means for restoration after judgment rather than the means for surviving a coming judgment. Hosea 10:12 declares to the people that it is “time to seek YHWH” but this is a call to turn from their wickedness, not a means for surviving the pronounced judgment. For additional biblical references to seeking YHWH using בקש, see: Exod 33:7; Deut 4:29; 2 Sam 21:1; Isa 45:19; 51:1; Jer 50:4; Hos 3:5; 5:6; Amos 8:12; Zeph 1:6; 2:2, 3; Zech 8:21, 22; Pss 27:4, 8; 83:16; 104:3; 105:4; 122:9; Prov 28:5; 1 Chr 16:10, 11; 2 Chr 11:16; 20:4 (2x). For biblical references to seeking YHWH using דרש, see: Gen 25:22; 1 Kgs 22:8; 2 Kgs 3:11; 8:8; 22:13, 18; Isa 31:1; 55:6; Jer 10:21; 21:2; Ezek 14:7; 20:1, 3, 31; Hos 10:12; Amos 5:6; Pss 9:11; 22:26; 34:5[4], 11[10]; 105:3, 4; Ezra 6:21; 1 Chr 10:14; 16:11; 22:19; 28:9; 2 Chr 12:14; 14:3[4]; 14:6[7]; 15:12, 13; 16:12; 18:7; 20:3; 22:9; 26:5; 30:19; 34:21, 26.

as part of the earliest literary core of Amos's Day of YHWH discourse, and Zeph 1:6; 2:3 exist as editorial additions to Zephaniah's Day of YHWH discourse, the evidence suggests that editors crafted Zeph 1:6 and 2:3 under the influence of Amos 5:4-5. This conclusion therefore indicates that the editorial supplements in Zeph 1:6; 2:3 reflect a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four.

The supplements in Zeph 1:6 and 2:3, therefore, update the Zephaniah Day of YHWH pronouncements against Jerusalem and Judah, using a key theme from Amos's Day of YHWH proclamation against the Northern Kingdom of Israel. These supplements reflect a shared ideological binary differentiating between the social elite and the humble of the land. Thus Zeph 1:6 presents the failure to "seek YHWH" as the accusation justifying the judgment of the societal elite whereas Zeph 2:3 presents "seeking YHWH" as the means by which the remaining humble of the land may escape judgment.

The Literary Horizon of Zephaniah 1:13b

Scholars commonly recognize the dependence of Zeph 1:7 on Hab 2:20, leading many to identify all or part of Zeph 1:7 as a later addition to the earliest literary composition of Zephaniah.¹⁴² Zephaniah 1:8-12 returns to the first-person divine discourse and the historical specificity presupposing a late preexilic context.¹⁴³ The repeated introduction of pronouncements with *והיה* followed by a temporal indicator (*ביום*)

¹⁴² E.g., Krinetzki, *Zefanjastudien*, 53; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 189–90; Dietrich, "Three Minor Prophets," 155. Cf. De Vries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 203; Lux, "„Still alles Fleisch vor JHWH . . . ,“" 104–5. Contra Beck who identifies Zeph 1:7 as part of the earliest literary composition of Zephaniah (*Der "Tag YHWHs,"* 91–93). Seybold, on the other hand, argues for the authenticity of Zeph 1:7, yet suggests that it was placed according to later editorial intentions (*Satirische Prophetie*, 23–25). Others alternatively propose that v.7 is misplaced (e.g., Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 363; Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 387; Edler, *Das Kerygma*, 184–87).

¹⁴³ Zephaniah 1:8-12 targets the "officials" (*השרים*) and "sons of the king" (*בני-המלך*) who likely submitted to foreign superpowers as indicated by their accusation along with "all who are clothed in the garments of foreigners" (*כל-הלבשים מלבוש נכרי*). These accused groups presuppose the preexilic era before the dissolution of the Jerusalemite monarchy. Jerusalem returned to vassal status beneath the Mesopotamian superpowers after the death of Josiah when his sons Jehoiakim and Zedekiah successively gained power by pledging support to either Egypt or Babylon respectively. This historical context accounts for the awareness of a threat to Jerusalem's locality in vv.10-11.

or בָּעַת (v.8-12).¹⁴⁴ Verse 13, however, breaks the pattern by employing the וְהָיָה without a temporal indicator. Furthermore, a strong scholarly tradition identifies v.13b as a later editorial addition on account of its perceived link with Amos 5:11 and its similarities with the Deuteronomistic curse formulas in Deut 28 and 30.¹⁴⁵ Nogalski argues that Zeph 1:13 is a secondary addition that draws upon Amos 5:11 in order to apply a northern judgment oracle to Jerusalem.¹⁴⁶ Schart, Albertz, and Wöhrle differ from Nogalski by limiting the hand of the Book of the Four editor to v.13b as they do not find sufficient evidence for the editorial composition of v.13a.¹⁴⁷ Indeed, Zeph 1:13a continues the וְהָיָה pattern of vv.8-12 and the first-person divine discourse targeting third-person masculine plural entities as found in the preceding verses. Verse 13b alone reflects evidence of later editorial composition not only due to its similarity with Amos 5:11, but also because its announcement that “they will build houses” stands in contrast to the presupposition that the targets of the announced judgment already have houses (Zeph 1:13a). The shared use of “houses” in v.13a and v.13b, however, forms a link between

¹⁴⁴ Martin Beck and Jakob Wöhrle argue against the trend of separating the temporal indicators of vv.8-12 as secondary editorial additions to the text (Beck, *Der “Tag YHWHs,”* 93; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 203). For those who remove the temporal indicators as secondary, see: Striek, *Das vordeuteronomistische Zephaniahbuch*, 201–2; Irsigler, *Gottesgericht und Jahwetag*, 96; Edler, *Das Kerygma*, 103–4; Seybold, *Satirische Prophetie*, 86; De Vries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 202–3; idem, *Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*, 299–300.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. especially Deut 28:30-34, 38-44. See: Schwally, “Das Buch Ssefanjâ,” 175; Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, 365; Smith, “The Book of Zephaniah,” 203; Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 368; Taylor, “Zephaniah,” 1009, 1018; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 7. Jahrhunderts*, 17, n.7; Irsigler, *Gottesgericht und Jahwetag*, 104–5; Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten II*, 65; Edler, *Das Kerygma*, 81–82; Seybold, *Satirische Prophetie*, 33, 87; Renaud, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 210; Seybold, *Nahum, Habakuk, Zephania*, 86, 99; Striek, *Das vordeuteronomistische Zephaniahbuch*, 111–12; Vlaardingerbroek, *Zephaniah*, 97, 101–2; Perlitt, *Die Propheten*, 113; Beck, *Der “Tag YHWHs,”* 94. Those defending the authenticity of Zeph 1:13b generally argue that the verse draws upon shared formulaic curse language. See for example: van Hoonacker, *Les douze petits prophètes*, 514; Hillers, *Treaty-Curses*, 28–29; Ben Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah*, 115–16; Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, 181; Berlin, *Zephaniah*, 88–89; Sweeney, *Zephaniah*, 95–96; Smoak, “Building Houses,” 30–31.

¹⁴⁶ Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 190–91. Nogalski argues this comparison between the judgments of the northern and southern kingdoms coheres with Deuteronomistic ideology.

¹⁴⁷ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 209–10; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 173; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 204. See opposing arguments in Beck, *Der “Tag YHWHs,”* 122–24.

these two half-verses. This observation suggests that the editors supplying v.13b inserted this supplement to extend the pronouncement against houses in v.13a. This observation suggest that the supplement in v.13b augments the preexisting pronouncement.

The shared use of building imagery involving houses and vineyards, however, poses a challenge to the identification of an explicit intertextual reference in Zeph 1:13b (cf. Deut 28:30-34, 38-44; Josh 24:13; Isa 65:21; Jer 29:5, 28; Ezek 28:26; Amos 5:11; 9:14). Most passages, however, employ this imagery in the form of a postexilic promise for the return from exile. Amos 9:14, for example, reverses Amos 5:11. Isaiah 65:21 and Ezek 28:26 likewise use the imagery in a restorative sense usually indicative of the postexilic era. There are only three places, however, where the language of building houses and vineyards functions as a threat: Amos 5:11; Zeph 1:13b; and Deut 28. The Deuteronomic curses in Deut 28 are far more extensive and far reaching than the limited pronouncements in Amos 5:11 and Zeph 1:13b. In this respect, Amos 5:11 and Zeph 1:13b share more in common with one another than they do with Deut 28. Furthermore, Deut 28:36-37 presupposes the exile. Amos 5 presupposes the fall of the northern kingdom (1-3, 27), but not the sixth-century BCE exile of Judah. Likewise, Zeph 1:13b appears in a context presupposing an imminent threat to the locality of Jerusalem, but not necessarily a state of exile. Thus there are greater similarities between Amos 5:11 and Zeph 1:13b than either of these utterances has with Deut 28 (see Table 5.10).

Table 5.10. Amos 5:11 and Zeph 1:13b comparison

Verse	Hebrew Text	English Translation
Zeph 1:13b	ובנו בתים ולא יִשְׁבוּ וְנִטְעוּ כִרְמִים וְלֹא יִשְׁתּוּ אֶת־יַיִנָם	“...and they will build houses but not dwell in them, and they will plant vineyards and not drink of their wine.”
Amos 5:11	בְּתֵי גִזִּית בִּנִיתֶם וְלֹא־תִשְׁבוּ בָם כִּרְמֵי־חֶמֶד נִטַּעְתֶּם וְלֹא תִשְׁתּוּ אֶת־יַיִנָם	“You have built houses of hewn stone, but you shall not live in them; you have planted pleasant vineyards, but you shall not drink their wine.”

The nature of the lexical and thematic overlap strongly suggests some form of literary relationship. The language of Zeph 1:13b is unusual for Zephaniah. The use of “house” (בית) as a residential dwelling only occurs in Zeph 1:13. Zephaniah 1:9 uses בית as a reference for the temple and 2:7 employs בית יהודה and בתי אשקלון to designate the collective identity of a people group. Furthermore, Zephaniah lacks the language of planting (נטע), vineyards (כרמים), drinking (שתה), or wine (יין) outside of 1:13b. The language, therefore, seems foreign to Zephaniah’s otherwise stated concerns and mode of speech. Amos 5:11, on the other hand, occurs in a prophetic composition that elsewhere manifests threats against physical houses.¹⁴⁸ Amos also makes threats against vineyards (4:9; 5:17), references to drinking in its judgment (2:8; 4:1, 8; 6:6) and mentions wine (2:8, 12; 6:6). Thus the language is common to Amos, but stands apart as unusual in Zephaniah. The evidence, therefore, suggests that Zeph 1:13b is a later editorial addition to Zeph 1:8-13a, which drew upon Amos 5:11.

The Literary Horizon of Zephaniah 3:11-13

Diachronic scholars recognize the postexilic nature of the conclusion of Zephaniah on account of the turn toward restorative hope, as well as the relationship between the language of these proclamations and the oracles of Deutero-Isaiah.¹⁴⁹ Although debated, the majority of redaction critics identify the beginnings of the postexilic updates in v.9.¹⁵⁰ Within this collection, scholars often identify vv.11-13 as distinguishable from the remainder of vv.9-20.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Amos 3:15; 6:11 excluding references to collective identities such as Amos 1:4; 5:1, 3, 4, 6, 25; 6:1, 14; 7:9, 10, 16; 9:8, 9 and temples such as Amos 2:8; 7:13. Cf. the threats in Amos 5:19; 6:9, 10.

¹⁴⁹ Many scholars note similarities with the language of Deutero-Isaiah. E.g., Taylor, “Zephaniah,” 1011, 1028–34; Fohrer and Sellin, *Einleitung*, 502; Kaiser, *Einleitung*, 183–84; Bosshard, “Beobachtungen,” 35; Renaud, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 229–30, 247–49; Eszenyei Széles, *Wrath and Mercy*, 64–65; Steck, “Zu Zef 3:9-10”; Collins, *The Mantle of Elijah*, 63; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 214; Nogalski, “Zephaniah 3,” 212; Gärtner, “Jerusalem,” 279–82.

¹⁵⁰ A majority of scholars identify the postexilic updates in vv.9-20 (e.g., Kaiser, *Einleitung*, 183–84; Fohrer and Sellin, *Einleitung*, 502; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 176; De Vries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 203–5; Striek, *Das vordeuteronomistische Zephaniahbuch*, 39–44, 194–216; Hadjiev, “Survival,”

Advocates for the Book of the Four hypothesis, draw upon lexical and thematic links with other previously identified Book of the Four additions in order to argue that Zeph 3:11-13 formed the concluding addition to the Book of the Four. Schart, Albertz, and Wöhrle observe that the concern with the “humble” (עני) “and the poor” (ודל) in v.12 recalls the “humble of the land” (ענוי הארץ) of 2:3. They argue that the “seeking refuge” (יחסו) in 3:11-13 recalls the theme of “seeking” in 1:6; 2:3.¹⁵²

The identification of a relationship between Zeph 2:3 and 3:11-13 as found among the advocates for the Book of the Four hypothesis faces two challenges. First, several of the advocates for the Book of the Four hypothesis overlook the relationship between Zeph 3:13 and the remnant motif in 2:7, 9b.¹⁵³ These verses share two significant similarities that are absent from the remainder of Zephaniah. First, each verse makes use of the remnant motif (שארית). Second, each verse expresses the peaceful existence of this remnant using pastoral imagery. Thus in Zeph 2:7 the remnant will “graze” (ירעון) and peaceably “lie down” (ירבצון) just as the remnant grazes (ירעו) and reclines (ורבצו) in 3:13.

574–78). Alternative proposals identify updates beginning in v.8 (e.g., Smith, “The Book of Zephaniah,” 173, 246–63; Langohr, “Rédaction et composition,” 58–63; Weigl, *Zefanja*, 242–43), v.11 (e.g., Seybold, *Satirische Prophetie*, 95–100; idem, *Nahum, Habakuk, Zephaniah*, 114), and v.14 (e.g., Krinetzki, *Zefanjestudien*, 236–38, 239–41; Eszenyei Széles, *Wrath and Mercy*, 64–65). For scholars who defend the preexilic origins of these concluding oracles to Zephaniah, see: Hitzig, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*, 297–98; Kapelrud, *The Message*, 37–40; Watts, *The Books*, 155, 178–85; Robertson, *The Books of Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, 327, 334–35.

¹⁵¹ Some scholars attribute vv.11-13 to the earliest literary composition of Zephaniah. E.g., Eissfeldt, *Einleitung*, 573–74; Kaiser, *Einleitung*, 183–84; Fohrer and Sellin, *Einleitung*, 502; Langohr, “Rédaction et composition,” 58–63; Weigl, *Zefanja*, 242–43. The absence of a sense of urgency challenges this conclusion. Hadjiev correctly objects that the preceding Zephaniah oracles lack the possibility of a righteous remnant surviving the judgment. He thus explains the lexical and thematic links as evidence that vv.11-13 developed as a compositional *Fortschreibung* building upon themes from the previously composed text (Hadjiev, “Survival,” 576–77; idem, “Zephaniah,” 331–32. See similarly: Gärtner, “Jerusalem,” 273–75).

¹⁵² Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 213; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 173; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 214. For an additional assessment of the relationship between Zeph 3:11-13 and the preceding oracles, see: Renaud, “Le livre de Sophonie,” 20.

¹⁵³ Schart links Zeph 2:7, 9b with 3:9-20 (*Die Entstehung*, 212). Albertz identifies 2:7, 9b as early postexilic additions, which were not part of the Book of the Four (*Die Exilszeit*, 173). Wöhrle places 2:7, 9b-10 in *Die Fremdvölkerschicht I (Die frühen Sammlungen*, 226–27).

In both Zeph 2:7 and 9b, this remnant acquires the possessions of their neighbors. These shared assumptions that the remnant will live peacefully without an external threat, and even regain a position of prosperity leads several scholars to link 2:7, 9b with the humble motif in 2:3 and 3:11-13.¹⁵⁴

Second, Hadjiev correctly objects that Zeph 3:11-13 reveals similar language, but different assumptions from Zeph 2:1-3* and 3:1-8*.¹⁵⁵ Zephaniah 2:3 speaks to the “humble of the land” (כל־ענוי הארץ) providing the seeking of YHWH (בקשו יהוה) as a means for possibly (אולי) surviving the “day of YHWH’s anger” (ביום אף־יהוה). Zephaniah 3:11-13, however, speaks to the femininely personified Jerusalem with confidence that the “humble and poor people” (עם עני ודל) will survive. The newfound note of confidence in Zeph 3:11-13 suggests greater temporal distance from the perceived threat of 2:3. Furthermore, Zeph 3:11-13 expresses confidence that the “humble and poor people” will “seek refuge in the name of YHWH” (והסתו בשם יהוה). Though thematically similar, the respective verses employ differing vocabulary for “seeking,” along with a different target of what is sought (יהוה as opposed to the שם יהוה).

A compositional model for Zephaniah, therefore, must take seriously both the thematic similarities uniting Zeph 2:3 and 3:11-13 as well as the lexical differences and the newfound sense of confidence. The evidence, therefore, suggests that Zeph 3:11-13 (along with 2:7, 9b) stem from a shared theological tradition as 2:3 as is indicated by the similar identification of the survivors as a “humble” people characterized by “seeking” YHWH in some form. The newfound confidence of Zeph 3:11-13 (along with 2:7, 9b), however, suggests a greater temporal distance from the threat than that assumed in 2:3 suggesting that Zeph 2:7, 9b; 3:11-13 were later editorial additions postdating 2:3. These

¹⁵⁴ Koenen, *Heil den Gerechten*, 40–42; Hadjiev, “Survival,” 576–77; idem, “Zephaniah,” 331–32.

¹⁵⁵ Hadjiev isolates 2:3 as a later gloss which he connects to 2:7, 9b; 3:11-13 (Hadjiev, “Survival,” 576–77; idem, “Zephaniah,” 331–32).

later additions stand in the scribal tradition that initially updated Zephaniah using the language of Amos 5, but they lack definitive points of contact with Amos.

As previously observed in the assessment of Micah, however, Zeph 2:7, 9b; 3:11-13 share four literary similarities with the only other place explicitly speaking of the *שארית ישראל* in the Book of the Twelve: Mic 2:12. First, they each combine the themes of the remnant, restorative hope, and shepherding imagery. Second, Zeph 2:7, 9b; 3:11-13 and Mic 2:12 each employ these themes without an awareness of hope for restored royal leadership as found in Jer 23:1-4; Mic 4-5. Third, the “remnant” in each of these texts does not reside among the nations. Fourth, each verse primarily anticipates gathering the remnant into a place of safety and rest. These four similarities suggest that these verses share not only similar themes and imagery but also an assumed identity and location for the remnant as well as a shared hope for the future of the remnant. These similarities suggest a plausible relationship between these four verses.¹⁵⁶

Zephaniah and the Book of the Four Literary Horizon: Conclusions

Three editorial additions to Zephaniah share dependency on Amos 5. Each of these updates share three characteristics suggestive of shared compositional intentions. First, they each update the text by drawing upon the language of Amos 5 and thus applying a northern oracle to the southern kingdom. Zephaniah 1:6 and 2:3 draw upon Amos 5:4-5 and Zeph 1:13b draws upon Amos 5:11. Second, each editorial update introduces new language that is not found elsewhere in Zephaniah. Finally, each passage integrates the added material into its literary context by replicating the grammatical constructions of its context. Zephaniah 1:6 continues the string of direct object clauses through its opening replication of *וְאֵת* as found in vv.4-5. Zephaniah 1:13b places its formulaic announcement about building houses but not living in them after the Zephaniah

¹⁵⁶ See pp.426-439.

oracle announcing the destruction of “their houses” (1:13a) while maintaining the third-person masculine plural grammatical awareness of the address. Zephaniah 2:3 replicates the imperative and vocative structure of Zeph 2:1-2.

Zephaniah 1:6 and 2:3 update their literary contexts so as to construct a shared ideological framework distinguishing between the social elite and the humble of the land. Amos 5:4-6 presents “seeking YHWH” as the key to survival. Zephaniah 1:6 introduces the theme of “seeking YHWH” as an accusation that further justifies the judgment against the societal elite. These societal figures upon which judgment has fallen were guilty of not seeking YHWH and thus they did not survive. Zephaniah 2:3 on the other hand, supplies the theme of “seeking YHWH” as the means by which the remaining humble of the land may escape the judgment. Each passage assumes that a judgment has already come, yet now leaves open the possibility for life after judgment for the humble that remain. Zephaniah 1:13b likewise reveals evidence of this ideological binary. Amos 5:11 pronounces a judgment upon the societal elite who have oppressed the poor. Zephaniah 1:13b then applies this judgment to the Jerusalemites who “grow fat on their dregs” (הַאֲנָשִׁים אֲקַפְּאִים עַל־שְׁמֵרִיהֶם).

Zephaniah 2:3 identifies those who received the possibility of surviving the judgment as the “humble of the land” recalling the designation for those who were left after the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem in 2 Kgs 24:14. The updates presuppose that a perceived judgment previously manifest, yet now supplies a newfound hope that some may survive. This presupposition suggests a date after the destruction of Jerusalem, when reconstruction efforts and hope began to emerge.

Zephaniah 3:11-13 reflects a similar theological tradition, yet a different assumed socio-historical context. Zephaniah 3:11-13 likewise reveals an interest in the “humble and the poor” who will “seek refuge in the name of YHWH,” however these verses present a newfound confidence that assumes the removal of the lingering threat still presupposed by Zeph 2:3. Zephaniah 3:11-13 does not reveal direct dependence upon

Amos 5, but does display a close relationship with the concerns over the remnant in 2:7, 9b. These observations, therefore, suggest that Zeph 3:11-13 along with 2:7, 9b reflect a development in the theological tradition previously found at work in Zeph 2:3.

As observed in the previous chapter, however, these remnant updates reflect several shared assumptions and similarities shared with Mic 2:12. Micah 2:12 and Zeph 2:7, 9b; 3:11-13 all present the uncommon combination of the remnant, restorative hope, and shepherding imagery while lacking the expectation for restored royal leadership reflected in Mic 4-5. Each of these texts presumes the same location of the remnant among the nations, and anticipates their gathering into a common place of safety and rest in the near future. The shared assumptions and ideological agenda of Mic 2:12 and Zeph 2:7, 9b; 3:11-13 suggests that the books of Micah and Zephaniah came under the influence of shared editorial intentions at some point in their composition histories. The relationship between Zeph 3:11-13 and 2:3, however, further suggests that these editorial intentions were later developments of ideological concerns reflected in the Book of the Four editorial links. The evidence therefore suggests that the editorially constructed links among the Book of the Four reflect not one, but two compositional layers.

Conclusions: Book of the Four Editorial Activity in Zephaniah

Past investigations of Zephaniah's place in the Book of the Four have built arguments for Zephaniah's inclusion on two pieces of evidence: Deuteronomism and intertextual parallels with other Book of the Four texts. The case for Zephaniah's inclusion on account of Deuteronomism, however, faces the difficulty of distinguishing between Deuteronomistic updates and the earliest literary core of Zephaniah's pronouncements, which emerged shortly after the Josiaic reforms. While Zephaniah contains many thematic parallels with passages in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History, these passages often cohere with the earliest literary core of Zephaniah, thus preventing the attribution of these sayings to later editors, lack distinctive

Deuteronomistic language as observable in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History, or both lack Deuteronomistic language and exist in the earliest literary core of Zephaniah. The only editorial update reflecting distinctive Deuteronomistic language is Zeph 1:17a β . Zephaniah 1:17a β , however, fails to cohere with the passages that reflect a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four.

The strongest evidence that Zephaniah underwent subsequent editorial development in light of the Book of the Four collection stems from the use of language from Amos 5 to update the presentation of the Day of YHWH discourse in Zeph 1:4-2:3*. Thus study identifies only Zeph 1:1, 6, 13b; 2:3 as supporting Zephaniah's inclusion in the Book of the Four. Additional updates providing a salvific turn in Zeph 2:7, 9b; 3:11-13 reveal the subsequent development of themes in Zeph 1:6 and 2:3, which links to Mic 2:12. This evidence suggests, therefore, that Zephaniah reflects two compositional layers that reflect a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion

Overview of Results

The preceding assessment of the Book of the Four examines the two types of evidence upon which the hypothesis stands: Deuteronomism and an editorially constructed literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four. Differences in how one assesses these two types of evidence result in much of the diversity found among Book of the Four models. The preceding analysis, therefore, examines these two types of evidence independently before considering the relationship between the findings.

The preceding investigation of Deuteronomism in the Book of the Four identifies several pericopes employing non-exclusive Deuteronomistic themes, but few with Deuteronomistic language. These passages, however, do not always form a single coherent redactional layer. The investigation of the Book of the Four intertextual parallels, however, yields coherent redactional layers in each of the four texts under consideration. While not every passage employing a non-exclusive Deuteronomistic theme forms a coherent redactional layer, most passages employing literary parallels from the Book of the Four contain one of these non-exclusive Deuteronomistic themes. Thus while Deuteronomism cannot serve as the sole criterion for identifying Book of the Four editorial activity, these Book of the Four editorial additions still reflect thematic parallels with some aspects of Deuteronomism. This study identifies fewer plausible Book of the Four editorial additions than past composition models (see Table 6.1).

Table 6.1. Book of the Four Models

Book	Schart	Albertz	Wöhrle	Werse
Hosea	<u>Zweiprophetenbuch</u> 1:2-9*; 4:1*; 5:1*; 11:11 (נאם יהוה); 13:14bβ	1:5, 7; 3:1bβ; 4:1*, 15; 8:1b, 6a, 14; 11:5b	1:1; 3:1-4, 5*; 4:1abα, 10, 15; 8:1b, 4b-6, 14; 13:2-3; 14:1	1:1; 4:15aβb; 8:14aβb
	<u>D-Korpus</u> 1:1, 2b; 2:6[4]; 3:1*; 4:1a*; 5:1-2*; 8:1b; 14:2-4[1-3]			
Amos	<u>Zweiprophetenbuch</u> 2:8-9*; 3:1a-2, 13-14; 5:12a; 6:8; 7:9, 11b(?), 17bβ; 8:3, 14; 9:3 (מנגד עיני)	1:1b, 9-10, 11- 12; 2:4-5, 10- 12; 3:1b*, 7; 5:25(?); 8:11- 12; 9:7-10;	1:1*; 2:4-5, 9- 12; 3:1b, 7; 4:13*; 5:11, 25-26; 7:10- 17; 8:5, 6b, 11- 12; 9:7-10	1:1bα; 2:4- 5, 10-12; 3:1b-2; 5:13; 6:8; 7:9-17
	<u>D-Korpus</u> 1:1, 2, 9-12; 2:4-5, 10- 12; 3:1b, 7, 4:6-11* 5:11, 25-26*; 8:4-7, 11- 12; 9:7-10*			
Micah	<u>D-Korpus</u> 1:1, 2, 5a, 6-7, 12b(?), 13b; 2:3*; 6:2-16*	1:1, 5b-7, 13b; 5:8(?), 9-13	1:1, 5b-7, 9, 12b; 5:9-13; 6:2-4a, 9aαb, 10-15	1:1, 5b-7, 9; 2:3; 6:9aαb, 10-16; <u>Layer II:</u> 2:12
Zephaniah	<u>D-Korpus</u> 1:1, 6, 13b, 17aβ; 2:1-3 (?); 3:11-13(?)	1:1, 3-6, 13b, 17aβ; 2:3a; 2:5-3:8bα* (excluding 2:7, 9, 10-11), 3:11-13	1:1, 4-6, 13b; 2:1-2, 3*, 4-6, 8-9a; 3:1-4, 6- 8a, 11-13	1:1, 6, 13b; 2:3 <u>Layer II:</u> 2:7, 9b; 3:11-13

The previous chapters draw conclusions concerning the compositional implications of these redactional layers for these four prophetic texts independently of one another. The Book of the Four hypothesis, however, claims that these prophetic texts share an editorial agenda indicating that they underwent redactional development together as a collection. This concluding chapter, therefore, considers the relationship

between the redaction-critical conclusions of the previous chapters, and their implications for the conception of the Book of the Four.

This concluding chapter argues that Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah underwent shared redactional development during the exile. This shared editing indicates that these texts came to circulate together and were likely read together as an early collection of preexilic prophetic texts. The evidence reveals two stages of development spanning multiple texts in the collection. Hosea and Amos reflect evidence of a single editorial layer linking these prophetic texts to the Book of the Four. Micah and Zephaniah reflect evidence of two redactional layers linking these texts to the Book of the Four. The following analysis, therefore, unfolds in two parts. First, this chapter examines the compositional coherence, socio-historical context, theological profile, and assumed reading program of the first Book of the Four redactional layer that spans Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah into a collection. Second, this chapter examines the compositional coherence, socio-historical context, and theological profile of the second Book of the Four redactional layer, which reappropriates key Book of the Four themes for salvific purposes.

Book of the Four Redaction I

The Book of the Four hypothesis necessitates identifying shared redactional layers across these four texts, indicative of shared compositional agendas spanning the collection. Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah underwent redactional development reflecting a literary horizon inclusive of the Book of the Four (see Table 6.2). The following discussion provides four arguments concerning the nature of this Book of the Four Redaction layer. First, this assessment argues that these updates reflect a single coherent redactional layer spanning these four prophetic texts. Second, this assessment locates this redactional layer among scribes who remained in the land of Judah shortly after the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem. Third, this assessment argues that the

theological profile of these additions revolves around four themes: the comparison of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms, the rejection of divine instruction, concern for the suffering beyond Jerusalem, and the Day of YHWH. Finally, this assessment argues that these updates draw these four individual prophetic texts into a larger literary agenda whereby these prophetic voices are read and interpreted in light of one another.

Table 6.2. Book of the Four Redaction I

Hosea	Amos	Micah	Zephaniah
1:1; 4:15aβb; 8:14aβb	1:1bα; 2:4-5, 10-12; 3:1b-2; 5:13; 6:8; 7:9-17	1:1, 5b-7, 9; 2:3; 6:9aαb, 10-16;	1:1, 6, 13b; 2:3

Compositional Coherence of the Book of the Four Redaction I

Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah all contain editorial supplements linking these texts to one another. The previous chapters conclude that these supplements form a coherent redactional layer in the composition history of each individual prophetic text. When assessed together, these updates share six literary characteristics suggesting that they reflect shared editorial intentions and scribal characteristics indicative of shared compositional origins. These six characteristics suggest that these Book of the Four Redaction I supplements form a single coherent redactional layer spanning all four texts.

1. The Superscriptions and the Book of the Four. Gene Tucker observes the role of superscriptions in identifying Psalmic collections in the Psalter.¹ Prophetic superscriptions have similarly become a central component in the investigation of the

¹ E.g., Gene M. Tucker, "Prophetic Superscriptions and the Growth of a Canon," in *Canon and Authority: Essays in Old Testament Religion and Theology*, ed. George W. Coats and Burke O. Long (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 57. Cf. Brevard S. Childs, "Psalm Titles and Midrashic Exegesis," *JSS* 16 (1971): 137–50.

collection and formation of the Book of the Twelve.² Scholars preceding the Book of the Four hypothesis recognize the similarities between Hos 1:1; Amos 1:1; Mic 1:1; and Zeph 1:1.³ Even critics of the hypothesis recognize the similarities between these superscriptions.⁴ Two components link these four superscriptions, suggesting that they share a literary horizon extending to the collection. First, the superscriptions' regnal dating systems align these four texts into a single literary-chronological arrangement. This arrangement suggests that this dating system serves an ordering principle spanning these four prophetic texts. These editorially constructed superscriptions link each individual prophetic message into a larger literary agenda that spans the entire collection.

The superscription of Hosea grants primacy to the Judean monarchy in a prophetic text predominantly targeting the Northern Kingdom of Israel. The four listed Judean kings span a greater temporal range than the corresponding provision of a single Israelite king. The absence of these kings from the remainder of Hosea raises the question concerning the editorial agenda that supplied this regnal dating system. The superscriptions of Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah position each prophetic message in

² E.g., Carl Steuernagel, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament: Mit einem Anhang über die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, SThL (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1912), 671–72; Rolf Rendtorff, *Das Alte Testament: Eine Einführung*, 3 Aufl. (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988), 227; Burkard M. Zapff, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Michabuch im Kontext des Dodekapropheten*, BZAW 256 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 245 n.14; Aaron Schar, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs: Neubearbeitungen von Amos im Rahmen schriftenübergreifender Redaktionsprozesse*, BZAW 260 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998), 31–49; Klaus Koch, “Profetenbuchüberschriften. Ihre Bedeutung für das hebräische Verständnis von Prophetie,” in *Verbindungslinien, Festschrift für Werner H. Schmidt zum 65.*, ed. Axel Graupner, Holger Delkurt, and Alexander B. Ernst (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000), 184–86; Kyu-Sang Yu, “Die Entstehungsgeschichte des ‘Dodekapropheten’ und sein Kanonisierungsprozeß” (PhD diss., Universität München, 2000), 147–62; Jakob Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen des Zwölfprophetenbuchs: Entstehung und Komposition*, BZAW 360 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 29–50; James D. Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea-Jonah*, SHBC (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2011), 31.

³ Hans Walter Wolff, *Hosea*, 3rd ed., BKAT 14/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1976), 2; Rainer Edler, *Das Kerygma des Propheten Zefanja*, FThSt 126 (Freiburg: Herder, 1984), 70–71.

⁴ Rachel Bornand, “Un ‘Livre des Quatre’ Précurseur des Douze Petits Prophètes?,” *ETHR* 82 (2007): 555; Christoph Levin, “Das ‘Vierprophetenbuch’: Ein exegetischer Nachruf,” *ZAW* 123 (2011): 222.

relation to this initial Judean dating scheme. Amos 1:1 positions the Amos message relative to the first king in the Judean kings list and the sole Israelite king from Hos 1:1. Micah 1:1 then positions the Micah message relative to the next three kings in the Hosea kings list. Finally, Zeph 1:1 connects Zephaniah to the final king in the Hosea list via the prophet's genealogy.⁵

Table 6.3. Superscriptional Regnal Dating Schemas

Superscription	Israelite King		Judean Kings List		
Hosea:	Jeroboam	Uzziah	Jotham	Ahaz	Hezekiah
	ירבעם	עזיה	יותם	אחז	יחזקיה
Amos:	Jeroboam	Uzziah			
	ירבעם	עזיה			
Micah:			Jotham	Ahaz	Hezekiah
			יותם	אחז	יחזקיה
Zephaniah:					Hezekiah
					חזקיה
					(from the genealogy)
					Josiah
					יאשיהו

The second component linking these superscriptions and suggesting that these verses share a literary horizon is the use of a distinctive form of the word-event formula. Although various iterations of the word-event formula (היה and דבר־יהוה) occur across the Hebrew prophetic corpus, these three superscriptions share exact word-for-word correspondence across an unusually long manifestation of this formula. This unique version of the formula includes five words and occurs only in one place outside these four superscriptions (Joel 1:1). The identical formulaic introduction suggests that an editor shaped these superscriptions according to shared literary conventions.

⁵ For additional assessments of these superscriptions in light of the Book of the Four hypothesis, see: Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 33–34; James D. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 217 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993), 85–86; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 42–46; Rainer Albertz, *Die Exilszeit: 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, BE(S) 7 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001), 166–67; Bo H. Lim and Daniel Castelo, *Hosea*, Two Horizons Old Testament commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 43.

Table 6.4. Five Part דבר־יהוה Formulas

Superscription Reference	Hebrew Text
Hos 1:1	דבר־יהוה אשר היה אל־הושע
Mic 1:1	דבר־יהוה אשר היה אל־מיכה
Zeph 1:1	דבר־יהוה אשר היה אל־צפניה

The claim that the Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah superscriptions reflect shared compositional origins faces three objections from critics. First, critics object that Amos 1:1 lacks the word-event formula that links Hos 1:1; Mic 1:1; and Zeph 1:1.⁶ Schart suggests that the Amos superscription lacks this formula because the Book of the Four editors reshaped a preexisting superscription.⁷ Several texts reflect evidence of multi-stage superscriptional development (e.g., Isa 1:1; 2:1; Ezek 1:1-3; Hos 1:1-2a). The use of the word-event formula in Hos 1:1 poses a problem for Schart's proposal. Scholars commonly recognize that Hos 1:1 supplanted an earlier superscription now found in Hos 1:2a.⁸ This observation suggests that the existence of a preexisting superscription likely did not prevent the editors from supplying the word-event formula.⁹

⁶ E.g., Susanne Rudnig-Zelt, "Die Genese des Hoseabuches: Ein Forschungsbericht," in *Textarbeit: Studien zu Texten und ihrer Rezeption aus dem Alten Testament und der Umwelt Israels*, ed. K. Kiesow and T. Meurer, AOAT 294 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2003), 359.

⁷ Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 40, 50–54. Schart's proposal coheres with Van Selms' argument that the formula employing דבר followed by the prophetic personal name predated the formula employing דבר followed by the divine name ("How Do Books of the Bible Commence?," *Proceedings of the 9th Meeting of "Die Outestamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suide-Afrika"* 9 [1966]: 141).

⁸ E.g., Karl Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton: erklärt*, KHC 13 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1904), 13–14; Wolff, *Hosea*, 1–2; Jörg Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, ATD 24.1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 23; Grace I. Emmerson, *Hosea: An Israelite Prophet in Judean Perspective*, JSOTSup 28 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 1–3; Graham I. Davies, *Hosea*, NCB (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), 43–45; Graham I. Davies, *Hosea*, OTG (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 107; 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, SymS 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 113–14; Jacques Vermeylen, "Osée 1 et les prophètes de VIII^e siècle," in *Schriftauslegung in der Schrift: Festschrift für Odil Hannes Steck zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Reinhard G. Kratz, Thomas Krüger, and Konrad Schmid, BZAW 300 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 194; Levin, "Das 'Vierprophetenbuch'," 231.

⁹ See also how the existence of a superscription in Isa 2:1 did not prevent the later construction of a new superscription in Isa 1:1.

The Book of the Four Redaction I presents the prophet Amos as a “seer” (חֹזֶה) in 7:10-17 (cf. 1:1). This presentation coheres with the vision reports that conclude Amos. Amos 1:1 reflects an awareness of this prophetic medium by introducing the “words of Amos” (דְּבַרֵּי עָמוֹס) as words which he “saw” (חֹזֶה). The difference between Amos 1:1 and the remaining Book of the Four superscriptions reflects an awareness of the visionary nature of the Amos oracles. This contextual awareness coheres with the scribal tendency toward literary integration consistently found in the other Book of the Four Redaction I additions. These additions consistently replicate and parallel vocabulary and syntax from their immediate literary context to integrate supplements into the preexisting text. The distinctive features of the Book of the Four Redaction I addition in Amos 1:1b follows this same scribal tendency toward literary integration. Amos 1:1b differs from other Book of the Four superscriptions in its recognition of the visionary nature of Amos’ prophecies.

Micah 1:1 integrates features from both Hos 1:1 and Amos 1:1 suggesting an awareness of the unique characteristics of both superscriptions. The Micah superscription parallels Hos 1:1, differing in only two respects. First, Mic 1:1 lacks the full regnal dating system found in Hos 1:1. Micah 1:1 picks up the Hos 1:1 regnal chronology where Amos 1:1 ends. This observation suggests an awareness of Micah’s literary context following Amos. Second, Mic 1:1 combines the word-event formula of Hos 1:1 and the visionary announcement of Amos 1:1. The “word of YHWH” (דְּבַר־יְהוָה) becomes the object of the visionary experience in Mic 1:1 in the same way that the “words of Amos” (דְּבַרֵּי עָמוֹס) serve as the object of the visionary experience in Amos 1:1. These two ways in which Mic 1:1 differs from Hos 1:1 parallel the unique features in Amos 1:1. Micah 1:1 thus combines the distinctive elements of Hos 1:1 and Amos 1:1. This observation suggests that Mic 1:1 reflects an awareness of the differences between Hos 1:1 and Amos 1:1. Micah 1:1, therefore, reflects a literary horizon extending to both Hos 1:1 and Amos 1:1. The Book of the Four Redaction I supplement in Mic 1:1 presupposes Amos’s inclusion

in the Book of the Four, despite the differences contained in its superscription. Amos, therefore, should not be excluded from the collection.

Table 6.5. Superscription Formulas in Hosea, Amos, and Micah

Verse	Visionary Formula	Word-event formula
Hos 1:1	...	דְּבַר־יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר אֱלֹהֵי־הוֹשֶׁעַ בֶּן־בְּאֲרִי
Amos 1:1	אֲשֶׁר חִזָּה... עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל	דְּבַר־יְעֶזְעֻם
Mic 1:1	אֲשֶׁר חִזָּה עַל־שֹׁמְרוֹן וִירוּשָׁלַם	דְּבַר־יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר אֱלֹהֵי־מִיכָה הִמְרִישְׁתִּי

The second objection to the shared compositional origins of the Book of the Four superscriptions derives from the similarities that these superscriptions share with the Joel 1:1. Critics note that Joel 1:1 replicates the word-event formula of Hos 1:1; Mic 1:1; and Zeph 1:1. If superscriptional affinities necessitate a common collection, then surely Joel should be included.¹⁰ The Book of the Four superscriptions, however, are linked by more than formulaic language. The regnal dating system links these four texts into a sequential order. Joel 1:1 lacks this dating system, suggesting its omission from this sequence.

The similarities between Joel 1:1 and the Book of the Four superscriptions is better explained by the scribal character of Joel. Scholars commonly identify Joel as “scribal prophecy” constructed by compiling and editing previous prophetic pronouncements.¹¹ Joel’s composition, furthermore, reflects a unique awareness of its canonical location between Hosea and Amos. In addition to reflecting several thematic echoes from Hosea and Amos, Joel contains explicit citations of Hosea and Amos at the

¹⁰ Koch, “Profetenbuchüberschriften,” 184; Ehud Ben Zvi, “A Deuteronomistic Redaction In/Among the ‘Twelve’?: A Contribution from the Standpoint of the Books of Micah, Zephaniah and Obadiah,” in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism*, ed. Linda S. Schearing and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 268 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 250; Levin, “Das ‘Vierprophetenbuch’,” 226.

¹¹ See the landmark study of Joel as *Schriftinterpret* by Siegfried Bergler (*Joel als Schriftinterpret*, BEATAJ 16 [Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1988]). Van Leeuwen even identifies Joel as an “anthological composition” (“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 Scott, and William Wiseman [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993], 39).

beginning and end of the text. Joel closes with explicit echoes of the beginning and end of Amos. Joel 4:16 parallels the opening Amos pronouncement in 1:2, and Joel 4:18a parallels the closing Amos pronouncement in 9:13. Similarly, Joel opens with explicit references to the beginning and end of Hosea. Joel 1:1 replicates the word-event formula of Hos 1:1, and Joel opens with a threat against the agricultural blessings promised at the end of Hosea in 14:6-8[5-7].¹² Joel thus opens with explicit references to the beginning and end of the immediately preceding prophetic text, and closes with explicit references to the beginning and end of the immediately following prophetic text. The links with Hosea and Amos lead several scholars to propose that editors composed or shaped Joel for its place between Hosea and Amos as reflected in the MT ordering of the Book of the Twelve.¹³ Joel's superscription, therefore, functions as part of its scribal tendency toward intertextual echoing. The Joel superscription, therefore, presupposes the existence of the Hosea superscription through its replication of Hos 1:1. Joel 1:1 does not preclude assigning the Book of the Four superscriptions to shared compositional origins.

The final objection to the shared compositional origins of the Book of the Four superscriptions comes from comparisons with the superscriptions of Isaiah and Jeremiah.¹⁴ Jeremiah 1:2 contains a variation of the word-event formula. Variations of

¹² On the links between Joel and both Hosea and Amos, see: James D. Nogalski, *Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 218 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993), 13–48; Terence Collins, *The Mantle of Elijah: The Redaction Criticism of the Prophetic Books*, BibSem 20 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 67–68; Gerald Morris, *Prophecy, Poetry, and Hosea*, JSOTSup 219 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 118–19; James D. Nogalski, “One Book and Twelve Books: The Nature of the Redactional Work and the Implications of Cultic Source Material in the Book of the Twelve,” in *Two Sides of a Coin: Juxtaposing Views on Interpreting the Book of The Twelve*, Analecta Gorgiana 201 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009), 24–25; idem, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea-Jonah*, 186, 205.

¹³ E.g., Dale Allan Schneider, “The Unity of the Book of the Twelve” (PhD diss., Yale University, 1979), 237–238; Erich Bosshard, “Beobachtungen zum Zwölfprophetenbuch,” *BN* 40 (1987): 41–42; Nogalski, *Redactional Processes*, 13–48; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 261–266; Nogalski, “One Book and Twelve Books,” 26–27; idem, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea-Jonah*, 211–13, 220–21; Aaron Scharf, “The First Section of the Book of the Twelve Prophets: Hosea -- Joel -- Amos,” *Int* 61 (2007): 138–152.

¹⁴ Reinhard Gregor Kratz, “Hosea und Amos im Zwölfprophetenbuch,” in *Prophetenstudien: kleine Schriften II*, FAT 74 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 275; idem, “Jesaja im Corpus propheticum,” in *Prophetenstudien: kleine Schriften II*, FAT 74 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 150; Levin, “Das ‘Vierprophetenbuch’,” 226–27.

this formula frequently occur across the Hebrew prophetic corpus. Arguments for literary parallels based upon this formula, therefore, require either exact duplications of lengthy variations of the formula or additional parallel language beyond the shared use of the formula. The word-event formulas of Hos 1:1; Mic 1:1; and Zeph 1:1 meet the former of these criteria. The rendition of the word-event formula in Jer 1:2 differs considerably from the otherwise uniform pattern of the Book of the Four superscriptions. Jeremiah 1:2 α displays the designation דבר־יהוה after the אשר היה instead of before it, as found in Hos 1:1; Mic 1:1; and Zeph 1:1. Furthermore, the word-event formula of the Jeremiah superscription lacks the prophet's name as found in Hos 1:1; Mic 1:1; and Zeph 1:1. With so many variants of the word-event formula in the Hebrew prophets, the uniformity and length of the word-event formulas in Hos 1:1; Mic 1:1; and Zeph 1:1 support the identification of a relationship between these verses. Jeremiah 1:1, however, fails to share the uniformity found Hos 1:1; Mic 1:1; and Zeph 1:1. Jeremiah 1:1 thus fails to prevent assigning the Book of the Four superscriptions to shared compositional origins.

Table 6.6. Five Part דבר־יהוה Formulas

Superscription Reference	Hebrew Text
Hos 1:1	דבר־יהוה אשר היה אל־הושע
Joel 1:1	דבר־יהוה אשר היה אל־יואל
Mic 1:1	דבר־יהוה אשר היה אל־מיכה
Zeph 1:1	דבר־יהוה אשר היה אל־צפניה
Jer 1:2 α	אשר היה דבר־יהוה אליו
Jer 7:1*; 11:1; 18:1; 21:1; 30:1; 32:1; 34:1, 8; 35:1; 40:1; 44:1	הדבר אשר היה אל־ירמיהו מאת יהוה
Jer 14:1; 46:1*; 47:1*; 49:34*; Dan 9:2	אשר היה דבר־יהוה אל־ירמיהו

*Indicates the formula's absence from the OG.

Whereas Jer 1:1 challenges the relationship between the Book of the Four superscriptions based upon the word-event formula, Isa 1:1 challenges their relationship based upon the regnal dating system. Isaiah 1:1 attributes the prophetic activity of Isaiah to the same unusually long span of four Judean kings as found in Hos 1:1 (see Table 6.7).

Table 6.7. Superscriptional Judean Regnal Dating Schemas

Superscription	Judean Regnal List			
Isaiah 1:1	Uzziah עזיהו	Jotham יותם	Ahaz אחז	Hezekiah יחזקיהו
Hosea 1:1	Uzziah עזיה	Jotham יותם	Ahaz אחז	Hezekiah יחזקיה
Amos 1:1	Uzziah עזיה			
Micah 1:1		Jotham יותם	Ahaz אחז	Hezekiah יחזקיה
Zephaniah 1:1				Hezekiah חזקיה
				Josiah יאשיהו
				(from the genealogy)

Levin, for example, argues that the regnal dating systems in Hos 1:1 and Mic 1:1 likely drew upon Isa 1:1.¹⁵ Two observations distinguish Isa 1:1 from the Book of the Four superscriptions. First, as with Amos 1:1, Isa 1:1 lacks the word-event formula. Second, the Book of the Four superscriptions and Isa 1:1 employ different spellings for the name “Hezekiah.” Isaiah 1:1 spells “Hezekiah” יחזקיהו as commonly found in Chronicles.¹⁶ This spelling appears as an expansion of the common spelling חזקיהו found in 2 Kgs 16-21 (cf. Isa 36-39).¹⁷ The Book of the Four references to Hezekiah, however, lack the concluding ך, reflecting the less common spelling for Hezekiah.¹⁸ Since the Book of the

¹⁵ Levin, “Das ‘Vierprophetenbuch’,” 233–34. Cf. Heinrich Ewald, *Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament*, trans. J. Frederick Smith, vol. 1, 5 vols. (London: Williams & Norgate, 1875), 230–31; Bosshard, “Beobachtungen,” 31; Vermeylen, “Osée 1,” 193; Susanne Rudnig-Zelt, *Hoseastudien: redaktionskritische Untersuchungen zur Genese des Hoseabuches*, FRLANT 213 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 101–8. Andersen and Freedman argue that Isa 1:1; Hos 1:1; Amos 1:1; and Mic 1:1 likely derive from a common editorial tradition (*Hosea*, AB 24 [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980], 144; idem, *Micah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 24E [New York: Doubleday, 2000], 6–7).

¹⁶ Second Kings 20:10; Isa 1:1; Jer 15:4; 1 Chr 4:41; 2 Chr 28:12, 27; 29:1, 20, 30, 31, 36; 30:1, 18, 20, 22; 31:2, 8, 9, 11, 13, 20; 32:2, 8, 9, 11, 12, 16, 17, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 32, 33; 33:3.

¹⁷ Second Kings 16:20; 18:9, 17, 19, 22, 29, 30, 31, 32, 37; 19:1, 3, 5, 9, 10, 14, 15, 20; 20:1, 3, 5, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21; 21:3; Isa 36:1, 2, 4, 7, 14, 15, 16, 18, 22; 37:1, 3, 5, 9, 10, 14, 15, 21; 38:1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 22; 39:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8; Jer 26:18, 19; 1 Chr 3:13; 2 Chr 29:18, 27; 30:24; 32:15.

¹⁸ Spelt with the inaugural ך in Hos 1:1; Mic 1:1; Ezra 2:16. Spelt without the inaugural ך in 2 Kgs 18:1, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16; Zeph 1:1; Pro 25:1; Neh 7:21; 10:18; 1 Chr 3:23.

Four otherwise lacks references to Hezekiah, one would expect that if the Book of the Four dating system drew upon Isa 1:1 then it would adopt the more common spelling convention as found in the Isaiah superscription. The differing spellings for the name “Hezekiah” rather suggest that Isa 1:1 draws upon Hos 1:1. Isaiah 1:1 spells Hezekiah using the concluding ך as found in Isa 36-39, yet uses the inaugural ך as found in Hos 1:1. This spelling convention suggests that Isa 1:1 draws its kings list from Hos 1:1, then adjusts the spelling of the name to conform more closely to the standard spelling found in Isa 36-39. Several studies conclude that Isa 1* presupposes an advanced stage in the composition of Isaiah through its use of themes and language that occur in later additions to Isa 40-66*.¹⁹ This late dating suggests that the superscription reflects a late addition to Isaiah, further supporting the probability that Isa 1:1 draws from Hos 1:1.

These three objections, therefore, do not prevent assigning the Book of the Four superscriptions to shared compositional origins. The intertextual paralleling between these superscriptions arranges these prophetic messages according to the shared ordering principle of the Judean kings list. This agenda indicates that these Book of the Four superscriptions share an editorial agenda and key formulaic language, thus supporting the conclusion that they derive from shared compositional origins.

2. Intertextual Orientation. In addition to the superscriptions’s linking these four prophetic texts into a common ordering principle, the Book of the Four Redaction I supplements employ a shared intertextual program linking these respective prophetic

¹⁹ E.g., Joachim Eck, *Jesaja 1 - Eine Exegese der Eröffnung des Jesaja-Buches: Die Präsentation Jesajas und JHWHs, Israels und der Tochter Zion*, BZAW 473 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015). See also the studies noting thematic similarities between Isa 1 and 65-66: Anthony J. Tomasino, “Isaiah 1.1-2.4 and 63-66, and the Composition of the Isaianic Corpus,” *JSOT* 57 (1993): 81-98; Willem A. M. Beuken, “Isaiah Chapters LXV-LXVI: Trito-Isaiah and the Closure of the Book of Isaiah,” in *Congress Volume: Leuven, 1989*, ed. John A. Emerton, VTSup 43 (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 204-21; Jan Holman, “De kernboodschap van Jesaja: Omvang et betekenis van de inclusie van Jes. 1-2,4 met 65-66,” *TvT* 36 (1996): 3-17; Emmanuel Uchenna Dim, *The Eschatological Implications of Isa 65 and 66 as the Conclusion of the Book of Isaiah*, *La Bible dans l’histoire: Textes et études* (Bern: Lang, 2005), 274-78, 282-85; Joëlle Ferry, *Isaïe: “Comme les mots d’un livre scellé...”* (Paris: Cerf, 2008), 61.

works. This shared use of intertextual echoes reflects a literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four, suggesting that editors read and interpreted these texts in light of one another. These intertextual echoes consistently serve to augment preexisting messages of judgment. This scribal program of augmenting preexisting prophetic pronouncements reveals how these editors understood their supplements in relation to the preexisting prophetic text. The composition histories of these four prophetic texts contain examples of editors offering corrections or reversals of pronouncements in the preexisting prophetic message.²⁰ These Book of the Four supplements, however, do not offer corrections or reversals of preexisting prophetic utterances. In every case, these updates augment preexisting utterances by reapplying previous pronouncements to a new target. These Book of the Four Redaction I supplements thus employ a shared intertextual literary horizon, and reflect a shared mode of relating to the preexisting text.

This intertextual scribal program indicates that the Book of the Four Redaction I editor(s) read and updated these texts in light of one another. The supplement in Hos 4:15aβb indicates that the editor(s) saw the repeated accusations in Amos 4:4a and 5:5 as having relevance for understanding Hos 4:4-19*. The addition of Judah into this collection of accusations signals that the editor(s) read this combination of Hosea and Amos language as having relevance for the southern kingdom. Similarly, the editor(s) applied Amos's language of the destruction of cities from the Oracles Against the Nations to Hos 8:7-14*. The construction of this intertextual echo in Hos 8:14aβb augments the threat of exile against the Northern Kingdom to similarly apply to the Southern Kingdom of Judah. The editor(s) updated Micah's accusations against Jerusalem using accusatory city language from Hosea (Mic 1:5b-7, 9; cf. Hos 4:6:9aαb, 10-16). The updates in Amos 5:13 and Mic 2:3 construct a parallel between Amos's Day of YHWH discourse and Micah's proclamations against Jerusalem's leadership. Similarly

²⁰ E.g., Hos 1:10-2:2[2:1-3] reverses the judgments of 1:2-9, Amos 9:8b reverses 8a (cf. 3:13), Amos 9:11, 12b reverses 5:2, Amos 9:14bβ reverses 4:9, and Mic 4:1-5 reverses 3:9-12.

the additions to Zephaniah's Day of YHWH oracle apply language from the Day of YHWH pronouncements in Amos (cf. Zeph 1:6// Amos 5:4; Zeph 1:13b// Amos 5:11; Zeph 2:3//Amos 5:4). In each case, the intertextual literary horizon augments and extends preexisting judgment pronouncements. These updates never correct preexisting material. Thus these updates not only share a common literary horizon extending to the Book of the Four, but they also share a scribal approach to updating the text.

3. Common Scribal Agenda for Literary Integration. In addition to employing a shared intertextual literary horizon, nearly all of these editorial supplements draw upon language and syntax from their immediate literary context. Thus each supplement interweaves material from the intertextual source with the intertextual target. These supplements employ two scribal techniques to interweave the intertextual source with the target text. First, some of the supplements replicate syntactical patterns from the supplement's immediate literary context. Thus Hos 4:15aβb draws upon language from Amos 4:4a and 5:5, yet shapes it into four לֹא clauses following the four הֵאָחָז clauses of vv.14aβb-15aα. Amos 2:4-5 integrates language from Hos 4:6b, 10b, and 12bα into the preexisting Amos Oracles Against the Nations structure. Amos 3:1b-2 replicates the immediately preceding וְלֹא clause of v.1a. Amos 5:13 replicates the כִּי...לֹא structure of vv.11-12. Micah 2:3 follows the syntax of 2:1, just as 6:9-16* follows the structural progression of 3:8-12. Zephaniah 1:6 similarly follows the syntactical progression of vv.4-5, just as 2:3 follows 2:1-2.

The second scribal technique used to interweave material from an intertextual source with the immediate literary context of the supplement involves replicating vocabulary from the supplement's context into the intertextual echo. Thus Hos 8:14aβb reapplies language from v.11; Mic 1:5b-7 draws language from 3:12; and Amos 6:8 infuses language from elsewhere in Amos. Amos 7:9-17 contains numerous lexical links with the surrounding visions and uses v.9 as a transition from the visions to the narrative.

Amos 2:10-12 develops language from v.9, in much the same way as Zeph 1:13b expands language from v.13a into a continuation of the וְהִיא syntax pattern ordering vv.8-13.

This shared scribal technique for literary integration across the Book of the Four Redaction I supplements yields three conclusions. First, this scribal technique of interweaving intertextual source material with a supplement's literary context suggests scribal efforts to integrate each supplement into its current literary context. These efforts signal a desire for each supplement to read as part of the preexisting prophetic message. This scribal technique has the effect of preserving the individual prophetic voice of each of the four texts in the collection. Second, this technique for literary integration suggests that the editorial agenda linking these four prophetic texts emerges from reading these texts together. The editorial agenda does not merely apply one prophetic message to another, but rather integrates multiple preexisting prophetic voices to construct these supplements. Third, this scribal tendency for literary integration supports attributing these supplements to shared compositional origins as part of a redactional layer spanning the Book of the Four. The fact that these supplements share this technique for literary integration suggests that they share a scribal character, thus supporting their attribution to a shared redactional layer.

4. Reframing Preexisting Material. In addition to this shared use of intertextual echoing and shared scribal technique for literary integration, these editorial updates perform important framing functions augmenting the reading of preexisting prophetic material in each text. The majority of the editorial additions beyond the superscriptions in each of these four prophetic texts contribute to the construction of a frame around preexisting prophetic material. These frames reveal not only a shared scribal technique for updating preexisting material, but also a shared ideological agenda that draws a comparison between the Northern and Southern Kingdoms.

Aside from the superscription, the first and the last updates in Hosea serve to reorient preexisting accusations against the Northern Kingdom to apply to the Southern Kingdom. Thus both of these updates draw Judah into the preexisting prophetic announcements. The update in 4:15a^{bb} reorients the larger prophetic speech in Hos 4:4-19* in much the same way as the update in Hos 8:14a^{bb} incorporates Judah into the judgments of Hos 8:7-14*. These oracles frame Hos 5-7*, which contain several preexisting comparisons of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. Hosea 5:8-15 interweaves pronouncements concerning Judah and Ephraim suggesting that these Judah references likely functioned as part of the earliest composition. Similarly, God addresses the singular vocatives “Ephraim” and “Judah” in Hos 6:4a before proceeding with a series of pronouncements to and about a plural target (vv.4b-11*). This plurality presupposes the direct address to both Judah and Ephraim, further suggesting that the Judah references in Hos 6:4-11 exist as part of the earliest composition of this oracle. The Book of the Four Redaction I updates in Hosea thus reorient preexisting oracles referencing Judah. The opening framing device updates the explicit list of accusations in Hos 4:4-16* to have implications for Judah before the preexisting references to Judah in Hos 5:1-8:6*. This layer then closes the frame by updating the explicit threat of destruction and exile following these preexisting Judah references (Hos 8:7-14*) to apply also to Judah. The fact that these are the only two Book of the Four Redaction I updates in Hosea beyond the superscription suggests that this frame reveals a primary literary purpose for supplying these updates. This frame augments preexisting comparisons of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms to include Judah more closely in the accusations and judgment proclaimed against the Northern Kingdom of Israel.

The Book of the Four Redaction I layer similarly forms a frame around preexisting material in Amos. A majority of the Amos updates occur near the end of the Oracles Against the Nations surrounding the first explicit condemnation of Israel (Amos 2:4-5, 10-12; 3:1b-2), and near the end of the Amos visions (Amos 7:9-17). These

updates frame the intermediary Amos accusations revolving around the Day of YHWH (Amos 3-6*). These framing updates augment the preexisting Amos pronouncements in two ways. As with the Hosea frame, these updates frame the Amos pronouncements with a Judean awareness. Thus just as Hos 4:15a^ßb augments the prophetic accusation against the Northern Kingdom (Hos 4:4-16*) to have implications for Judah, so does Amos 2:4-5 add Judah to the preexisting Oracles Against the Nations immediately preceding the Oracle Against Israel. Similarly, just as Hos 8:14a^ßb augments the threat of destruction and exile against Ephraim (Hos 8:7-14*) to apply to Judah, so does Amos 7:9-17 augment the concluding Amos judgment visions to have an explicit articulation of exile (vv.9, 17) and a Judean awareness. Amos 7:12 supplies the only explicit identification of Amos as a Judean prophet beyond the superscription. Amaziah's rejection of Amos sends the Judean prophet (and by implication the rejected divine instruction; see: 2:10-12) south to Judah. These framing components additionally betray the shared theme of rejecting divine instruction through the prophets. The fact that the majority of these Book of the Four Redaction I updates in Amos serve this framing function (only Amos 5:13 and 6:8 do not contribute to this frame) suggests that this framing function reveals a dominant literary purpose for supplying these updates. As with the frame in Hosea, these updates associate Judah with the inaugural accusations and the pronouncement of judgment against the Northern Kingdom. These updates further reframe the Amos message in light of the rejection of divine instruction.

The Book of the Four Redaction I updates in Micah similarly reframe the preexisting Micah message. As with Hosea and Amos, the majority of Book of the Four Redaction I updates beyond the superscription contribute to this framing device. The Book of the Four Redaction I updates in Micah frame the preexisting message against Judah and Jerusalem (Mic 1-3*) with a comparison of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. Thus, just as the framing devices in Hosea and Amos augment preexisting pronouncement concerning the Northern Kingdom of Israel to have implications for the

Southern Kingdom of Judah, so also does the frame in Micah augment preexisting oracles against Judah to recall the comparison with the fate of the Northern Kingdom. Micah 1:5b-7, 9 reorients the beginning of the Micah pronouncements to suggest that Jerusalem now faces the same accusations and thus, by implication, the same fate as Samaria. Micah 6:9-16* similarly reorients the concluding Micah pronouncements suggesting that the sins of wicked Northern rulers have now come to Jerusalem. These framing updates both use language from Hosea and from Micah 3:8-12 in order to draw this comparison. As with Hosea and Amos, the fact that the majority of these updates serve this framing function (only Mic 2:3 does not contribute to this frame) suggests that this framing function reveals a dominant literary purpose for supplying these updates.

The Book of the Four Redaction I updates to Zephaniah similarly serve a framing function. Zephaniah contains three Book of the Four Redaction I updates beyond the superscription. The first and last updates (excluding the Zephaniah superscription) reframe the Zephaniah Day of YHWH pronouncements with language from Amos's Day of YHWH oracles. Zephaniah 1:6 augments the inaugural accusations against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem to suggest that they did not seek YHWH. This inaugural accusation introduces the discourse that eventually leads to the proclamation of the Day of YHWH. The final Book of the Four Redaction I update in Zeph 2:3 concludes this Day of YHWH discourse with the same theme of seeking YHWH. This use of language from Amos 5 to construct a frame around Zephaniah's Day of YHWH discourse thus reframes the preexisting prophetic material in order to present the Day of YHWH against Jerusalem in light of Amos's Day of YHWH against the Northern Kingdom. The beginning of this frame suggests that the Day of YHWH came upon the Southern Kingdom of Judah as a result of their failure to seek YHWH. This frame's conclusion suggests to those facing this "Day" that "seeking YHWH" is the only means for possible survival, as found in Amos 5. As with Hosea, Amos, and Micah, a majority of the Book of the Four Redaction I updates beyond the superscription in Zephaniah

contributes to this frame (only Zeph 1:13b does not contribute to this frame). This observation suggests that this framing device is likely a dominant motivation for constructing these updates.

A majority of the Book of the Four Redaction I updates beyond the four superscriptions serve to reframe preexisting material in each of these four prophetic texts. Aside from the superscriptions, only Amos 5:13; 6:8; Mic 2:3; and Zeph 1:13b do not contribute to these frames. Amos 5:13; Mic 2:3; and Zeph 1:13b each serve to tie the accusations and fate of the Southern Kingdom of Judah to Amos's presentation of the Day of YHWH. Amos 6:8, furthermore, augments a preexisting comparison of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms (6:1) by extending the judgment language to have explicit application to Judah. The fact that a majority of these updates contribute to these frames suggests that the construction of these framing devices serves as a dominant literary motivation in the placement of these updates. These updates reveal a shared scribal technique for updating preexisting messages. Each of these frames similarly serves a shared ideological purpose of drawing the Northern Kingdom of Israel and the Southern Kingdom of Judah into a common set of accusations and judgments. Thus these frames reflect not only a shared scribal technique, but also a shared ideological agenda. This observation leads to the next similarity shared by these updates: the common ideological agenda comparing the Northern and Southern Kingdoms.

5. Comparison Between the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. The preceding discussion of the framing function of these updates reveals a fifth similarity shared by these supplements suggesting that they share compositional origins. In addition to employing similar scribal techniques and tendencies to augment and reframe these texts, the Book of the Four Redaction I supplements reflect a shared ideological agenda that consistently compares the respective fates of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. The superscriptions of Hosea and Amos give priority to the Judean monarchy in texts

otherwise predominantly addressed to Northern Kingdom of Israel. Similarly, the Book of the Four Redaction I updates in these two prophetic texts reframe the preexisting messages with a Judean awareness. Hosea 4:15a β and 8:14a β b redirect preexisting pronouncements concerning the Northern Kingdom (Hos 4:4-15* and 8:7-14* respectively) to have implication for the Southern Kingdom. Similarly, the Book of the Four Redaction I layer adds Judah to the Amos Oracles Against the Nations (2:4-5) at the beginning of the Amos message, and directs the prophet back to Judah at the end of the Amos message (7:9-17). These supplements thus reframe the Amos message as having relevance for Judah.

The Book of the Four Redaction I layer similarly reframes the two prophets to the Southern Kingdom in order to present the accusations and judgments against Judah and Jerusalem in continuity with those that brought about the destruction of the Northern Kingdom of Israel. Micah 1:1 frames Micah's message as applicable to both Jerusalem and Samaria. Micah 1:5b-7, 9 draws an explicit comparison between Samaria and Jerusalem, suggesting that the situation of Samaria that led to the city's destruction has now come to Jerusalem. This comparison reflects the belief that Jerusalem followed in Samaria's footsteps, and thus incurred the same judgment as Samaria. Micah 6:9-16* similarly condemns Jerusalem for following the sins of wicked northern rulers (Omri and Ahab). The additions of Amos 5:13 and Mic 2:3 in their respective contexts draw the accusations associated with the Day of YHWH in Amos 5:11-17 into a parallel structure with the accusations in Mic 2:1-4. This parallel serves to correlate Amos's accusations against the Northern Kingdom with Micah's accusations against the leaders of the Southern Kingdom. The Book of the Four Redaction I updates surrounding the Zephaniah Day of YHWH pronouncements against Judah and Jerusalem all draw upon the Day of YHWH pronouncements against the Northern Kingdom in Amos 5. The application of language from the Day of YHWH against Israel to the Day of YHWH

against Judah suggests that these scribes saw Amos 5 as informing their understanding the destruction of Jerusalem as the manifestation of the Day of YHWH.

Each of these updates reveals that the Book of the Four Redaction I scribes saw the Northern and Southern kingdoms as committing similar sins, thus warranting similar accusations, and ultimately as receiving similar judgments. These scribes, therefore, interpret the destruction of Jerusalem as the manifestation of the same divine judgment that destroyed Samaria in 722 BCE. This correspondence between the respective accusations and fates of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms is one of the reasons why Nogalski initially identifies the Book of the Four as “Deuteronomistic.”²¹ Nogalski correctly notes that the Deuteronomistic History draws a similar comparison. Second Kings 17:7-18 provides the theological justification for the destruction of Samaria. Verse 19 then suggests that Judah similarly forsook the commandments of YHWH and “walked in the statutes of Israel.” Second Kings 21:3 compares the wicked actions of King Manasseh of Judah to those of King Ahab of Israel. As a result, the text supplies a prophetic word (vv.10-15) in which God promises to stretch out over Jerusalem the same “measuring line” used for Samaria, thus resulting in the destruction of Jerusalem. The final comparison follows the account of the Josianic reforms stating that YHWH does not turn from his anger, but rather promises to remove Judah “just as I removed Israel” (2 Kgs 23:27). These four verses reflect a comparison in which scribes of the Deuteronomistic History present Jerusalem as following in the sins of Samaria and therefore incurring the same divine judgment.

This ideological comparison of the Northern and Southern kingdoms initially appears in eighth-century prophetic texts often engaging the shared situation of Samaria and Jerusalem in the shadow of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Such comparisons appear among the earliest literary compositions in all four eighth-century BCE prophetic texts:

²¹ Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 190–91; idem, “One Book and Twelve Books,” 14.

Isaiah, Hosea, Amos, and Micah. One of the most explicit manifestations of this comparison in Isaiah occurs in the Song of the Vineyard (5:1-7). Scholars overwhelmingly dates Isa 5:1-7 to among Isaiah's earliest eighth-century BCE pronouncements.²² This first-person divine song recounts God's labor of preparing and tending a metaphorical vineyard only to have it produce bad fruit (בִּצְרִי). The song then calls the "inhabitants of Jerusalem and people of Judah" to judge between God and his vineyard (vv.3-4), before announcing the destruction of the vineyard (vv.5-6). The Song concludes by revealing that the vineyard serves as a metaphor for "the house of Israel and the people of Judah" (בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאִישׁ יְהוּדָה). The description of their bad fruit reveals that both kingdoms face the same prophetic accusation and anticipated judgment (v.7).

This comparison of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms additionally occurs in the earliest literary core of Hosea. Diachronic scholars recognize that Hosea underwent editorial development from a Judean perspective.²³ Such assessments frequently remind

²² Space precludes listing every scholar affirming this majority position. The exceptions are minimal. Vermeylen argues that Isa 5:1-7 reflects an exilic, Deuteronomistic composition, however, he admits that this song is devoid of any Deuteronomistic vocabulary or phrasing (*Du prophète Isaïe à l'apocalyptique: Isaïe, I-XXXV, miroir d'un demi-millénaire d'expérience religieuse en Israël*, vol. 1, 2 vols., EBib [Paris: J. Gabalda, 1977], 168; see also Otto Kaiser, *Das Buch des Propheten Jesaja: Kapitel 1-12*, 5th völlig neubearbeitete Aufl., ATD 17 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981], 99–100). A majority of scholarly assessments find the arguments for exilic, Deuteronomistic composition unconvincing (e.g., Kirsten Nielsen, *There Is Hope for a Tree: The Tree as Metaphor in Isaiah*, JSOTSup 65 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989], 114–16; C. Brekelmans, "Deuteronomistic Influence in Isaiah 1-12," in *Book of Isaiah-Le Livre d'Isaïe: Les Oracles et Leurs Relectures; Unité et Complexité de l'ouvrage*, ed. Jacques Vermeylen, BETL 81 [Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989], 167–76). On the widely accepted eighth-century BCE dating of Isa 5:1-7, see: R. B. Y. Scott, "The Book of Isaiah Chapter 1-39," in *The Interpreter's Bible*, vol. 5, 12 vols. (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1956), 160, 196; Georg Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja*, vol. 1, 3 vols., ZBK (Zürich: Zwingli, 1960), 5–7; Georg Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts Band 1 en Die Propheten des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1974), 106–8; Gale A. Yee, "A Form-Critical Study of Isaiah 5:1-7 as a Song and a Juridical Parable," *CBQ* 43 (1981): 30–40; Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12: A Continental Commentary*, vol. 1, 3 vols., CC (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 179; John Barton, *Isaiah 1-39*, OTG (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 21; Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39: With an Introduction to Prophetic Literature*, FOTL 16 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 59, 129; Erich Bosshard-Nepustil, *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39 im Zwölfprophetenbuch: Untersuchungen zur literarischen Verbindung von Prophetenbüchern in babylonischer und persischer Zeit*, OBO 154 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 250, 434.

²³ E.g., Sigmund Mowinckel, *Prophecy and Tradition: The Prophetic Books in the Light of the Study of the Growth and History of the Tradition* (Oslo: J. Dybwad, 1946), 72; Theodore H. Robinson, "Hosea," in *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*, 3rd Aufl., HAT 1/14 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1964), 1; James Merrill Ward, *Hosea: A Theological Commentary* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 246–47; Emil

readers, however, that not all references to Judah are the product of later editorial development.²⁴ Scholars frequently affirm the authenticity of the Judah references in Hosea 5:8-15*, and 6:4-11*, dating them in close proximity to the Syro-Ephraimite War.²⁵ Hosea 5:8-15 alternates between Judah and Ephraim with such consistency that it precludes successfully dividing the references to these kingdoms. The oracle announces comparable disasters upon both Judah and Ephraim (vv.8-12), which leads to Ephraim reaching out to Assyria for assistance (v.13). This decision brings comparable divine judgment down upon both kingdoms (vv.14-15). Hosea 6:4-11* similarly draws both kingdoms into a shared prophetic pronouncement. Hosea 6:4 addresses the singular “Ephraim” and the singular “Judah.” The oracle proceeds to address the masculine plural audience. Since Judah and Ephraim are introduced in the singular, neither of these

Gottlieb Heinrich Kraeling, *Commentary on the Prophets*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Camden, N.J: Thomas Nelson, 1966), 83; Wilhelm Rudolph, *Hosea*, KAT 13.1 (Gutersloh: G. Mohn, 1966), 25; Cornelis van Leeuwen, *Hosea*, POuT (Nijkerk: G.F. Callenbach, 1968), 18–19; Georg Fohrer and Ernst Sellin, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 11, durchgesehene und erw. Aufl ed. (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1969), 464–65; James Luther Mays, *Hosea: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969), 1; *Amos et Osée*, Traduction œcuménique de la Bible (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1969), 66–67; Wolff, *Hosea*, xxvi–xxvii; Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 378–79; Rolf Rendtorff, *Das Alte Testament: Eine Einführung* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1983), 230; Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, 18; Emmerson, *Hosea*, passim; Thomas Naumann, *Hoseas Erben: Strukturen der Nachinterpretation im Buch Hosea*, BWANT 131 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1991), 172–76; Else Kragelund Holt, *Prophesying the Past: The Use of Israel's History in the Book of Hosea*, JSOTSup 194 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 23; Eberhard Bons, *Das Buch Hosea*, NSKAT 23.1 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1996), 17–18; Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 176; Christopher R. Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics: Toward a New Introduction to the Prophets*, STI (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 128–29. Some scholars choose to periodically read “Israel” in place of “Judah.” E.g., Martin J. Buss, *The Prophetic Word of Hosea: A Morphological Study*, BZAW 111 (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1969), 13–14.

²⁴ Ronald E. Clements, “Understanding the Book of Hosea,” *RevExp* 72 (1975): 419. See similarly: Albrecht Alt, “Hosea 5,8-6,6: Ein Krieg und seine Folgen in prophetischer Beleuchtung,” *NKZ* 30 (1919): 547–48, 556–58, 562–63; John Mauchline, “Hosea,” in *The Interpreter's Bible*, vol. 6, 12 vols. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1956), 563–64; *Amos et Osée*, 66–67; Emmerson, *Hosea*, 56–116; David Allan Hubbard, *Hosea: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1989), 35; Fohrer and Sellin, *Einleitung*, 463.

²⁵ Alt, “Hosea 5,8-6,6,” 547–48, 556–58, 562–63; Fohrer and Sellin, *Einleitung*, 463; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 77–78, 87–88; Clements, “Understanding the Book of Hosea,” 419; Wolff, *Hosea*, 131–57; Emmerson, *Hosea*, 56–116; Gale A. Yee, *Composition and Tradition in the Book of Hosea: A Redaction Critical Investigation*, SBLDS 102 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 272–82.

entities could serve as the audience of the plural discourse independent of the other. The oracle grammatically necessitates both Ephraim and Judah.²⁶ This oracle accuses both kingdoms for their lack of fidelity (חסד) to YHWH.

As with Hosea, diachronic scholars recognize that Amos underwent editorial development reorienting the text for a Judean audience.²⁷ Amos contains one probable eighth century BCE reference to Jerusalem. Some scholars attribute the reference to Zion in Amos 6:1 to a later editor on account of the assumption that Amos only addressed the Northern Kingdom of Israel.²⁸ The problem with such divisions, however, is that other than its failure to conform to the modern scholarly assumption that Amos exclusively focused on the Northern Kingdom, Amos 6:1a α lacks evidence of editorial development. The opening pronouncement of “woe” (הוי) follows the same syntax as found in Amos 5:18. Amos 6:1a β not only parallels v.1a α , but also opens with the ו conjunction thus assuming that it continues a preexisting pronouncement. For these reasons, several

²⁶ Diachronic scholars often identify several plausible updates to Hos 6:4-11* such as v.5b and v.11b. These supplements, however, do not obscure identifying the target of the earliest literary core of this oracle as both Ephraim and Judah together. See, for example, Marti, *Das Dodekapropheten*, 1-2, 9-10, 52-55; Buss, *The Prophetic Word*, 14-15; Mauchline, “Hosea,” 6:563, 631; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 74, n.40; Graham I. Davies, *Hosea* (Sheffield), 105; Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, 291-92; Lindblom, *Hosea*, 121-122; Emmerson, *Hosea*, 86-87; Rudolph, *Hosea*, 143-144; Wolff, *Hosea*, 157; Childs, *Introduction*, 378-79; Schneider, “The Unity,” 39; Mays, *Hosea*, 102; Ward, *Hosea*, 130; Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese*, 53-54, 244-245; Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, BZAW 349 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), 61-62, 82 n.76; Thomas Naumann, *Hoseas Erben: Strukturen der Nachinterpretation im Buch Hosea*, BWANT 131 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1991), 51-53, 172-76.

²⁷ E.g., Hans Walter Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 2nd ed., BKAT 14/2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1975), 137-38; Klaus Koch, *Amos: Untersucht mit den Methoden einer strukturalen Formgeschichte*, vol. 1, 3 vols., AOAT 30 (Kvelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1976), 78; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 98-100; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 177-78; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 134-35.

²⁸ E.g., Marti, *Das Dodekapropheten*, 151-52, 198-99; Norman H. Snaith, *Amos, Hosea and Micah*, EPC (London: Epworth, 1956), 38; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 137, 318-19; Ludwig Markert, *Struktur und Bezeichnung des Scheltworts: eine gattungskritische Studie anhand des Amosbuches*, BZAW 140 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977), 164; Jacques Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe à l'apocalyptique: Isaïe, I-XXXV, miroir d'un demi-millénaire d'expérience religieuse en Israël*, vol. 2, 2 vols., EBib (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1978), 559-61; Walther Zimmerli, “Vom Prophetenwort zum Prophetenbuch,” *TLZ* 104 (1979): 490; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel*, Rev. Ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 78; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 86-88.

scholars correctly conclude that the evidence does not support removing v.1a α as a later supplement.²⁹ The combination of Zion and Samaria at the beginning of the oracle suggest that the ensuing descriptors of the accused parties refer to both cities.³⁰ Amos 6:1-7* thus brings the Northern and Southern Kingdoms together into a shared set of accusations that climaxes with a shared pronouncement of exile.

The final eighth-century prophetic pronouncement comparing the Northern and Southern Kingdoms occurs in Mic 1:13. Micah 1:13 suggests that the “transgressions of Israel” (פֶּשַׁע יִשְׂרָאֵל) were found in Zion. As noted in the assessment of Mic 1:13, four observations prevent attributing this comparison to a later editor.³¹ First, the phrase “transgression of Israel” (פֶּשַׁע יִשְׂרָאֵל) fits the literary style of the earliest literary core of Micah (cf. Mic 1:5a; 3:8). Second, Mic 1:13 begins a series of three references to Israel in vv.13-15. Third, Zion appears in parallel to Jerusalem in the earliest literary composition of Micah (3:10, 12). Fourth, the parallel use of חַטָּאת and פֶּשַׁע occurs in the earliest literary composition of Micah in 1:5a, and 3:8.³² While many scholars associate the lament of Mic 1:10-16 with Sennacherib’s campaign against Jerusalem (701 BCE), others see possible evidence of the aftermath of the Syro-Ephraimite War (734-732 BCE), the Ashdod Rebellion (711 BCE), or Hezekiah’s efforts to conquer Philistine territory (705 BCE).³³ In each case, scholars see this lament against an eighth-century

²⁹ Siegfried Wagner, “Überlegungen zur Frage nach den Beziehungen des Propheten Amos zum Südreich,” *ThLZ* 96 (1971): 658–59; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 82–83, 89. Fohrer goes so far as to propose that “Zion” functions as a generic term for a capital city, thus paralleling “Samaria” and maintaining an exclusively Northern focus without removing 6:1a α (*Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 40).

³⁰ Diachronic scholars commonly conclude that the unexpected shift to second-person direct address in v.2 and v.3b reflect editorial supplements to 6:1-7*. See: Reinhard Fey, *Amos und Jesaja: Abhängigkeit und Eigenständigkeit des Jesaja*, WMANT 12 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1963), 11, n.2; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 133, 317–18, 319; Markert, *Struktur und Bezeichnung*, 164–65; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 83; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 86–88.

³¹ See pp.239-240.

³² Cf. the third use of the word pair in Mic 6:7.

³³ For those associating Mic 1:10-16 with Sennacherib’s campaign., see: Karl Elliger, “Die Heimat des Propheten Micha,” *ZDPV* 75 (1934): 81–152; Volkmar Fritz, “Das Wort gegen Samaria Mi 1:2-7,”

BCE setting. The continuity of Mic 1:13 with its current literary context thus reveals that the earliest core of Micah attributes the eighth-century BCE suffering of Jerusalem to comparable transgressions that brought about the downfall of the Northern Kingdom.

All four eighth-century BCE prophetic texts in some way correlate the respective suffering of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms at the hand of the Neo-Assyrian Empire as comparable judgments for comparable crimes. This eighth-century BCE prophetic tradition flourishes a century and a half later in the prophetic responses to the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem. This correlation between the accusations and judgments against the Northern and Southern Kingdoms occurs in exilic compositions in each of the three “major” prophetic texts in addition to the Book of the Four Redaction I editorial updates. Ezekiel’s prophetic sign-act in Ezek 4:4-8 suggests that Israel and Judah will suffer the same judgment for different periods of time. The Ezekiel text repeatedly compares the respective guilt and destruction of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms (e.g., 9:9; 25:3), most notably in the vivid familial metaphors of Ezek 16 and 23, which present the actions and respective fates of Samaria and Jerusalem in a single paradigm of divine judgment.³⁴ This same comparison occurs across multiple compositional levels in Jeremiah, whether one looks at some of the earliest pronouncements in Jer 2-3 (see especially 3:6-11), or the comparison of Jerusalem with

ZAW 86 (1974): 316–31; Johannes Cornelis de Moor, “Micah 1: A Structural Approach,” in *Structural Analysis of Biblical and Canaanite Poetry*, ed. Willem van der Meer and Johannes Cornelis de Moor, JSOTSup 74 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 182–84; Philip J. King, *Amos, Hosea, Micah: An Archaeological Commentary* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1988), 58–59; Terence E. Fretheim, *Reading Hosea-Micah: A Literary and Theological Commentary*, Reading the Old Testament (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2013), 195–96. For those identifying a previous eighth-century BCE event, see: Johannes Lindblom, *Micha: literarisch untersucht*, AABo.H VI:2 (Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1929), 39–45; Rolland Emerson Wolfe, “The Book of Micah,” in *The Interpreter’s Bible*, vol. 6, 12 vols. (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1956), 907; Siegfried Mittmann, “Hiskia und die Philister,” *JNSL* 16 (1990): 91–106; Gabriele Metzner, *Kompositionsgeschichte des Michabuches*, Europäische Hochschulschriften 635 (New York: Peter Lang, 1998), 132.

³⁴ This comparison of the respective fates of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms in the Ezekiel textual tradition forms an ideological foundation for a common salvific hope being extended to both kingdoms. See Ezek 37:15-28.

Shiloh in the allegedly Deuteronomistic sermon in Jer 7. The text repeatedly accuses Israel and Judah of committing the same sins (e.g., Jer 5:11; 11:10, 17; 23:13-14; 32:26-35; cf. 36:2) thus leading to the same fates (e.g., Jer 12:14-17; 13:8-11).³⁵ Exilic updates to Isaiah, furthermore, draw the same comparison. Although a majority of scholars attribute the earliest literary core of Isa 10:5-15 to the eighth century BCE, redaction critics commonly identify vv.10-12 as later exilic additions.³⁶ The oracle criticizes Assyria for its self-exaltation by placing words in the mouth of the personified nation. This speech attributed to Assyria compares Calno to Carchemish, Hamath to Arpad, and Samaria to Damascus (v.8-9). Verses 10-11 continue to draw Jerusalem and Samaria into a comparison in which the personified Assyria asks, “[s]hall I not do to Jerusalem and her idols just as I have done to Samaria and her images?”³⁷ The designation אֱלִיל for an “idol” occurs throughout Isa 1-39 with no Deuteronomistic occurrences.³⁸ The parallel term for “idols” in Isa 10:11 (עֲצָב) similarly appears in the Isaiah literary tradition with no occurrences in Deuteronomy and very few uses in the Deuteronomistic History.³⁹ These

³⁵ As in the Ezekiel passages, the proposal that Israel and Judah share in a common judgment provides an ideological precursor to the proposal that they will share in the same restoration. See: Jer 23:6; 30:3, 4-7; 31:27, 31; 33:7-8, 14; 50:4-5, 20.

³⁶ For those favoring a date during the reign of Sargon II, see for example: Walter Dietrich, *Jesaja und die Politik*, BEVT 74 (München: Kaiser, 1976), 115–18; Ronald E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, NCBC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980), 109–10; Wildberger, *Isaiah*, 1:415–16, 419–20; Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39*, 59. For those associating Isa 10:5-15 with Sennacherib’s campaign, see for example: Scott, “The Book of Isaiah Chapter 1-39,” 5:241–42; Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 1:10–12; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 149–51. See also the dating discussions favoring an eighth century context in: Kaiser, *Das Buch des Propheten Jesaja*, 218–23; Barton, *Isaiah 1-39*, 53–54.

³⁷ Scott, “The Book of Isaiah Chapter 1-39,” 5:241–42; Kaiser, *Das Buch des Propheten Jesaja*, 218–23; Dietrich, *Jesaja und die Politik*, 116–18; Wildberger, *Isaiah*, 1:413–14, 422–23; Ulrich F. Berges, *The Book of Isaiah: Its Composition and Final Form* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2012), 109–12; Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, 111–12.

³⁸ Isaiah 2:8, 18, 20; 10:10, 11; 19:1, 3; 31:7. Cf. additional occurrences to reference idols in Lev 19:4; 26:1; Ezek 30:13; Hab 2:18; Pss 96:5; 97:7; 1 Chr 16:26. This root appears in reference to other forms of “worthlessness” not associated with idolatry in Jer 14:14; Zech 11:17; and Job 13:4.

³⁹ Isaiah 10:11; 46:1; 48:5. The Deuteronomistic History uses עֲצָב only twice in reference to the idols of the Philistines (1 Sam 31:9; 2 Sam 5:21). The absence of language linking these verses to the broader theological agenda of the Deuteronomistic History and the limitation of this term to a Philistine literary context suggests that these passages are not Deuteronomistic compositions. Compare with the

additions, commonly attributed to later editors, must still be associated with the Isaiah literary tradition as identifiably distinct from the Deuteronomistic literary tradition.⁴⁰ The wide distribution and use of this comparison motif across several sixth-century BCE prophetic voices suggests that this theme was a widely distributed prophetic tradition that transcended the sectarian divisions and separately operating theological streams of tradition often identified in the late preexilic and early exilic periods.

The occurrence of this comparison motif across such a wide spectrum of prophetic traditions in the sixth-century BCE indicates that these literary voices likely drew upon a broadly distributed prophetic tradition. These sixth-century BCE voices develop this comparison motif in one significant way beyond their eighth-century predecessors. These sixth-century voices develop the comparison of the respective crimes and punishments of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms to suggest that Judah in some way followed in the path of Israel. This development thus reveals an assumed temporal distance between the destructions of Samaria and Jerusalem. Jeremiah 3:6-11 suggests that Judah followed in Israel's iniquities. The vivid familial metaphors of Ezek 16 and 23 present Jerusalem and Samaria as sisters. A central component of both uses of the metaphor suggests that the younger sister, Jerusalem, learned from—and followed in—the illicit path of her older sister Samaria (16:53-58; 23:11-21). This same presentation of the Southern Kingdom as following after the Northern Kingdom occurs in the Book of the Four Redaction I updates in Mic 1:5b-7, 9; and 6:9-16*. This theological

additional uses in reference to idols in Jer 44:19; 50:2; Hos 4:17; 8:4; 13:2; 14:9; Mic 1:7; Zech 13:2; Pss 106:36, 38; 115:4; 135:15; 1 Chr 10:9; 2 Chr 24:18.

⁴⁰ Bosshard-Nepustile, for example, dates vv.10-11* to the time of Manasseh (*Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1-39*, 237–38, 436). Kaiser attributes vv.10-11 to exilic, Deuteronomistic origins (*Das Buch des Propheten Jesaja*, 226). Kaiser's proposal for the composition of Isa 1-12, of course, follows Vermeylen in identifying a comprehensive Deuteronomistic redaction in the text. This proposal suffers from not only Vermeylen's admission that these thematic similarities with some Deuteronomistic texts lack distinctive Deuteronomistic vocabulary and phrasing, but also from counterarguments from scholars such as Brekelmans ("Deuteronomistic Influence," 171–72). See also, Wildberger's conclusions against Deuteronomism (*Isaiah*, 1:422–23).

development assumes a historical distance between the respective fates of Judah and Israel that is absent from the eighth-century BCE texts (see also Jer 7:12-15; Ezek 4:4-8).

The comparison motif therefore originates with the eighth-century BCE prophetic voices and prolifically expands across prophetic traditions in sixth-century BCE compositions. The primary theological development of this theme to include an assumed historical distance between the respective fates of Samaria and Jerusalem additionally occurs across this range of prophetic identities and traditions. The occurrence of this theme in the Deuteronomistic History, therefore, functions as a relatively small part of a much larger prophetic tradition. The Deuteronomistic History attributes this motif in one location to the prophetic tradition (2 Kgs 21:10-15). It is thus better to speak of this motif as a wide-spread prophetic tradition adopted by the Deuteronomistic History rather than a distinctive ideological marker of Deuteronomistic thought.

This conclusion raises the question of the compositional implications of this theme in the Book of the Four. The Book of the Four editors did not have to look any further than the received texts of Hosea, Amos, and Micah to receive this theme. The editorial strategy betrayed in the Book of the Four Redaction I supplements, furthermore, suggests that the Book of the Four editors supplied edits recognizing and augmenting these preexisting passages in these three prophetic texts. This observation suggests that the sources of this theme in the Book of the Four Redaction I supplements are the received prophetic texts that these scribes edited. The supplements in Hos 4:15a β b and 8:14a β b form an editorial frame around the preexisting oracles comparing Ephraim and Judah (5:8-15*; 6:4-11*). The use of the jussive form in Hos 4:15a β b, however, introduces an assumed temporal distance between the certain guilt of Ephraim detailed in Hos 4:4-19* and its implications for Judah. Hosea 4:15a β b expresses the desire that Judah will remain free from offence, revealing a temporal distinction between the guilt of Ephraim and Judah. This supplement thus introduces and reframes the preexisting comparison motif in 5:8-15*; 6:4-11*, which assumes that the guilt of Ephraim and Judah

takes place concurrently. The concluding frame in Hos 8:14aβb then extends the pronouncement of Judgment against Ephraim to include Judah. The Book of the Four Redaction I update in Amos 6:8 augments the preexisting comparison of Zion and Samaria in Amos 6:1-7*. This Book of the Four Redaction I update thus develops the vague description of exile applied to both cities in order to include an explicit articulation of the destruction of Judean strongholds and the deliverance of Jerusalem's inhabitants. The Book of the Four updates in Micah similarly augment the preexisting comparison motif in Mic 1:13. In addition to replicating Micah language from 3:9-12 in 1:5b-7, the presentation of this disaster at the "gate of my people" (שַׁעַר עַמִּי) in 1:9 parallels the presence of disaster at the "gate of Jerusalem" (שַׁעַר יְרוּשָׁלַם) in the lament (1:10-16), which compares the Northern and Southern Kingdoms.⁴¹ The Book of the Four Redaction I supplements in Micah additionally present a temporal distance between the comparable accusations and judgments of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. Micah 1:5b-7, 9 presents disaster as first visiting Samaria and then coming to Jerusalem. Similarly, Mic 6:9-16* suggests that the accused party followed in the ways of Omri and Ahab. The comparison motif in the Book of the Four, therefore, reflects a broadly distributed prophetic tradition rather than a distinctively Deuteronomistic agenda.

The comparison of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms supplies a unifying ideological agenda to the Book of the Four Redaction I supplements, thus supporting the conclusion that they reflect shared compositional origins. This ideological agenda reflects a broadly used prophetic motif that appears in the preexisting texts of Hosea, Amos, and Micah. The Book of the Four Redaction I layer thus develops these preexisting themes to reflect the temporal distance between the respective fates of Samaria and Jerusalem, thus cohering with the development of this theme reflected across the wide spectrum of sixth-century BCE prophetic voices.

⁴¹ On the reasons prohibiting attributing Mic 1:13 and 1:9 to the same compositional layer, see pp.236-240.

6. *Awareness of the fate of Jerusalem.* In addition to assuming an association between the respective fates of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms, the updates in these four texts reflect a distinctive focus on Jerusalem. The Hosea and Amos superscriptions give priority to the Jerusalem monarchy. Amos 2:4-5 not only adds Judah to the Amos Oracles Against the Nations, but it also ends with the explicit destruction of the “citadels of Jerusalem.” The use of “her citadels” in Hos 8:14aβb within the context of Judah suggests that Jerusalem serves as the assumed antecedent of the third-person feminine singular pronominal suffix. Micah 1:5b-7, 9 explicitly indicates that the accusations that led to the fate of Samaria have now come to Jerusalem. This comparison continues in Mic 6:9-16*, which speaks concerning a city, suggesting Jerusalem. As with Mic 1:5b-7, Mic 6:9-16* declares that the sins of Northern leaders made their way to Jerusalem (v.16). The parallel supplements in Mic 2:3 and Amos 5:13 draw their broader contexts into a parallel structure whereby Mic 2:1-4 comes to parallel Amos 5:11-17. Amos 5:11-17 culminates with the disaster of a city as seen through the wailing in the plazas and streets (v.16-17). Zephaniah 1:6 and v.13b augment preexisting accusations against Jerusalem and her inhabitants (cf. v.4, 12), which culminates in the Day of YHWH judgment bringing war against her “impenetrable cities” and “high towers” (v.16). This persistent awareness of the destruction of Jerusalem in this redactional activity further suggests that the “Pride of Jacob” in Amos 6:8 alludes to Jerusalem. The threat against the “pride of Jacob” in Amos 6:8 clearly presupposes a city with “citadels,” and the “Pride of Jacob” stands for Jerusalem elsewhere in Nah 2:3 and Ps 47:5[4].⁴² The redactional updates in these four prophetic texts reveal an awareness of the destruction of Jerusalem. This common awareness further supports the proposal that the Book of the Four Redaction I updates form a single editorial layer spanning these four texts.

⁴² Cf. Isa 60:15; Jer 13:9; Ezek 24:21.

Conclusion. The Book of the Four hypothesis rests upon more than identifying editorial links between these four prophetic texts. This hypothesis requires concluding that these links reflect shared compositional origins evincing a single redactional layer spanning all four texts. The existence of such a redactional layer spanning the entire collection supports the conclusion that these texts circulated together as a precursory collection to the Book of the Twelve. The preceding discussion demonstrates that these Book of the Four Redaction I supplements share six literary characteristics. When considered together, these six shared literary characteristics suggest that these supplements reflect shared compositional origins. These findings therefore support concluding that these Book of the Four Redaction I supplements reflect a single redactional layer spanning these four prophetic texts. This Book of the Four Redaction I layer supports the hypothesis that Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah circulated together as a precursory collection to the Book of the Twelve.

Socio-Historical Context of the Book of the Four Redaction I

The Book of the Four Redaction I layer presupposes the destruction of Jerusalem. The evidence thus supports identifying this redactional layer as the product of scribes who remained in the land following Jerusalem's destruction. The following discussion addresses three aspects of the socio-historical context of the Book of the Four Redaction I. First, this discussion dates the Book of the Four Redaction I layer to the early exilic period, arguing that it presupposes a context among those who remained in the land. Second, this section provides evidence for scribal activity in the land after the destruction of Jerusalem. Finally, this section argues that the Book of the Four Redaction I layer does not reflect distinctive Deuteronomistic origins; rather the exilic context better accounts for the thematic parallels with Deuteronomism.

1. *Dating the Book of the Four.* Four observations concerning the Book of the Four Redaction I support attributing this editorial activity to a small scribal cohort operating in Palestine just after the 586 BCE destruction of Jerusalem. First, the Book of the Four Redaction I layer occurs as editorial additions to the earliest literary core of Zeph 1. This observation suggests that the Book of the Four Redaction I postdates the formation of the Judah oracle in Zeph 1:4-2:2*. The Judah oracle of Zeph 1 addresses a specific socio-historical context, allowing scholars to assign a fairly narrow range of dates for composition.⁴³ Many scholars note that the description of Jerusalem as characterized by idolatry (1:4-5) and foreign assimilation and subservience (1:8) does not cohere with the attribution of Zephaniah's prophetic career to the reign of Josiah (1:1). Thus, a long scholarly tradition seeking to reconcile the regnal dating with the assumed condition of Jerusalem in Zeph 1 attributes these oracles to early in Josiah's reign before his reforms.⁴⁴ Scholars holding this position point to the "sons of the king" (בְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ; 1:8)

⁴³ See pp.314-319.

⁴⁴ E.g., Albin van Hoonacker, *Les douze petits prophètes, traduits et commentés* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1908), 498; Ermenegildo Florit, "Sofonia, Geremia e la cronaca di Gadd," *Bib* 15 (1934): 9; Albertus Hendrik Edelkoort, *Nahum, Habakuk, Zefanja: drie profeten voor onzen tijd* (Amsterdam: Albertus Hendrik, 1937), 69-77; Augustin George, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 2nd ed., La Sainte Bible (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1958), 51-52; Otto Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 3. auf. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1964), 572-73; Miloš Bič, *Trois prophètes dans un temps de ténèbres, Sophonie, Nahum, Habakuk*, LD 48 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968), 39-41; Carl-A. Keller, "Nahoum - Habacuc - Sophonie," in *Michée, Nahoum, Habacuc, Sophonie*, CAT 11b (Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1971), 180-81; Georg Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 7. Jahrhunderts Band 2 en Die Propheten des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1974), 13; John D. W. Watts, *The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, CBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 154; Wilhelm Rudolph, *Micha - Nahum - Habakuk - Zephaniah*, KAT 13,3 (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1975), 255; Guy Langohr, "Rédaction et composition du livre de Sophonie," *Mus* 89 (1976): 155; Guy Langohr, "Livre de Sophonie et la critique d'authenticité," *ETL* 52 (1976): 2-4, 7; Karl Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten II: Die Propheten Nahum, Habakuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Sacharja, Maleachi*, 8., unveränderte Aufl., ATD 25/2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 56-57; Mária Eszenyei Széles, *Wrath and Mercy: A Commentary on the Books of Habakkuk and Zephaniah*, trans. George A. F. Knight, ITC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 61; J. J. M. Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1991), 163-64; Rainer Kessler, *Staat und Gesellschaft im vorexilischen Juda: Vom 8. Jahrhundert bis zum Exil*, VTSup 47 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 61; Paul-Gerhard Schwesig, *Die Rolle der Tag-JHWHs-Dichtungen im Dodekapropheton*, BZAW 366 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 283; Steven S. Tuell, *Reading Nahum—Malachi: A Literary and Theological Commentary*, Reading the Old Testament (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2016), 112, 116, 120.

as evidence of Josiah's youth. The "sons of the king" (בני המלך), however, cannot apply to Josiah because this phrase references plural "sons" suggesting that multiple sons of an unnamed king face judgment. Their inclusion with "all those who dress in foreign garments" (כל-הלמשים מלבוש נכרי) suggests that these "sons of the king" take part in foreign assimilation and subservience. Furthermore, the proposed dating of Zeph 1 to early in the reign of Josiah cannot account for the immediate threat assumed in vv.10-11. Jerusalem does not face an immediate threat until the Babylonian incursion into the coastal Levant following the 605 BCE victory at Carchemish. After the death of Josiah, two of his sons acquire the throne successively by pledging loyalty to foreign imperial powers.⁴⁵ The wavering of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah in their loyalties to the Babylonian empire eventually leads to Jerusalem's destruction in 586 BCE.⁴⁶ Thus, the assumed socio-historical context in Zeph 1 best reflects the conditions of Jerusalem following the death of Josiah during which his sons acquired power through foreign subservience. The Book of the Four Redaction I supplements augment this preexisting Zephaniah material, suggesting that this redaction post-dates the tumultuous political conditions that ended the Jerusalem monarchy.

The second observation supporting an early exilic dating of the Book of the Four Redaction I layer is the assumed awareness of the destruction of Jerusalem. Hosea 8:14aβb announces the divinely decreed destruction of the towns of Judah and the citadels of Jerusalem. This verse uses the same language as Amos 2:4-5 in which God sends fire on Judah that consumes the citadels of Jerusalem. Amos 6:8 announces the divine loathing of the "pride of Jacob," along with the promise to deliver up the "city and all that is in her." The use of "pride of Jacob" elsewhere to reference Jerusalem and the

⁴⁵ First Chronicles 3:15 attributes four sons to Josiah.

⁴⁶ See also the observations of: Timo Veijola, "Zefanja und Joschija," in *Der Tag wird kommen: Ein interkontextuelles Gespräch über des Buch des Propheten Zefanja*, ed. Walter Dietrich and Milton Schwantes, SBS 170 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1996), 16–18.

Book of the Four Redaction I orientation of this verse suggests that the city of v.8 is Jerusalem. Micah 1:5b-7 compares the fates of Jerusalem and Samaria, announcing Samaria's destruction. Micah 1:9 then announces that the wound of Samaria has come to Jerusalem implying that the same fate of Samaria awaits Jerusalem. This imagery reemerges in the divine accusation against Jerusalem in Mic 6:9-16* for having the sins of the northern monarchy found in her midst. These supplements indicate that the Book of the Four Redaction I presupposes the destruction Jerusalem.

The third observation placing the Book of the Four Redaction I in the early exilic period is that this layer reflects a distinctive concern for the fate of those residing outside of Jerusalem. While the Book of the Four Redaction I assumes the destruction of Jerusalem, this awareness often occurs as part of a broader concern for the suffering brought upon the towns and villages outside Jerusalem's walls. Hosea 8:14aßb, for example, speaks of the destroyed towns of Judah and the citadels of Jerusalem. Thus, while this Hosea verse assumes the destruction of Jerusalem, the focus predominantly remains on the fate of those beyond Jerusalem's walls. Amos 2:4-5 reflects the same concern using similar language. Whereas the preceding Amos Oracles Against the Nations announce the commission of fire on either a ruling house (Amos 1:4) or city walls (Amos 1:7, 14; cf. 1:10, 12), the oracle against Judah sends the fire broadly upon Judah. This fire then consumes the citadels of Jerusalem, suggesting the outworking of this destruction on Jerusalem's surrounding network of fortifications. Micah 1:5b-7 similarly identifies Jerusalem as the "high place" of Judah. This tribal awareness reemerges in the speech in Mic 6:9-16* to a tribe and the one who appointed the city. Similar language occurs through the use of "clan" (משפחה) in Amos 3:1b-2 and Mic 2:3. These observations suggest that while the Book of the Four Redaction I presupposes the destruction of Jerusalem, the concern lies rather on the devastation brought to the broader landscape of Judah. Thus the Book of the Four Redaction I exhibits concern for those outside of Jerusalem at the onset of the exilic period. This perception distinguishes the

focus of the Book of the Four Redaction I from that of the Deuteronomistic History, which almost exclusively focuses on the monarchy in Jerusalem.

The final observation locating the Book of the Four Redaction I in the early exilic period comes from the supplements to Zeph 1:6 and 2:3 that assume that the audience faces an uncertain future of continued divine wrath. These two supplements link the fate of the Jerusalem elite to the prospect for the survival of the “afflicted of the land.” Zephaniah 1:6 supplements the preexisting accusation against “Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem” for their cultic infidelities. This accusation precedes the accusation of foreign assimilation and subservience signaled by the identification of the “officials” (השרים) and the “sons of the king” (בני המלך) who are included among “all those who wear the clothes of foreigners” (כל־הלבשים נכרי). Zephaniah 1:6 supplements these accusations by including those who turned away from YHWH and no longer seek him. Thus the failure to seek YHWH becomes part of this collection of accusations that brings destruction upon Jerusalem.

Zephaniah 2:3 supplements the direct speech to the “undesirable nation” (הגוי לא) with the command for the “afflicted of the land” (כל־ענוי הארץ) to seek YHWH. Thus Zeph 1:6 presents the failure to “seek YHWH” as the accusation justifying the judgment of the inhabitants of Jerusalem whereas Zeph 2:3 presents “seeking YHWH” as the means by which the remaining humble of the land may escape judgment. The identification “afflicted of the land” (כל־ענוי הארץ) suggests that the audience identifies with those who continue to suffer in the land. The prescription to “seek YHWH,” however, does not assure salvation or deliverance. Rather the future fate of the “afflicted of the land” (כל־ענוי הארץ) remains uncertain. Zephaniah 2:3bβ suggests the possibility (ביום אף־יהוה) that they could be hidden “in the Day of YHWH’s anger.” This language not only parallels the designation from v.2bβ, but assumes that the audience faces the likelihood of future manifestations of judgment. Thus Zeph 2:3 assumes that those who remain exist in an afflicted state and face the reality of more judgment to

come. Seeking YHWH becomes the only hope for being “hidden” when this judgment arrives. These Book of the Four Redaction I updates lack any awareness of deliverance from judgment. Rather, these edits assume that the audience still has further judgment ahead. This evidence indicates that the Book of the Four Redaction I layer occurs early in the exilic period after the destruction of Jerusalem, but when the fate of those left in the land still remained uncertain.

These four observations cumulatively support dating the Book of the Four Redaction I layer to early in the exilic period. The Book of the Four Redaction I layer scribes reveal a distinctive concern for the destruction experienced outside of Jerusalem. This observation, along with the assumption that the audience continues to face the manifestation of the wrath of God, suggests that the Book of the Four Redaction I layer reflects a unique concern with the fate of those remaining in the land after the destruction of Jerusalem. This socio-historical context reveals that the Book of the Four Redaction I scribes likely remained in the land after the destruction of Jerusalem.

2. *Exilic Scribalism in the Land*. Attributing Book of the Four editorial activity to those who remained in the land during the exile, however, faces the notable problem of identifying an administrative infrastructure capable of supporting the kind of scribal activity that could preserve texts the length of Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah. Recent studies of Israelite and Second Temple Jewish scribalism in light of broader ancient Near Eastern scribal practices observe that the scribal networks needed to preserve and edit lengthy texts like those currently found in the Hebrew Bible are often tied to royal or temple administrations.⁴⁷ Schniedewind correctly notes, however, that

⁴⁷ Van der Toorn, for example, closely ties the formation of Biblical Hebrew texts to the administrative infrastructure of the Second Jerusalem Temple (*Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007]). Schniedewind, alternatively, closely ties the formation of Biblical Hebrew texts to the royal administration of the preexilic period (*How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004], 35–117).

Judean society lost both the temple and the monarchy during the exilic period. He thus proposes that the Biblical Hebrew texts likely did not undergo much development during the exilic period due to the lack of the necessary scribal infrastructure.⁴⁸

Second Kings 25:8 indicates that a month passed between Nebuchadnezzar's capture of Jerusalem in 586 BCE and the decision to destroy the city. Albertz suggests that this hesitation reveals an uncertainty about destroying the city. He proposes that the Babylonians destroyed the city to remove the religious roots of anti-Babylonian sentiment in certain circles of the Jerusalem establishment.⁴⁹ While Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem and several surrounding sites, the goal does not appear to be the complete devastation of the region. Scholars widely recognize that the northern territory of Benjamin escaped the fate of Judah with minimal evidence of Babylonian led destruction.⁵⁰ Second Kings 25:22-23 indicates that Nebuchadnezzar appoints Gedaliah, son of Ahikam of the family of Shaphan as governor over the land following the destruction of Jerusalem. The Deuteronomistic History, however, provides minimal information beyond Gedaliah's appointment and subsequent assassination (cf. vv.24-26).

Jeremiah provides more insight into the appointment of Gedaliah and those remaining in Judah after the destruction of Jerusalem.⁵¹ Gedaliah is the grandson of Shaphan the scribe. The family of Shaphan repeatedly features in the Deuteronomistic History and Jeremiah as prominent scribes in both the royal and temple administrations.

⁴⁸ Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book*, 139–64.

⁴⁹ Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 54–55.

⁵⁰ Oded Lipschits, "The History of the Benjamin Region Under Babylonian Rule," *TA* 26 (1999): 155-190; idem, "The Rural Settlements in Judah in the Sixth Century B.C.E.: A Rejoinder," *PEQ* 136 (2004): 99-107; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 74. Barklay identifies significant continuity between Iron I and exilic period material culture ("The Redefining of Archaeological Periods: Does the Date 588/586 BCE Indeed Mark the End of the Iron Age Culture?," in *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990* [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993], 106–9).

⁵¹ On the ideological differences between the approach to the exile in the Deuteronomistic History and Jeremiah, see: Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 14–20.

Second Kings 22:3-7 identifies Shaphan as a prominent “scribe” (הספר) during Josiah’s reforms. Shaphan oversees the payments for temple renovations, and returns to Josiah with the “scroll of the Law” discovered in the temple (2 Kgs 22:8-14). Shaphan’s son Ahikam joins Shaphan and other administrators under Josiah’s command to inquire of the meaning of the scroll from the prophetess Huldah (2 Kgs 22:8-14; cf. 2 Chr 34:8-20). Jeremiah 29:3 reports that Jeremiah sent a letter to the Babylonian exiles “by the hand of” (בִּיד) Elasah son of Shaphan and Gemariah son of Hilkiyah when Zedekiah sent them to Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon. Jeremiah 36:10-19 indicates that Gamariah, the son of Shaphan, had his own chamber in the temple complex during the reign of Jehoiakim. Although Gamariah has his own chamber in the temple, he is not present for Baruch’s public reading of the scroll. Gamariah’s son Micaiah hears Baruch and brings word to Gemariah who was in the “scribal chamber” (לְשַׁכַּת הַסֵּפֶר) in the “royal palace” (בֵּית מֶלֶךְ) with other “officials” (הַשָּׂרִים) and at least one other “scribe” (סֹפֵר).⁵² These passages reveal that according to Jeremiah, the family of Shaphan served as prominent scribes in the temple and monarchy administrative infrastructures at the end of the preexilic era.

In addition to serving as prominent scribal administrators for the Jerusalem monarchy, the family of Shaphan consistently supported the Jerusalemite submission to Babylonian hegemony in the region. The family of Shaphan supported and sheltered the prophet Jeremiah, who preached a message of submission to Babylon. Gemariah and Micaiah take measures to protect Jeremiah and Baruch after hearing the words of Jeremiah’s scroll but before reporting the incident to the king (v.19). Gemariah later urged the king to not burn the scroll of Jeremiah as he read it (v.25). Ahikam similarly used his power to prevent Jeremiah’s execution after he prophesied against the temple (Jer 26:24). Further evidence comes from Zedekiah’s decision to send Elasah son of Shaphan as an envoy to king Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon (Jer 29:3).

⁵² Jaazaniah son of Shaphan appears in Ezek 8:11 along with the elders of Israel who are guilty of cultic abominations in the temple.

The greatest evidence for the family of Shaphan's political position supporting submission to Babylonian hegemony comes from the appointment of Shaphan's grandson Gedaliah over those remaining in Judah after the destruction of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 25:22; Jer 40:5). Whereas the Deuteronomistic History briefly mentions Gedaliah's appointment and subsequent assassination (2 Kgs 25:22-26), Jeremiah exhibits far more interest in the prospect of Gedaliah's leadership. Jeremiah 40:9-10 suggests that Gedaliah stood before the Chaldeans at Mizpah and encouraged submission to Babylon. The Babylonians left a garrison of soldiers with Gedaliah at Mizpah (Jer 41:3). The text suggests that he inspired Judeans living in Moab, Ammon, Edom, and other lands to return to Judah and that he acquired the loyalty of the leaders of the field troops (שרי החילים אשר בשדה) who warned him of the threat of assassination (Jer 40:11-16).

This evidence supports the conclusion that a scribal infrastructure remained operational in the land after the destruction of the Jerusalem monarchy and the temple. This scribal infrastructure previously served both temple and government administrative operations. Thus the scribal capabilities required for the production and editing of texts remained active in the land following the destruction of Jerusalem.

3. *The Book of the Four and Deuteronomism.* This socio-historical context positioning the Book of the Four scribes operating among those who remained in the land following the destruction of Jerusalem further accounts for the thematic similarities noted by past scholars with select passages in the Deuteronomistic History and Jeremiah. Past investigations of the Book of the Four often identify some form of Deuteronomistic theological profile.⁵³ These past assessments, of course recognize ideological and

⁵³ Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 190–91; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 56–57; idem, “Redactional Models: Comparisons, Contrasts, Agreements, Disagreements,” in *Society of Biblical Literature 1998 Seminar Papers*, vol. 2, 2 vols., SBLSP 37 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 903; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 165–66; idem, “Exile as Purification: Reconstructing the Book of the Four (Hosea, Amos, Micah, Zephaniah),” in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Scharf, BZAW 325 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 232–51; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 51–284; idem, “‘No Future for the Proud Exultant Ones’: The Exilic Book of the Four Prophets (Hos., Am., Mic., Zeph.) as a Concept

linguistic distinctions differentiating the Book of the Four from the Deuteronomistic History.⁵⁴ This approach to the theological profile of the Book of the Four inherently discusses “Deuteronomism” as a theological stream of tradition containing a degree of internal diversity and diachronic development.⁵⁵ Defining Deuteronomism as a theological stream of tradition allows for greater flexibility in labeling a passage “Deuteronomistic” than found in past studies that assume either a single Deuteronomistic scribe operating in the early exilic period or a unified Deuteronomistic school.⁵⁶ This broader use of the designation “Deuteronomistic,” opens the Book of the Four hypothesis to criticism from those expressing concern over Pan-Deuteronomism.⁵⁷ This criticism raises the problem of determining the point at which the designation “Deuteronomistic”

Opposed to the Deuteronomistic History,” *VT* 58 (2008): 608–27; Nogalski, “One Book and Twelve Books,” 14.

⁵⁴ Schart, for example, labels the collection “D” on account of the lack of Deuteronomistic language (“Redactional Models,” 2:903; idem, *Die Entstehung*, 56–57). Albertz similarly notes the lack of Deuteronomistic voice (*Die Exilszeit*, 165–66). He proposes that the Deuteronomistic movement splintered after the death of Josiah thus accounting for the ideological differences between the Deuteronomistic History, Jeremiah, and the Book of the Four (“Wer waren die Deuteronomisten?: Das historische Rätsel einer literarischen Hypothese,” *EvTh* 57 [1997]: 319–38; idem, “Deuteronomistic History and the Heritage of the Prophets,” in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*, ed. Martti Nissinen, VTSup 148 [Leiden: Brill, 2012], 343–68). Wöhrle accounts for the differences between the Book of the Four and the Deuteronomistic History by proposing that the Book of the Four supplies an alternative interpretation of the fall of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms by adding social transgressions and militaristic self-exaltation to the Deuteronomistic presentation of cultic offenses (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 255–71).

⁵⁵ See, for example, Wöhrle’s critique of those expressing concerns over Pan-Deuteronomism. Wöhrle notes that such concerns often assume a necessary unity of Deuteronomistic thought and thus do not allow for the possibility of internal diversity or development within the Deuteronomist camp (*Die frühen Sammlungen*, 52–53, n.9).

⁵⁶ The seminal work of Martin Noth assumes a far more unified theological profile for “Deuteronomism” on account of his attribution of Deuteronomistic editing to a single scribe. See Noth’s early assessments in: *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien: die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament*, 3., unveränderte Aufl. (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1967). Others who identify multiple layers in the Deuteronomistic editing of Samuel and Kings prefer to speak of a “Deuteronomistic school.” E.g., Ernest W. Nicholson, *Deuteronomy and Tradition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1967); Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972). See Wöhrle’s criticism of these past approaches assuming the uniformity of the Deuteronomistic profile: *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 52–53, n.9.

⁵⁷ E.g., Ben Zvi, “A Deuteronomistic Redaction,” 232–61.

becomes so broad that it ceases to designate a definable ideology within the context of late preexilic and early exilic Judean thought.⁵⁸

Past Book of the Four advocates identify ideological differences between the editorial agenda of the Book of the Four and the Deuteronomistic History. This study confirms this conclusion by noting three significant differences between these two collections. First, as noted by Scharf and Albertz, the Book of the Four supplements lack identifiable Deuteronomistic vocabulary.⁵⁹ In addition to lacking Deuteronomistic language, these supplements often employ non-Deuteronomistic vocabulary and phrases, thus differentiating them from the scribal patterns observed in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History. The few passages employing plausible Deuteronomistic language juxtapose it with distinctively non-Deuteronomistic phrasing and vocabulary (e.g., Amos 2:4-5; 7:9-17). This evidence supports the conclusion that the Book of the Four exhibits a different linguistic profile than the Deuteronomistic History.

The second difference distinguishing the Book of the Four Redaction I from the Deuteronomistic History is the focus of the composition. The Deuteronomistic History exhibits an almost exclusive concern with the fate of the monarchy. The text exhibits little concern with characters beyond their dealings with the monarchy.⁶⁰ The Book of the Four Redaction I, however, exhibits a considerably different focus. While this redaction betrays an awareness of the destruction of Jerusalem, the concern focuses on the fate of the towns and villages outside of Jerusalem. The destruction referenced in Hos 8:14aßb

⁵⁸ On this concern, see: Richard J. Coggins, "What Does 'Deuteronomistic' Mean?," in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism*, ed. Linda S. Schearing and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 268 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 31–33.

⁵⁹ Scharf, "Redactional Models," 2:903; idem., *Die Entstehung*, 56–57; Albertz, *Die Exilszeit*, 165–66.

⁶⁰ Hence the minimal concern with Gedaliah in 2 Kgs 25:22-26. Second Kings ends not with a focus on prospective hope assigned to a governor but rather with the release of Jehoiachin (2 Kgs 25:27-29). See also the formulaic association of the sins of the Northern Kingdom as the "sin of Jeroboam:" 1 Kgs 12:25-33; 13:33-34; 14:16; 15:30, 34; 16:2; 16:7, 19, 26, 31; 21:22; 22:53; 2 Kgs 3:3; 9:9; 10:29, 31; 13:2, 6, 11; 14:24; 15:9, 18, 24, 28; 17:21, 22; 23:15.

and Amos 2:4-5 explicitly concerns the towns of Judah and the citadels of Jerusalem. These updates reflect a tribal identity (e.g., Amos 3:1b-2; Mic 2:3) affected by the actions of Jerusalem. Thus Mic 1:5b-7 identifies Jerusalem as the “high place” of Judah and Mic 6:9-16* addresses the tribe concerning the suffering that the city has brought on it. These observations suggest that while the Book of the Four Redaction I presupposes the destruction of Jerusalem, the concern and focus lies rather on the devastation brought to the broader landscape of Judah. Thus the Book of the Four Redaction I exhibits a considerably different focus than the Deuteronomistic History.

The third difference distinguishing the Book of the Four Redaction I layer from the scribal agenda identified in the Deuteronomistic History is the absence of a unifying function performed by these allegedly Deuteronomistic themes. One of the central literary functions of the Deuteronomistic agenda in the Deuteronomistic History (whether identified as a single layer or multiple layers) is that it utilizes a common set of thematic concerns and formulaic language to link the diverse pericopes and source material into a common theological paradigm interpreting the history of ancient Israel and Judah. The repeated use of Deuteronomistic themes in the Deuteronomistic History thus serves a unifying function across the corpus. The repeated references to the “sin of Jeroboam” or the “way of Jeroboam,” for example, form a unifying theme across the diverse reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah.⁶¹ While the kings of these two kingdoms exhibit considerable diversity in terms of the events of their reigns, the Deuteronomistic redaction judges each king by a common theological standard of cultic fidelity to YHWH. Thus the concern for idolatry spans across the Deuteronomistic History, forming a linking theme that draws the individual stories together into a larger metanarrative.

The Book of the Four Redaction I motifs that parallel thematic concerns in parts of the Deuteronomistic History, however, fail to perform this linking function across the

⁶¹ First Kings 12:25-33; 13:33-34; 14:16; 15:30, 34; 16:2; 16:7, 19, 26, 31; 21:22; 22:53; 2 Kgs 3:3; 9:9; 10:29, 31; 13:2, 6, 11; 14:24; 15:9, 18, 24, 28; 17:21, 22; 23:15

collection. Whereas the theme of idolatry forms a linking function across the Deuteronomistic History, this theme appears in relative isolation only in Mic 1:5b-7. One could associate this theme of idolatry with the more general concern for cultic offenses in Hos 4:15aßb, but this concern still fails to provide a linking function across the preexisting source material as it does in the Deuteronomistic History. Thus while the Deuteronomistic History and the Book of the Four Redaction I both employ the theme of idolatry, the limited use of this theme in the Book of the Four Redaction I suggests that this theme serves a different literary purpose in the corpus than it does in the Deuteronomistic History. Similarly, the exodus motif found in Amos 2:10-12; 3:1b-2 does not extend across the Book of the Four, but rather occurs in only two supplements in Amos. While many of these Book of the Four Redaction I supplements contain a thematic parallel with some aspect of the Deuteronomistic History, few share the same thematic parallel.⁶² Thus these thematic parallels fail to supply the linking function across the Book of the Four as the key themes do in the Deuteronomistic History. This differing literary function indicates that the use of these themes does not serve the same purpose in the Book of the Four Redaction I. The fact that none of these themes provides a linking function across the Book of the Four suggests that the literary and ideological agenda of the Book of the Four Redaction I is not found in these themes.

These three observations confirm the conclusions of previous Book of the Four advocates that these supplements exhibit a scribal character and theological profile distinguishable from the Deuteronomistic History. This conclusion raises the question of the degree to which the Book of the Four Redaction I may be associated with a distinctively Deuteronomistic theological tradition. The preceding study confirms that

⁶² The theme of idolatry appears only in Mic 1:5b-7. One could associate this theme with the broader concern for cultic infidelities in Hos 4:15aßb. The exodus motif only occurs in Amos 2:10-12; 3:1b-2. One could associate this theme with the rejection of the prophet in Amos 2:10-12; 7:9-17, yet this theme still fails to link the multiple prophetic messages that comprise the Book of the Four. The binary curse formula occurs only in Mic 6:14-15 and Zeph 1:13b. Similarly the theme of “seeking YHWH” only appears in Zeph 1:6; 2:3.

these Book of the Four Redaction I supplements contain thematic parallels with passages from the Deuteronomistic History. Each of these parallels, however, is non-exclusive to Deuteronomism. This non-exclusive nature means that these themes occur far beyond the traditional bounds of Deuteronomistic compilations. The presence of these themes beyond the bounds of traditionally defined Deuteronomistic compilations means that the existence of these themes in the Book of the Four may not necessitate a distinctively Deuteronomistic ideological agenda.

Biblical Hebrew literature supports the identification of different sectarian groups operating in different Judean communities at the end of the monarchic period. Several observations support the identification of clearly demarcated schools of thought operating during this period. The prophetic contests in Jer 26-28 reveal conflicting schools of thought operating in late preexilic Jerusalem. Comparisons of the ideology reflected in Jeremiah and Ezekiel reveal theological differences across the diaspora.⁶³ Shared themes across this breadth of exilic thought, therefore, suggest that these various theological streams of tradition drew upon a shared theological inheritance. The attribution of the Deuteronomistic ideological agenda to the late preexilic and exilic socio-historical context means that it will inevitably share literary trends with the broader assemblage of late preexilic and exilic compositions. The Deuteronomistic History, for example, compares the respective fate of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms (2 Kgs 17:19-20; 21:3, 13; 23:27). This comparison, however, reflects a broader literary trend that grows out of the eighth-century BCE prophetic tradition and blossoms across the spectrum of late preexilic and exilic thought. The only way to associate the presence of this theme in any given text with a distinctively Deuteronomistic ideological agenda is to demonstrate that the text under consideration uses identifiably Deuteronomistic language or other literary conventions that distinguish the Deuteronomistic use of this comparison motif

⁶³ E.g., Mark A. Leuchter, *The Polemics of Exile in Jeremiah 26–45* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

from the broader use of this motif across the spectrum of sixth-century BCE Hebrew literature. The fact that the Book of the Four use of the comparison motif fails to exhibit any literary feature that distinguishes the Deuteronomistic use of this motif from the broader use of this theme across the sixth-century BCE compositions means that the evidence only supports concluding that the Book of the Four reflects a sixth-century BCE socio-historical context, which is also reflected in the Deuteronomistic History.

Arguments for Deuteronomism that only compare a literary theme with Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History without considering the ways in which that theme may feature more broadly in late preexilic and exilic literary compositions thus face a methodological difficulty. Such comparisons could correctly identify a thematic parallel between a given text and a previously identified Deuteronomistic passage, yet fail to consider that the theme is reflective of a broader late preexilic or exilic literary trend. Past Book of the Four scholars correctly note that the Book of the Four additions share some themes with a broadly defined corpus of Deuteronomistic literature, yet the existence of these themes across the breadth of sixth-century BCE literature suggests that these parallels only support concluding that the Book of the Four shares a common sixth-century BCE socio-historical context with Deuteronomism. The absence of distinctively Deuteronomistic language or literary characteristics aligning the Book of the Four Redaction I supplements with an identifiably Deuteronomistic use of these themes prevents attributing the existence of these themes to a distinctively Deuteronomistic ideological agenda.

Each of these themes in the Book of the Four Redaction I that parallel some aspect of Deuteronomistic thought are non-exclusive to Deuteronomistic texts, indicating that they are not sufficient marks of a distinctive Deuteronomistic agenda. Two Book of the Four Redaction I supplements in Amos 2:10-12 and 3:1b-2 allude to the exodus and wilderness traditions. These traditions, however, occur broadly across the spectrum of sixth-century BCE Hebrew literature. Martin Noth famously remarks that references to

God's deliverance of Israel from Egypt form one of the most frequently repeated faith declarations in the Old Testament. He proposes that the formulaic reference to the exodus likely attained fixed form early in Israelite tradition, thus accounting for how similar occurrences of the formula occur across such a wide spectrum of biblical Hebrew literary traditions.⁶⁴ As noted in the discussions of Mic 6:14-15 and Zeph 1:13b, the binary curse formula occurs across a broad range of prophetic texts. The lack of distinctive literary correspondence with Deut 28 only allows for the conclusion that Deut 28, Zeph 1:13b, and Mic 6:14-15 all drew upon a common prophetic speech form without necessitating the Deuteronomistic origins of Zeph 1:13b and Mic 6:14-15. The breadth of references to "seeking YHWH" across the Hebrew prophetic literature similarly leads Zobel to conclude that this theme reflects a prophetic tradition adopted by Deuteronomism rather than evidence of a distinctive Deuteronomistic ideological agenda.⁶⁵ The theme of idolatry, which occurs in only one Book of the Four Redaction I supplement, occurs frequently in Hebrew prophetic polemics.⁶⁶

The fact that these themes occur broadly across Hebrew prophetic literature, combined with the fact that the Book of the Four Redaction I layer lacks distinctive literary features aligning it with the Deuteronomistic use of these themes, means that this study cannot conclude a distinctively Deuteronomistic profile for the Book of the Four

⁶⁴ Martin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche des Pentateuch*, 3. Aufl. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1948), 50–54. For lists of the reception of exodus imagery, language, themes, and formulas across the Hebrew Bible, see: Kurt Gallig, *Die erwählungstraditionen Israels*, BZAW 48 (Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1928), 5–26; Cornelis Houtman, *Exodus*, vol. 1, 4 vols., HCOT (Kampen, Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1993), 190–212.

⁶⁵ Konstantin Zobel, *Prophetie und Deuteronomium: die Rezeption prophetischer Theologie durch das Deuteronomium*, BZAW 199 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992), 88–107.

⁶⁶ For the range of references to idolatry in the Hebrew Bible, see: Edward Curtis, "Idol, Idolatry," ed. David Noel Freedman, *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 376–81; José Faur et al., "Idolatry," ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), 710–15. Idolatry is such a prominent theme that it led Kaufmann to propose that idolatry was the central problem in Israelite religion (*The Religion of Israel: From Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile*, trans. Moshe Greenberg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960). For a critique of Kaufmann, see: José Faur, "The Biblical Idea of Idolatry," *JQR* 69 (1978): 1–15.

Redaction I. Each of these themes appears as part of the broader prophetic tradition, with no literary characteristics suggesting a distinguishable Deuteronomistic ideological agenda. These Book of the Four Redaction I updates furthermore, draw upon preexisting passages within the Book of the Four in order to construct these updates. Thus the Book of the Four itself contains all of the necessary thematic building blocks to account for the presence of these thematic parallels with select aspects of Deuteronomism. The binary curse formulas of Mic 6:14-15 and Zeph 1:13b, for example, draw upon Hos 4:10-11 and Amos 5:11 respectively. The theme of idolatry in Mic 1:5b-7 draws upon idolatry language from Hosea just as the allusion to cultic infidelities in Hos 4:15a^βb draws its language from Amos 4:4 and 5:5. The exodus theme in Amos 2:10-11 extends the preexisting allusions in Amos 2:9. The preexisting prophetic material in the Book of the Four supplies all of the necessary theological and literary building blocks to construct these themes that reflect some parallels with Deuteronomism. The Book of the Four Redaction I layer does not require a theological tradition beyond the received Book of the Four texts in order to construct these redactional updates. The evidence supports concluding that the Book of the Four Redaction I shares a common socio-historical context with Deuteronomism at the end of the Jerusalemite monarchy and the beginning of the exile during which time these themes flourished across the spectrum of Hebrew literature. Locating the Book of the Four Redaction I in the early exilic period accounts for the thematic parallels with Deuteronomistic texts without necessitating a Deuteronomistic theological profile.

Theological Profile of the Book of the Four Redaction I

The Book of the Four Redaction I layer reflects evidence of an early exilic socio-historical context among those who remain in the land after the destruction of Jerusalem. This layer reflects a unified theological profile that not only supports the collection of these supplements into a single redactional layer, but also further illuminates the

ideological agenda behind the formation of this collection. This theological profile manifests in the consistent use of four themes: the comparison of the fates of the northern and southern kingdoms, the attribution of judgment to the people's persistent rejection of divine instruction, the suffering beyond Jerusalem, and the Day of YHWH.

1. The Comparison of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. Previous Book of the Four models correctly conclude that this collection draws a comparison between the accusations and fates of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms.⁶⁷ The Book of the Four Redaction I assumes that the Northern and Southern Kingdoms faced comparable accusations. These similar accusations thus lead both kingdoms into similar judgments (e.g., Hos 8:14aβb; Mic 1:5b-7, 9; 6:9-16*). The Book of the Four Redaction I layer explains the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of Judah as the manifestation of the same divine judgment that brought the Northern Kingdom of Israel to an end.

The accusations against the Northern Kingdom of Israel in Hosea and Amos assume a new relevance for the Southern Kingdom of Judah. Hosea 1:1 and Amos 1:1bα position the prophecies of Hosea and Amos in relation to both the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. This superscriptional orientation suggests a recognition that these prophecies concerning the Northern Kingdom of Israel have relevance for the Southern Kingdom of Judah. Hosea 4:15aβb and 8:14aβb both extend accusations against Israel to include Judah. Amos 2:4-5 similarly adds Judah to the Amos Oracles Against the Nations just before the climactic oracle against Israel.

The Book of the Four Redaction I layer supplements the southern prophecies of Micah and Zephaniah similarly to present the judgment against Judah as a renewed manifestation of the judgment faced by its northern counterpart. Thus Mic 1:5b-7, 9 opens Micah's prophecies against the Southern Kingdom by comparing Jerusalem with

⁶⁷ E.g., Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 190–91; Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 227–29; Nogalski, “One Book and Twelve Books,” 14; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 245–47.

Samaria. Samaria suffered destruction as a result of her numerous sins. Micah 1:9 then indicates that these sins found their way to Jerusalem. The same transfer of transgressions from the north to the south occurs in Mic 6:9-16*. The Book of the Four Redaction I supplements in Zeph 1:6, 13b; 2:3 develop Zephaniah's Day of YHWH prophecy with language from the Day of YHWH prophecy in Amos 5. This comparison suggests that Judah faces the same Day of YHWH judgment proclaimed in Amos 5 against the Northern Kingdom. The addition of parallel utterances in Amos 5:13 and Mic 2:3 creates a structural parallel between the accusations of Amos 5:11-17 leading to the Day of YHWH and the accusations against the southern elite in Mic 2:1-4. The Book of the Four Redaction I layer, therefore, assumes that the Northern and Southern Kingdoms faced comparable judgments as a result of comparable crimes.

This comparison motif serves two theological functions within the Book of the Four Redaction I layer. First, this comparison motif draws the Northern and Southern Kingdoms together into a shared paradigm of divine judgment. These two kingdoms committed comparable sins, faced comparable accusations, and thus suffered the same divine judgment. This comparison, however, means that the prophetic voices of the north become relevant for a southern audience, as both kingdoms share in the same accusations and judgments. This comparison motif thus provides a theological foundation for the preservation of Hosea and Amos among Southern scribal circles alongside Southern prophetic voices. Second, this comparison motif reflects the same development of the eighth-century BCE prophetic use of this theme as found in other sixth-century BCE compositions. The Book of the Four Redaction I layer presents the temporal distance between the respective fates of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms by suggesting that the Southern Kingdom followed after—and learned from—the Northern Kingdom. This temporal division suggests that Judah had historical awareness of this divine judgment paradigm, and thus a historical warning that went unheeded. The presentation of the fate of the Northern Kingdom as an unheeded warning to Judah correlates with the second

theological theme persistent throughout the Book of the Four Redaction I layer: the rejection of the divine instruction that could have saved Judah.

2. *The Rejection of Divine Instruction.* Past Book of the Four models note that select Book of the Four supplements display the theme of the rejection of the prophet (e.g., Amos 2:10-12; 7:9-17) and the rejection of Torah (e.g., Amos 2:4-5).⁶⁸ While these specific themes do appear in Book of the Four supplements, they do so only in Amos. Rather, these passages function as part of a broader theme that consistently appears throughout the Book of the Four supplements. The Book of the Four Redaction I layer assumes that Judah rejected the divine instruction that could have saved Judah from destruction. The rejection of this instruction, however, made this judgment inevitable.

The inaugural Book of the Four Redaction I supplement in Hos 4:15aβb extends the accusations of Hos 4:4-19* to have implications for Judah. This extension thus redirects the accusations of “rejecting knowledge” (הִדְעַת מַאֲסָה), and “forgetting torah” (וְחִשְׁכָּה תוֹרָה; v.6) to concern Judah. This abandonment of divine instruction thus leads the people down the path of iniquities outlined in Hos 4:4-19*. Hosea 8:14aβb extends the preceding accusation against Israel to include Judah. The accusation against Israel in v.14aα notes that Israel has forgotten its maker. This forgetfulness manifests in Israel’s construction of temples. The Book of the Four Redaction I supplement extends the manifestation of this forgetfulness for Judah, thereby suggesting that Judah too has forgotten its maker. Both supplements thus redirect the Northern Kingdom’s rejection of divine instruction and knowledge of God to apply to Judah.

Hosea 8:14aβb replicates language from the Amos Oracles Against the Nations, which reappears in the Book of the Four Redaction I supplement now accusing Judah of similarly rejecting torah and not keeping God’s statutes. This rejection of torah leads to

⁶⁸ See the discussion in: Scharf, *Die Entstehung*, 224–25.

the same judgment of fire against Judah as decreed for Judah's forgetfulness in Hos 8:14aβb. This rejection of divine instruction further manifests through the rejection of the prophets, which forms a framing function around the core Amos accusation in Amos (2:10-12; 7:9-17).⁶⁹

The importance of divine instruction manifests in the prescription for surviving divine judgment in Zeph 2:3. The Book of the Four Redaction I layer applies Amos's Day of YHWH language to develop the description of the Day of YHWH in Zephaniah. Zephaniah 1:6 augments the initial accusation against Jerusalem and Judah by adding that they turned away from YHWH and failed to seek him. This language then reemerges in Zeph 2:3 as part of the formula for the "afflicted of the land" to escape divine wrath. Thus the Book of the Four Redaction I layer in Zephaniah indicates that the failure to seek YHWH led to the manifestation of divine wrath against Judah. This layer prescribes seeking YHWH as the necessary course of action for surviving this divine judgment.⁷⁰

3. The Suffering Beyond Jerusalem. Previous Book of the Four advocates conclude that the Book of the Four has a distinctively Judean orientation (e.g., Hos 1:1; 4:15aβb; 8:14aβb; Amos 1:1bα; 2:4-5; 6:8).⁷¹ In addition to drawing frequent comparisons between the respective fates of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms, the Book of the Four Redaction I layer assumes the destruction of Jerusalem (e.g., Hos 8:14aβb; Amos 2:4-5; 6:8; Mic 1:5b-7, 9). While this layer assumes the destruction of Jerusalem, the concern focuses upon the fate of the towns, villages, and fortifications

⁶⁹ Scholars often associate the theme of "rejecting the prophet" with Deuteronomistic ideology (e.g., Ibid., 229–31). This theme appears in Book of the Four Redaction I supplements, however, it does not serve a unifying function across the Book of the Four. Rather the rejection of the prophet serves as part of a larger trend in the Book of the Four supplements of rejecting divine instruction that could have prevented the wrath that came upon Judah.

⁷⁰ On the theme of "seeking YHWH" in the Book of the Four, see also: Ibid., 223–24; Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 251.

⁷¹ E.g., Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 221.

outside of Jerusalem. The destruction proclaimed against Judah in Amos 2:4-5 specifically falls upon the “citadels of Jerusalem.” This same focus on the fate of Jerusalem’s “citadels” features alongside the concern for the destruction of her “towns” in Hos 8:14aßb (see also the concern for citadels in Amos 6:8). The Book of the Four Redaction I addition in Mic 6:9-16* speaks about a city (Jerusalem) to the “tribe” suffering as a result of the city’s transgressions. This Book of the Four Redaction I supplement thus expresses an awareness of the suffering of the tribe beyond the walls of Jerusalem. This language of “tribe” further recalls the familial language of “clan” in Amos 3:1b-2 and Mic 2:3. Zephaniah 1:6 and v.13b augment preexisting accusations against Jerusalem and her inhabitants (cf. v.4, 12), which culminates in the Day of YHWH judgment against her “impenetrable cities” (v.16).

This Judean focus extends far beyond the walls of Jerusalem. The Book of the Four Redaction I layer exhibits a notable concern with the destruction that Jerusalem brought upon the surrounding towns and fortified cities. When read in light of Zeph 2:3, this concern with the destruction of localities outside of Jerusalem suggests a distinctive concern for the people of the land who suffered as a result of Jerusalem. Zephaniah 2:3 specifically addresses the “afflicted of the land” providing guidance for surviving the manifestation of divine wrath. The text advises this audience to “seek YHWH.” Thus the audience is advised to do the very thing that the inhabitants of Jerusalem failed to do according to the Book of the Four Redaction I supplement in Zeph 1:6.

4. *The Day of YHWH.* The Day of YHWH often appears as a theme studied in the context of the Book of the Twelve as a whole.⁷² Many scholars note that Amos and

⁷² James D. Nogalski, “The Day(s) of YHWH in the Book of the Twelve,” in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Scharf, BZAW 325 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 192–213; Rolf Rendtorff, “Der ‘Tag Jhwhs’ im Zwölfprophetenbuch,” in “*Wort JHWHs, das geschah...*” (*Hos 1,1*): Studien zum Zwölfprophetenbuch, ed. Erich Zenger, HBS 35 (Freiburg: Herder, 2002), 1–11; Martin Beck, *Der “Tag YHWHs” im Dodekapropheten: Studien im Spannungsfeld von Traditions- und Redaktionsgeschichte*, BZAW 356 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005); Schwesig, *Die Rolle*; Jean-Daniel Macchi,

Zephaniah each have Day of YHWH oracles, but the significance of this theme for Book of the Four has been primarily limited to seeing the Day of YHWH against Samaria as comparable to the Day of YHWH against Jerusalem. Schwesig changes this conversation in his assessment of the growth of the Day of YHWH theme at the level of the Book of the Four. Schwesig argues that the Book of the Four develops Zeph 1:7-16* in order to construct a structural parallel with Amos 5:18-20.⁷³

The Book of the Four Redaction I supplements in Mic 2:3; Zeph 1:6, 13b; 2:3 all draw language from the Day of YHWH discourse from Amos 5. The application of Amos 5 language to the Day of YHWH oracle in Zeph 1:4-2:3* reframes the Day of YHWH against Jerusalem and Judah as a renewed manifestation of Amos's Day of YHWH against the Northern Kingdom of Israel. The addition of parallel supplements in Amos 5:13 and Mic 2:3 further serves to arrange Micah's accusation against the Jerusalem elite in Mic 2:1-4 into a structural parallel with the accusations in Amos 5:11-17, which culminate in the Day of YHWH. These parallels thus suggest that since the Book of the Four Redaction I editors saw the Northern and Southern Kingdoms as facing comparable accusations and judgments, that Amos's Day of YHWH against the Northern Kingdom of Israel provides pertinent information for understanding the destruction of Jerusalem as the manifestation of that same judgment paradigm.

Conclusion. The presence of these four themes across the Book of the Four Redaction I layer signals that the Book of the Four redactor(s) interpreted the destruction of Jerusalem as the manifestation of the Day of YHWH. Jerusalem suffered the same fate as its northern neighbor for similar reasons making the prophecies of the Northern Kingdom relevant to a southern audience seeking to understand the destruction brought

"Le thème du 'jour de YHWH' dans les XII petits prophètes," in *Les prophètes de la Bible et la fin des temps*, ed. Jacques Vermeulen (Paris: Cerf, 2010), 141–81.

⁷³ Schwesig, *Die Rolle*, 282–84.

by the Babylonian armies in their land. The Book of the Four Redaction I editor(s) believed that the Judean people, like their northern neighbors, rejected the divine instruction that could have averted such judgment. Rather than following the instruction of God, the people of Judah followed the path of Israel into the illicit crimes that brought about the manifestation of the Day of YHWH against them. The Book of the Four Redaction I layer reflects a unique concern with the suffering of the towns and fortified cities beyond Jerusalem, suggesting an awareness of the continued suffering of those who remained in the region of Judah after the Babylonian deportations.

Reading the Four Together in the Book of the Four Redaction I

The identification of shared editorial activity across the Book of the Four raises the question of the degree to which this editorial layer links these four individual prophetic voices into a larger literary composition. At the heart of this question lies the concern for whether or not the evidence supports speaking of the Book of the Four as a literary “unity” or a “single scroll.” The question of the “unity” of the Book of the Four should proceed cautiously as there is a danger of misunderstanding the intricate nuances of past Book of the Twelve models and their implications for the Book of the Four.

Critics often object to a “unified” reading of the Book of the Twelve by pointing to the individuality of each prophetic text. The prophetic texts of the Twelve, for example, retain twelve individual superscriptions, and twelve individual prophetic identities. Critics often take these observations as indisputable evidence that the Minor Prophets should be read individually.⁷⁴ The problem with such objections is that they

⁷⁴ E.g., Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, 9–11; 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 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 137; David L. Petersen, “A Book of the Twelve?,” in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, ed. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, SymS 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 3–10; John Barton, *Joel and Obadiah: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 116–17; Rudnig-Zelt, “Die Genese des Hoseabuches,” 358, n.24; Ehud Ben Zvi, “The Prophetic Book: A Key Form of Prophetic Literature,” in *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Marvin A. Sweeney (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 284;

often assume that the identification of a single literary agenda spanning multiple prophetic books necessarily requires the dissolution of the individual prophetic identities of the collection's component parts. This assumption does not do justice to the nuanced approaches to the literary formation of the Book of the Twelve that describe the tension between the collective coherence and individuality of these twelve prophetic works in different ways.⁷⁵ The investigation of a text's literary function within an intentionally constructed collection does not necessitate the denial of that text's individuality. Similarly, the investigation of editorial activity to heighten a text's coherence within a larger collection does not necessitate denying the individuality of that literary text. Scholars identifying some level of editorially constructed literary coherence across the individual components of the Twelve describe this collective coherence differently. These different descriptions may have different implications for the conception of a text's coherence with the larger collection at different compositional levels, but few Book of the Twelve scholars go so far as to consistently dissolve these individual prophetic identities for the sake of labeling the Book of the Twelve a single "book."

The conversation concerning the relationship between the coherence and the individuality of these twelve prophetic texts, therefore, is far more a conversation of "degree" rather than one of "kind." The differences often emerge in how one balances

Julia M. O'Brien, *Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, AOTC (Nashville: Abingdon, 2004), 19; Ehud Ben Zvi, *Hosea*, FOTL 21A/1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 6–7; Ehud Ben Zvi, "Is the Twelve Hypothesis Likely from an Ancient Reader's Perspective?," in *Two Sides of a Coin: Juxtaposing Views on Interpreting the Book of The Twelve*, *Analecta Gorgiana* 201 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009), 72–79; Tchavdar S. Hadjiev, "Zephaniah and the 'Book of the Twelve' Hypothesis," in *Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel*, ed. John Day, LHBOTS 531 (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 325; Massimiliano Scandroglio, *Gioele e Amos in dialogo: inserzioni redazionali di collegamento e aperture interpretative*, AnBib 193 (Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2011), 7–8, n.1; Roman Vielhauer, "Hosea in the Book of the Twelve," in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations-Redactional Processes-Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 55–56.

⁷⁵ Several scholars call for the need to maintain this balance in Book of the Twelve scholarship. E.g., John Barton, "The Canonical Meaning of the Book of the Twelve," in *After the Exile: Essays in Honour of Rex Mason*, ed. John Barton and David J. Reimer (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1996), 67; Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics*, 91; Scandroglio, *Gioele e Amos in dialogo*, 7–8.

these two realities about the Book of the Twelve rather than which one of these categories one supports. The conclusions one draws concerning the relationship between the coherence and the individuality of the Twelve prophetic texts then informs the range of nomenclature one feels comfortable applying to the collection.

Three observations indicate that the Book of the Four Redaction I layer presupposes, and intentionally preserves the individual prophetic identities of Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah. First, the Book of the Four Redaction I layer constructs or augments four individual superscriptions for these four prophetic voices suggesting a continued recognition of the individuality of each prophetic identity.⁷⁶ Second, the Book of the Four Redaction I updates consistently echo language and syntactical structures from their immediate literary contexts revealing a shared scribal technique for literary integration. This observation indicates that the scribe(s) constructed these updates to read as continuations of the preexisting prophetic message, reflecting the language and style of the preexisting prophetic text. Thus rather than trying to conform the preexisting material into a shared style, the scribe(s) preserved the individual styles of the preexisting prophetic voices. Finally, aside from the superscriptions, a majority of the Book of the Four Redaction I updates form frames around preexisting material. These updates form a frame in each of these four prophetic texts. Thus these updates serve to reframe or augment four prophetic messages. These three observations suggest that the Book of the Four Redaction I layer presupposes, and intentionally preserves the individuality of the four prophetic texts that it updates.

The awareness and preservation of the individuality of each of these four prophetic texts raises the question of the degree to which this shared redactional layer

⁷⁶ Many scholars point to the existence of individual superscriptions in order to argue against a unified reading of the Book of the Twelve in general, and the Book of the Four in particular. E.g., Ben Zvi, "Twelve Prophetic Books," 137; Barton, *Joel and Obadiah*, 116–17; Rudnig-Zelt, "Die Genese des Hoseabuches," 358, n.24; Ben Zvi, "The Prophetic Book," 284; idem, *Hosea*, 6–7; idem, "Is the Twelve Hypothesis," 72–79; Vielhauer, "Hosea in the Book of the Twelve," 55–56.

augments these messages to function together as part of a larger collection. Nogalski's initial study of the Book of the Four correctly observes that the Book of the Four reflects an intentional ordering principle that moves from the prophets of the Northern Kingdom (Hosea and Amos) to the prophets of the Southern Kingdom (Micah and Zephaniah). The first northern and southern prophets (Hosea and Micah) assume that repentance remains a viable way to avoid judgment. The second northern and southern prophets (Amos and Zephaniah), however, assume that judgment has become irreversible.⁷⁷ The superscriptions of these four texts clearly arrange Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah into a shared chronological ordering principle. Past Book of the Four advocates often speak of this North—South movement through the collection in terms of a “linear” reading program, whereby the editors assume that readers move from one prophetic text to the next akin to moving between two successive chapters. Thus Nogalski argues that the comparison between Samaria and Jerusalem in Mic 1:2-7, 9 serves as a hinge text that transitions from the prophetic concern with the North (Hosea and Amos) to the South (Micah and Zephaniah).⁷⁸ In this reading, the update in Mic 1:2-7, 9 (or 1:5b-7, 9, in other composition models), presupposes that the reader is familiar with the destruction of the Northern Kingdom articulated in Amos 9:1-4 in order for the comparison of Samaria and Jerusalem in Mic 1:5b-7, 9 to make sense.

In some respects, these observations are correct. The ordering principle arranges Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah into a collective progression designed to present the accusations and judgment of the Northern Kingdom (Hosea and Amos) as having relevance for the accusations and fate of the Southern Kingdom (Micah and Zephaniah). This progression is established not only through the chronological arrangement of the

⁷⁷ Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 278–80, see also 174–175, n.78. Nogalski also observes that one northern and one southern prophet contain Oracles Against the Nations (Amos and Zephaniah). See later confirmations of Nogalski's observations, along with developments in Schart, *Die Entstehung*, 220–23.

⁷⁸ Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 123.

shared superscriptional regnal dating system, but also through the editorial frames reorienting the preexisting prophetic pronouncements in each text. Thus the first framing device in Hos 4:15aβb reorients a preexisting collection of prophetic accusations against the Northern Kingdom (Hos 4:4-19*) to have implications for Judah. This supplement, however, follows the interrogative “you are a whore O Israel?” (מִי־זֹנָה אַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל) in v.15aα with a jussive “do not let Judah offend” (אַל־יֵאָשֶׁם יְהוּדָה). The use of the jussive expresses a “wish” or “volition” that Judah will not become similarly guilty. This supplement, opens a frame around preexisting prophetic material comparing Ephraim and Judah indicating that Judah has indeed offended (Hos 5:1-8:6*). The closing Hosea frame (8:14aβb) thus includes Judah in the pronounced judgment of destruction and exile against the Northern Kingdom of Israel (Hos 8:7-14*). The beginning of the Amos frame opens with identical language as the conclusion of the Hosea frame (see Table 6.8). The Amos frame thus opens by proclaiming the same destruction on Judah and the citadels of Jerusalem as found in the conclusion of the Hosea frame.

Table 6.8. Hosea 8:14aβb and Amos 2:5

Text	Hebrew	English
Hos 8:14aβb:	ויהודה הרבה ערים בצרות ושלחתי־אש בערי־ ואכלה ארמנתיה	And Judah multiplied impenetrable towns <u>So I will send fire on his towns</u> <u>and it will consume her citadels.</u>
Amos 2:5:	ושלחתי אש ביהודה ואכלה ארמנות ירושלם	<u>So I will send fire on Judah</u> <u>And it will consume the citadels of</u> <u>Jerusalem.</u>

The Amos frame additionally adds the new theme of the rejection of divine instruction through the rejection of Torah (2:4-5) and the rejection of the prophets and nazirites (2:10-12). This theme reemerges in the conclusion of the Amos frame (7:9-17). The concluding Amos frame opens in v.9 with a pronouncement of destruction upon the “high places of Isaac” (במות יִשְׁחָק). Amaziah then rejects the prophet Amos, commanding

him to return “to the land of Judah” (אל־אֶרֶץ יְהוּדָה; v.12). The Micah frame opens echoing this language of “high places” (בָּמוֹת) through its inquiry “Who is the high place of Judah?” (וּמִי בָמוֹת יְהוּדָה), implicating Jerusalem. The beginning of the Micah frame suggests that Samaria’s situation has now come “unto Judah” (עַד־יְהוּדָה). The Micah pronouncement threatens to “uncover” (גִּלֶּה) the foundations of Samaria, recalling the threat of exile (גִּלֶּה יִגְלֶה) twice used in the concluding Amos frame (Amos 7:11, 17).⁷⁹

The concluding Micah frame (6:9-16*) echoes the same North-South comparison found in Micah 1:5b-7, 9, now presenting the sins of the wicked northern kings as having come to Jerusalem. The accused chose to walk in the council of these kings, thus bringing destructions on the “inhabitants” of the city. The Zephaniah frame opens by augmenting the preexisting accusation against “all the inhabitants of Jerusalem” (כָּל־יְשׁוּבֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם) by declaring that they turned away from following after YHWH and have not sought him.

The opening framing units in the Book of the Four Redaction I supplements of Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah thus pick up key themes from the concluding framing units in the preceding prophetic text. Hosea 8:14aβb links to Amos 2:4-5; Amos 7:9-17 links to Mic 1:5b-7, 9; and Mic 6:9-16* links to Zeph 1:6. In this sense, the Book of the Four Redaction I supplements serve to link these four prophetic texts into a larger macrostructural agenda beginning with the volitional asking for Judah to remain free from offense (Hos 8:14aβb), leading to the comparisons between the Northern and Southern Kingdoms and the ultimate pronouncement of comparable judgments upon both kingdoms, which eventually culminates in the manifestation of the Day of YHWH against Jerusalem (Zeph 1:4-2:3*).

The concept of an assumed “linear” reading program across these four texts is one of the more controversial aspects of the Book of the Four hypothesis. Critics rightfully raise two concerns in response to the proposal of a linear reading program spanning

⁷⁹ Amos 7:17 and Mic 1:7 additionally share the language of זָנָה, however, this term functions differently between these passages.

multiple prophetic texts. First, critics object to the prospect that a linear reading program dissolves the individual prophetic identities for the sake of identifying a literary “unity” to the collection.⁸⁰ The proposal of linearity does not necessitate the loss of individual prophetic identities. There is a difference between identifying literary “unity” across the Book of the Four and identifying literary “coherence.” The Book of the Four Redaction I layer identified in this study examines editorial updates that augment preexisting prophetic texts to function coherently as part of a collection. The results of this study do not support identifying widespread rewriting that reconstruct these texts to form a literary unity. The Book of the Four Redaction I scribe(s) constructed this collection to be four prophetic voices working together rather than a single prophetic “text.” These critics remain helpful reminders that Book of the Four composition models should focus not only on the literary coherence of the collection, but also on the ways in which this collection operates with four distinctive voices.

Second, critics rightfully express concern that the identification of a linear reading program in an ancient text may impose modern reading assumptions on ancient compositions.⁸¹ This concern does not necessarily invalidate scholarly observations that lead to conclusions of a linear reading program. This concern, however, should remind Book of the Four advocates to consider the ways in which observations of linearity may interact with decidedly non-linear macrostructural literary intentions. The North—South movement of accusations and judgments within the Book of the Four, for example, does not require a linear reading program to identify. While the Book of the Four arranges

⁸⁰ E.g., Ben Zvi, “Is the Twelve Hypothesis,” 90–94.

⁸¹ Book of the Four advocates often argue for a similar reading program across the Book of the Twelve. This proposal inspires some objections. Redditt, for example, notes that such a reading program seems unlikely given the absence of inter-book linearity in Rabbinic tradition (“The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Review of Research,” in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart, BZAW 325 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003], 3, n.12). One should note, however, that b. B. Bat. 14b suggests that the former and latter prophets are intentionally ordered so as to juxtapose accounts of destruction and proclamations of consolation.

these prophetic texts into a progression that moves from North to South, this ideological comparison takes place on other levels of interaction between these texts. Nearly all of the Book of the Four Redaction I layer supplements reflect this comparison motif. This comparison of the fate of the Northern and Southern Kingdom's is not limited to a hinge position in the Book of the Four or to a linear reading of the collection, but rather reflects a consistent theological motif across the Book of the Four supplements in all four prophetic texts. The Book of the Four Redaction I supplements reflect a consistent theological profile.

What past Book of the Four advocates identify as a linear reading program, therefore, likely exists as part of a larger literary agenda that draws these four prophetic voices into conversation with one another in linear and non-linear ways. The Book of the Four Redaction I supplements predominantly draw language from one text to apply to another. This literary program of development suggests that the Book of the Four scribe(s) saw the message of one prophet as applicable for explicating and augmenting the message of another prophet. Thus the Book of the Four editors read these prophetic texts as mutually informing one another. This direction of influence and development moves in multiple directions. Language from Amos is used to augment pronouncements in Hosea just as language from Micah is used in the development of Amos 7:9-17. Furthermore, the intertextual program of literary develop not only illuminates how scribes interpreted the text that they updated, it also reveals how these scribes read the sources upon which they drew. Thus the fact that the Book of the Four Redaction I updates the Zephaniah Day of YHWH pronouncements using language from Amos reveals not only that the scribes saw Amos 5 language as informing Zeph 1:4-2:3*, but also shows that when the scribes read Amos's description of the Day of YHWH they interpreted it as informing their understanding of the destruction of Jerusalem.

These editors do not simply construct Book of the Four Redaction I supplements by drawing from one prophetic text and inserting it into another. Rather, these editors

consistently construct editorial supplements by merging language, phrases, and syntactical structures from two separate prophetic texts. Each Book of the Four Redaction I supplement replications language, syntax, and literary structures from its literary context. This merging of prophetic voices suggests that the Book of the Four Redaction I scribes interpreted these texts through the combination of prophetic voices. These observations suggests that the ideological agenda of the Book of the Four Redaction is not tied exclusively to the linear reading of these texts requiring the progression from one text to the other in order to develop themes and ideas. Rather, what past scholars identify as the linearity of the text reflects one manifestation of the larger prophetic dialogue constructed throughout this collection.

The designation of the Book of the Four as a “book” derives from the identification of the larger corpus of the Book of the Twelve as a “book.” Of course, scholars overwhelmingly recognize that the modern concept of a “book” fails to correlate adequately to the production and function of an ancient piece of literature.⁸² The debate concerning whether to identify the Twelve as a “book” or an “anthology” largely depends upon how one conceptualizes the influences of the whole upon the redactional development of the individual components. Those who find the concerns of the larger collection as exerting influence on the development of the individual units tend to prefer the designation “book” for the Twelve. This designation, however, often requires these scholars to employ different nomenclature to speak of the individual prophetic texts apart from the larger “book” of the Twelve.⁸³ Those who object to claims that the macrostructure exerted influence on the editorial development of these texts (some

⁸² Norbert Lohfink, “Gab es eine deuteronomistische Bewegung,” in *Jeremia und die „deuteronomistische Bewegung,”* ed. Walter Gross (Weinheim, Germany: Beltz Athenäum, 1995), 335–36; John Barton, “What Is a Book? Modern Exegesis and the Literary Conventions of Ancient Israel,” in *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor, OtSt 40 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1–14; Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book*, 3.

⁸³ E.g., Schart, “Redactional Models,” 2:894; Paul L. Redditt, *Introduction to the Prophets* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 197; Nogalski, “One Book and Twelve Books,” 11–46.

scholars allow for minimal late editorial updates in light of the collection) tend to prefer the language of an “anthology.”⁸⁴ Following this conversational pattern, the term “book” adequately describes the collection of Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah as far as the concerns of the macrostructure of the collection exert influence on the editorial development of these individual prophetic voices. The existence of a single redaction layer spanning these four texts, updating and augmenting their individual messages in light of one another, fits the nomenclature of designating this collection as a “book.”

Book of the Four Redaction II

One central text in past Book of the Four composition models, however, fails to fit the theological profile of Book of the Four Redaction I supplements. Zephaniah 3:11-13 often assumes prime importance in defining the Book of the Four theological profile on account of its proposed concluding function in the collection.⁸⁵ Zephaniah 3:11-13 contains thematic and lexical links to Book of the Four Redaction I supplements in Zeph 1:6 and 2:3, yet contains four ideological differences. First, whereas Zeph 2:3 advises the “humble of the land” (כל־ענוי הארץ) to “seek YHWH” (בקשו יהוה) as a means for possibly (אולי) surviving the “day of YHWH’s anger” (ביום אַף־יהוה), Zeph 3:11-13 reflects greater confidence that a remnant of the “humble and poor people” (עם עני ודל) will survive with a hopeful prospect for the future. This confidence reflects a greater assumed temporal distance between the audience and the calamity of divine judgment. Whereas Zeph 2:3 speaks to a people in the midst of tribulation, Zeph 3:11-13 speaks to an audience that has come out of tribulation. Second, Zeph 3:11-13 contains a salvific hope for a “remnant,” which is otherwise absent in the Book of the Four Redaction I. Third, Zeph 3:11-13

⁸⁴ E.g., Martin Beck, “Das Dodekapropheton als Anthologie,” *ZAW* 118 (2006): 558–81; Petersen, “A Book of the Twelve?,” 3–10. See also Nogalski’s discussion concerning the difference between a “book” and an “anthology” in Nogalski, “One Book and Twelve Books,” 22.

⁸⁵ Albertz, “Exile as Purification,” 242; Wöhrle, “No Future for the Proud Exultant Ones,” 611, 620, 626.

employs shepherding imagery as a metaphorical representation of the people, which is otherwise absent from the Book of the Four Redaction I. Fourth, Zeph 3:11-13 lacks the anticipated scribal program of intratextual echoing found in Book of the Four Redaction I. These observations suggest that Zeph 3:11-13 reflects a later theological development of themes expressed in Book of the Four Redaction I layer. This later development suggests that Book of the Four editing likely occurred on more than one editorial stratum.

Nogalski's initial proposal for the Book of the Four identifies two Book of the Four layers: an exilic layer augmenting judgment pronouncements in light of the destruction of Jerusalem and a second late-exilic or early postexilic salvific redaction (e.g., Hos 2:18-25*; Amos 9:7-15; Mic 4-5; 7:8-20; and Zeph 3:9-19).⁸⁶ Subsequent studies, however, identify links between these salvific passages and a broader range of texts in the Book of the Twelve suggesting that these additions assumed a post-Book of the Four compositional context.⁸⁷ Thus subsequent assessments of the Book of the Four abandoned the prospect of a salvific redactional layer spanning only the Four.

The present study, however, finds four editorial additions within the Book of the Four that reflect evidence of a salvific expectation at work in the Book of the Four editorial activity: Mic 2:12; Zeph 2:7, 9b; and 3:11-13. The following assessment, therefore, examines the evidence for compositional coherence between these passages supporting the identification of a Book of the Four Redaction II, the socio-historical context of the layer, and the proposed theological profile of this layer.

⁸⁶ In his initial proposal, Nogalski was not always consistent in identifying probable components in this second redaction. He further recognized that these updates in the second redaction likely reflect more than one stratum. See: Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 176–78, 279–80.

⁸⁷ Scharf identifies multiple layers in the Book of the Four in his hypothesis of the gradual growth of the collection (*Die Entstehung*, 218–20). His model, however, still assigns salvific passages to post-Book of the Four editorial layers assuming a wider assemblage of prophetic texts in the Book of the Twelve. Many scholars find Scharf's model for the gradual growth of the Book of the Four unconvincing. See for example: Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen*, 241–44; Walter J. Houston, *Amos: Justice and Violence*, Phoenix Guides to the Old Testament 26 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2015), 79.

Compositional Coherence of the Book of the Four Redaction II

Several redaction critics recognize a compositional relationship between Zeph 2:7, 9b and 3:11-13 on account of the shared remnant motif (שְׁאֲרִית) and the common use of pastoral imagery.⁸⁸ These passages share four features with Mic 2:12, suggesting that these four supplements share compositional origins. First, these supplements share the three key themes of the remnant, restorative hope, and shepherding imagery. This combination of themes only occurs outside of these passages in Jer 23:3. Jeremiah 23:3, however, presupposes the remnant's location among the nations, a presupposition lacking in Mic 2:12; Zeph 2:7, 9b; and 3:11-13.

This observation leads to the second similarity suggesting that Mic 2:12; Zeph 2:7, 9b; and 3:11-13 share common compositional origins: these remnant passages assume the same identity of the remnant as a collection of people left in the land. This application of salvific hope to a remnant remaining in the land distinguishes these supplements from the vast majority of salvific remnant pericopes in the Hebrew prophets, which assume that the remnant is scattered among the nations. The term שְׁאֲרִית used for “remnant” most simply means “that which is left over.”⁸⁹ Thus, this usage would suggest that those who remain after a military incursion or deportation constitute the “remnant.”⁹⁰ The Hebrew prophets discuss the remnant in the context of either judgment or salvific expectations. Judgment passages referencing the remnant generally speak of the continued suffering of those who survive a past calamity.⁹¹ In this sense, the remnant motif serves to emphasize the extent of a pronounced judgment. The Hebrew prophets

⁸⁸ E.g., Klaus Koenen, *Heil den Gerechten, Unheil den Sündern!: Ein Beitrag zur Theologie der Prophetenbücher*, BZAW 229 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), 40–42; Hadjiev, “Zephaniah,” 331–32; Tchavdar Hadjiev, “Survival, Conversion and Restoration: Reflections on the Redaction History of the Book of Zephaniah,” *VT* 61 (2011): 576–77.

⁸⁹ E.g., Gen 45:7; 2 Sam 14:7; Isa 44:17.

⁹⁰ E.g., 2 Kgs 19:4, 29–31; 21:4; Isa 37:2, 32.

⁹¹ E.g., Isa 14:30; Jer 6:9; 8:3; 11:23; 15:9; 24:8; 47:4; Ezek 5:10; 25:16; Amos 1:8; Ezra 9:14.

preserve two primary ways of identifying the remnant. Salvific promises for the remnant generally reflect the expectation of restoration for those who survive a given judgment.⁹² The sixth-century BCE Hebrew prophets assume two different identities for the remnant when speaking in the context of exilic judgment. On the one hand, early remnant references in Jeremiah identify the remnant as those remaining in the land after the Babylonian deportations.⁹³ These passages often speak of the continued suffering of the remnant in the land or the fate of those who remained after the Babylonian deportation. On the other hand, references to the remnant in Ezekiel identify the remnant of the people of God as the Jewish diaspora scattered among the nations.⁹⁴ This contrast suggests that early in the exile, two different understandings of the “remnant” developed. Those who remained in the land after the Babylonian deportations likely saw themselves as the remnant of the people of God, whereas those taken to Babylon saw the Jewish diaspora as the true remnant of the people of God. While this difference suggest ideological variances distinguished these respective Jewish communities early in the exile, the subsequent pronouncements of restoration hope for the remnant nearly uniformly assume that the remnant is scattered among the nations and needs to be gathered and returned to the land of Judah.⁹⁵ Even the salvific pronouncements in Jeremiah assume that the remnant consists of those scattered among the nations.⁹⁶ This changed identity for the remnant of the people of God in the composition history of Jeremiah suggests that later editors

⁹² E.g., 2 Kgs 19:19-30; Isa 37:30-32; 46:3; Jer 23:3; 31:7; Ezek 9:8; 11:13; Mic 2:12; 4:7; 5:6-7[7-8]; 7:18; Zeph 2:7, 9; 3:11-13.

⁹³ Jeremiah 6:9; 8:3; 11:23; 15:9; 24:8; 25:20; 40:11, 15; 41:10, 16; 42:2, 15, 19; 43:5; 44:7, 12, 14, 28.

⁹⁴ Ezekiel 5:10; 9:8; 11:13. See also the use of שָׂרָא in Ezek 9:8; 17:21

⁹⁵ Isaiah 46:3; Jer 23:3; 31:7; Mic 4:7; 5:6-7[7-8]. See also the same assumed identity of the remnant using the word שָׂרָא in Isa 10:20-23; 11:11, 16.

⁹⁶ Jeremiah 23:3; 31:7.

identified the future hope for the remnant of the people of God with those among the nations in contrast to the earliest Jeremiah pronouncements.

The only remnant passages that express salvific hope for the remnant, while assuming that the remnant consists of those remaining in the land after the Babylonian deportations are Mic 2:12; Zeph 2:7, 9b; and 3:11-13.⁹⁷ Micah 2:12; Zeph 2:7, 9b; and 3:11-13 speak of collecting the remnant, but they do not assume the need to transport the remnant from among the nations back to their homeland. Zephaniah 3:12 presents this remnant as left in the midst of Jerusalem, suggesting those who remained after the Babylonian deportations. Zephaniah 2:7, 9b presents the remnant as inheriting the territory of their neighbors, suggesting that they similarly remain in the land where this territory could be inherited. Micah 2:12 speaks only of the need to gather Jacob and collect this remnant, but they are gathered into their intended pasture like a flock, without a need to travel from among the nations. The remnant passages in Mic 2:12; Zeph 2:7, 9b; and 3:11-13 are the only four passages expressing salvific hope for the remnant that remained in the land after the Babylonian deportations.

The third unifying compositional feature shared by Mic 2:12; Zeph 2:7, 9b; and 3:11-13 that distinguishes them from the only other remnant passage combining the themes of remnant, restorative hope, and shepherding imagery (Jer 23:3), is the absence of expectations for a restored royal leader. Jeremiah 23:3, as with many remnant passages, anticipates the restoration of a monarchic figure along with the return of the remnant from among the nations. Micah 2:12; Zeph 2:7, 9b; and 3:11-13 notably lack any focused hope for a restored royal leader. The application of shepherding imagery to YHWH suggests that these four additions employ common language to speak of divine leadership and guidance alone.

⁹⁷ References to the remnant also occur in Hag 1:12, 14; 2:2. The book of Haggai does not specify if the remnant consists of those who remained in the land or those who returned. The remnant, however, frequently occurs alongside the postexilic Jerusalemite leaders Zerubbabel and Joshua who did return from Babylon according to Ezra 2:2 and 1 Chr 5:41.

Finally, these passages share the same vision for the future of the remnant. In each of these passages, the remnant must only be gathered to a central location where they can graze and rest in peace. This remnant will inherit land where it can dwell and rest. Thus, Mic 2:12 speaks of gathering the remnant “like a flock into an enclosure” (כצאן בצרה). Their location is described as a pasture (דבר). Zephaniah 2:7 similarly speaks of their inheritance of land as a place where they can “pasture” (ירעוץ) and lie down in the evening. Zephaniah 3:13 similarly speaks of this remnant as being able to “pasture and lie down without terror” (ירעו ואין מחריד).

These four shared literary features distinguish Mic 2:12; Zeph 2:7, 9b; and 3:11-13 from other salvific remnant passages in the Hebrew prophets. These similarities suggest that Mic 2:12; Zeph 2:7, 9b; and 3:11-13 share an assumed identity for the remnant, a vision for how the remnant will live, and language for discussing the future of the remnant. These similarities indicate that Mic 2:12; Zeph 2:7, 9b; and 3:11-13 likely share compositional origins.

This redactional layer spans only two texts in the Book of the Four, raising the question of the reason for this selectivity. As noted above, the Book of the Four Redaction I layer employs framing devices in each of the four prophetic texts, suggesting that this framing device is a key component of the Book of the Four editorial activity. The Book of the Four Redaction II additions in Mic 2:12 and Zeph 3:11-13 similarly frame the two most explicit attributions of the exilic judgment to Jerusalemite leadership. Micah 3 specifically condemns the “leaders of Jacob and rulers of the house of Israel” (v.1) who unjustly destroy the people (vv.2-3). This oracle culminates in the condemnation of Jerusalem’s “leaders” (ראשיה) who “judge” (ישפטו), “its priests” (כהניה), and “its prophets” (נביאיה; v.11), declaring that “on account of you all Zion will be ploughed into a field and Jerusalem will become a heap of ruins” (v.12). Zephaniah 3:11-13 follows the second explicit attribution of the exilic judgment against Jerusalem to her leaders. In language similar to Mic 3:11, Zephaniah 3:1-4 specifically targets Jerusalem’s

“princes” (שְׂרִיָּה), “its judges” (שֹׁפְטִים), “its prophets” (נְבִיאִיה), and “its priests” (כֹּהֲנִיה).⁹⁸

The first-person divine speech of Zeph 3:6-7 suggests that YHWH hoped that these leaders would have seen past calamities and learned to fear him, but rather they “rose early and defiled all of their deeds.”⁹⁹

This frame thus surrounds the two explicit attributions of the destruction of Jerusalem to the flawed Jerusalemite leadership (Mic 3:1-12; Zeph 3:1-7*). These oracles condemning Jerusalemite leadership frame a collection of oracles against Judah (Mic 6:9-16*; Zeph 1:1-2:3*) and a collection of Oracles Against the Nations (Zeph 2:4-15; see Figure 6.1). The supplements in Zeph 2:7, 9b augment the Oracles Against the Nations surrounded by this larger framing device. They present the remnant surviving the judgments against Judah and Jerusalem (Mic 6:9-16*; Zeph 1:1-2:3*), which comes about as a result of the failed Jerusalem leadership (Mic 3:1-12; Zeph 3:1-7*), as inheriting the land of the judged nations of the Levant. These two supplements in the Oracles Against the Nations follow the collection of pronouncements against the coastal regions to the east of Judah (2:4-6), and the collection of pronouncements against the nations to the west of Judah (2:8-9a). The Book of the Four Redaction II layer thus expresses a hope that following the judgment of the surrounding nations, the remnant that

⁹⁸ Tuell similarly notes the thematic and lexical connections between Zeph 3:1-4 and Mic 3:11 (*Reading Nahum—Malachi*, 132). Nogalski observes that these leadership combinations occur elsewhere in the Book of the Four (*The Book of the Twelve: Micah-Malachi*, SHBC [Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2011], 767).

⁹⁹ Zephaniah 3:5 serves as a later addition interrupting vv.1-4 and 6-7. See: Friedrich Horst, “Zephania,” in *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*, 3rd Aufl., HAT 1/14 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1964), 196; Langohr, “Livre de Sophonie,” 18–19; Langohr, “Rédaction et composition,” 51, 62; Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten II*, 75–76; Edler, *Das Kerygma*, 95–96, 108; George, *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum*, 55. See similar those who identify only part of v.5 as secondary: Ernst Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, KAT 12/1 (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1922), 389; D. Deden, *De kleine profeten: uit de grondtekst vertaald en uitgelegd*, De boeken van het Oude Testament (Roermond en Maaseik: J.J. Romen & Zonen, 1953), 290; Bič, *Trois prophètes*, 65–67; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 7. Jahrhunderts*, 159, n.10; Arvid Schou Kapelrud, *The Message of the Prophet Zephaniah: Morphology and Ideas* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1975), 35–36; Michael Weigl, *Zefanja und das “Israel der Armen”*: eine Untersuchung zur Theologie des Buches Zefanja, OBS 13 (Klosterneuburg: Österreichisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1994), 139–40.

remained in the land following the Babylonian deportations will inherit the land to the east and the west as a place where they can finally find rest.

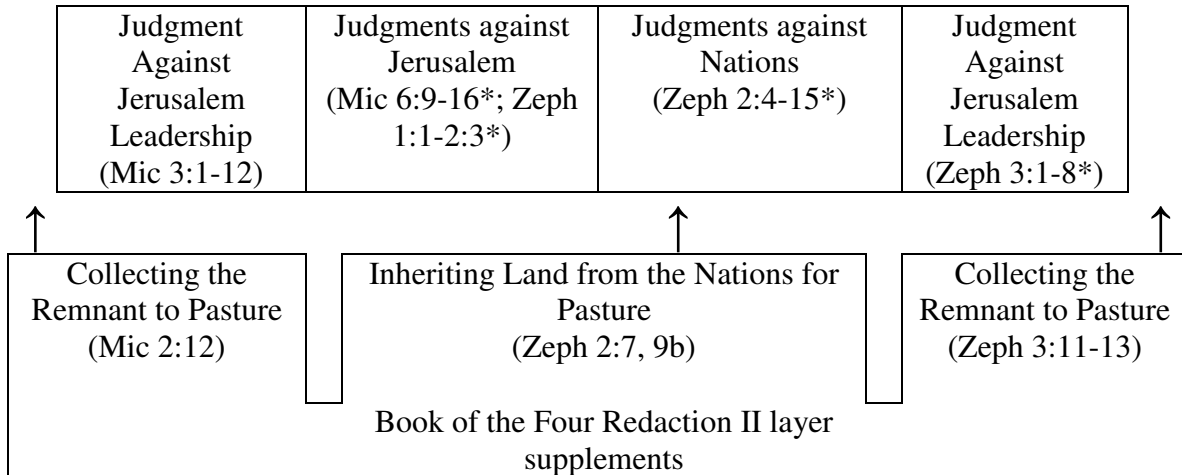


Figure 6.1: Book of the Four Redaction II Layer

The context of the supplements in Mic 2:12; Zeph 2:7, 9b, and 3:11-13 thus link these passages in a way that accounts for the absence of comparable Book of the Four Redaction II layer updates in Hosea and Amos. These Book of the Four Redaction II layer updates augment preexisting literary compositions that specifically attribute the destruction of Jerusalem to the moral failings of the leadership, notably those who serve as judges, priests, and prophets.

Socio-Historical Context of the Book of the Four Redaction II

Three observations suggest that this Book of the Four Redaction II layer continues to reflect the concerns of those who remained in the land after the Babylonian deportations. This layer reflects these concerns with greater temporal distance from the destruction of Jerusalem but before the return of the exiles at the end of the sixth century BCE. First, the Book of the Four Redaction II layer assumes a greater distance between the wrath of God and the audience than that found in Book of the Four Redaction I. The Book of the Four Redaction I layer addresses the “afflicted of the land” in Zeph 2:3

assuming that they have already experienced the wrath of God but will likely continue experiencing the outpouring of divine judgment. This assumed theological context for the audience of the Book of the Four Redaction I suggests that this initial Book of the Four layer assumes that the audience is in the midst of divine judgment. The supplement in Zeph 2:3, furthermore, reflects a note of uncertainty concerning whether or not the afflicted of the land will escape divine judgment. Thus the Book of the Four Redaction I assumes that the audience is in the midst of experiencing divine judgment and remains uncertain concerning their future. The Book of the Four Redaction II assumes that this remnant will enjoy a period of peace after having survived the divine judgment. This assumption places the Book of the Four Redaction II layer later in the exilic period when the audience is more temporally removed from the immediate sense of threat.

The second observation specifying the socio-historical context of the Book of the Four Redaction II is the assumption that the remnant consists of those who remained in the land. Whereas most salvific promises concerning the remnant assume that the remnant consists of those among the nations that must return to Jerusalem as part of the salvific paradigm for restoration, the supplements in Mic 2:12; Zeph 2:7, 9b, and 3:11-13 assume that the remnant consists of those who remained in the land.¹⁰⁰ Zephaniah 3:13 presents the remnant as those who remain in Jerusalem. Similarly, Zeph 2:7, 9b present the remnant as inheriting the land of neighboring nations in the Levant, suggesting the remnant's location in the land. Finally, Mic 2:12 presents the remnant as being collected in the pasture land with no need to travel from among the nations. This observation suggests that the Book of the Four Redaction II layer continues to exhibit the concern for those who remained in the land as found in the Book of the Four Redaction I layer.

The third observation correlating the Book of the Four Redaction II layer with those who remained in the land later in the exilic period is the lack of hope for rebuilding

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Isa 10:20-23; 11:11, 16; 46:3; Jer 23:3; 31:7; Ezek 9:8; 11:13; Mic 4:7; 5:6-7[7-8]; 7:18.

Jerusalem or the restoration of a system of royal leadership. Many of the oracles expressing postexilic salvific hope in the Book of the Four texts exhibit a notable interest in the restoration of Jerusalem (e.g., Amos 9:11; Mic 4:1-14[5:1]; Zeph 3:9-10, 14-20). These redactional layers additionally redefine the remnant as the Jewish diaspora among the nations, which must return to the land in order to inaugurate the anticipated period of restoration. Micah 4:6-7 specifically speaks of gathering the remnant from among those who were “scattered” and “removed to the many nations.” Micah 5:6-7[7-8] repeats twice that the remnant of Jacob will be “in the midst of the many peoples.” Micah 4:10 even speaks of Lady Zion as going to Babylon for a time before her redemption. Later redactions in Zephaniah similarly correct the identity of the remnant to reflect those scattered among the nations.¹⁰¹ Zephaniah 3:9-10 presents a pilgrimage of the nations that returns the “daughters of my scattered ones,” indicating the need to return the scattered people of God from the nations to Jerusalem. Zephaniah 3:18-19 then draws language from Mic 4:6-7 in order to present God as gathering those who were “banished” (הַנִּדְחָה).¹⁰² Each of these updates reconceptualizes the remnant as those scattered among the nations rather than those who remained in the land. This observation suggests that the later redactional additions to the Book of the Four texts that exhibit a concern with rebuilding Jerusalem also redefine the remnant as those among the nations, suggesting

¹⁰¹ Scholars commonly identify Zeph 3:8-9 and 14-20 as later additions post-dating Zeph 3:11-13. E.g., John Merlin Powis Smith, “The Book of Zephaniah,” in *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah and Joel*, by John Merlin Powis Smith, William Hayes Ward, and Julius A. Bewer, ICC 24 (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1911), 173-246-54; Eissfeldt, *Einleitung*, 573-74; Kraeling, *Commentary on the Prophets*, 2:260-61; Otto Kaiser, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament: eine Einführung in ihre Ergebnisse und Probleme* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1969), 183-84; Fohrer and Sellin, *Einleitung*, 502; Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 7. Jahrhunderts*, 13-14, 20-21; Weigl, *Zefanja*, 242-43; Marco Striek, *Das vordeuteronomistische Zephaniahbuch*, BBET 29 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999), 39-44, 194-216.

¹⁰² On the connection between Zeph 3:18-19 and Mic 4:6-7, see: Hubert Irsigler, *Gottesgericht und Jahwetag: die Komposition Zef 1, 1-2, 3, unters auf der Grundlage der Literarkritik des Zephaniahbuches*, ATSAT 3 (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1977), 162-63; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 209-11; idem, “Zephaniah 3: A Redactional Text for a Developing Corpus,” in *Schriftauslegung in der Schrift: Festschrift für Odil Hannes Steck*, ed. Reinhard G. Kratz, Thomas Krüger, and Konrad Schmid, BZAW 300 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 215; idem, *The Book of the Twelve: Micah-Malachi*, 558.

that this concern with Jerusalem rises after diaspora Jews begin returning to Jerusalem. These observations suggest that these remnant and restoration passages likely arise in the postexilic period. The absence of this definition of the remnant and this concern for Jerusalem in Mic 2:12; Zeph 2:7, 9b, and 3:11-13 suggests that this Book of the Four Redaction II layer predates the return of exiles to Judah, which facilitates the transformation of the remnant identity in these texts from those who remained in the land to those scattered among the nations. Thus the Book of the Four Redaction II layer predates the postexilic period.

The Book of the Four Redaction II layer continues to reflect the concern with the people remaining in the land following the Babylonian deportations as found in the Book of the Four Redaction I layer. This second layer employs thematic connections with the Book of the Four Redaction I layer, and features a similar use of a framing device as found in the Book of the Four Redaction I layer. The Book of the Four Redaction II layer differs, however, in that it assumes a greater temporal distance between the judgment of God and the current conditions of the remnant. This observation reveals that the Book of the Four Redaction II layer occurs later in the exilic period than the Book of the Four Redaction I layer. The absence of key postexilic themes in later updates in the Book of the Four texts, however, indicates that this Book of the Four Redaction II layer likely predates the postexilic period. Thus the Book of the Four Redaction II layer may reasonably be dated to the late exilic period prior to the beginning of the return of diaspora Jews to the region.

Theological Profile of the Book of the Four Redaction II

The Book of the Four Redaction II layer reflects some language and themes found in the Book of the Four Redaction I, but it assumes a greater distance from the pronounced judgment. This editorial layer consists of minimal updates to the Book of the Four collection, yet it presents the first glimmer of hope for life after judgment in Judah.

This redactional layer reflects three theological developments in the late exilic period: the affirmation of God as shepherd in response to the failed human leadership, the interpretation of judgment as purification, and the belief that the remnant will find rest through inheriting the land of their neighboring nations.

As noted above, the Book of the Four Redaction II supplements in Mic 2:12 and Zeph 3:11-13 form a frame around the two most explicit accusations against Jerusalem's leadership. This relationship between the Book of the Four Redaction II layer and these preexisting oracles suggests that the Book of the Four Redaction II supplements respond to and develop the preexisting oracles. Micah 2:12 precedes the lengthy condemnation of leaders, which culminates in the identification of the failure of the "princes who judge," "priests," and "prophets." The failure of these leaders in Mic 3:1-11 leads to the destruction of Jerusalem in 3:12. Similarly, Zeph 3:11-13 follows the direct accusation against a similar list of societal leaders: princes, judges, prophets, and priests. As with Mic 3:12, the failure of these leaders leads to the presumed judgment of Jerusalem (3:6-7). The use of Mic 2:12 and Zeph 3:11-13 to form a frame around these oracles suggests that this Book of the Four Redaction II layer develops out of reflection upon the failure of human leaders in the Book of the Four.

The juxtaposition of passages identifying God as the shepherd of the remnant to these oracles declaring the failure of human leaders suggests that this divine pastoral imagery forms the theological response to the failure of these human leaders. Whereas the remnant suffered divine judgment in response to the failure of these human leaders, the remnant will enjoy a period of peace under the guidance of God, their divine shepherd. The Book of the Four Redaction II layer thus reflects a broader theological movement that takes place in late exilic and early postexilic literature, which responds to the failure of human rulers with an affirmation of God's leadership.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ Many authors note the importance of the "kingship of God" motif in the exilic and postexilic period. See, for example, Ralph W. Klein, "Theology for Exiles: The Kingship of Yahweh," *Dialog* 17.2

The affirmation of divine leadership in response to the failure of human leaders further coheres with the second theological development in the Book of the Four Redaction II layer: the interpretation of the exilic judgment in Zeph 3:11-13. Zephaniah 3:11-13 presents God as promising to remove from the midst of Jerusalem the “proud exalted ones” (עליזי גאותך). The removal of these figures contrasts with the remainder of the “afflicted and the poor” (עם עני ודל). This presentation suggests that the remnant has had a problematic portion of the population removed before those who remain can “seek refuge in the name of YHWH” (חסו בשם יהוה). This depiction presents the judgments as a purification of the people of God. This imagery suggests that the Book of the Four Redaction II envisions the exilic judgment as a judgment of purification that refines the people of God.¹⁰⁴ This purification thus allows for the possibility of a continued relationship with God, which was obstructed by the rebellion that brought about the exile.

Finally, the Book of the Four Redaction II layer not only frames the failure of human leadership with affirmations of YHWH’s role as shepherd over the remnant, and interprets the exilic judgment as an act of purification, but it also adds two supplements to the Zephaniah Oracles Against the Nations (2:7, 9b). These two supplements present the remnant as inheriting the territory of the neighboring nations to the east and to the west. The Book of the Four Redaction II layer thus expresses a hope that following the judgment of the surrounding nations, the remnant that remained in the land following the Babylonian deportations will inherit the land to the east and the west as a place where they can finally find rest.

(1978): 128–34; Erich Zenger, “‘Erhebe dich doch als Hilfe für uns!’ Die Komposition Ps 42-44; 46-48 als theologische Auseinandersetzung mit dem Exil,” in *Berührungspunkte: Studien zur Sozial- und Religionsgeschichte Israels und seiner Umwelt; Festschrift für Rainer Albertz zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ingo Kottsieper, Rüdiger Schmitt, and Jakob Wöhrle (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2008), 295–316; Samuel L. Adams, “Ezekiel 34:11-19,” *Int* 62 (2008): 304–6. The “kingship of God” motif, of course, likely had precedents in the preexilic era. See: Shawn W. Flynn, *YHWH Is King: The Development of Divine Kingship in Ancient Israel*, VTSup 159 (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

¹⁰⁴ Albertz describes the Book of the Four theological profile as envisioning the exilic judgment as one of purification in part due to his reading of Zeph 3:11-13 (“Exile as Purification,” 232–51).

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