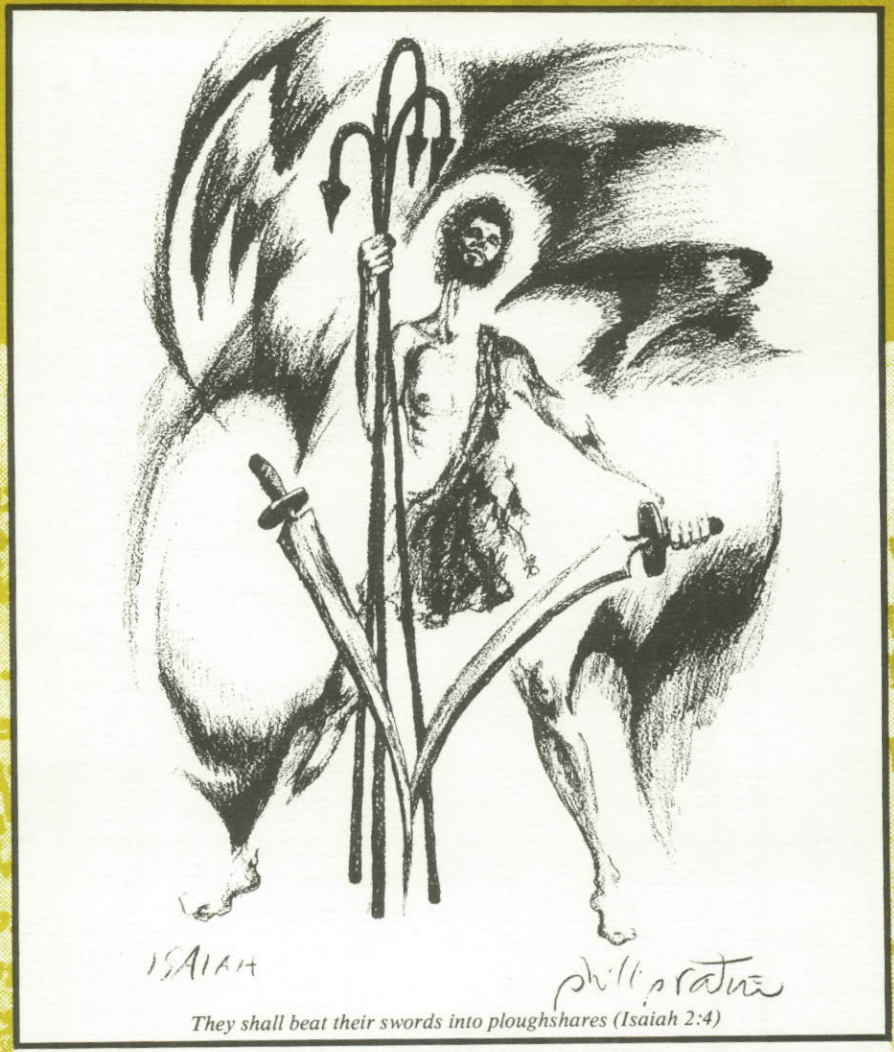
THE JEWISH BIBLE QUARTERLY

DOR LeDOR



They shall beat their swords into ploughshares (Isaiah 2:4)

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THE JEWISH BIBLE QUARTERLY

DOR LeDOR — דור לדור

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HONORING THE 90th BIRTHDAY

OF

PROF. SOL LIPTZIN

EDITORIAL TRIBUTE
IN HONOR OF PROFESSOR SOL LIPTZIN

On meeting Professor Sol Liptzin, one is impressed by his cheerfulness, friendliness and his contagious enthusiasm. Sitting in his study, engaging him in discussion, the visitor is overwhelmed by a feeling that he is in the presence of a remarkable man, whose mind is still razor sharp, whose knowledge of world literature, particularly German, Yiddish, and English is encyclopedic, and whose memory is phenomenal in spite of his 90 years.

So much has been written about Sol Liptzin and his many achievements that it is difficult to put down his rich career in a few pages. Here I shall attempt to present the "essential Sol Liptzin."

Born in 1901, he came to the U.S. at the age of nine. In 1923 he became a faculty member of the prestigious C.C.N.Y., serving that university in various capacities for forty years. In 1962 he and his wife Anna moved to Israel, making Jerusalem their permanent home. He continued his distinguished teaching career, first in the Technion in Haifa, and then, up to the year 1974 as Professor and Chairman of the Faculty of Humanities at the American College in Jerusalem.

Prof. Liptzin's dynamism and involvement in Jewish affairs was soon recognized, catapulting him into positions of leadership and responsibility in a variety of significant Jewish organizations. To mention just a few: National Chairman Jewish State Zionists of America, Academic Secretary of YIVO, President of the College Yiddish Association and President of the Jewish Book Council of America.

Most astounding is his stupendous literary output and creativity. He has authored 20 books, the first written in 1924, when only 23 years old, and about 130 essays in English, many research papers on Yiddish and untold book reviews. Thus, his life encompasses three distinct careers, that of a distinguished teacher, Jewish leader, and

prolific author. Behind those careers is the man, Sol Liptzin. What sort of a man is he and what is the wellspring of his manifold endeavors?

If we follow his career that spans close to 70 years, we can easily distinguish three phases.

Already in his first nine books, written between 1924 to 1944, one will note three devoted to German Jewish authors, such as Heine, Arthur Schnitzler, and Richard Beer Hoffman. In his *Germany's Stepchildren*, he delved into the dilemma faced by German writers born as Jews, as expressed by Jacob Wasserman in *My Way as Jew and German*. Sol Liptzin transplanted this dilemma onto American soil in his *Generations of Decision*, in which he expands on the problem of bi-culturism. Yet, he himself was never troubled by such a problem.

One could now claim that Liptzin's romance with the Jewish people and Jewish affairs led to a second phase in his astounding literary activities, namely, his focus on Yiddish, producing between the years 1947 to 1978 five volumes on Yiddish authors such as I. L. Peretz, and Yiddish literature. Prof. Liptzin pioneered and succeeded in introducing Yiddish as a legitimate subject on College and University level. It is a tribute to his personality and his acumen that many professors of Yiddish, both in U.S. and European universities, have been channelled into this field due to his personal influence.

Yet he confided in me, that contrary to his optimistic prediction for a "Golden Age" in Jewish literature in the U.S. and Israel, he was rather pessimistic regarding the future of Yiddish, both as a spoken language and literature. So why the effort? I believe it stemmed from his basic personality. This was his silent tribute to the millions who perished in the Holocaust whose mother tongue was Yiddish, and who left behind a treasure house of great literature. Prof. Liptzin did his share to make sure that this would not perish

together with them. His great effort was another expression of his total involvement with the Jewish people and its fate.

It is some measure of the almost inexhaustible resources of Prof. Liptzin that, following his efforts on behalf of Yiddish, there followed still a third phase of his "development" of full identification with his people and its values.

While at the American College in Jerusalem, he made the acquaintance of another faculty member, the late Dr. Louis Katzoff, who had just begun the publication of a new Quarterly, *Dor Le Dor*. It was suggested to Prof. Liptzin to write essays on biblical themes in world literature. He agreed. In the second issue of *Dor Le Dor* (Vol. I, no. 2) there appeared the article "Saul in World Literature," the first in a series of 46 articles and book reviews published in successive issues of *Dor Le Dor*, now named the *Jewish Bible Quarterly*. The articles were of such quality, that they were collected and published as *Biblical Themes in World Literature* by Ktav (1985). It goes without saying that Prof. Sol Liptzin is still serving as a respected member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of the J.B.Q. from its inception to the present day.

We pay tribute to a man who is wholly integrated, a cosmopolitan at home in world literature in the Bible and in Yiddish literature; a humanist appreciating worldly values, yet fully involved with the Jewish people, its life and thought.

Recently many colleagues and disciples who revere him published a Festschrift to pay him homage.

On his 90th birthday, we sincerely wish that he and his wife Anna be granted many more happy and healthy years.

Shimon Bakon
Editor

REFLECTIONS

BEER-HOFFMAN'S IMAGE OF RUTH

SOL LIPTZIN

Ruth fascinated the Viennese Jewish poet Richard Beer-Hofmann. He saw in her the prototype of his own wife Paula, who also came to him from afar, from an alien people and an alien faith. When she embraced her new faith, Judaism, she was renamed Ruth and the children she bore to her husband were given the biblical names Miriam, Gabriel, and Naamah. She became the model for Desiree in his drama *Der Graf von Charolais* (1904), and for Maachah in *Der junge David* (1933). In the latter play, however, she is also mirrored in the figure of Ruth, the ancestress of David. Listening to Ruth's words of wisdom in the last scene of the play, David tells her: "Your voice is as the voice of Maachah. Like you, like every good fortune, she too came from afar."

Der junge David now ranks among the outstanding biblical dramas of the twentieth century. It was not concluded until 1933, a fateful year for central European Jewry. When it left the press toward the end of that year after months of delay and hesitation, it could not be reviewed in German periodicals but did receive enthusiastic acclaim in Austrian, Swiss and Jewish journals. Nor could it be displayed in German bookstores. Jews were, however, permitted to buy it and Jewish writers to comment on it. Like the dramatic prologue, *Jakobs Traum* (1918), it did much to bolster Jewish pride in a decade of increasing Jewish humiliation and degradation.

The dramatist had planned to make David the hero of a dramatic trilogy, of which the first play was to treat David's confrontation with Saul and his ascension to the throne of Judah after Saul's defeat and death in the war against the Philistines. The second play, entitled *König David*, was to deal with the mature David at the summit of his power. However, only a long prelude, *Vorspiel auf dem Theater zu König David*, and the beginning of the first act were completed before the Nazis overran Austria in 1938 and compelled

the aging poet to exchange his native Vienna in 1939 for exile in New York. Of the third part, entitled *Davids Tod*, only a fragment, composed in 1908, survives. It was published in 1941 in his lyric collection *Verse*. The dramatist had by then abandoned his ambitious trilogy and was devoting his last years until his death in 1945 to recording his reminiscences of Paula, his life's companion, who had made his people her people, shared this people's fate after the Nazi occupation of Austria, and passed away in Zurich en route to exile in the United States.

Ruth is portrayed on four different occasions in *Der junge David*. The play opens with a prologue which relays the story of young Ruth as recorded in the biblical scroll bearing her name. We then hear of her at the beginning of the first scene through the answers given to the inquisitive lad Abiathar, the sole survivor of the priests of Nob who were murdered upon Saul's orders because they sheltered the fleeing David. Abiathar is told that Ruth, the great-grandmother of David, was still alive in Bethlehem. Legends had sprung up about her. She was purported to be as beautiful as Rachel, the beloved wife of Jacob. She was revered for having left her homeland Moab, her kin, her god, and the dreams of her youth in order to link her fate to the people of Israel and to her lonely, bereaved mother-in-law Naomi. She was rewarded for her goodness by becoming the wife of the patrician Boaz and the ancestress of David. She lived on as the embodiment and relic of a generation that was already historic, revered but rarely seen. A Canaanite slave who once did see her as a veiled, statuesque, white figure on a starlit night, prostrated himself before her, because in his eyes she resembled his moon-goddess Astarte.

During her very long life, Ruth had shared in Israel's many changes in fortune, from the era of the Judges and of Samuel to the rise of the monarchy under Saul and the later deterioration of this regime. She had become wise and her wisdom led her to remain aloof and taciturn amidst the turbulence of the raging conflicts. However, when David faced his supreme hour of testing, she did emerge from her retirement to offer him her best advice.

In the third scene of the play, David was confronted with an apparently insoluble dilemma. Fleeing from Saul, he had found refuge in Gath, a citadel of the Philistines, and had become the vassal of its king Achish. War was about to break out between Israel and the five Philistine states on its border. As a vassal of a Philistine monarch, he was expected to join in the struggle against the Israelites. However, how could he, who had been secretly anointed by Samuel as Saul's successor, join in the slaughter of his own people? On the other hand, supposing that he were to change sides and be disloyal to his liege lord in a critical situation, how could he expect loyalty from his own subjects during his future reign? These followers could always confront him with the example of his own disloyalty.

In this tragic dilemma, David seeks the advice of his sagacious ancestress. Her oracular advice is summed up in the two words: "Be loyal!" Loyal? To whom? To King Achish and the Philistine cause? To the people of Israel under his persecutor Saul?

Torn between the two alternatives, David decides to release his followers, so that they would be free to betake themselves to the camp of Saul and of their Israelite kin, while he himself would leave for the camp of Achish and the Philistines, knowing full well that this meant going to his death either at their hands or at his own, if forced to fight on their side.

At the last moment, however, David is spared a tragic end. The Philistine confederation, not wanting to have in its midst a warrior whom they consider to be a potential fifth columnist, decide to keep David far from the fray.

The battle of Gilboa is fought and lost by the Israelites. Saul and Jonathan die on the battlefield. In the final scene of the drama, the defeated and dispirited Israelites turn to David as the national hero around whom they can rally. When they offer him the crown, however, he is in no mood to accept it. He has just heard of the death of his beloved wife Maachah. He is crushed by the news and emotionally unable to assume the heavy burden of leadership.

In this hour of crisis, Ruth leaves her solitude and comes to comfort her grief-stricken descendant. It is she who infuses courage in the broken-hearted David and stirs him to rise above despair, to sublimate his personal sorrows and to put all his energy into service for his people who are in great need of him. Her imperious, yet kind, tone is that of a seeress removed from life's trivialities, a seeress who descends to a mortal with a message that must be obeyed. At the same time, she is nevertheless aware of the transitoriness of all events on this imperfect planet.

When David asks her what is ultimately to become of him, now that his personal happiness has been shattered, she replies:

Was aus uns allen einst wird: Dung der Erde!
Vielleicht ein Lied – auch dieses bald verweht!
Und doch: bis dahin – ewiger nicht und nicht
Vergänglicher als seine Sterne – musst du,
Wie sie, vollenden – David – deine Bahn!

Ruth answers David's agonized cry in these magnificent verses saying, Your end, like the end of all of us, is ultimately to become – dung of the earth. Perhaps a legend, a song, a melody, remembered for a while and wafted away before long. And yet, like God's stars circling in their assigned orbits above us, you David must complete your course here below, carrying on your assigned destiny.

In the portraits that Beer-Hofmann paints of Ruth in the splendid first scene, in the climactic third scene and in the final scene, she is not depicted as "she stood in tears amidst the alien corn" – the way the English Romantic poet Keats envisaged her – nor as lying at the feet of the man chosen for her by her mother-in-law, but rather as an upright, majestic figure veiled in white linen that glistens like the snow on Mount Hermon. She is endowed with the wisdom of age and the resoluteness of a strong will, befitting a mythical personality from whom were to descend royal offspring beginning with David, who would usher in Israel's Golden Age, and ending with the Messiah of the House of David, who in the fullness of time would bring about the era of universal peace for all mankind.

GODS/ TENTS/ AND AUTHORITY:

A STUDY OF EXODUS 32 AND I KINGS 12

WALTER RIGGANS

INTRODUCTION

Many have been struck by the use of virtually identical formulae in Exodus 32:4, 8 and I Kings 12:28:

אלה אלהיך ישראל אשר העלוך מארץ מצרים

הנה אלהיך ישראל אשר העלוך מארץ מצרים

These are your gods / This is your god, O Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt (Ex. 32:4, 8).

This is your god, O Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt (I Kg. 12:28).

Part of the debate is whether we should translate the passages by plural or singular references to gods/God. If we choose the plural, then this indicates idolatry by Israel, whereas the singular could indicate that the bull is only an image for the Lord, not a separate god or gods. In other words the plural means that the first commandment is broken, while the singular means the second commandment is broken.

It is also interesting to note that in I Kg. 12:16 we find another famous passage including the exhortation: לאהליך ישראל *To your tents, O Israel.*

This would make a lovely play on words with the passages cited above, with the key terms אלהיך and אהליך distinguished only by the transposition of two adjacent letters. The Jewish textual tradition claims that in fact in I Kg. 12:16 the text originally did read אלהיך,

Rev. Walter Riggans, a tutor and lecturer at All Nations College in Hertfordshire, England, is an ordained minister of the Church of Scotland. For about a decade he lived in Israel working in Tanakh and Jewish Studies with Christian students, before he returned to England.

"gods/God", and was later amended by the scribes to reduce the culpability of the sin from idolatry to insurrection.

What is also suggestive is that in the literary unit, Ex. 32-34, shortly after the passage about the golden bull, we find in 33:7-11 a section about "the tent" (האהל) to which Moses went to meet God, a section which many scholars think is out of place there. Gods and tents.

What is the issue in Ex. 32 and I Kg. 12? Idolatry in the face of the sovereign God, or something else? What about II Sam. 20:1, where we have a formula very close to the one found in I Kg. 12:16: איש לאהליוישראל *Every man to his tent (lit. tents), O Israel.*

Is the issue here the same as in I Kg. 12? There does seem to be evidence in the texts of a larger literary and theological design. Let us look more closely at the texts and contexts.

EXODUS 32:4, 8

In 24:15-18 we find Moses leaving the people at the foot of the mountain in order to spend time with God at its summit. He is gone forty days, which is to say a long period. Presumably even Moses did not know how long he would be gone. The term בשש used in 32:1 by the people certainly implies long delay or lack of consideration (cf. Jud. 3:25; 5:28), and so we see that the people have become restless and annoyed. This should not surprise us, since they are still largely a huge group of freed slaves; by no means a mature nation. They are alone in the wilderness with no allies, no trained army, no knowledge of the terrain or of their route to the promised destination.

There is a strange new God behind their deliverance, but who is He really? What is He really like? Does anyone apart from Moses know? Where is Moses?

So they complain that Moses brought them up out of Egypt, but has now gone off and seemingly disappeared. They even refer to him in an off-hand way as "that man Moses" (32:1). He is an enigma. But

so too is this new God of theirs, and they don't want Him also to leave them. Therefore they seek to keep Him close by doing two things:

a) Initiating a means of worship and sacrifice to Him.

b) Seeking to give Him a physical presence, either by representing Him as a golden bull, or by providing a golden bull as a footstool/pedestal for Him.

Either way, they act out of a sense of vulnerability and act precipitously. Perhaps then the sin is not really idolatry but a misguided attempt to domesticate the new God and worship Him in the known and accepted ways. We note from 32:5 that Aaron at least held that they were worshipping the Lord, and not abandoning Him.

In fact attempts have been made, notably by Jewish scholars, to clear Israel of any guilt and blame the other groups who left Egypt with them for the trouble (see 12:38). This is taken to explain the phrase *These are your gods/This is your god* rather than the expected *These are our gods/This is our god.* There is also an attempt to see a corroboration of this in v. 7, since there God speaks to Moses about "your people," as if the sinners were not the people of God, but these other groups. However this argument is too strained, and besides, in v. 2 Moses retorts by saying to God that, no, they are "your people." There is no denying that we are dealing with an ancient tradition relating to Israel in the wilderness. But is it an ancient tradition of polytheistic idolatry or not? Only one bull is made, which makes it likely that we should translate אלהיך by "your god". In fact, in Nehemia 9:18, where direct reference is made to this incident, the text reads זה אלהיך אשר העלך ממצרים *This is your God who brought you out of Egypt.*

In other words the passage from Ex. 32:4, 8 is rendered in the singular form, appropriate to the one bull image. Perhaps the original text in Ex. 32 also had the singular, and then the editor under the influence of his own time when Jeroboam made two bulls and set up two centers of worship, amended it to plural forms. In his view that action was clear idolatry, or led inexorably to idolatry, and so he attached this strong polemic against Jeroboam by subtly associating it with the golden bull in the Mosaic era.

It must also be said in support of translating "God" in Ex. 32:4, 8 that we do also find plural pronouns and verbs associated with אלהים when it refers to Israel's God.[1] It means that we cannot rule out a singular interpretation here, even with the present text.

It is difficult to believe that Aaron and the people turned to Egyptian gods or to desert spirits so soon after the glorious but traumatic events of the deliverance from Egypt, the Sea of Reeds and the Revelation at Sinai. It seems much more likely that they were in some precipitous and distorted way trying to establish the worship of their new God.

But why in the form of a bull? The bull was a common enough symbol for the deity in the ancient east. We can single out especially the Egyptian god Apis, associated with the bull, the Phoenician storm-god Hadad represented as standing on a bull as a footstool/pedestal, and the Canaanite chief god El, often called Bull El. The bull symbolizes power, dependability, and fertility, and so we have here not a substitute god but a physical representation of God as a physical link with this invisible God in the absence of the only link, Moses.[2]

The sin, then, is likely to have been a violation of Ex. 20:4-5, not of 20:3. But was it the making of an image of God, or was it the making of this particular image? God Himself chooses cherubim to be the creatures associated with His footstool[3] and of course they are heavenly creatures. The bull symbol perhaps links the Lord too closely with other gods, being a beast of the field it is an affront to the Lord.

Whatever, God is angry at this worship, and only Moses' intercession saves Israel from destruction. In the end, however,

1 For plural pronouns we can mention Gen. 1:26; 3:22; 11:7; Isa. 6:8. For plural verbs, Gen. 1:26; 20:13; 35:7; II Sam. 7:23; Ps. 58:11. Plural adjectives can also be found in Jos. 24:14; Ps. 149:2; Eccl. 12:1; Isa. 54:5.

2 For illustrations of bulls as footstools/pedestals, see J. B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures*, 1954, nos. 474, 486, 500, 501, 522, 533, 534, 537.

3 I Sam. 4:4; II Sam. 6:2; II Kg. 19:15; I Chr. 13:6; Ps. 80:1; pp:1; Isa. 37:16. Also with regard to the Ark see Ex. 25:22; Num. 7:89.

Moses himself is furious with what he discovers, the immorality as much as the fake worship, and he has three thousand killed in punishment. God also sends a plague, and moving on into 33:1-3 we see that God decides not to go on with the people.

Many scholars read the Exodus 32 account as merely a later Deuteronomic projection from the Jeroboam era, but this is hardly likely. Exodus 32 is too well built into the unit 32-34, built around the themes of sin and forgiveness, the break and restoration of the covenant and Moses' ministry of intercession. Besides, it would have been altogether too drastic to invent a story involving the whole nation in idolatry, had there not been some existing tradition to build upon. What we have is a very old tradition, with basic elements which are built as motifs in other passages, rather like musical motifs in a sophisticated piece of music.

I KINGS 12:28

Study of v. 16 in this chapter will be left till the next section, but a close look at the chapter shows interesting links with the one just studied. At the start of the chapter Jeroboam comes up from Egypt, where he has been in exile during Solomon's reign, to see if life will be more equitable under his successor, Rehoboam. However, Rehoboam decides that in fact his administration is going to be even harsher than that of his father.

In v. 18, we see that the northern tribes rebel against the Davidic dynasty, and in v. 20 they crown Jeroboam as their king. Rehoboam feels he must defeat this rebel army in battle, but God restrains him. This will be the Lord's affair. At the climax of the chapter we see Jeroboam realizing that if he continues to accept Jerusalem as the center where people will go up to offer sacrifices and celebrate the feasts, then his people will develop dual loyalties, and he might even lose their newly won allegiance. So he builds two alternative sanctuaries for his own people, one in the far north, at Dan, and one in Bethel.

Of particular interest is the fact that he builds a golden bull at each site, and utters the words (v. 28) that we quoted at the start of this paper. He also institutes new shrines, a new priesthood, and a new festival. Our question again is whether this was intended to be idolatrous worship or just autonomous worship. The full context suggests the latter. In 13:33-34 when his reign is summed up in a negative fashion, what is singled out is not idolatry, but rather his anarchy and persistence in his own ways, rather than those established by God. Why then does he use the words of Ex. 32:4, 8? Does he understand them in the same way intended there?

I KINGS 12:16

Here we have the dramatic moment when the northern tribes realizing that Rehoboam will not listen to their plea, reject his monarchy with the Davidic line, and decide to go their own political way. Here we find another famous saying, quoted at the start of this paper, including the strong statement, *To your tents, O Israel.* As mentioned above there seems to be a play on words here with the *Here is your God* (v. 28). Is this pure coincidence? I think not.

We have a sophisticated editor here, who knows his traditions and who is able to weave the motifs into a finished literary and theological piece. The fact that this is one of the eighteen scribal emendations (תקוני סופרים), and that "gods" was supposed to have been changed to "tents" to protect the honor of the tribes[4] caught the attention of several interpreters, since it gives muscle to what they see as a rather weak challenge. They see the call to return to the tents as a kind of sulking, the way children behave when they don't get their own way. But these men are warriors and so if they are really

4 Also in II Sam. 20:1; II Chr. 10:16. For more on scribal emendations see Ber. Rab. 49:7; Tan. Besh. 15:7. Also the interesting footnote in *International Critical Commentary*, Edin. (1976) p. 258.

saying let us return to the old gods, the old ways and ideals, then it fits their "warrior" picture better.

Let us assume that "tents" is the original text. Some, still searching for drama that they can't sense in the text, interpret this as a rallying war-cry there and then. "To your tents! Put on your armor! Prepare for battle!" However, tents are always quiet private dwellings in biblical usage, and returning to one's tent means simply going home.[5] What then is the purpose of v. 16? perhaps as a literary device to heighten the tension before v. 28, in other words to show that setting yourself apart from God's chosen servants will also lead to idolatry, or at least to false worship. Or could the use of אוהל (tent) like the use of אלהיך have its roots in the Exodus 32 tradition?

The tent mentioned here is called the "tent of meeting" (אוהל מועד) which, according to the chronology of the book was not constructed until 40:16 ff. We have here part of an ancient tradition about a tent of meeting different from but paralleling the later priestly account. However, this section vv. 7-11, does have a function in its setting. The editor was sensitive to style and content, and his purpose becomes clear as we look more closely. In vv. 1-3 God says He won't accompany the people, and so in v. 4-6 the people react in distress, and go into mourning. In vv. 12-17 we have Moses' reaction, both to God face to face, and also in intercession for his people. What do we have in vv. 7-11? We see that it was characteristic of Moses to intercede for his people; that the people weren't always rebellious, but know how to honor God (v. 10); that the people even know how to show respect for Moses (v. 8). The context even shows us why the tent was outside the camp, since the people were not yet worthy to have God dwell there with them.

But we also have to note that this tent was still the focal point not only of God's presence with His people, but also of Moses' authority and privilege. I believe that this was part of the context of Exodus

5 E.g. I Kg. 8:16.

32-34, and indeed of the whole period in the wilderness. People resented Moses' authority and privilege. He received the vision and call at the burning bush, he led them out of Egypt, he meets God at the tent, and he left them alone to meet God on the mountain. We can compare Numbers 12:2 where even Miriam and Aaron object to Moses' singular position as the only one to whom God seems to speak. Moses' position is highlighted at the tent.

We can note that the same type of situation applies to David, since he had the Ark placed in the "tent" (אוהל) that he had erected in his new capital, Jerusalem (II Sam. 6:17), even though, according to I Chr. 21:29 the tabernacle still existed, and was standing at Gibeon. Jerusalem, with David's tent, finally highlighted David's authority and privilege. The pattern is emerging. But we will now examine a final text.

II SAMUEL 20:1

Here we have a saying obviously related to the one in I Kg. 12:16. In II Sam. 15:13 we have David leaving Jerusalem in the face of Absalom's revolt. He is missing when his people need a strong king the most, and is certainly missing from the place where the people need him to be. In 19:11 he prepares to return, though the actual return is not recorded, significantly, until 20:3, which is after the important 20:1.

Already in 19:41 we find the northern tribes angry with Judah for initiating the grand restoration of David to his full reign in Jerusalem, even though Judah is David's own family tribe, and therefore naturally concerned with his position.

The tensions that were always there beneath the surface between the groups of tribes rise again, and harsh words are spoken by both sides. At this point a certain Sheba galvanizes the northern tribes and calls to them, איש לאהליו ישראל *Every man to his tent (lit. "tents"), O Israel.* There is little doubt that here we have a call by Sheba to political independence, not idolatry. This is the case in the other passages too.

CONCLUSION

It is the opinion of the present writer that the issue in these chapters is not idolatry, but that of authority, and election. Why wait for "that man Moses?" Let's initiate our own ways of worshipping God now, and take authority upon ourselves. Why follow Rehoboam? Let's rule ourselves and organize our own ways of worshipping God. Why accede to David and his tribe? Let's rule our own lives. Without doubt there is a further overlay of tradition which holds that the implication of such rebellion against God's leaders, itself a rebellion against God's authority, is false worship and immorality.

A further piece of corroboration of this interpretation is the fact that in Nehemia 9:18, also quoted above, the context of reference to this golden bull is not confession of idolatry, but of disobedience.

This then is the bond which links these chapters, a bond skilfully fashioned and consisting of the theme of rebellion against God's sovereignty as expressed through His chosen representatives. Hubris, then, is the sin, not idolatry.

MAN THE PINNACLE OF CREATION

NATHAN AVIEZER

The first chapter of the Book of Genesis poses a challenge to the believing Jew of the 20th century, especially to a Jew with an academic background. The problem is that there seem to be a large number of discrepancies between the 'facts' as represented by well-known scientific knowledge and the 'facts' as implied by a literal rendering of the biblical text. This apparent discrepancy between Torah and science is particularly striking in the biblical account of the origin of Man.

At the conclusion of the six days of Creation, the Book of Genesis strongly implies (1:27-29) that the entire universe exists solely for the benefit of Man. This idea is elaborated upon in the Talmud, where the following parable is submitted: Adam was created on the eve of the Shabbat, and why? This can be compared to a king of flesh and blood who built a palace and furnished it and prepared a meal; and after that, he brought in his guests.[1]

The claim that everything in the universe exists to serve Man seems to be utterly without foundation. To become convinced of this, one need only consider the distant stars. The universe is filled with many billions of galaxies and each galaxy contains many billions of stars. What possible relevance to Man could there be in all these countless stars that stretch across the vast expanses of outer space? In fact, before the recent invention of powerful telescopes, no one was even aware that so many stars exist. The belief that there is some

1 *Babylonian Talmud*, Sanhedrin 38a.

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connection between Man and the distant stars may be dismissed as mere astrology and superstition.

The above represents the popular view. In this essay, we shall present current scientific evidence that may provide an explanation of the biblical text.

THE DISTANT STARS

Recent advances in astronomy have revealed a remarkable link between life on earth and the distant stars. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that without the stars, life would have been impossible.

The bodies of all living organisms contain the chemical elements carbon, hydrogen, oxygen and nitrogen, plus smaller but crucial amounts of several other elements. What is the origin of these chemical elements?

According to the firmly-established modern theory of cosmology,[2] in the very early history of the universe, the only chemical elements that existed were hydrogen and helium. There was neither carbon, oxygen, nitrogen or any other element essential for life. These elements were formed only much later, in the blazing interior of large stars. Professor Michael Zeilik explains:

> **The massive stars have lifetimes of only a few millions to tens of millions of years, after which they catastrophically explode. During their short life span, the thermonuclear furnace deep within them manufactures elements as heavy as carbon and iron; at their death, the awesome violence of the supernova explosion forges elements heavier than iron and blasts as much as 90% of the star's material into interstellar space. Out of this recycled material, new stars and planets will be born: stars such as the sun and planets such as the earth. Moreover, life arose on our planet**

2 See, for example, the excellent book on modern cosmology by Nobel laureate S. Weinberg, *The First Three Minutes* (Andre Deutsch, London), 1977.

because massive stars lived and died; without supernova explosions, the carbon that is the key to life as we know it would not be distributed throughout interstellar space.[3]

The authoritative *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Astronomy* describes the essential relationship between life on earth and the distant stars:

It used to be supposed that the universe has always had the composition we observe today .... It is not, perhaps, widely appreciated that all the atoms on earth [except hydrogen] had to be created inside a generation of stars that evolved before the birth of the sun .... Every atom of our bodies was fused together in past aeons of an almost fantastic galactic history. In truth, we are the children of the Universe.[4]

There is yet another important connection between ourselves and the stars, which relates to the vast distances that separate us from the stars. It is now recognized that these distances are crucial to our existence. Stellar explosions emit not only the chemical elements that are essential for life; they also emit 'cosmic radiation' which is deadly. We are saved from this cosmic radiation *only* because the stars are so very far away from our planet. Over the enormous distances that cosmic radiation must travel before reaching the earth, it becomes so reduced in intensity that this radiation is no longer harmful. Professor Freeman J. Dyson explains:

The vastness of the interstellar spaces has diluted the cosmic rays enough to save us from being fried or at least sterilized by them. If sheer distance had not effectively isolated the quiet regions of the universe from the noisy ones, no type of biological [system] would have been possible.[5]

3 M. Zeilik, *Scientific American*, Vol. 238, p. 110, April 1978.

4 S. Mitton (Editor-in-Chief), *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Astronomy* (Jonathan Cape, London), pp. 121, 123, 125, 1977.

5 F. J. Dyson, *Scientific American*, Vol. 225, p. 57, September, 1971.

THE BIBLICAL TEXT

Having described some recent findings in astronomy that relate to Man, we are in a position to make a comparison between the biblical text and current scientific knowledge. We shall relate to the question that was raised at the beginning of this essay.

It is a fundamental principle of the talmudic sages[6] that Man is the pinnacle of Creation, and that everything in the universe was formed for his benefit. Nowhere is this principle demonstrated more strikingly than in the recent scientific discovery that even the distant stars played a vital role in making it possible for Man to exist. ("Life arose on our planet because massive stars lived and died."[7]) It is now recognized that all the chemical elements that are necessary for life (except hydrogen) were originally formed deep in the interior of the stars. These elements were later ejected into space when a star underwent a violent supernova explosion. Eventually, the chemicals reached our solar system to form the living tissues of plants, animals and Man. ("In truth, we are the children of the Universe.")[8]

The explosion of distant stars is merely one example of a large number of different events that were necessary for the existence and well-being of Man. Indeed, it has become increasingly obvious in recent years that there are many quite stringent requirements of nature for the survival of Man – and all of these somehow *just happen* to occur. This phenomenon has attracted considerable scientific attention and has been named the 'Anthropic Principle'.[9]

Many scientists have commented on this phenomenon, but particularly perceptive are the impressions of the distinguished

6 Sanhedrin 38a.
7 Zeilik, *op. cit.*
8 Mitton, *op. cit.*
9 J. D. Barrow and F. J. Tipler, *The Anthropic Cosmological Principle* (Oxford University Press, Oxford), 1986.

physicist, Professor Freeman J. Dyson of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton:

> **As we look out into the universe and identify the many accidents of physics and astronomy that have worked together to our benefit, it almost seems as if the universe must in some sense have known that we were coming.**[10]

We note the harmony that exists between these words of a world-famous scientist and the writings of the Talmud that were quoted earlier.

There has always been a reluctance to accept the text of the first chapter of Genesis in its literal sense. Such reluctance is not surprising. It is almost universally believed that, on a purely scientific basis, it is not possible to understand the Book of Genesis as a record of events that actually occurred in the past. To examine this assumption, I have recently undertaken a detailed comparison between the biblical text and current scientific knowledge.[11] In contrast to the widespread misconception, the analysis shows that there exists remarkable agreement between many biblical passages and recently discovered scientific facts in the fields of cosmology, astronomy, geology, meteorology, paleontology, anthropology and archaeology. Indeed, modern science has provided us with a unique opportunity to discover new and deeper insights into numerous biblical passages that otherwise seem enigmatic. Far from being the antagonist to the Book of Genesis, science has become an important tool for its understanding.

10 Dyson, *loc. cit.*, p. 59.

11 N. Aviezer, *In the Beginning . . . Biblical Creation and Science* (Ktav Publishing House, Hoboken, NJ), 1990.

WHAT AILED THE SON OF KISH?

YONATHAN BEN NAHUM

"Is Saul also among the prophets?" is an expression used for something unusual and unexpected. It was already in everyday use at the time of Samuel, but its origin is shrouded in mystery. It appears twice in the first book of Samuel.

> a) *And when they came there to the Hill, he saw a band of prophets coming toward him. Thereupon the spirit of God gripped him, and he spoke in ecstasy among them. When all who knew him previously saw him speaking in ecstasy together with the prophets, the people said to one another, "What's happened to the son of Kish? Is Saul too among the prophets?"* (I Sam. 10:10-12).
>
> b) *Then he too stripped off his clothes and he too spoke in ecstasy before Samuel; and he lay naked all that day and all night. That is why people say, "Is Saul too among the prophets?"* (I Sam. 19:24).

A third instance of Saul being overwhelmed by the spirit occurs in I Samuel 18:10-11

> *The next day an evil spirit of God gripped Saul and he began to rave in the house, while David was playing (the lyre), as he did daily. Saul had a spear in his hand, and Saul threw the spear, thinking to pin David to the wall. But David eluded him twice.*

In this instance the spirit is connected with the evil spirit which came over Saul and with the stressing persecution complex which cast a shadow on his latter years. It is clear that Saul was a sick man, but what was the nature of his illness?

Let us study what the Book of Samuel tells us about Saul in order to try to understand his behavior and his complicated relationship with the members of his family and with his son-in-law David.

What does the Bible tell us about Saul's physical condition? From I Samuel 9:2 we learn that he was *an excellent young man; no one among the Israelites was handsomer than he; he was a head taller than any of the people.* In the days when weapons were thrown, height and thrust power were as important in warfare as they are in basketball today. If we add agility and strength to height, Saul was *swifter than eagles and stronger than lions* (II Sam. 1:23), as we learn from David's elegy. Undoubtedly he was a brave and courageous man of war.

To attain height one has to grow. Growth depends on the growth hormone – somatotropin, secreted by the pituitary gland. The physical functioning of the body is dependent on this gland which measures less than a centimeter and weighs less than a gram. The pituitary reacts to tension, provocation, light and sound.[1] In a situation of stress the pituitary releases growth hormone and it also delays sugar intake from the blood by the cells, causing increase of sugar in the blood – hyperglycaemia, resulting in thirst, dry skin, weakness, fatigue, severe depression – described in the Bible as "evil spirit."

When body cells lack sugar the result is severe hunger. But eating, together with the influence of additional stress hormones increases the sugar level in the blood.

The high sugar content of the blood stimulates the beta cells in the pancreas with increased insulin production which increases the absorption of the sugar by the cells of the body. The insulin content of the blood rises, but is rendered useless because the growth hormone impedes its functioning and prevents the cells from absorbing the sugar.

When the pituitary is relaxed as under the influence of soothing music, the secretion of somatotropin ceases with the result that the

1 Poultry farmers use it, and light up the chicken coops at night in order to stimulate the hyperglycaemia of the fowls and increase egg production. See "Hypophysis" in the Hebrew Encyclopedia.

insulin level in the blood is too high causing a drop in the sugar level in the blood – hypoglycaemia.

In people with hidden diabetes a state of hyperglycaemia appears three to four hours after a meal. When the sugar level rises the pancreas releases increased amounts of insulin and causes a gradual reduction of sugar in the blood, with symptoms of weakness, fatigue, urgent desire for food, which are followed by symptoms of heat, perspiration and trembling hands. The patient feels weak and unrelaxed. Speech and action do not correlate. Sometimes there is aggressive behavior.

Saul could certainly be termed aggressive when he threw his spear at David and at Jonathan, but it seems that his misses were not always coincidental. For "vision becomes blurred and irregular. Sometimes there are convulsions like those in an epileptic fit."[2] An epileptic fit is what happened to Balaam, *Prostrate, but with eyes unveiled* (Num. 24:4, 16). This is the state which could be equated with a form of early prophecy.

The New Testament describes the experience of Saul on his way to Damascus in a way in which we can accept that his change was due to similar factors.[3]

Saul who is Paul of Tarsus suffered from epilepsy but the reason for the prophecy of Saul the son of Kish was different. In chapter 28 of I Samuel we are told that Saul fainted *because he did not eat bread all day and all night*. A good reason to suspect hyperglycaemia.

If we look further we find another symptom typical of hyperglycaemia in Saul's son Jonathan. He had been involved in a fierce battle since early morning, without eating anything, and on going through a forest *He put out the stick he had with him, dipped it into the beehive of honey, and brought his hand back to his mouth;*

2 Quoted from an article by Dr. M. Bersin "Hyperglycaemia" in the *Bulletin of the Israeli Society of Diabetics*, p. 18. I was personally present during a fit which appeared to be epileptic in a person who had never suffered from epilepsy, where instability of blood sugar level was later diagnosed.

3 Acts 9:3-4.

and his eyes lit up.[4] The word for "lit up" is interesting. The *ketav* (written text) is *vateorna einav* his eyes lit up, but the *kri* (version which is read) is *vatirena einav* and "his eyes saw." Lack of food and physical strain caused blurred vision which was restored by honey – and hyperglycaemia must have been the cause. Thirst is another typical symptom of hyperglycaemia and Saul was never without his water jar. At night he kept it close by so that on awakening he could relieve the dryness of his throat.

David was well aware of this, and as his personal bodyguard, he was never far from Saul's side. He was "obedient to (Saul's) bidding" and we can be sure that David would not fail to fill the king's water jar every evening, for he knew that water was just as important to Saul as his spear. Thus, when he surreptitiously entered the camp as described in I Samuel 26 and took the spear and the water jar – it was to prove to Saul that his present bodyguards were lax in performing their duty. (His sarcasm about their behavior draws attention away from his audacious act and can perhaps be explained by the fact that he still had hopes of regaining his former position). A man of royalty who does not lack servants should not have to be dependent on the proximity of his water jar, but Saul's refusal to be parted from his was well known. In fact so well remembered, that ten years later when David said to his men *if only I could get a drink of water* (II Sam. 23:15) he did not say "I am thirsty." His servants were concerned that David was perhaps smitten with the same affliction. If they were the same retainers as those who served Saul, they would know that the king's life was endangered by any delay in fulfilling his command, so they immediately set off through the enemy lines to find water.[5] David was touched by their faithfulness, but felt he could not drink this water which had been obtained at great risk to their lives so he poured it away in front of all his men. But in so doing he proved that

4 I Sam. 14:27.
5 II Sam. 23; I Chr. 11:17 ff.

he was not afflicted with the curse of Saul! He did not suffer from attacks of thirst and "evil spirit."

Perhaps instability of sugar level in the blood might have been responsible for the tragedy of Michal, Saul's daughter, whose vicious remarks to her husband David[6] present a classic example of conjugal strife. Each side is well aware of the weak points of the other and strike to hit where they know it will hurt. One might ask how this courageous and charming girl . . . after whom men wept,[7] became such an acrimonious spouse. The author of the text knew Michal well, and understood her. He wanted to portray her in a positive light and explained that there was a reason for Michal's bitterness. She was childless. We are not told if she ever conceived or if she conceived but did not bring to term.[8] Although the reasons for childlessness are and always have been manifold – it is possible that Michal had inherited her father's tendency to instability of blood sugar level. In this case it is fairly certain that she would not have been able to bring a pregnancy to term, and the suffering involved would certainly have made her bitter and frustrated. Not only was the author of the Book of Samuel very well acquainted with Saul and his family, but he also gives faithful descriptions of events and details. For example, we are told the weight of Goliath's spear, and the price the Philistines charged for sharpening a spear[9] (I Sam. 17:7; 13:21) and the route that Jonathan took from Geba to Michmas.[10] In the same way the biblical author describes the effect of the "evil spirit" which afflicted Saul. With our scientific knowledge we can go as far as to pinpoint the exact name of the "evil spirit" that afflicted Saul. He suffered from irregular

6 II Sam 6: 20-23.

7 II Sam. 3:16.

8 The statement in II Sam 21:8 is incorrect. Adriel's wife was Merav and not Michal.

9 I Sam. 17:7; 13:21.

10 In December 1917 a British major, Vivian Gilbert, discovered that same path and used it with great success. The second book of Samuel 14:4-7 was his source of military intelligence!

functioning of the pituitary gland, a condition that under stress causes impaired glucose tolerance (I.G.T.) one of the less severe forms of diabetes.

Diabetes is nowadays defined as "a group of illnesses that in spite of unclear etiological variations have the common denominator of metabolic disturbances." The tendency to I.G.T. is hereditary. Where both partners are affected two out of three of the offspring will inherit it and there is a connecting stress factor. One form of I.G.T. is called intolerance to glucose in stress situations.[11]

Some define diabetes as the inability of the body to deal effectively with stress and explain that "it is fairly certain that people with certain preset hereditary norms, or other conditions which cause diabetes do not adapt . . . to concentrated stress situations over a long period of time."[12]

So here we are faced with a physical illness that can have psychosomatic origins, and in the above article, Dr. Kantor quotes a number of cases where a traumatic experience "pressed the trigger" that released an illness which was dormant.

We return to our hero Saul, the son of Kish and ask what "pressed the trigger" in his case. In I Samuel 15 it was the stern and unrelenting words of the prophet Samuel, a man who loved Saul. So did his son Jonathan and his daughter Michal. So did all his subjects. Are we not told how he had saved them from constant attacks and plundering of the neighboring clans which they had suffered for many years? If we do not take into account that Saul suffered from a physical malady which seriously affected his behavior pattern, it is difficult to understand the chain of events in the book of Samuel, either on an interpersonal or a political level.

Translated from Bet Mikra by Lolla Luzann.

11 Quoted from an article by Dr. Shimon Weizman, of the diabetes clinic of the Soroka Medical Center and Ben Gurion University of Beersheva. "The epidemiology of diabetes," *Rofeh Hamishpahah* vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 143-147.

12 Dr. Yoram Kantor, Head of the Diabetes and Metabolic Disorders Unit at the Rambam Medical Center and the Medical Faculty in Haifa: "The diabetic in stress situations." *The Bulletin of The Israeli Association of Diabetics* vol. 13, pp. 13, 15.

GOD, ABRAHAM, MOSES:
A COMPARISON OF KEY QUESTIONS

RONALD T. HYMAN

It is common in the Bible, as it is elsewhere, for speakers to use questions in order to initiate an encounter. In the case of the Bible this is true whether the speakers are humans, animals, angels, or God. Not only do questions initiate interaction by eliciting responses, but they also trigger further questions back to the questioner. In short, in discourse questions beget responses, and they also beget additional questions.

In this article I deal with four key questions which occur in discourse between God and Abraham (Genesis 18) and between Moses and God (Numbers 11), showing their similarities as well as their differences. A key question is one which by virtue of its form, style, and content delivers a significant and powerful message. This type of question reflects the unique characteristics of the questioner as it poses an important issue within the context of a particular dialogue. I have chosen to focus on God's interaction with Abraham and Moses, two leaders of the Hebrew people who both ask questions to God and are in turn asked questions by God. The power of these leaders' questions and the responses they elicit from God deserve attention because they are indicative of the qualities which characterize these two men.

The key dialogue questions between God and Abraham are as follows:

God: *Is anything too wondrous for the Lord?* (Gen. 18:14).
Abraham: *Shall not the Judge of all the earth deal justly?* (Gen. 18:25).

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The key dialogue questions between Moses and God are as follows:

> Moses: *Did I conceive all this people, did I bear them, that you should say to me, 'Carry them in your bosom as a nurse carries an infant', to the land that you have promised on oath to their fathers?* (Num. 11:12).
>
> God: *Is there a limit to the Lord's power?* (Num. 11:23).

Emphasis on these four questions does not mean that there are no other questions and statements between each of these men and God. Indeed, in Gen. 18 and Num. 11, as well as in other chapters in the Torah, there are additional questions to be noted. However, I emphasize the four questions cited above because they epitomize the essence of God's divine omnipotence, Abraham's role as father of a religion seeking social justice, and Moses' leadership burden in transforming a nation of slaves into a nation of free people. Let us, then, proceed to analyze these questions from Genesis and Numbers. First God, then Abraham, and then Moses.

The two questions by God share several characteristics. Both are three Hebrew words in length and both begin with the interrogative *he*, thereby technically calling for a correct answer of "Yes" or "No". Both contain God's name — the tetragrammaton — as the second word; thus, in both of His questions God refers to Himself by name. This is notable because God thereby creates a sense of majesty and distance from Abraham and Moses. The use of God's name by God Himself helps to create a feeling of awe in the addressee.

God's question to Abraham appears following a specific act performed by a third party which precedes it in the previous verse. The sequence is as follows: Sarah laughs upon hearing that she will give birth to a child the next year at age ninety; then God asks a critical/corrective "Why" question to Abraham which comments on Sarah's behavior, *Why did Sarah laugh, saying, Shall I in truth bear a child, old as I am?*; then God follows immediately in 18:14 with His key question, *Is anything too wondrous for the Lord?*; and, finally, God proclaims that next year Sarah will give birth to a son.

Since God says Sarah will give birth to a son, Sarah will give birth to a son even at age ninety.

God's triggered question to Moses in Num. 11:23 comes after Moses has complained to God about his burden with respect to his responsibility for leading the children of Israel. The Israelites have been "murmuring" about the lack of meat to eat in the desert; Moses has already asked God his key question; and God has responded by offering a way to lighten Moses' burden of leadership and by promising a full month of meat. Moses, however, has persisted in doubting that there will be enough meat for the entire nation for a full month even if whole flocks are killed. When it seems God cannot countenance any more doubts about His word, He rejoins with a brief but powerful question to Moses: *Is there a limit to the Lord's power?* Since God says there will be enough meat, there will be enough meat.

Clearly, God's two questions to Abraham and Moses are essentially the same. Both of them proclaim God's omnipotence. Both declare that nothing is beyond God's capability, and that His power is limitless to do just what He desires. Furthermore, these two questions send a signal that the adressees (and the reader) should pay close attention to the important issue which they raise. In the question to Abraham, the word "wondrous" appears for the first and only time in the entire book of Genesis. That word, in its future passive grammatical construction, stands out immediately as unusual and is at the core of the message that God is sending about His omnipotence. In the question to Moses the signal comes not from the initial appearance of a word but from the initial appearance and oddity of the Hebrew expression "short hand." The common expression to refer to God's power previously is "strong hand."[1] The expression "high hand" was even used previously to refer to God's power.[2] The "short hand" expression stands out immediately as

1 See, for example, Ex. 6:1 and 13:3.
2 See Ex. 14:8.

unusual and striking.[3] It is an odd expression and constitutes a signal. In summary, the two questions by God are similar in content and style in addition to being similar in form. Each conveys a message about God's power. Most importantly, only God in His divinity can ask these two questions.

The message conveyed by and the grammatical construction of these two questions by God cause them to be rhetorical. Neither question explicitly asks for a "Yes" or a "No" response. God continues to talk after His questions. In Genesis He states that He will return in the set time when Sarah shall give birth to a son, and in Numbers He announces to Moses that He will make His words come to pass. With His key questions and method of delivering them God is declaring His own greatness and omnipotence, thereby reminding Abraham and Moses of His divinity.

Immediately following each of God's questions the adressee remains silent. In Genesis Abraham does not speak after God's key question. It is Sarah who speaks. However, Sarah does not answer God's question. She only denies that she laughed and does so in order to show that she does not deserve God's criticism, as He set forth in his "Why" question earlier.[4] When Abraham does speak next, the scene has changed. God is now considering the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah. It is then that Abraham begins to speak by asking his crucial question, as stated above. In Numbers Moses also does not respond to God's question. Rather than respond to the

3 The expression "short hand" to refer to limited power or to lack of power is rare in the Tanakh. It occurs here in Num. 11:23 in God's question and elsewhere only in Isa. 37:27; 50:2; and 59:1. The expression "outstretched hand" is used also, but that expression refers to having power, not the lack of it. It too is rare. See Isa. 14:26 and Jer. 21:5, where the prophets use the expression an "outstretched hand and a strong arm." This expression is an inversion of the more common expression "a strong hand an an outstretched arm." See, for example, Deut. 4:34 and Ps. 136:12 for the more common expression.

4 This claim depends on believing that God, not Abraham, is the antecedent of the pronoun "he" in the sentence: *And He said, No, but you did laugh* (Gen. 18:15). That is, God contradicts Sarah after her denial of laughing. Both the 1917 and the 1962 translations by the Jewish Publication Society agree. Most commentators also agree.

question, Moses goes out to the people and gathers seventy elders as commanded by God in 11:16.

In summary, there are seven characteristics of God's two questions: brevity; interrogative *he* construction which seems to call for Yes/No answer; rhetorical intent; use of His own name to refer to Himself; message of omnipotence; use of unusual or odd language as signals, and continuation of speaking right after the question is posed. The combination of these seven characteristics creates two powerful and eloquent questions which distinctively reflect God's uniqueness as a questioner.

Let us now turn to the questions asked by Abraham. After the episode with Sarah denying her laughter, God realizes that He must not hide from Abraham His intent to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah. God soliloquizes about His choice of Abraham as leader and then speaks directly to Abraham about Sodom and Gomorrah. Abraham in Gen. 18:23 begins to talk to God about the moral problem if there are righteous as well as wicked people in those cities. Abraham begins with a question, *Will You sweep away the innocent along with the guilty?* This question is daring in that it challenges God. Without waiting for a response, Abraham continues by suggesting that if there are only fifty righteous people among their inhabitants, then the two cities are worth saving. He asks, *Will You then wipe out the place and not forgive it for the sake of the innocent fifty people in it?*

Finally, in Genesis 18:25 as the culmination of his address to God, Abraham asks his own key question to God, *Shall not the Judge of all the earth deal justly?* This question is unlike the others. This question subsumes Abraham's prior two questions and critical statement as it reaches a new level by adding the concepts of omnipotence and universality to the concepts of justice and righteousness already established in his challenge to God. By calling God "Judge of the whole earth" and by speaking explicitly about the principle of justice in general, Abraham expands the dimensions of his previous words to God. Thus, this question by Abraham is memorable and basic for Abraham's concept of God.

In questioning God about justice, Abraham is reacting to the immediate issue God Himself raises in 18:20-21 concerning the cry and sin of Sodom and Gomorrah. However, in regard to form, tone, and style Abraham is reflecting back to God His own key question in 18:14. He has remained silent in response to God's key question. Then he listened to God speak about Sodom and Gomorrah and with God's key question in mind Abraham mirrors God's behavior by asking a question and phrasing that question in the same form, tone, and style. He combines the themes of omnipotence, universality, and justice into one question. This combination strengthens the content of his question. Also, rather than plead a special interest case to God on behalf of his nephew, Lot, Abraham pleads for the general community of all righteous people. It is in these ways that the thread between God's and Abraham's key questions is manifested. Abraham's question is brief, has an interrogative *he* construction with a Yes/No form, and has a rhetorical intent. However, Abraham specifically refers to God and does so, for the first time in the chapter in the third person rather than the second person. With the third person construction Abraham creates a tone of respect and majesty. What is more, Abraham's question, by referring to God's omnipotence and universality and sense of justice, indicates that it is inconceivable that God or anyone else would say that God would act unjustly.

In other words, the key question by Abraham utilizes the technique of arguing *reductio ad absurdum*[5] as do the two key questions by God. With this technique Abraham in effect says, "The Judge of the whole earth by virtue of His very role will seek to act justly in relation to humans, to deal with the righteous differently from the way He deals with the wicked. Therefore, surely He will not sweep away the righteous with the wicked." He also requires God, in God's own words in His soliloquy in 18:18-19 about Abraham, to act as

5 See James L. Crenshaw, "Impossible Questions, Sayings, and Tasks," *Semeia* 17:19-34 (1980).

should Abraham His chosen progenitor of a "great and mighty nation" that will do "righteousness and justice," which is the "way of God." Abraham thus demands that God must be a model for the chosen leader of His people. God accedes to Abraham's demand.

Abraham takes the theme of God's soliloquy and even God's own words, the essential one being "justice," to frame his most notable key question.

Abraham asks a key question which reflects his character at the same time that it challenges God. It is Abraham who is the father of the Hebrews' universalistic monotheism. Abraham's journey to Canaan from Ur of the Chaldees, as reported in Genesis 12, was not only a physical one to a new land but also a theological journey to his becoming a leader believing in a single omnipotent and universal God (See Josh. 24:2 ff.). It is Abraham who teaches the concept of universality to the nations inhabiting Canaan. For this reason the universalistic epithet for God from his key question, "Judge of the whole earth," particularly reflects the religious leadership of Abraham.

Let us now turn to Moses. His key question to God in Numbers 11, like God's in Genesis 18, follows an act performed by a third party. The children of Israel are murmuring about the lack of meat in the desert,[6] and when Moses can patiently hear no more from his complaining people, he turns to God to voice his own displeasure with the burden of leading the Israelites to the Land of Israel. Moses, like Abraham, begins by asking God two questions in Num. 11:11, *Why have You dealt ill with Your servant, and why have I not enjoyed Your favor, that You laid the burden of all this people upon me?* Moses uses these two critical/corrective questions as stepping stones to his key question, just as Abraham uses his two questions in Gen. 18:23 as building blocks for his key question.

In contrast to Abraham, Moses asks a long and complex key question. There are three parts to this interrogative verse in Num.

6 See Exodus 16 for a similar theme.

11:12.[7] The first part, beginning with the interrogative *he*, is *Did I conceive all this people?* The second part, beginning with *im*, is, *Have I given birth to them?* The third part, beginning with *ki*, is, *that You should say to me, 'Carry them in your bosom, as a nurse carries an infant to the land that You have promised on oath to their fathers?'* This question consists of twenty-four words, four times as many as Abraham uses. Because of its length – notwithstanding its three part complex structure – the question is not one which is easily remembered and quoted. Nevertheless, Moses' question is notable, powerful, and effective with God. As such it is a key question.

However, the *reductio as absurdum* argument of Moses differs from that of Abraham in two significant ways. First, Moses speaks directly to God in the second person. Just as he does in the two stepping-stone questions of the preceding verse, Moses refers (twice) to God in the second person. Second and more importantly, Moses uses metaphorical language; he uses the metaphors of conception/birth/nursing. It is impossible to respond to Moses' question with a literal "Yes" because Moses has obviously not conceived any single child, let alone a nation of a multitude of people. Nor has Moses given birth to them or carried them in his bosom or suckled them. Through his chosen metaphors Moses has precluded an affirmative answer and, at the same time, obviated the need for a negative one. In short, by virtue of his clever question Moses denies God the opportunity to answer "Yes" or "No". Furthermore, after asking his key question Moses continues to talk (Num. 11:13-15) by asking another rhetorical question and further complaining about his burden.

Since there is no legitimate way for God to respond to Moses because of the way the latter phrases his key question, Moses requires God to act differently. God "responds" not with an answer of "Yes" or "No" but with His own striking, unanswerable key question which declares His omnipotence: *Is there a limit to the*

7 A. van Selms, "Motivated Interrogative Sentences in Biblical Hebrew," *Semitics* 2:143-149 (1971-1972).

Lord's power? It is a response of "I am omnipotent; I do not have a short, limited hand. Here, let Me show you that My word about enough meat for a full month will come true."

Despite his lack of brevity and wordplay (two interrogative characteristics which give Abraham's key question its eloquence) and despite the fact that he is *heavy of speech and heavy of tongue* (Ex. 4:10), Moses has his own method of being eloquent. Moses utilizes metaphors, asks a complex, well-phrased question, and achieves his result. Like Abraham, Moses is persuasive with God, as shown in Num. 11:31 when God causes quail to cover the desert near the Israelites' camp.

Moses, like Abraham, uses only three of the six characteristics of God's questions, but a different three. He uses an interrogative *he* construction with a Yes/No form; he has a rhetorical intent, and he continues to speak after asking his question. More significantly, he differs from Abraham by employing metaphors. By analogizing his role as leader of the children of Israel to the role of a parent who conceives, gives birth, and nurses a baby, Moses not only elicits a particular reaction, he imaginatively depicts his responsibility as a leader. He points out not the glory of leadership but the burden of leading a stiff-necked people (Ex. 32:9) needing to learn to be free again.

It is true that Moses' complex question does not accomplish with God any more than Abraham's even though it is four times as long. But his key question is so effective that it triggers God's decision to provide meat for the complaining people. It also triggers God's second memorable question just as Abraham's key question in Genesis is followed by God reacting with a key question. There is indeed a consistency in questioning form, style, and language from Genesis to Numbers, from Abraham's dialogue with God to Moses' dialogue with God.

Like Abraham, Moses asks a key question which reflects his particular relationship with God. Though chosen by God to lead the children of Israel out of Egypt, Moses doubts his ability and

complains about the situation. But God directs Moses through his doubts and disappointments till he reaches the final goal. Therefore, just as Abraham is regarded as the father of the Hebrews' religion, Moses is regarded as the father of the new Hebrew people itself. In this way Moses' question points up a figurative truth: Moses has conceived, given birth, and nursed the nation in his bosom.[8]

In conclusion, a question is a reflection of the questioner. The analysis of the four key questions in Genesis 18 and Numbers 11 illustrates this point. When God is challenged, He reacts with two powerful and eloquent questions which remind the listener of His divinity. When Abraham recognizes that the contemplated fate of the righteous people of Sodom and Gomorrah is unjust, he asks a question befitting the founder of a religion devoted to social justice. When Moses feels burdened by the formidable responsibility of leading a nation of slaves and transforming it into a free and independent people, he asks a metaphorical question requiring God to sustain even further a complaining recently reborn nation as well as requiring God to lighten Moses' burden as leader.

The examination of the four questions reminds us that form is important in attracting the reader's attention, but it is insufficient in constituting a powerful, effective question. Form must combine with style, tone, language, and content in order to create a memorable key question. Not just one but several characteristics intertwined yield a key question. While only God can speak about omnipotence, each leader can and must utilize his own unique perspective to create an eloquent question, as Abraham and Moses do. Indeed, from Abraham onwards the mark of every great Hebrew leader has been the questions asked and the responses elicited from whomever was questioned, including God.

8 See Exodus 18 for Jethro's comments on his son-in-law's burden.

THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS OF ISAAC

JEFFREY COHEN

Synagogue usage ascribes a name to every weekly Sabbath reading of the Torah (sidra). The sidra beginning at Gen. 25:1 is known by the title *Toldot*, from the first significant word in the opening phrase – *Eleh Toldot Yitzhak — These are the generations of Isaac*. A similar phrase – *Eleh toldot* (Noah) – *These are the generations of Noah* already occurs as the opening phrase of an earlier sidra (Gen. 6:4). Nevertheless, the sages did not, in that earlier context, follow their general rule and call the sidra after its first main word, *toldot*, preferring instead to employ the succeeding word 'Noah' as the name of that sidra. Why, we may ask, did they reject the name *Toldot* for the earlier sidra, yet utilize it for the later reading.

Baruch Ha-Levi Epstein in his *Tosephet Brakhah*, offers a solution. He says that *toldot*, meaning "generations", indicates a sidra which spans and surveys *several* generations, whereas the sidra *Noah* is primarily the history of *one man*. It is a lengthy account of Noah's call, the details of his mission to build the ark, its dimensions, the provisions he took in, and the numbers of the various species. Hence the Noah story was not given the name *Toldot*, 'generations', because it is basically a description of but one generation. The saga of Jacob and Esau, on the other hand, says that commentator, is truly a *toldot*, a history that moves on down the generations, delineating their lives and taking a much broader sweep than the sidra *Noah*.

This explanation is, however, far form satisfactory, for if we actually analyze the sidra *Noah* we will discover that the nomen-

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clature *toldot* is actually far more appropriate to that context than it is to the later sidra. A mere glance at *Noah* (Chs. 10, 11:10-32) will reveal lengthy lists of the *toldot*, the generations, of Noah's offspring; lists introduced, significantly, with that very key-word *toldot*: *v'eleh toldot bnei Noah* (10:1); *Eleh toldot Shem* (11:10) and *letoldotam* (10:32). So three times in the sidra *Noah*, in addition to its opening phrase, there is a reference to *toldot*, 'generations', with full genealogical lists of all those generations (11:10-32) climaxing that sidra. Yet, for all that, the sages denied it the obvious title *Toldot*; reserving that for a later sidra which – and here we differ from the view of the *Tosephet Brakhah* – does *not* survey the generations, but restricts itself exclusively to but *one* generation, that of Esau and Jacob.

Another problem is the intrusion of the self-evident second statement, in the opening verse: *These are the generations of Isaac, Abraham's son: Abraham begat Isaac*. Thus, after setting out to describe the *toldot* ("generations"), namely, the *offspring* of Isaac, it immediately interjects, not with his offspring, but with his parentage: *Abraham begat Isaac*. What is the relevance of such an obvious and intrusive gloss?

The answer suggested here is that a special nuance underlies the Hebrew word *toldot*. It means more than its translation, "generations", suggests. A key to its meaning is provided by the cognate noun *moledet*, both being derived from the same Hebrew root, *yalad*, "to give birth." *Moledet* means a "birthplace" and it is also found for the first time in the sidra *Noah* (Gen. 11:28): *eretz moladto*, "The land of his birthplace." Thus, when Abraham sent Eliezer to find a wife for Isaac, he warned him to go – *el artzi ve-el moladti* – translated "to my country and *my kindred*." We may well ask what was the significance of the *moledet*, the birthplace, that Abraham should have regarded it as of importance in the choice of his future daughter-in-law. It could hardly have had anything to do with the religious dedication or righteousness of Abraham's family which he had left behind in Mesopotamia all those decades before. Laban and Bethuel were hardly models of piety!

The answer we suggest is simply that the *moledet*, the kindred and the environment in which one grows up, create a particular bond, a shared historical and sociological experience, a common culture, and a similarity of speech. Climate and environment even affect appearance and disposition, for we know how national characteristics are engendered by geography, climate, local diet and other such conditions. There was greater chance of Isaac and Rebecca being compatible if they shared the identical topological influences.

To return now to our original problem of the word *toldot*. This word carries within it the above explained nuance. It is not merely a question of "generations", but of a unified generative spirit, a heritage, a reactive and qualitative identity of purpose, a commitment to preserving down those ages and generations a common set of inherited traditions and values, reborn and re-constituted, relived and reinterpreted with each succeeding generation.

Rashi alludes to this particular nuance of the word *toldot* in his comment on the phrase *Eleh toldot Noah* (Gen. 6:9) – "The essence of the *toldot* of the righteous are their good deeds." In other words, *toldot* is a qualitative, even spiritual, element, not a mere chronological process of succeeding generations.

This consideration provides an answer to the second problem we posed: why the intrusive gloss *Abraham begat Isaac*? It may now be construed as serving to define the essential and particular characteristic of (*Eleh*) *toldot Yitzhak*, of the generations of Isaac delineated in the sidra *Toldot* – and in all the sidrot which follow – which describe the history of Isaac's offspring through the line of Jacob.

We can now paraphrase the opening verse of the sidra *Toldot* – *Ve'eleh toldot Yitzhak ben Avraham* – thus: "As for these hereditary characteristics (*toldot*) of Isaac son of Abraham (they can be classified as those which – *Avraham holid et Yitzhak*) Abraham infused (them) within Isaac." In other words, all Isaac's offspring through the line of Jacob – the twelve tribes and the Jewish people throughout its history – they all bear the *toldot*, the imprint, the

unique ethical and spiritual characteristics, of the first patriarch Abraham.

But, one may object, does it not state in Gen. 25:12; *ve'eleh toldot Yishma'el ben Avraham* – that Ishmael also created *toldot*, a heritage, a national characteristic? This is true. But a significant omission occurs in that verse. It does not proceed to state, as it does in the context of Isaac, *Avraham holid et Yishma'el*, that Abraham's values were enshrined within the *toldot* of Ishmael. Ishmael developed his own, independent *toldot*, national characteristics.

With this nuance of the word *toldot* in mind, let us now return to our main problem, of why the name *toldot* was not given to the *Noah* section of the Torah, but was deferred until its *second* occurrence as the opening phrase of the sixth sidra of the Torah. If *toldot* suggests characteristics to be emulated, handed down and inculcated into one's descendants, then we may suggest a simple reason why the life of Noah was not described by that dynamic title. Noah's personality and piety did not lend itself to emulation. The Torah described him as a *tzaddik tamim, Noah was in his generation a man righteous and wholehearted* (6:9) – an accolade that even Abraham is not given. Abraham is given the *challenge* of becoming *tamim* ('perfect'): *Hit-halech lefanay veheyei tamim, walk before Me and be thou whole-hearted* (17:1). It is an ideal for him and his offspring to strive towards; not a natural accomplishment. One cannot emulate a *tzaddik tamim* like Noah. He is so beyond the gravitational pull of the physical and materialistic world that ordinary human beings inhabit that he ceases to constitute a role-model. He is too spiritually remote, to the extent that his piety can even become counter-productive, as ordinary folk believe themselves unworthy and tainted by comparison. One can be deterred by the unreasonable challenge of a *tzaddik tamim*. One cannot really fathom or catch the spirit that impels or motivates him. How does one learn from a man whose 'righteousness' and 'perfection' were so unique that he stood out against the entire world, to the extent that he alone deserved survival? How can those qualities be passed down to future *toldot*

when they are intrinsically unrelated to the world and unconcerned with its basic problems of survival? Noah remained an enigma, even more so when that *tzaddik tamim* fell down from his lofty spiritual pinnacle; when he planted a vine, and became drunk and incapacitated. Can one make sense of that strange quality of 'piety and perfection' that, like Jonah's gourd, is there one instant and gone the next? Noah's qualities were too inconsistent, too complex, too perplexing, too theoretical and impractical, too elusive, to be grasped and handed down to future *toldot* to be absorbed into their own national consciousness. Hence, with fine insight, the sages did *not* borrow the obvious word, *toldot*, as the name-description of Noah's life. They called it merely *Noah*, suggestive of its narrow, non-didactic ambiance.

The rabbis generally do *not* call sidrot after the names of individuals. The exceptions to this rule are all in the context of crisis, or at least of individuals whose actions were outside the norm or who ceased to be exemplars. The sidra which begins with the account of Sarah's death, not her life, bears her name – *Hayye Sarah* (Gen. 23:1-25:18). And there is nothing to learn from her then. The sidra (Ex. 18:1-20:26) carries the name *Yitro*, (Jethro) of whom it can never be definitely ascertained whether his identity remained forever that of a priest of Midian or whether he indeed converted to the worship of the true God. Then there is *Korah* (Num. 16:1-18:32) – clearly one not to emulate; a man who lived to further his own narrow objectives. Similarly with the sidra named after *Balak*, (Num. 22:2-25:9) an arch-enemy of the Israelites; and *Phineas* (Num. 25:10-29:39) a zealot; but clearly not the ideal role-model. Noah is to be seen in that context. He stands as an enigma: solitary, indifferent to the world, offering future *toldot* nothing to emulate.

ABRAHAM COWLEY AND THE DAVID STORY

ABRAHAM FEINGLASS

In his discussion of Abraham Cowley's *Davideis*, Robert Hinman says that, "A perceptive seventeenth-century poet committed to David's life and times, could see their modern relevance."[1] A careful examination of the David story and its usage in literature leads one to the conclusion that there is something inherent in the David story itself which has enabled writers of the past four centuries to see and use something of the "relevance" of David's life and story in their own particular "modern" times. This paper is an examination of which elements of the David story several different writers have used, the ways in which they have used their chosen material, and to what ends. I will here concentrate on the works of Abraham Cowley but will refer to other writers in order to illustrate specific points. The manifold uses of the David story may be seen, in part, as a refutation of Horace's pronouncement, in *The Art of Poetry*, that, "It is hard to treat a commonly known subject in an original way" (11. 128-129).[2]

The scriptural account of the David story is contained in I and II Samuel and I Kings. The history of David's court appears in II Samuel 9-20 and is regarded by biblical scholars as unique in several respects. First, this highly readable account of David's court is generally regarded as a "historical record, contemporary, or nearly so, with the events it describes."[3] The narrative is consid-

1 Robert B. Hinman, *Abraham Cowley's World of Order* (Cambridge, 1960), p. 257.
2 Horace, "The Art of Poetry," in *English Critical Texts*, eds. D. J. Enright and Ernst De Chickera (London, 1971), p. 391.
3 G. W. Anderson, *The History and Religion of Israel* (London, 1971), p. 3.

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ered by biblical scholarship to be a particularly mature and even "sophisticated work and represents an astonishing innovation"[4] in scriptural narrative. The author, who is assumed to have been a court scribe, presents the events of David's reign "as a realistic political drama, depicting its characters in all their worldliness with complete candor and without a trace of religious or moral comment. It is a work of secular history in which events are no longer determined by the direct intervention of God, but solely by the decisions of men. The world it describes is the world in which it was written — the new, professional, hard-headed world of political counsel which came into being with the establishment of the monarchy."[5]

This is a particularly unique aspect of the biblical narrative of the David story which can perhaps best be appreciated when one considers the fact that as a rule, "Bible History is written not so much about the activity of men as about the activity of God."[6]

The account of David's court history has been called, ". . . one of the most remarkable narratives in the Old Testament . . . [it is] . . . a masterpiece of classical Hebrew prose."[7] And as a historical record, it has been called a "superb piece of historical prose."[8]

So much for the scriptural narrative itself. Our prime concern is with David the man, or with David the man as king.

David is both the smart politician who "makes the right decision" and God's anointed who is favored in the eyes of the Lord. Both elements appear, in differing measures, in the works of Cowley, Dryden and Jacobson.

In his *Preface* to the *Davideis*, Cowley states his reasons for choosing the story of David as the subject for his epic poem. Unlike

4 *Ibid.*, p. 5.
5 E. W. Heaton, *The Hebrew Kingdoms* (London, 1968), p. 172.
6 Levi Dawson, *The History and Religion of Israel* (London, 1968), p. 12.
7 Anderson, p. 15.
8 R. A. F. MacKenzie, *Faith and History in the Old Testament*, (Minneapolis, 1965), p. 66.

Milton, whose stated aim in writing a Christian epic was to, "... justifie the wayes of God to men"[9] (Bk. I. 1.26), Cowley chose his biblical subject, not primarily for didactic reasons, but rather because he saw in it an excellent subject for epic poetry. Cowley gives three reasons for choosing the David story for his subject. First, it is an exciting, human story of a humble young man raised to kingship. (This element of the David story has been called, by one modern critic, "a fanatic's dream of rule, from goat-herd to king.")[10] Cowley's second reason is that he felt it only fitting that a poet should honor a poet. And third, David to him was Christ's ancestor.

> *... the man who had that sacred pre-eminence above all other Princes, to be the best and mightiest of that Royal Race from whence Christ himself, according to the flesh disdained not to descend.*[11]

It is interesting to note that Cowley lists a religious motive only as third in his reasons for choosing the David story as his subject. The difference in emphasis from Milton's *Paradise Lost* is worth noting. In *Paradise Lost*, Milton, too, mentions David. But he dismisses David's nobility of character, the very subject of Cowley's poem, with a bare reference to "puissant deeds"[12] (XII.1322). It is with David as the "ancestor" of Christ that Milton is concerned.

> *Of* David *(so I name this King) shall rise*
> *A Son, the Woman's Seed to thee foretold,*
> *Foretold to* Abraham, *as in whom shall trust*
> *All Nations, and to Kings foretold, of Kings*
> *The last, for of his Reign shall be no end.*
>
> (P. L. XII. 326-30)

9 John Milton, "Paradise Lost" in *The Complete Poetry of John Milton*, ed. John T. Shawcross (New York, 1971), pp. 249-517.

10 Herbert N. Schneidau, "Desire and Gratification," *Commentary*, January, 1971, p. 95.

11 Abraham Cowley, "Author's Preface to the Davideis," in *From the English Writings of Abraham Cowley*, ed. A. R. Waller (London, 1905), p. 12.

12 Milton, *Paradise Lost*, *op. cit.* p. 322.

David's importance in Jewish tradition, too, is based very much on the idea that the Messiah will be a descendant of David, and pious Jews still wait for him today. After the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans in 70 C.E. the central figure of Jews all over the world became the Patriarch who presided over the Sanhedrin in Palestine. The office existed for almost four hundred years and much of the Patriarch's authority stemmed from the fact that he was traditionally considered to be a descendant of the House of David.[13]

In his *Preface* to the *Davideis*, Cowley argues primarily for Scripture as a good and legitimate source for epic poetry. Although he is less literally religious than Milton, he does not neglect the importance of Scripture, and epic poetry based on Scripture, as an aid in "illuminating . . . the Glory of God."[14] But he relegates this element to a less important function than that of producing, "the noblest delight of Mankind . . . Poesie."[15]

In the first four lines of *Book I* of the *Davideis*, he refers to David as king and poet:

I Sing the Man who Judah's Scepter bore
In that right hand which held the Crook before;
Who from best Poet, best of Kings did grow;
The two chief gifts Heav'n could on Man bestow.[16]
(I.11.1-4)

It is not until the thirteenth line of the poem that Cowley begins to speak of David's relation to Christ:

Thou, who didst David's royal stem adorn,
And gav'st him birth from whom thy self was't born.
Who didst in Triumph at Deaths Court appear,
And slew'st him with thy Nails, thy Cross and Spear,
(I.11.13-16)

13 Solomon Grayzel, *A History of the Jews* (New York, 1955), p. 402.
14 Cowley, Preface to *Davideis*, p. 12.
15 *Ibid.*
16 Cowley, *Davideis*, p. 242.

As Milton did in *Paradise Lost*, Cowley reworked the original wording of the scriptural text to suit his own artistic purposes. For example, when the Jews come to Samuel with the demand "Give us a king to judge us" (I Sam. 8:6), Samuel replies with a lengthy and detailed description of potential evils and injustices involved in being ruled by a king. He outlines in painstaking detail the system of military levies and taxation to which they will be subjected, telling them even the percentages of sheep and oil they will be annually taxed (I Sam. 8:7-18). Cowley dispenses with the lengthy passage and tailors its contents to suit his poem, thereby producing a fine distillation in the couplet:

"Cheat not your selves with words: for though a King
Be the mild Name, a Tyrant is the Thing."

(IV.11.16)

Cowley makes no effort to be topical, and the comment on kings and tyrants in the couplet is not followed by anything to relate it to contemporary events. He does not make use of the opportunity for political allegory, as Dryden might well have done. The single couplet is a good example of Cowley's technique in his poem. Throughout the *Davideis* he concentrates solely on his epic subject, never straying off into didactic religious preaching or political allegory.

In fact Cowley's avoidance of allegory is not at all accidental. It may be seen as a kind of artistic policy. Cowley considered the Bible a more fitting subject for an epic poem of the seventeenth century than the Greek and Roman myths and legends partly because he felt it a more fitting subject for a Christian poet. But, as has been shown, this was not his prime reason for selecting David as his subject. He saw the Scriptures as preferable source material primarily because he felt that the older tales had been used up and become dull with retelling while the Scriptures, as he wrote in his *Preface* to *Davideis*, ". . . yield incomparably more Poetical variety."[17]

17 Cowley, *Preface to Davideis*, p. 14.

Ruth Nevo, in her book *The Dial of Virtue*,[18] offers another explanation of Cowley's choice of the David story for his epic. She quotes Basil Wiley[19] who "sees his (Cowley's) well-known defense of Holy Scriptures as a legitimate source of epic poetry in the context of the seventeenth century debate on the limits of truth and fiction, science and poetry. It is evidence, he says, 'of a realization . . . that the Bible was a poetic source of unique value, inasmuch as its contents could not, even by modern philosophy, be dismissed as fabulous'." Whether one agrees with Wiley or not, it is clear that Cowley did not take his Bible over-seriously. He did not see in every word an instance of divine revelation and his attitude may be seen as partly a reaction to the Puritan tendency to see Scripture as just exactly that.

Harold Fisch has pointed out that for the Puritans, "the Bible was the sole source of God's law and man's duty was to interpret it . . ."[20] "The Puritans," says Fisch, "had based their elect and non-elect ideas and their Covenant idea on the Old Testament. They saw themselves as Israel, as the chosen. Hence they depended very heavily on the Bible according to a certain strict interpretation of it as a justification of policy."[21] Although Fisch hesitates to label Milton a Puritan, preferring to remain on less controversial ground with the appellation "biblical poet",[22] a comparison of Milton's approach to Scripture with that of Cowley's is revealing. For Milton, "the reading of Scripture . . . was a matter of being exposed to direct, even blinding spiritual illumination . . . [it was, for him,] . . . a guide to Salvation."

Cowley deliberately de-emphasized the religious element of the David story and concentrated on those elements that were more in

18 Ruth Nevo, *The Dial of Virtue* (London, 1962), p. 33.

19 Basil Wiley, *The Seventeenth Century Background* (London, 1934), p. 231.

20 Harold Fisch, Jerusalem and Albion: *The Hebraic Factor in Seventeenth Century Literature* (London, 1964), p. 3.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 247.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

accord with Greek and Latin epic. The religious element is there, but Cowley does not allow it to get in the way of his story. In choosing to deal with scriptual material in this way, Cowley was consciously reacting to Puritanism.

Cowley's method can, perhaps, best be illustrated in his *Ode to the Royal Society*. Here he again drew on biblical sources and again refrained from taking Scripture very seriously. In this poem he compares Francis Bacon to Moses; leading the people out of the darkness into a new era of light. His method is "essentially, as with Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*, a fustian use of biblical material, and as with Dryden, the audacity of the comparison between the (comparatively) trivial and the sacred is intended as a means of discountenancing the serious application of biblical imagery to contemporary affairs."[23] "For Cowley, spiritual compulsion was very well but it was more important . . . [in Cowley's own words] . . . to be in good humor."[24]

Cowley's "fustian" use of Scripture should not be misinterpreted as an indication of impiety. It is, in fact, an attempt at what Philip Sidney called in his *An Apology for Poetry* "a divine poem."[25] Cowley was striving to imitate in the *Davideis* what Sidney called "the holy David's . . . heavenly poesy."[26] But unlike the Puritans with their literal reliance on Scripture and their total commitment to faith, Cowley considered himself to be a man of reason. The seventeenth century has been called the Age of Reason and it should be borne in mind that the *Davideis* was published only six years before the Royal Society, for which Cowley wrote his "Ode", was founded.[27] The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge was

23 Fisch, p. 261.
24 *Ibid.*
25 Philip Sidney, "An Apology for Poetry," in *English Critical Texts*, ed. Enright and De Chickera, p. 7.
26 *Ibid.*
27 G. M. Trevelyan, *A Shortened History of England* (Middlesex, 1970), p. 332.

very much a phenomenon of the Age of Reason and Cowley himself was extremely interested in "Natural Knowledge."

Robert Hinman has suggested that Cowley viewed the Old Testament prophets as early "natural philosophers."[28] Cowley saw David as a man who was essentially in harmony with nature. David, in Cowley's view, "approaches God's creative activity because he harmonizes with nature."[29] And Cowley considered the earth itself to be "God's poem; He had created order out of chaos and produced a divine harmony."[30] Man's task on earth is to attune himself to this divine harmony and when "man's soul performs its proper part it accomplishes divine music."[31] Cowley saw David as a poet-philosopher who was always aware of the divine order. Men like David are constantly aware of God as the source of this divine order and it is this awareness that sets men free. David's chief study is God's sacred law and it is because of this that he triumphs over Saul.

Cowley's interpretation of the David story is remarkably similar to the interpretation propounded by that school of biblical scholarship characterized by Davies as stated previously, which maintains that David succeeds because of his trust in the guidance of God, while Saul fails because of his fundamental estrangement from God.

In drawing on the Bible for source material for his epic poem, Cowley was motivated far less by purely religious motives than Milton was. Nevertheless, the temper of the seventeenth century was such that poets and prose writers were busy reading the Bible a great deal,[32] and this made it "almost inevitable that Milton and Cowley, in their attempts at a 'modern epic' should have settled upon a biblical theme or subject."[33] Milton's poetry was the work of a man who took Scripture with terrible seriousness and his poetry is

28 Hinman, p. 260.
29 *Ibid.*, p. 255.
30 *Ibid.*, p. 256.
31 *Ibid.*, p. 259.
32 Fisch, p. 7.
33 A. L. Korn, "Mac Flecknow and Cowley's Davideis," in *Essential Articles for the Study of John Dryden*, ed. H. T. Swedenberg Jr., (Hamden, 1966), p. 175.

marked, as a result, by a sort of "thrilling earnestness."[34] The tone of Cowley's *Davideis* has been called, in comparison, "mere bombast."[35] This relative failure on Cowley's part is, I think, due to his concern with the form of his art over the content. It was important for him to be pleasing artistically and the didactic religious message was always a secondary consideration. While Milton seems to be inspired by his subject, Cowley appears to be merely manipulative.

In the *Davideis* Cowley attempted to blend two different modes, the Christian and the classical and the result was not successful. There is a sense of strain in the poem; a feeling that the author was bending biblical material in a way it was never intended to go. There is a feeling of basic wrongness in David's speaking and acting like a hero of Greek epic. Like the hellenized Jews of the second century B.C.E., he seems never to be entirely comfortable with his synthesis. Korn has commented on this failing of the poem and pronounced Cowley's goals to have been beyond his capabilities. "Only by great strain," he writes, "and the sacrifice of art for erudition does Cowley manage to bring together in one uncongenial and never completed design his double set of norms — the 'Christian' and the 'Classical' compromising his two fold knowledge of heroic story."[36]

The *Davideis* is certainly less artistically successful than Milton's *Paradise Lost*. It is perhaps possible to see Cowley's work as a transitional stage in the use of biblical materials. Unable to write with the intense, illuminating faith of a Milton, he was not yet prepared to adopt the tone of mock seriousness later used so effectively by Dryden.

34 Fisch, p. 259.
35 *Ibid.*
36 Korn, p. 175.

RECONSTRUCTING HEROD'S TEMPLE IN JERUSALEM

ABRAHAM RUDERMAN

Come with us on a circuit of Herod's Temple Mount with Kathleen and Leen Ritmeyer as our guides. Their story is told in *Biblical Archeologist*, November-December 1989, with graphic illustrations and much detail. For many years little was known about the Temple Mount. An eye-witness account of Herod's Temple is found in the writings of the first century historian Josephus. We also have a description of the remains of the retaining wall, known as the Western Wall, and a detailed description of the Temple is found in tractate *Middot* in the Talmud. Soon after the 1967 war a realistic reconstruction of the area around the Temple Mount was accomplished by Prof. Benjamin Mazar on behalf of the Israel Exploration Society and the Hebrew University. The excavation continued for ten years. The first to investigate the Temple Mount was Sir Charles Warren during the 1860's. He dug numerous shafts down to bedrock as well as horizontal underground tunnels. These were rediscovered during the Mazar excavations. As Prof. Mazar's dig progressed a complete plan of the site from the 8th cent. B.C.E. to the Turkish period emerged.

The story begins with the Western Wall where the longing of dispersed Jews for 2000 years was focused. First known as the Wailing Wall it is now known as the Western Wall or just *Ha-Kotel* – the Wall. Even though it is a center of worship it is not a remnant of Solomon's Temple. In order to build the Temple Solomon needed a level platform on the highest hill in Jerusalem.

Rabbi Abraham Ruderman was ordained at the Jewish Institute of Religion. He served as a chaplain during W.W.II and was spiritual leader of congregations in Poughkeepsie, Elmont, Hazelton, and South Africa. He came on Aliyah in 1976, and at present is editor of the weekly bulletin of the Jerusalem Rotary.

Therefore he built a sustaining wall to support the earthen fill of the platform for the Temple Mount. Herod doubled the area of this platform by building a new wall on three sides, west, south and north, and extending the east wall to meet the southern and northern walls. Today's Western Wall is a section of this massive retaining wall Herod built to support the Temple Mount. The great height of the wall is recognized by the seven layers of Herodian ashlars, or massive square stones above the prayer plaza in front of the Western Wall. Below the plaza level are nineteen primary layers of ashlars, 68 feet below the plaza. One of the shafts dug by Warren can still be seen north of the prayer area. It is well lit allowing tourists to toss in their good luck coins. A Herodian ashlar is easily recognized by its fine finish, flat slightly raised center and flat margins around the edges. They were cut so precisely that no mortar was needed to fit them together. Some of them are as much as 35 feet long and weigh up to 70 tons each.

North of the prayer area is Wilson's arch, named after Charles Wilson the British engineer who first discovered it around 1850. It is post-Herodian, built to support a ridge that spanned the Tyropoean Valley linking the Temple Mount and the upper city. It was also used to provide an aqueduct to bring water from Solomon's Pools near Bethlehem to the huge cisterns beneath the Temple. Moving south we come to Barclay's gate, named after its discoverer, a British architect who lived before Warren and Wilson. The only section visible today is its massive lintel 27 feet long and seven feet high. These may be seen as part of the Western Wall in the area reserved for women. Access to the Temple Mount is by way of an earthen ramp leading up to the Moor's Gate. South of Barclay's Gate are found the remains of a group of shops which are described by Josephus. In that area we also discover Robinson's Arch named after the American orientalist, Edward Robinson, who first identified it. This arch, according to Josephus, led from the upper city to the Valley below by means of many steps. The stairway over Robinson's Arch provided an impressive entrance to the Royal

Portico which Herod built on the southern end of the Temple Mount. Josephus describes this in detail. It had four rows of 40 columns, each 50 feet high.

On a street adjacent to the Wall the excavators discovered remains from the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E., including a monumental stairway, archstones, columns, capitals, friezes and pilasters. One of the most exciting finds was a large stone block carved with a Hebrew inscription *L'bet hatekia l'hak . . .* with the last word missing. Several translations have been offered: "To the place of the trumpeting l'hak." The last word may be read *lehekhal* "to the Temple" or *lehakri* – "to herald" (the Sabbath). This was obviously a direction to the place where the priest stood to blow the trumpet to announce the beginning of the Sabbath as mentioned in Josephus (The Jewish War, 4.9.12).

Located in the southern wall of the Temple Mount are the Huldah Gates after the prophetess in II Kings 22:14, also called the Double Gates. Inside the Double Gates are two pairs of domes with floral and geometric decorations. Access to the Double Gates was by means of a broad stairway, conforming to the natural slope of the Temple Mount. It extends 105 feet west of the Double Gate and 105 feet east, with a total width of 210 feet. There were 300 steps in all. West of the Double Gate may be found a triple gate used by the priests to reach the storerooms. Between these two sets of gates were two buildings, one a bathhouse and the other a council house – possibly one of the courts of law mentioned in the Mishnah. East of the triple gate the imprint of arches was discovered, burnt into the stones. These were the remains of small cells housing shops that skirted the Temple Mount wall. The arches had been burned to cinders by the Romans wreaking havoc on the street as well. Having burned the Temple the Romans proceeded to burn the surrounding buildings, as Josephus tells us: "The Romans thinking it useless now that the Temple was on fire, to spare the surrounding buildings, set them all afire, both the remnants of the porticos and the gates" (The Jewish Wars, 6:5, 2). Some 100 feet north, opposite Robinson's Arch, may be seen

another arch which supported a stairway descending to the road. At the top of the stairway there is a double doorway which led into storage vaults erroneously called Solomon's Stables. The location of the gate to the Temple Court is as yet undetermined. The only visible entrance is the Golden gate which dates from the seventh century. At the northeast corner of the Temple Mount stood the Antonia Fortress built by Herod and named after Mark Antony, the Roman Commander. The northeast tower was 112 feet high. Not a trace of the fortress has been found. Finally, one last gate known as Warren's Gate, remains. South of this gate one finds the largest stones in the Temple Mount. The largest is 46½ feet long and weighs about 400 tons. Having come full circuit round the Temple Mount we recall the injunction in Ps. 48:13

Walk around Zion, circle it
Count its towers,
Take note of its ramparts;
Go through its citadels
That you may recount it to a future age.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sir,

I would like to make a few comments in regard to Moshe J. Yeres' treatment of the Akedah story (J.B.Q. Fall '90).

1. Yeres questions Abraham's ability to go through with the Akedah with such ease. How could the man of righteousness who pleads on behalf of Sodom accept a command to kill his son? Yeres concludes that Abraham does not love his son as a father should. But does this resolve the difficulty? Is it conceivable that Abraham would be willing to murder even a complete stranger; let alone his "unloved" son? Clearly there is something much more profound occurring here.

2. Yeres suggests that the Akedah test succeeded when Abraham finally recognizes the need for closeness to his son – which was the purpose of the test in the first place. "And it is then and only then, as Abraham breaks down and recognizes the real purpose of God's *nissayon* that God sends down his angel to call *Abraham, Abraham . . . lay not thy hand upon the lad . . .* (vv. 11, 12). Abraham, you have now passed the test, and there is no further need to continue." Yeres conveniently omits the conclusion of v. 12 which clearly indicates that Abraham succeeds in achieving a relationship *with God* and not with his son, and that through his willingness *to offer his son* to God he has passed the test. Is there any other reading of that verse?

3. In concluding his article, Yeres observes that there is no evidence that Abraham's feelings for his son changed after the Akedah, indicating that in the final analysis Abraham failed. Serious academic study would have concluded, rather, that the entire premise is incorrect and that the Akedah was never meant to affect such a change.

The issues and questions Yeres raises are indeed valid and worthy of further study. Unfortunately his conclusions are neither consistent with the Bible itself nor with human reasoning.

Tzvi Tur-Malka
Jerusalem

Response of Rabbi Dr. Moshe J. Yeres

Mr. Tzvi Tur-Malka has raised some interesting points. The concerns he discusses bring to light the complexity of any attempt to offer a comprehensive understanding of the Akedah story. In point of fact, I had been careful in my article to label the premises developed therein as simply "conjecture" (p. 4) and "hypothesis" (p. 6). At the same time, I would like to address myself to some of Tur-Malka's comments and explain what led me to my conclusions which are based on a synthesis of the actual scriptural verses with the midrashic statements of the rabbis.

In analyzing Abraham I was struck by the lack of his parental involvement with his children. Father does not talk to son except to command or bless; at least there is no record of it. The Bible records no discussions between Isaac and Abraham until the ascent up Mt. Moriah for the Akedah. This lack of any demonstrative love by Abraham for his son is also felt in Genesis 25:5 where instead of the expected patriarchal blessing bestowed on Isaac, the Bible only records that *Abraham gave all he had to Isaac*. Nor does this appear to be an issue concerning only Isaac. The eviction of Ishmael poses the very same problem. How could it have possibly been so easy for Abraham to carry this out?

This paradox, Abraham the merciful and just patriarch, who somehow shows complete lack of concern for his sons and especially Isaac, led me to theorize that perhaps the Akedah was offered to Abraham as an instructional method of behavior correction.

Of course, I did not mean to seriously suggest that Abraham would deny God or reject His command to take Isaac to the Akedah, and that such rejection could or should be Abraham's response to the Almighty. Rather, why did Abraham not ask for clarification from God or beg for mercy or a suspension of the decree? Why did he not respond to God's command in the same manner as he did earlier upon hearing God's decree against the inhabitants of Sodom?

I do not pretend that my interpretation of the Akedah is the only solution possible. However, I believe it conceivable that the Abraham who could not accept God's destruction of the righteous in Sodom, might not look to argue or ask about God's decree to sacrifice the life of his own son. It has often been said that "the shoemaker's children go without shoes." History is replete with examples of individuals of great leadership capabilities who were too busy to ensure that their very ideals would be inculcated into their homes and their offspring. Tur-Malka argues, "clearly there is something much more profound occurring here." Surely there is! But I believe that my hypothesis may clarify some of the profundity.

Mr. Tur-Malka also criticizes me for omitting the conclusion of Gen. 22:12 which "indicates that Abraham succeeds in achieving a relationship with God and not with his son." While the literal nature of the scriptural verse cannot be denied, and surely one must admit that a component of the *nissayon* is the fact that Abraham did fulfill the will of God, it alone cannot be made to answer for the remainder of the difficulties discussed in my article. In addition, the midrashim in *Genesis Rabbah* and *Tanhuma* both insert a discussion between the Almighty and Abraham immediately following the first half of v. 12 (and before the second half of the verse). In these, Abraham challenges God for His inconsistency of commands and promises about Isaac's future (*Genesis Rabbah* 56:8) and questions the very need for a test from a God who knows our innermost thoughts (*Tanhuma Vayera* 23). Clearly, the rabbis did not feel it a necessity to connect the second half of the verse to the command "Lay not thy hand upon the lad," located in the first half of

the verse. Furthermore, *Genesis Rabbah* 56:7 in interpreting the end of v. 12, "And thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son," records the following comment: "For indeed I [God] ascribe merit to thee [Abraham] as though I had bidden thee sacrifice thyself . . .". While the Midrash is not in complete consonance with my theory of the Akedah, yet the sense of the Midrash is clearly to stress the intertwining of Abraham's life with Isaac's that comes at Mt. Moriah.

Tur-Malka also refers to the end of my article where "Yeres observes that there is no evidence that Abraham's feelings for his son changed after the Akedah indicating that in the final analysis Abraham failed." This is surely not a verbatim quote of my article, nor my intent. I simply "wondered" about the long term effects of the Akedah and asked if perhaps "it was too late for Abraham to change." That Isaac does not appear again in the biblical narrative until the end of chapter 24, when he takes Rebekkah as a wife, is surely a question that must be dealt with, but it does not spell ruination for my premises.

It is clear that the story of the Akedah poses many theological and syntactical difficulties in its narrative. No single approach may solve them all. Mine did not pretend to, but it remains a theory presented for consideration.

Sir,

The interesting article by David Wolfers appearing in the Fall 1990 issue of the J.B.Q., entitled *Science in the Book of Job* deserves some comment and amplification.

First, in the spirit of Dr. Wolfers' article: If the author of Job antedated James Hutton by two millennia, then the author of Judges antedated Job by many centuries. As was first pointed out by the late Professor Marcus Reiner of the Technion, who was one of the founders of the science of Rheology, or Flow of Matter, the concept of time and the movement of seemingly unalterable matter was first noted in the Song of Deborah (Judges 5:5): הרים נזלו מפני ה׳.

This is usually mistranslated as "The mountains quaked at the presence of the Lord." However, the verb נזל most certainly means "flowed." Jastrow[1] includes as meanings run, melt, be distilled; cause to flow. He also cites one verse from Job not mentioned by Dr. Wolfers (36:28) using the form נוזלין in the sense of "distilled." Although נזל never means "quaked," it is so translated because the concept of flowing rock is foreign to the experience of the translators. In honor of this insight, Professor Reiner coined the parameter "The Deborah Number" to quantify the characteristic flow time of a substance relative to the time of observation. The Deborah Number is an important concept in Rheology.[2] Thus the author of Judges, rather than of Job, deserves priority for recognizing time's arrow.

On another point, I must chide Dr. Wolfers' for intellectual snobbery: whoever the "Greeks" were who believed in Atlas and elephants as supporting the world, they were not the natural philosophers who not only knew that the world was round but calculated its diameter to a high precision not surpassed until our age. These people were unique, as was the author of Job; we should not extrapolate to the qualities of a given culture in an attempt to score ethnic points.

Finally, we should recognize that there is no relation between the texts under discussion and science, which is characterized by measurement and number. There is no science in Job, nor in Judges, nor in Lucretius and other "atomists", who wrote about atomic constitution of matter two millennia before Dalton. Thus, although I would like to, I cannot agree with Dr. Wolfers' final paragraph: there is no scientific outlook in Job, nor does the evidence he discusses support his contention that this author embodies the outlook of his age.

Mitchell Litt
Philadelphia, PA

1 M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Bavli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. New York/Berlin: Verlag Choreb, 1926.

2 For more discussion, see my paper "Rheology-Past, Present and Future" in the December 1989 issue of *Chemical Engineering Progress*.

עשה תורתך קבע

THE TRIENNIAL BIBLE READING CALENDAR

DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF
CHAIM ABRAMOWITZ

June-July 1991

8	שבת	Haftarah: Joshua 2:1-24
9	S	I Chronicles 1
10	M	I Chronicles 2
11	T	I Chronicles 3
12	W	I Chronicles 4
13	Th	
14	F	Numbers 16-18
15	שבת	Haftarah: I Samuel 11:14-12:22
16	S	I Chronicles 5
17	M	I Chronicles 6
18	T	I Chronicles 7
19	W	I Chronicles 8
20	Th	I Chronicles 9-10
21	F	Numbers 19-22:1
22	שבת	Haftarah: Judges 11:1-33
23	S	I Chronicles 11-12
24	M	I Chronicles 13
25	T	I Chronicles 14
26	W	I Chronicles 15
27	Th	I Chronicles 16
28	F	Numbers 22:2-25:9
29	שבת	Haftarah: Micah 5:6-6:8
30	S	I Chronicles 17
JULY		
1	M	I Chronicles 18
2	T	I Chronicles 19
3	W	I Chronicles 20
4	Th	I Chronicles 21
5	F	Numbers 25:10-30:1
6	שבת	Haftarah: I Kings 18:46-19:21
7	S	I Chronicles 22
8	M	I Chronicles 23
9	T	I Chronicles 24-25
10	W	I Chronicles 26-27
11	Th	I Chronicles 28

July-August 1991

12	F	Numbers 30:2-36
13	שבת	Haftarah: Jeremiah 2:4-28
14	S	I Chronicles 29
15	M	II Chronicles 1
16	T	II Chronicles 2
17	W	Lamentations 1-2
18	Th	Lamentations 3-4
19	F	Deuteronomy 1-3:22
20	שבת	Haftarah: Isaiah 1:1-27
21	S	Lamentations 5
22	M	II Chronicles 3
23	T	II Chronicles 4
24	W	II Chronicles 5
25	Th	II Chronicles 6
26	F	Deuteronomy 3:23-7:11
27	שבת	Haftarah: Isaiah 40:1-26
28	S	II Chronicles 7
29	M	II Chronicles 8
30	T	II Chronicles 9
31	W	II Chronicles 10
AUG		
1	Th	II Chronicles 11
2	F	Deuteronomy 7:12-11:25
3	שבת	Haftarah: Isaiah 49:14-51:3
4	S	II Chronicles 12
5	M	II Chronicles 13
6	T	II Chronicles 14
7	W	II Chronicles 15
8	Th	II Chronicles 16
9	F	Deuteronomy 11:16-16
10	שבת	Haftarah: Isaiah 66
11	S	II Chronicles 17
12	M	II Chronicles 18
13	T	II Chronicles 19
14	W	II Chronicles 20

August-September 1991

15	Th	II Chronicles 21
16	F	Deuteronomy 16:18-21:9
17	שבת	Haftarah: Isaiah 51:12-52:12
18	S	II Chronicles 22
19	M	II Chronicles 23
20	T	II Chronicles 24
21	W	II Chronicles 25
22	Th	II Chronicles 26
23	F	Deuteronomy 21:10-25:19
24	שבת	Haftarah: Isaiah 54:1-10
25	S	II Chronicles 27
26	M	II Chronicles 28
27	T	II Chronicles 29
28	W	II Chronicles 30
29	Th	II Chronicles 31
30	F	Deuteronomy 26:1-29:8
31	שבת	Haftarah: Isaiah 60:1-22

SEPT

1	S	II Chronicles 32
2	M	II Chronicles 33
3	T	II Chronicles 34
4	W	II Chronicles 35
5	Th	II Chronicles 36
6	F	Deuteronomy 29:9-30:20
7	שבת	Haftarah: Isaiah 61:10-63:9
8	S	Rosh Hashanah Eve

September 1991

9	M	Rosh Hashanah, Genesis 21:1-34 Haftarah: I Samuel 1-2:10
10	T	Rosh Hashanah, Genesis 22:1-24 Haftarah: Jeremiah 31:2-20
11	W	Jonah 1
12	Th	Jonah 2
13	F	Deuteronomy 31:1-31:30
14	שבת	Haftarah: Hosea 14:2-10
15	S	Jonah 3
16	M	Jonah 4
17	T	Yom Kippur Eve, Leviticus 16
18	W	Yom Kippur
19	Th	Ecclesiastes 1, 2, 3
20	F	Deuteronomy 32
21	שבת	Haftarah: II Samuel 22:1-51
22	S	Ecclesiastes 4, 5, 6
23	M	Succoth, Leviticus 22:26-23:44 Haftarah: Zechariah 14
24	T	Succoth, Leviticus 22:26-23:44 Haftarah: I Kings 8:2-21
25	W	Ecclesiastes 7, 8, 9
26	Th	Ecclesiastes 10, 11, 12
27	F	Exodus 33:12-34:26
28	שבת	Haftarah: Ezekiel 38:18-39:16
29	S	Hoshana Rabbah
30	M	Shemini Atzeret Deuteronomy 14:22-16:17 Haftarah I Kings 8:54-66

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