Torah, respect for one's superiors, love of the brotherhood, justice, humility, simplicity of living, and hatred of all evil. The Christian scholar cannot afford to praise such qualities when he finds them in a Christian group, and condemn the Essenes as narrow and legalistic. The three ancient writers who describe the Essenes praise them in extravagant terms. Philo describes them as "athletes of virtue," and says that many rulers had been "unable to resist the high excellence of these people." Josephus says that "they exceed all other men that addict themselves to virtue and this in righteousness." Even Pliny speaks of them as "the solitary tribe of the Essenes, which is remarkable beyond all the other tribes in the whole world."

In spite of all we have said about similarities and influences, there were many significant differences between the Essenes and Christianity. It is not correct to say with Renan that "Christianity is an Esseneism which has largely succeeded," or with Dupont-Sommer that Christianity was "a quasi-Essene neo-formation." The historian should be thankful for all the new light that has been shed on the history of religion by the Dead Sea discoveries, and the professing Jew or Christian should be proud to claim among his spiritual ancestors the devoted people who produced and preserved the Dead Sea documents.

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EPIC SUBSTRATUM IN THE PROSE OF JOB*

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I. Introduction

The relationship of the prologue to the epilogue of the Book of Job and of both to the poem has long been a subject of scholarly debate. Wellhausen maintained that the poet borrowed directly from a folk-saga both the material and form for his own work. Duhm even went so far as to suggest that the entire prose part were excerpted from a "Volksbuch" and that these antedate the poem. On the other hand, Kautsch held that nothing more than the name of a righteous man called Job was borrowed from tradition. Most recently, Tur-Sinai has upheld the view that the present narrative framework of Job is much later than the poem and has supplanted an earlier story lost by the time the poem was put into its final form.

Whether or not the prose and poetry of the book originally constituted a unity is outside the scope of this study. But it is certain that the prologue and epilogue belong to each other and are the work of a single author. The points of contact are too numerous and too basic to be fortuitous. In both God refers to Job as אדוניו אביכו (1:2, 2:5, 42:6); Job acts as the role of intercessor (1:5, 42:10); he offers mercy to assure God's anger (1:5, 42:6); the order of enumeration of his material possessions is the same in both instances (1:5, 42:10); the precise figures of Job's restored and doubled possessions given in the epilogue (42:10) presuppose a knowledge of the prologue (1:5); the three friends are mentioned in exactly the same order (2:11, 42:9) and without any reference to Elihu.

While the present writer assumes full and sole responsibility for the material herewith presented and the opinions expressed, he wishes to take the opportunity of making grateful acknowledgment to Prof. Cyrus H. Gordon whose Iguritean seminar originally inspired this study and whose guidance and instruction saved the writer from many of the pitfalls of ignorance.

* For the history of the problem see K. Kautsch, 


* J. Wellhausen, Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie, XVI (1871), 155.

* B. Duhm, Das Buch Hiob (1897), p. vii.


* On the supposed contradictions between the two see below § V.
If the narrative framework is the product of a single hand, is it late or early? The patriarchal background of the story is detailed and consistent. Wealth is measured in terms of cattle and slaves (Gen 12:16, 32a). Religion is primitive, expressing itself in private sacrifice without central shrine or priesthood and with the early concept that the anger of God can be assuaged by sacrifice (1:5, 42a). Sabeans and Chaldeans are still marauding bands of nomads (1:15, 17). The narrative is still current (42:11), being mentioned elsewhere only in connection with Jacob (Gen 33:19; Josh 24:22). Job’s onegathy (42:16) is paralleled only in the patriarchal and pre-patriarchal periods and the closing description of Job (42:17) is the same as that used of Abraham (Gen 25:5) and Isaac (Gen 25:19).

Notwithstanding the detailed consistency in the patriarchal setting and the fact that there is no satisfactory reason why the author should have invented it since it adds nothing to the understanding of the narrative, scholars were inclined neither to accept it as genuine nor to regard it as of any real value in determining the antiquity of the prologue and epilogue. This skepticism was in no way dissipated by reference to Ezekiel’s mention of Job (Ezek 14:4, 20) for it was maintained, this implied only the existence of a personality named Job but not necessarily any knowledge of our particular story. Yet the discovery of the Ugaritic epics has greatly enhanced the significance of the Ezekiel passage which has had to be freshly evaluated. Spiegel, in an important and masterly study, has demonstrated beyond all doubt not only that Ezekiel refers to an epic of Job well known to his contemporaries, but that this tale underlies our own narrative in the prologue and epilogue. As a matter of fact, Cassuto had earlier postulated the existence of a poetic version of the story of Job upon which our prose section was based and, most recently, Gordon has drawn attention to some points of contact between the job narrative and the East Mediterranean epic.

The time would seem to be ripe for a thorough investigation of the stylistic, linguistic, and literary characteristics of the narrative framework in comparison with the available literary material from the East Mediterranean littoral. The results, it is believed will effectively demonstrte that our prologue and epilogue contain a considerable amount of epic substratum and that our prose version would seem to be directly derived from an ancient epic of Job.

II. Style and Language

The prose style of the story conforms generally to that of the narrative portions of the Pentateuch. Yet this statement requires modification, for there has been increasing recognition of late that the supposed rigid differentiation between Biblical Hebrew prose and poetry is largely artificial and that much of what has hitherto been considered to be “pure prose” is, in fact, saturated with poetisms. This is true in particular of our prologue and epilogue, for within the compass of three short chapters are to be found numerous instances of asonance and alliteration, some cases of parallelism, a relatively large number of words and phrases peculiar to poetry, some unique expressions and some forms morphologically and syntactically unique or rare.

A. Assonance and Alliteration:

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7 The narrative framework occurs elsewhere, only in Gen 26:14.
8 Incidentally, the sacrifices in 41:8 correspond exactly to those of Balaam (Num 23:1, 11, 20).
9 Cf. S. R. Liver and G. B. Gray, The Book of Job (1921), I, xvi-xlvii. Almost every one of the wide variety of dates given by modern scholars had already been anticipated in talmudic sources; see B. Bahya B. Asher, 15a–b, Y. Sotah, v. 8.
B. Parallels:

C. Poetic words and phrases:

2 6:5 seems to be some ancient proverb.
2 6:10 יָדוֹ עַל בָּאֵל occurs elsewhere in prose only Lev 28:8, II Sam 14:21. Yet a closer look will show that in reality both these passages are poetic; gdgd is common in Ugaritic.
2 6:11 ἔστιν in the sense of 'to show grief, sympathy,' it is used only in poetry.
2 6:12 וְהָלַךְ בִּי. This is an entirely poetic usage; cf. Ugaritic ydh lkhk 'sits on a throne.'

D. Words and Expressions Unique to Job:

E. Morphology:

42 12 בָּאֵל; the nominal form is restricted to poetry.
42 12 בָּאֵל—בָּאֵל. This combination with one exception, is never used in narrative prose. בָּאֵל corresponds to Ugaritic ubryt or 'latter end, destiny, lot.'

The versions, commentators, and grammarians have varied in their explanation of this hapax legomenon. All the versions except the Targum take it as a variant of בָּאֵל 'seven.' This tradition is reflected in the pre-Christian Testament of Job and is followed by Ibn Ezra, Kimhi, and RaMaBaN. Among the moderns, Ewald explains the form as an old feminine collective meaning a kepta, while Gesenius dismisses it as 'probably a scribal error' for בָּאֵל. On the other hand, there is evidence for a tatradic interpretation as a dual form, so the Targum and Rash. D'Orme, in particular, defines בָּאֵל as an old Semitic dual in -bn and claims that the number of daughters remained constant in contrast to the doubling of the sons.
because girls in the Orient were not considered important. This explanation fails to take account of the different social milieu which the story of Job implies and of the epic treatment which tends to exalt the female.  
We are thus left without any convincing reason for the disparity between sons and daughters if both be taken as a dual. Accordingly, we must reject this rendering and otherwise explain the form.

As a matter of fact, the phrase נשים עברים has its counterpart in a Ugaritic form in a context similar to ours and in which there is no doubt of the meaning as seven: old שבע 'seven' + adverbial -א. Thus the unique form נשים עברים is a poetic archaism which in all probability belonged to the original language of the epic of Job.

F. Syntax:

This unusual construction of the -ח form of the numeral with a feminine noun may well represent an archaic usage in which נשים was still a collective and abstract term meaning 'group of three, triad,' and could be used with either gender.

III. Literary Structure

The element of repetition is one of the most inherently characteristic features of the epic style, intended as it is for an audience rather than a reading public. This "epic law of iteration" is fully operative in the prologue. A close examination reveals a consistent pattern of repetition of precisely the kind associated with the epic. Moreover, there is a skilfully constructed symmetrical scheme of the kind that could only come from an epic archetype.

C. The Misfortunes of Job (114-12):

The swift unfolding of the miseries that beset Job in successive stages is strongly reminiscent of the literary treatment of the series of misfortunes that beleaguered Job. But even more important than this for uncovering the epic archetype is the distinct structural pattern very similar to that underlying the Ten Plagues. We have here a symmetrical scheme consisting of three series of a twosome each, the first striking animal life, the second human, followed by the climactic seventh.
formulaic, introduction and a concluding refrain. Finally, the cause of each series is alternately human and divine. The following chart illustrates the literary structure of this section:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Cause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>(i) Plundering of oxen and asses</td>
<td>human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) Killing of servants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>שמולא כאל אמות ימוך</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ובו ילבד אליהם ילבד</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>(iii) Destruction of sheep</td>
<td>divine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(iv) Killing of servants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>שמולא כרב</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ילבד ילבד</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>(v) Raiding of camels</td>
<td>human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(vi) Killing of servants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>שמולא כרב</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ילבד ילבד</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climax</td>
<td>(vii) Job’s sons and daughters</td>
<td>divine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>killed</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### IV. The Significance of Numbers

The special status of certain numbers and their peculiar schematized usage is popular in biblical literature. The phenomenon is now recognized to be a typically Near Eastern literary device. Especially frequent and significant is the climactic use of the numeral seven. Something is repeated day after day for six days, the seventh heralding a climax and inaugurating some new event.

The Ugaritic epics attest numerous examples. Thus, for six days a fire rages in the palace of Baal and ceases abruptly on the seventh. King Danel offers oblation to the gods for six days and on the seventh is visited by Baal. The same king celebrates the birth of a son for six days and his guests depart on the seventh. King Keret reaches his goal on the seventh day of his journey and invests Udum for seven days.

In the light of this epic tradition the exploitation of the numeral seven in the three chapters of the narrative framework acquires special significance. The seven day and night silent mourning of Job and friends is suddenly and dramatically interrupted when Job opens his mouth to curse the day of his birth. His sons and daughters hold seven-day feasts (1:14). A succession of seven blows in all is hurled against Job. The three friends are told to offer seven bulls and seven rams as a propitiatory sacrifice (42:8). Perfectly consistent too, with the classic treatment and of great importance in uncovering the epic substratum underlying the prose narrative, are the seven sons and three daughters of Job (1:1, 42:11). The theme of seven sons is common enough in Ugaritic literature. We may cite the instances of Keret, of the god El, and of the god Mot, all of whom sired seven males. Most striking of all is the fact that Baal, like Job, had seven sons and three daughters.

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a See above § III C.
b Such a sacrifice is paralleled elsewhere only in connection with the Baham story (Num 23:1, 21; 24:28, 39, 40). Ugaritic text 52:15 has reference to a sevenfold offering.
c For seven sons as a biblical ideal, cf. 1 Sam 24; 7:25; 2 Sam 10:13; 12:24.
d A close parallel to Mot’s first-born-of is Job 18:13 provides.
e 67.1-6. Arviv S. Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts* (Copenhagen, 1952), p. 79, states that “no son of Baal is mentioned in the [Ugaritic] texts.” Now while it is true that *glm* itself is indefinite as regards the relationship of the seven lads to Baal, nevertheless the juxtaposition with the three daughters would indicate that sons are referred to. This view is strengthened by Krt 152-53, 298-99, where *glm* is parallel to Mak.
f 1: 2: 23 f.; 11: 3-4. Gordon, *The Median World*, XXXIII, No. 1 (1943), 9-51, has pointed out the parallel between the three daughters of Baal and the same of pre-Islamic Allah, the latter notion being derived from the North Syrian littoral of the Annam age at the beginning of the 14th century A.D. It is worth adding that the triad of daughters is also an exceedingly common theme in Greek mythology as attested by the Goths, the Greeks, the Hesperides, the Chorites, the Medes, the Muses, the Furies, and possibly, the Horae.
of their deliberations is highly significant. Zechariah (6:5) employs both terms: רֹאֵשׁ וּלְצָאָן הַשִּׁמְשִׁים וְאָלֶּפֶת as does the prophet Micah 6:1 in a similar context (I Kings 22:19): רֹאֵשׁ לְצָאָן הַשִּׁמְשִׁים followed by (vs. 2) עַזָּא אֵלָה אֲשֶׁר. It would thus appear that the choice of phraseology is not fortuitous but is part of an established literary tradition with a stereotyped terminology.66

The question now arises as to whether the heavenly scene was indeed part of the original epic of Job. It has been held that 1:6 has an ambiguous subject and hence logically and syntactically follows directly upon 1:5, thus eliminating the Satan episode.67 It is further maintained that 42:11 implies that God and not Satan is the author of all the evil that befell Job. Accordingly, Spiegel believes that the epilogue preserves the older layers of the Job saga and that the Satan scene belongs to a later version grafted on to a fossilized original.

However attractive the theory, the evidence would seem to be conclusive, for the difficulties are more apparent than real. The subject of 1:21 in 1:6 is in fact not in the least ambiguous the LXX's notwithstanding. It is perfectly obvious from vs. 12,", "", and from the four preceding verses (11, 7, 10, 13, 17, 18, etc.) that the subject is and could be none other than Job. Moreover, the second heavenly court scene is essentially essential to explain and introduce Job's physical sufferings which, after all, constitute the climax of the story.

As to 42:11, one must agree with Alt68 and Spiegel69 that the verse is cut out of place in its present context and must logically belong to the prologue, probably following 1:22. But it does not really, if properly understood, contradict the Satan story. Satan himself is merely an agent. He has no power of independent action and cannot work without divine permission. In this sense God may correctly be described as the author of Job's troubles and, as a matter of fact, he actually so describes himself in rebuking Satan (2:3, 10). It is God who is recognized to be the architect of Job's misfortunes, albeit grafted on by Satan.70

68 The term is found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible in Gen 6:2, Job 38:7 (cf. 15:25), and in Deut 12:2 according to the LXX version now confirmed, according to Patrick W. Skehan, "a Hebrew Fragment of Deut 32 from Qumran (BASOR, No. 136 [1954], p. 12). C also Dan 3:28, 30 (cf. vs. 28).
70 See Akkad. pabar illi.
71 Cf. Ps. 82:1.
73 Gaster, Orientalia, XI (1942), 41–79.
74 See the remarks of Gordon, Ugaritic Literature (Rome, 1949), p. 132, n. 3.
VI. Job's Daughters

The prominence of women in epic literature, particularly in that reflecting East Mediterranean society, is well known. The sociology of the story of Job accurately mirrors the same epic background. The daughters participate in the seven-day feasts of their brothers (1, 11) in much the same way as the Kidu wine and dine with Danel the week long and as Octavia is summoned by her father Kog Keret ostensibly to share in his banquet.

The naming of Job's three girls (42:14) is in striking contrast to the anonymity of his sons, a situation exactly paralleled in the case of Baal's three daughters, Pdr, Tly, and Argy, and his seven unnamed sons. To be compared also is the general prominence of the role of Octavia and the high esteem in which Pkt, daughter of Danel, is held in the Ugaritic epics.

As to the names themselves, it is possible that two of the three, at least, are now to be explained on the basis of Ugaritic. Gordon has pointed out that Kmt may well correspond to the epithet of the beautiful Anach — Ammt Kmtii — and Kmt could well be Kmt, a bow, referring to its shapeliness.

The emphasis on the outstanding beauty of the girls (42:15) is likewise characteristic of the epic treatment which tends to exalt feminine pulchritude.

Finally, we are told, the girls received from their father an inheritance together with their brothers (42:15). According to Mosaic law the daughter inherits only in the absence of sons. It is obvious that we are dealing here with quite a different social milieu and we are at once reminded of the situation in the Ugaritic epic in which Octavia shares her father's estate with her brothers.

\[27\] Cf. most recently, Gordon, "Homer," § 72 ff.

\[27\] For the significance of the triad of daughters see above, n. 56.

\[27\] 2 Aqht. II. 26–40.

\[27\] 125:39 ff., 61 ff.

\[27\] UfM, § 20.79. Cf. ibia., § 5.26 where it is pointed out that Kmti < plmti under the influence of the following m. So Albright, BASOR No. 70, p. 19, n. 6, and J. Oliphant, Ugaritic Mythology (New Haven, 1948), p. 35.

\[27\] UfM, § 24.1706.

\[27\] Gordon, "Homer," § 85.

\[27\] Num 27:1.

\[27\] 128:111:3.