

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."<sup>26</sup> Josephus says that "they exceed all other men that addict themselves to virtue, and this in righteousness."<sup>27</sup> Even Pliny speaks of them as "the solitary tribe of the Essenes, which is remarkable beyond all the other tribes in the whole world."<sup>28</sup>

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 Essenism which has largely succeeded";<sup>29</sup> or with Dupont-Sommer that Christianity was "a quasi-Essene neo-formation."<sup>30</sup> 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.

<sup>26</sup> *Quod omnis probus liber sit* XIII (Loeb ed., IX, 61-63).

<sup>27</sup> *Ant.* XVIII. i. 5.

<sup>28</sup> *Natural History* V. xv (Loeb ed., II, 277).

<sup>29</sup> "Le christianisme est un essénisme qui a largement réussi," quoted by A. Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (Paris, 1950), p. 121 (English trans., p. 99).

<sup>30</sup> *The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes* (New York, 1955), p. 150.

## 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.<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen<sup>2</sup> maintained that the poet borrowed directly from a folk-saga both the material and form for his own work. Duhm<sup>3</sup> even went so far as to suggest that the entire prose parts were excerpted from a "Volksbuch" and that these antedate the poem. On the other hand, Kautzsch<sup>4</sup> held that nothing more than the name of a righteous man called Job was borrowed from tradition. Most recently, Tur-Sinai<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> In both God refers to Job as עבדי איוֹב (1 8, 2 3 || 42 7, 8); Job acts the role of intercessor (1 5 || 42 8-10); he offers עֲלוּת to assuage God's anger (1 5 || 42 8); the order of enumeration of his material possessions is the same in both instances (1 3 || 42 12); the precise figures of Job's restored and doubled possessions given in the epilogue (42 12) presuppose a knowledge of the prologue (1 3); 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 Ugaritic seminar originally inspired this study and whose guidance and instruction saved the writer from many of the pitfalls of ignorance.

<sup>1</sup> For the history of the problem see K. Kautzsch, *Das sogenannte Volksbuch von Hiob* (1900), and more recently, S. Spiegel, "Noah, Danel, and Job," *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* (New York, 1945), pp. 305-7.

<sup>2</sup> J. Wellhausen, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, XVI (1871), 155.

<sup>3</sup> B. Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob* (1897), p. vii.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> N. H. Tur-Sinai, ספר איוֹב (2nd ed., 1954), pp. 17 f.; cf. אנציקלופדיה מקראית, I, 242.

<sup>6</sup> 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<sup>7</sup> (1 3, 42 12, cf. Gen 12 16, 32 5). 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<sup>8</sup> (1 5, 42 8). Sabaeans and Chaldeans are still marauding bands of nomads (1 15, 17). The קשיטה is still current (42 11), being mentioned elsewhere only in connection with Jacob (Gen 33 19; Josh 24 32). Job's longevity (42 16) is paralleled only in the patriarchal and pre-patriarchal periods and the closing description וקן ושבוע ימים (42 17) is the same as that used of Abraham (Gen 25 8) and Isaac (Gen 25 29).

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.<sup>9</sup> This skepticism was in no way dissipated by reference to Ezekiel's mention of Job (Ezek 14 14, 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,<sup>10</sup> 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<sup>11</sup> 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<sup>12</sup> 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 demon-

<sup>7</sup> עבודה רבה occurs elsewhere, only in Gen 26 14.

<sup>8</sup> Incidentally, the sacrifices in 42 8 correspond exactly to those of Balaam (Num 23 1, 14, 29).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (1921), I, lxvi-lxvii. Almost every one of the wide variety of dates given by modern scholars had already been anticipated in talmudic sources; see B. Baba Bathra, 15a-b; Y. Sotah, v. 8.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.* E. A. Speiser, "Ancient Mesopotamia," in *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East* (ed. R. C. Dentan [1955]), p. 71, believes that "the Mesopotamian origin of the three heroes of Ezekiel is assured beyond all doubt." Cf., also *ibid.*, n. 98.

<sup>11</sup> U. Cassuto, "שירה העלילה בישראל," *נוכח*, VIII (1944), 142.

<sup>12</sup> C. H. Gordon, "Homer and Bible," *HUCA*, XXVI (1955), §§ 49, 72, 139.

strate 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 poeticisms.<sup>13</sup> 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 assonance 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:

ארץ עוץ	1 1
עשו משחה בית איש . . . ושלחו לשלש אחיחיהם . . . ולשתות	1 4
. . . המשחה וישלח . . . ויקדשם והשכים . . . והעלה עליהם . . . וברכו	1 5
אלהים בלבכם	
ויהי היום	1 6, 2 1
ויבאו בני האלהים להחיצב . . . ויבוא . . .	
דשטן . . . משוט	1 7, 2 2
דשטן השמח	1 8, 2 3
פרץ בארץ	1 10
אליו אל תשלח	1 12
כשרים שמו שלשה ראשים ויפשטו	1 17
באה מעבר המדבר	1 19
בארבע פנות הבית	
ויקם . . . ויקרע	1 20
אשר לאיש . . . נפשו	2 4
ונפשו שמר	2 6
וישמעו שלשת רעי . . . כל הרעה	2 11
לבוא לנו לך ולנחמו	
מרחוק . . . קולם . . . ויקרעו . . . ויזרקו	2 12
ראשיהם השמימה	

<sup>13</sup> Cassuto, *op. cit.*; also מאדם עד נח (Jerusalem, 1953), pp. 142-43, where Cassuto draws attention to a similar phenomenon in the writings of the Greek Logographi. Cf. also Jacob M. Myers, *The Linguistic and Literary Form of the Book of Ruth* (Leiden, 1955), p. 2.

אשא . . . עשות	42 8
ויעשו כאשר . . . וישא	42 9
שב . . . שבות	42 10

## B. Parallelism:

ומקנהו פרץ בארץ	מעשה ידיו ברכת	1 10
ומהחלהך בה	משוט בארץ	1 7, 2
ולא נתן חפלה לאלהים	לא חטא איוב	1 22
וינחמו אותו	וינדרו לו	42 11

## C. Poetic words and phrases:

1 21 is pure poetry. The phrase יצא מבטן occurs, outside of Job, only in Eccles 5 14.

1 22 חפלה, outside of Job, occurs only in Jer 23 13.

2 3 לבלעו; this figurative usage in the sense of 'destroying, annihilating,' is infrequent in prose texts. It is worth considering whether the specialized meaning is not a reflex of Canaanite mythology. The reference may well be to the particular method by which the god Mot disposes of his prey. In the Ugaritic texts we find repeated mention of Mot swallowing his victims:

*lyrt bnpš bn ilm mt*  
*bmh/mrt ydd il ḡr<sup>14</sup>*  
Thou shalt indeed go down into the throat of the god Mot  
Yea into the gullet of Il's Beloved, the Hero!

*al tqrb lbn ilm mt*  
*al y'dbkm kimr bph*  
*klli bṭbrnqnh ṭṭan<sup>15</sup>*  
Do not draw near the god Mot  
Lest he make you like a lamb in his mouth,  
Like a kid in his jaws ye be crushed.

*y'rb b'l bkbdh bph yrd<sup>16</sup>*  
So that Baal may enter his inwards, yea descend into his mouth.

2 4 seems to be some ancient proverb.

2 7 קדקד occurs elsewhere in prose only Deut 28 35, II Sam 14 25. Yet a closer look will show that in reality both these passages are poetic; *qdqd* is common in Ugaritic.

2 11, 42 11 נוד; in the sense of 'to show grief, sympathy,' it is used only in poetry.

2 13 ישב לארץ. This is an entirely poetic usage; cf. Ugaritic *yṭb lkh<sup>17</sup>* 'sits on a throne.'

<sup>14</sup> 67:I:6-8. In the light of this passage, 51:vii:47-48 *yqra mi bnpšh* 'Mot calls from his throat,' may be a *double entendre* implying both the act of speech and a portent of destruction. The celebrated Isa 25 8 may well mean that Mot shall be hoisted by his own petard! Attention should also be drawn to the use of בלע in connection with the fate of Korah and his confederates (Num 16 30-32); cf. Prov 1 12.

<sup>15</sup> 51:VIII:15-20.

<sup>16</sup> 67:II:3-4.

<sup>17</sup> 49:I:30.

2 13 כאב; the nominal form is restricted to poetry.  
42 12 ראשית — אחרית. This combination with one exception,<sup>18</sup> is never used in narrative prose. אחרית corresponds to Ugaritic *uḥryt<sup>19</sup>* 'latter end, destiny, lot.'

## D. Words and Expressions Unique to Job:

1 5 הקיפו; the *hiphil* of נקף in connection with time, occurs only here. The *gal* form is found only in Isa 29 1 ינקפו, cf. Ugaritic *nqpt* || *šnt<sup>20</sup>* = yearly cycle.

1 10 שכת בערו; in the sense of 'giving protection' the phrase is unique.  
2 8 להתגדר is a *hapax legomenon*.

42 10 שב שבות (*kethib* שבית) occurs only here with reference to individuals. As such it probably reflects a very ancient, rather than late extended, usage in view of the Ugaritic personal names *ṭb'm*, *ṭb'nt*, which Gordon<sup>21</sup> takes to mean, 'the god N. has returned, i. e. pitied and favored.'

## E. Morphology:

42 13 שבענה. 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 שבעה 'seven.' This tradition is reflected in the pre-Christian Testament of Job<sup>22</sup> and is followed by Ibn Ezra,<sup>23</sup> Kimḥi,<sup>24</sup> and RaMBaN.<sup>25</sup> Among the moderns, Ewald<sup>26</sup> explains the form as an old feminine collective meaning a heptad, while Gesenius<sup>27</sup> dismisses it as "probably a scribal error" for שבעה. On the other hand, there is evidence for a talmudic interpretation as a dual form,<sup>28</sup> so the Targum<sup>29</sup> and Rashi.<sup>30</sup> Dhorme,<sup>31</sup> in particular, defends שבענה as an old Semitic dual in *-ān<sup>32</sup>* and claims that the number of daughters remained constant in contrast to the doubling of the sons

<sup>18</sup> Deut 11 12, if this indeed be prose.

<sup>19</sup> 2 Aqht:VI:35; v. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual* (= *UM*; Rome, 1955), §20. 92.

<sup>20</sup> 52:66-67; 75:II:45-46.

<sup>21</sup> *UM*, § 20.2013.

<sup>22</sup> This is implicit in chap. i.2.

<sup>23</sup> ונ'ין שבענה כנ'ין בשנ' אפרים יקה.

<sup>24</sup> D. Kimḥi, *Mikhlol*, ed. Chomsky (1952), § 69g, describes the *nun* as pleonastic on the analogy of Hos 10 6 בשנה.

<sup>25</sup> ואולי הנ'ין הנוסף במלח שבענה מורה על הידיעה.

<sup>26</sup> H. Ewald, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache* (1855), § 269c.

<sup>27</sup> *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, ed. Kautzsch-Cowley (Oxford, 1910), § 97c.

<sup>28</sup> B. Baba Bathra 16b בנהיו של איוב לא נכפלו בנהיו של איוב clearly implies that the number of sons was doubled.

<sup>29</sup> ארבער.

<sup>30</sup> הם פעמים שבע שחי שביעיות.

<sup>31</sup> P. Dhorme, *Le Livre de Job* (Paris, 1926), *ad loc.*

<sup>32</sup> Cf. R. Kittel (ed.), *Biblia Hebraica* (1945), *ad loc.*

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.<sup>33</sup> We are thus left without any convincing reason for the disparity between sons and daughters if שבענה be taken as a dual. Accordingly, we must reject this rendering and otherwise explain the form.

As a matter of fact שבענה בנים 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: *wld šb'ny aft itrh*<sup>34</sup> 'The wives I have wed have borne seven.' Šb'ny is here explained as šb' 'seven' + adverbial -ny.<sup>35</sup> Thus the unique form שבענה is a poetic archaism which in all probability belonged to the original language of the epic of Job.

F. Syntax:

1 4 שלש אחיהם. This unusual construction of the -t form of the numeral with a feminine noun<sup>36</sup> may well represent an archaic usage in which שלש was still a collective and abstract term meaning 'group of three, triad,' and could be used with either gender.<sup>37</sup>

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.<sup>38</sup> This "epic law of iteration"<sup>39</sup> 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.

<sup>33</sup> For the evidence in full see below, § VI.

<sup>34</sup> 52:64.

<sup>35</sup> *UM*, § 11:3. This adverbial suffix -ny, which may be attached to adverbs and adjectives, may also account for Gen 42 36, כלנה, which has no feminine antecedent. On the other hand, כלנה in Prov 31 29 may refer to the preceding בנות. For the pattern -ay > ah, cf. שרה > שר' ; so šb'ny > שבננה.

<sup>36</sup> Elsewhere, only Gen 7 13; 1 Sam 10 3; Ezek 7 2 (*kethib*).

<sup>37</sup> See G. R. Driver, "Gender in Hebrew Numbers," *JJS*, I (1948), 90-104. Cf. the remarks of Cassuto, מנח עז אברהם (Jerusalem, 1953), pp. 61 f.

<sup>38</sup> Cassuto has made the point that Hebrew prose is an extension of the Canaanite epic tradition and that therefore, whenever Hebrew prose exhibits repetition we are entitled to detect therein the influence of that tradition. See his "מקראית וספרות," *תרביץ*, XIII (1942), 197-212; XIV (1943), 1-10; "שירה העלילה בישראל," pp. 121-42; *האלה ענה* (1953), pp. 34-36; *מאדם עד נח*, pp. 142-43.

<sup>39</sup> C. R. North, "Pentateuchal Criticism," in *The Old Testament and Modern Study*, ed. H. H. Rowley (Oxford, 1951), p. 65.

A. The Celestial Council:

2 1	ויהי היום ויבאו בני האלהים להתיצב על ה' ויבוא גם השטן בתכם . . .	2 1	ויהי היום ויבאו בני האלהים להתיצב על ה' ויבוא גם השטן בתוכם	1 6
2	ויאמר ה' אל השטן אי מזה תבא ויען השטן את ה' ויאמר משט בארץ ומהתהלך בה	2	ויאמר ה' אל השטן מאין תבא ויען השטן את ה' ויאמר משוט בארץ ומהתהלך בה	7
3	ויאמר ה' אל השטן השמת לבך על עבדי איוב כי אין כמהו בארץ איש חם וישר ירא אלהים וסר מרע	3	ויאמר ה' אל השטן השמת לבך על עבדי איוב כי אין כמהו בארץ איש חם וישר ירא אלהים וסר מרע	8
5	ואולם שלח נא ידך וגע אל עצמו ואל בשרו אם לא אל פניך יברכך	5	ואולם שלח נא ידך וגע בכל אשר לו אם לא על פניך יברכך	11
6	ויאמר ה' אל השטן הנו בידך אך את נפשו שמר	6	ויאמר ה' אל השטן הנה כל אשר לו בידך רק אליו אל תשלח ידך	12
7	ויצא השטן מאת פני ה'	7	ויצא השטן מעם פני ה'	

B. The Character of Job:

2 3	אין כמהו בארץ איש חם וישר ירא אלהים וסר מרע.	1 8	אין כמהו בארץ איש חם וישר ירא אלהים וסר מרע.	1 1	והיה האיש ההוא חם וישר וירא אלהים וסר מרע.
2 10	בכל זאת לא חטא איוב בשפתיו.			1 22	בכל זאת לא חטא איוב ולא נתן תפלה לאלהים.

C. The Misfortunes of Job (1 14-19):

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 befel King Keret.<sup>40</sup> But even more important than this for uncovering the epic archetype is the distinct structural pattern very similar to that underlying the Ten Plagues.<sup>41</sup> We have here a symmetrical scheme consisting of three series of two blows each, the first striking animal life, the second human, followed by the climactic seventh.<sup>41a</sup> Furthermore, each series is encased within a framework comprising a

<sup>40</sup> Krt 14 ff.

<sup>41</sup> Cassuto, *פרוש על ספר שמואל* (Jerusalem, 1953), p. 61.

<sup>41a</sup> Cf. the remarks of the MaLBIM to Job 1 13.

formulaic introduction and a concluding refrain.<sup>42</sup> Finally, the cause of each series is alternately human and divine. The following chart illustrates the literary structure of this section:

Series	No.		Cause	
1.	}	(i) ומלאך בא אל איוב ויאמר Plundering of oxen and asses	}	human
		(ii) ואמלטה רק אני לבדי להגיד לך Killing of servants		
2.	}	(iii) עוד זה מדבר וזה בא Destruction of sheep	}	divine
		(iv) ואמלטה וכו' Killing of servants		
3.	}	(v) עוד זה וכו' Raiding of camels	}	human
		(vi) ואמלטה וכו' Killing of servants		
Climax		(vii) עד זה וכו' Job's sons and daughters killed ואמלטה וכו'		divine

#### 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.<sup>43</sup> Especially frequent and significant is the climactic use of the numeral seven.<sup>44</sup> 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

<sup>42</sup> For parallels to this kind of literary artifice in Ugaritic literature see *UM*, p. 39, n. 1. and § 17.3, n. 2.

<sup>43</sup> Cassuto, תרביץ, XIII (1942), p. 207, nn. 31-32; מאדס עד נח, 5 f.; ותלה ענה, pp. 36, 84, esp., nn. 1-2.

<sup>44</sup> In addition to the literature cited in the previous note, see B. Jacob, "The Decalogue," *JQR*, XIV (1923), 159-60 for a suggestive explanation of the origin of the special status of the number seven, and L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1925), V, 9, n. 21, for the significance of the number in Jewish legend.

fire rages in the palace of Baal and ceases abruptly on the seventh.<sup>45</sup> King Danel offers oblation to the gods for six days and on the seventh is visited by Baal.<sup>46</sup> The same king celebrates the birth of a son for six days and his guests depart on the seventh.<sup>47</sup> King Keret reaches his goal on the seventh day of his journey and invests Udm for seven days.<sup>48</sup>

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 (2 13). His sons and daughters hold seven-day feasts (1 14). A succession of seven blows in all is hurled against Job.<sup>49</sup> The three friends are told to offer seven bulls and seven rams as a propitiatory sacrifice (42 8).<sup>50</sup> 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 2, 42 13). The theme of seven sons is common enough in Ugaritic literature.<sup>51</sup> We may cite the instances of Keret,<sup>52</sup> of the god El,<sup>53</sup> and of the god Mot,<sup>54</sup> all of whom sired seven males. Most striking of all is the fact that Baal,<sup>55</sup> like Job, had seven sons and three daughters.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>45</sup> 51:VI:24-33.

<sup>46</sup> 2 Aqht:I:6-15.

<sup>47</sup> 2 Aqht:II:30-40. From 124:21-25 it is clear that the *Rpum* too, hold a week-long feast, though the broken state of the text obscures the nature of the seventh day climax.

<sup>48</sup> Krt 106-109, 114-120, 194-211.

<sup>49</sup> See above § III C.

<sup>50</sup> Such a sacrifice is paralleled elsewhere only in connection with the Balaam story (Num 23 1, 14, 29). Ugaritic text 52:15 has reference to a sevenfold offering.

<sup>51</sup> For seven sons as a biblical ideal, cf. I Sam 2 5; Jer 25 9; Ruth 4 15.

<sup>52</sup> 128:II:24.

<sup>53</sup> 52:64.

<sup>54</sup> 49:VI:7-9, [ *bn ilm mt/ [ ] ul ]šb't glmh/[ ] bn ilm ml*. Despite the badly preserved state of the text the parallelism makes it certain that Mot had seven sons. For a reference to Mot's first-born, cf. Job 18 13 בכוור מוה.

<sup>55</sup> 67:V:8. Arvid 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 *wld*.

<sup>56</sup> 'nt : I : 22 ff.; III : 3-4. Gordon, *The Moslem World*, XXXIII, No. 1 (1943), 50-51, 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 Amarna age at the beginning of the 14th century B. C. It is worth adding that the triad of daughters is also an exceedingly common theme in Greek mythology as attested by the Gorgons, the Graeae, the Hesperides, the Charites, the Moirae, the Muses, the Furies, and possibly, the Horae.

## V. Mythology

The mythological elements as represented by the two assemblies of celestial beings (1 6, 21) are in perfect accord with the epic background. Although Cassuto<sup>57</sup> has made a convincing case for the traditional Jewish interpretation of בני האלהים, בני אלים, as implying nothing more than angels or heavenly host,<sup>58</sup> the monotheistic twist does not disguise its pagan origins.

Both the terminology employed and the concept of the assembly of the gods are well attested in the Northwest Semitic literary sphere.<sup>59</sup> In the Ugaritic epics we find *bn il* (2:33), 'sons of El, i. e., the gods'; *dr bn il* (2:17, 34; 107:2), 'the coterie of gods'; *dr il* (128:iii:19); *phr ilm*<sup>60</sup> (17:7), 'the totality of the gods'; *phr bn ilm* (51:iii:14); *mphrt bn il* (2:7, 34; 107:3); *dt ilm*<sup>61</sup> (128:ii:7, 11), 'assembly of gods.' Similarly, the tenth century Phoenician *Yhmlk* inscription from Byblos (line 4) refers to *בל*: *מפחרה אל*, 'the totality of the gods of Byblos.'<sup>62</sup> So, too, the magical text from Arslan Tash<sup>63</sup> mentions (l. 11) *וכל בן אלם*. Without doubt, therefore, we are dealing here in Job with a reflex of early Near Eastern mythology which formed part of the repertoire of the classical epic.<sup>64</sup>

This conclusion is further strengthened by the employment of certain key words and phrases which are common to other accounts of the heavenly council scene found in the Hebrew Bible. The use of *החיצב על* (1 6, 21) for the convocation of the celestial beings and of the root *יצא* (1 12, 2 7) to introduce the action about to result from the termination

<sup>57</sup> Cassuto, "מעשה בני האלהים ובנות האדם," in *Essays Presented to J. H. Hertz* (London, 1942), pp. 35-44, esp., 37-38; מארח עד נח, pp. 200-203; אינציקלופדיה סקראת, Vol. II, art. אלהים; cf. also Vol. I, arts. אל and אלהים. For the specifically Israelitish aspects of this notion, see the remarks of Y. Kaufmann, *חולרות האמנה הישראלית* (Tel-Aviv, 1947), II, 422-23.

<sup>58</sup> The term is found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible in Gen 6 2, 4; Pss 29 1, 89 7; Job 38 7 (cf. 15 8, 25 2) and in Deut 32 8 according to the LXX version now confirmed, according to Patrick W. Skehan, by a Hebrew fragment of Deut 32 from Qumran (*BASOR*, No. 136 [1954], p. 12). Cf. also Dan 3 25, בר אלהין (cf. vs. 28 מלאכה). In Pss 103 20-21, 148 2 מלאכיו; I Kings 22 19 וכל צבא השמים is to be compared with Job 1 6, 2 1 בני האלהים. בני האלהים as a synonym for angels is very common in the Dead Sea scrolls; see Yigael Yadin, *חוקר*, מנילח מלחמה בני אור בבני חושך (Jerusalem, 1955), p. 210.

<sup>59</sup> See Frank M. Cross, Jr., "The Council of Yahweh in Second Isaiah," *JNES*, XII (1953), 274 ff. Marvin H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts* (Leiden, 1955), pp. 48-49.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Akkadian *puhur ilāni*.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Ps 82 1.

<sup>62</sup> See T. H. Gaster, *JQR*, XXXVII (1946), 62, n. 27; *ibid.*, XXXVIII (1947), 289; *Theopis* (1950), p. 76, n. 6. W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Baltimore, 1946), pp. 199, 226-27, and esp., p. 331, n. 26.

<sup>63</sup> Gaster, *Orientalia*, XI (1942), 41-79.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. the remarks of Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature* (Rome, 1949), p. 132, n. 3.

of their deliberations is highly significant. Zechariah (6 5) employs both terms: . . . *ארבע רוחות השמים יוצאות מהחיצב על* as does the prophet Micaiah with the variant *עמד* for *החיצב*<sup>65</sup> in a similar context (I Kings 22 19): *צא, אצא, ויצא הרוח* (vs. 22) followed by (vs. 22) *ויצא הרוח*. It would thus appear that the choice of phraseology is not fortuitous but is part of an established literary tradition with a stereotyped terminology.<sup>66</sup>

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 13 has an ambiguous subject and hence logically and syntactically follows directly upon 1 5, thus eliminating the Satan episode.<sup>67</sup> It is further maintained that 42 11 implies that God and not Satan is the author of all the evil that befel 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 not seem to be conclusive, for the difficulties are more apparent than real. The subject of *בניו ובנותיו* in 1 13 is in fact not in the least ambiguous, the LXX<sup>68</sup> notwithstanding. It is perfectly obvious from vs. 12, *אליו*, לו, and from the four preceding verses (11, *יברכך*, לו, 10, *בערו*, *ביתו*, לו, *מקנהו*, *ידיו*, לו, 9, *איוב*, 8, *איוב*, etc.) that the subject is and could be none other than Job. Moreover, the second heavenly court scene is absolutely 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 Alt<sup>69</sup> and Spiegel<sup>70</sup> that the verse is 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) *והסתיתי בו לבלעו חנם*. It is God who is recognized to be the architect of Job's misfortunes, albeit goaded on by Satan.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Zech 3 1 *השטן עמד על ימינו*.

<sup>66</sup> Cassuto, "שירה העלילה בישראל," pp. 121-42 has abundantly illustrated this phenomenon as a feature of the Hebrew epic.

<sup>67</sup> Spiegel, *op. cit.*, pp. 323-25.

<sup>68</sup> *οι υιοι Ιωβ και αι θυγατρες αυτου*.

<sup>69</sup> A. Alt, "Zur Vorgeschichte des Buches Hiob," *ZAW*, LV (1937), 265 ff.

<sup>70</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>71</sup> It is to be noted that Satan is included among the בני אלהים just as Mot is described in the Ugaritic texts (49:II:13, 25, 31) as *bn ilm ml*. Cf. I Kings 22 22 where the *שקר* רוח is part of the heavenly host. In the Talmud, Satan is identified with the Angel of Death אמר ר' ל הוא שטן הוא יצר הרע הוא מלאך המות (B. Baba Bathra 16a).

The assemblies of celestial beings are an integral part of the saga of Job and constitute the mythological element inseparable from the ancient epic.

### VI. Job's Daughters

The prominence of women in epic literature, particularly in that reflecting East Mediterranean society, is well known.<sup>72</sup> The sociology of the story of Job accurately mirrors the same epic background. The daughters<sup>73</sup> participate in the seven-day feasts of their brothers (14, 15) in much the same way as the *Klryt* wine and dine with Danel the week long<sup>74</sup> and as Octavia is summoned by her father King Keret ostensibly to share in his banquet.<sup>75</sup>

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, Pdry, Tly, and Arsy, and his seven unnamed sons. To be compared also is the general prominence of the role of Octavia and the high esteem in which Pgt, 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 re-explained on the basis of Ugaritic. Gordon has pointed out that ימימה may well correspond to the epithet of the beautiful Anath — *ymmt limm*<sup>76</sup> and קציעה could well be *qs't*,<sup>77</sup> 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.<sup>78</sup>

Finally, we are told, the girls received from their father an inheritance together with their brothers (42 15). According to Mosaic law<sup>79</sup> 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.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Cf. most recently, Gordon, "Homer," § 72 ff.

<sup>73</sup> For the significance of the triad of daughters see above, n. 56.

<sup>74</sup> 2 Aqht:II:26-40.

<sup>75</sup> 125:39 ff., 61 ff.

<sup>76</sup> *UM*, § 20.789. Cf. *ibid.*, § 5.26 where it is pointed out that *ymmt* < *ybm* under the influence of the following *m*. So Albright, *BASOR*, No. 70, p. 19, n. 6, and J. Obermann, *Ugaritic Mythology* (New Haven, 1948), p. 35.

<sup>77</sup> *UM*, § 20.1706.

<sup>78</sup> Gordon, "Homer," § 85.

<sup>79</sup> Num 27 3.

<sup>80</sup> 128:III:16.

### VII. Summary and Conclusion

The Hebrew prose, in vocabulary and style, is saturated with poeticisms and employs some unique forms explicable by reference to Ugaritic. The literary structure contains all the classic elements of repetition and schematization associated with that of the epic. The exploitation of numerals with special status conforms exactly to the epic pattern. The mythological motif and the sociological themes find close parallels in the Ugaritic literature. In the light of all this the detailed and consistent patriarchal setting must be regarded as genuine and as belonging to the original saga.<sup>81</sup> In brief, the considerable amount of epic substratum indicates that our present narrative framework is directly derived from an ancient Epic of Job.

<sup>81</sup> It is not without significance in this respect that איוב is a fairly common West Semitic proper name possessed by a number of kings in the second millennium. See B. Maisler, תרביץ, XIII (1942), 72.

