Seventh Century Judean Historiography: The Pentateuch

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1. Introduction

Discussion of seventh century historiography normally focuses on the so-called Deuteronomistic History, better known as the Former Prophets of the Hebrew Bible, including the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings.[1] The Former Prophets or DtrH presents an account of Israel's history from the conquest under Joshua through the sixth century B.C.E. destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple and the Babylonian Exile. American biblical scholarship, led by Frank Moore Cross, Jr., generally argues that an earlier seventh century "Josianic" edition of the Deuteronomistic History that concluded with Josiah's reign underlies the current form of the Former Prophets.[2] The

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1) For the initial articulation of the Deuteronomistic History hypothesis, see Martin Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History,* JSOTSup 15 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981). For discussion of the DtrH hypothesis, see Marvin A. Sweeney, *King Josiah of Judah: The Lost Messiah of Israel* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 21-32; Walter Dietrich, "Historiography in the Old Testament," in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation. III/2: The Twentieth Century*, edited by M. Sæbø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupecht, 2015), 467-499, esp. 469-488.

2) Frank Moore Cross, Jr., "The Themes of the Books of Kings and the Structure

proposed Josianic edition of the DtrH was designed to support the reform program of King Josiah of Judah (r. 640-609 B.C.E.) to purify the Jerusalem Temple and to reestablish independent Davidic rule over both Judah and the former northern kingdom of Israel. My own support for this model is well known from my monograph, *King Josiah of Judah: The Lost Messiah of Israel* (2001)[3], and from my commentary, *I and II Kings: A Commentary* (2005)[4]. I have attempted to build on this model by demonstrating how Josianic concerns permeate the books of Joshua, Judges, and Samuel in addition to Kings and by demonstrating how the writing of prophetic literature, such as Isaiah, Hosea, Amos, Jeremiah, Zephaniah, and other works contributed to Josiah's attempts at religious reform and national restoration. In my view, the hypothesis of a seventh century edition of the DtrH cogently explains the formation of the Former Prophets, and it points to the influence of the Josianic reform on the development of Judean views concerning divine purpose in bringing about the Assyrian invasions of the late eighth century B.C.E. and the future of the Judean nation.

Although debate continues on the DtrH, including questions of the redactional formation of the work and even whether or not scholars can even speak of a Deuteronomistic History anymore,[5] I do not plan to focus on this issue in this paper. Instead, I wish to address a related emerging issue, the role

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of the Deuteronomistic History," C*anaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 274-289.

3) Marvin A. Sweeney, *King Josiah of Judah: The Lost Messiah of Israel* (Oxford and New York: OUP, 2001).

4) Marvin A. Sweeney,*I and II Kings: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2005).

5) For recent discussion of the DtrH, see esp. Thomas Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History* (London and New York: T.&T. Clark, 2005); Antony F. Campbell and Mark A. O'Brien, *Unfolding the Deuteronomistic History: Origins, Upgrades, Present Text* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2000).

of the Pentateuch in seventh century Judean historiography. Deuteronomy has long been viewed correctly as the foundation for all models of the DtrH, but changes in Pentateuchal criticism, particularly the dating of the J stratum of the Pentateuch to the late-monarchic or even to the early exilic period, raises fundamental questions concerning the relationship between the Pentateuch and the DtrH.

I will focus on the development of the Pentateuch. My discussion will first treat narratives that appear to derive from the northern kingdom of Israel, i.e., the Jacob narratives in Genesis 25—35, the Joseph narratives in Genesis 37—50, and the Exodus narratives in Exodus 1—15. I will then turn to narratives that appear to be shaped by the J stratum of the Pentateuch and that in turn bracket and contextualize the earlier northern narratives, including the Abraham-Sarah narratives in Genesis 11—25 and elements of the Wilderness narratives in Exodus 17—40 and Numbers 11—25. Overall, I will argue for a seventh century edition of the Pentateuch in Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers, that was designed to serve as the prelude to the so-called Josianic edition of the Deuteronomistic History in Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings.

2. Recognition of J as a Stratum from the Late-Monarchic Period

When we turn to the Pentateuch, we find a field in flux insofar as the old Wellhausenian source model for the composition of the Pentateuch is now coming apart.[6] Several

6) Julius Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der Historischen Bücher des alten Testaments* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1889); see also Martin Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972); Antony F. Campbell and Mark A. O'Brien, *Sources of the Pentateuch: Texts,*

facets of source-critical pentateuchal study are of interest. First, is the growing recognition that the J stratum of the Pentateuch does not date to the Davidic-Solomonic period, but instead to the late-monarchic or early-exilic period, viz., to the eighth-sixth centuries B.C.E. Second is the growing recognition that J is at least in part a redactional stratum, which reworked an earlier, underlying northern stratum. Third, is the recognition that the P stratum does not include all priestly matters; indeed, in a society organized around Temple and priesthood throughout the monarchic period, we might expect that priestly concerns would arise prior to the time of the post-exilic P stratum. And fourth, there is a need to reestablish the interrelationship between the Genesis narratives and those of Exodus-Numbers.

We begin with the first issue, viz., the recognition of J as a stratum from the late-monarchic period.[7] Wellhausen had originally postulated that J was the earliest of the sources and that it was a Judean source that dated to the ninth century B.C.E.[8] Von Rad revised Wellhausen's dating and placed it in the tenth-ninth century B.C.E., arguing that the J stratum reflected the interests and perspectives of the newly emerging Judean monarchy during the reigns of David and Solomon.[9] This model

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Introductions, Annotations (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993); Ernest W. Nicholson, *The Pentateuch in the Twentieth Century: The Legacy of Julius Wellhausen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). For current discussion of the composition of the Pentateuch, see David M. Carr, "Changes in Pentateuchal Criticism," in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation. III/2: The Twentieth Century*, edited by M. Sæbø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupecht, 2015), 467-499, esp. 443-466; Thomas B. Dozeman, *The Pentateuch: Introducing the Torah* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2017), esp. 33-199; Marvin A. Sweeney, *The Pentateuch,* Core Biblical Studies (Nashville: Abingdon, 2017), esp. xvii-xxix.

7) See now the essays in Thomas B. Dozeman and Konrad Schmid, *A Farewell to the Y-hwist? The Composition of the Pentateuch in Recent European Interpretation,* SBLSym 34 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006).

8) Wellhausen, *Die Composition*.

dominated scholarship for most of the mid-twentieth century, but by the 1970's, scholars such as John Van Seters, Thomas L. Thompson, and Hans Heinrich Schmid, began to question the early date of J.[10] Major considerations included the fact that many features of J presupposed historical contexts better suited to the eighth-sixth centuries B.C.E. rather than the period of the early monarchy. Examples of such features included the role of the Babylonian ziggurat in the Tower of Babel narrative in Genesis 11, the analogy between Abraham's traversing the land of Canaan in Genesis 12 and the Assyrian king's practice of *palu* campaigns in which they would traverse their empire to collect tribute, the influence of Assyrian treaty language and practice on the depiction of covenant-making in Genesis 15, and others. As a result of such work, a tenth-ninth century date for J was no longer tenable; J had to date to the eighth-seventh century B.C.E. Although some scholars hold that J must date to the sixth century Babylonian Exile,[11] such a contention overlooks the fact that Judah was an ally of Babylon during the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah—and perhaps during the reigns of Manasseh and Amon as well—from the late-eighth through the late-seventh centuries B.C.E.

The recognition of the late date of J also had implications for E, which most scholars traced to the northern kingdom of

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9) Gerhard von Rad, "The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch," *The Form Critical Problem of the Hexateuch and other Essays* (London: SCM, 1984), 1-78.

10) Thomas L. Thompson, *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives*, BZAW 113 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1974); John Van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven, Conn. And London: Yale University Press, 1975); Hans Heinrich Schmid, *Der sogenannte J-hwist. Beobachtungen und Fragen zur Pentateuchforschung* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1976).

11) E.g., Van Seters, *Prologue to History: The Y-hwist as Historian in Genesis* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1992); idem, *The Life of Moses: The Y-hwist as Historian in Exodus - Numbers* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1994).

Israel during the late-ninth to the mid-eighth centuries B.C.E. prior to northern Israel's destruction by the Assyrian Empire. The E stratum of the Pentateuch had posed a particular problem for Pentateuchal research in that Wellhausen and others had never been able to reconstruct E as a fully coherent narrative. Indeed, Wellhausen frequently comments that he is unable to separate E from J and generally viewed E as an appendage to selected J texts. The problem was that J, as the earliest source, needed to form a continuous and coherent narrative that would serve as the foundation for expansion by E and later by P. But such a continuous and coherent narrative was not always apparent. The narratives concerning Jacob's return to the land of Israel in Genesis 32—33, for example, employ the term *'elohim* for G-d and take place at northern locations, such as Penuel, Mahanaim, Sukkot, and Shechem, long recognized as marks of the E stratum of the Pentateuch, but this material was nevertheless designated as J—despite the absence of the divine name—because the J stratum would be otherwise left with a major gap in its narrative structure.

By the late-twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries, scholars such as Erhard Blum, David Carr, and Christoph Levin began to recognize that J was a late-monarchic period redactional stratum that had edited and reshaped an underlying northern narrative.[12] None of these scholars identifies the underlying northern narrative as E, but the northern provenance of much of this material is clear. Such underlying narratives displaying clear marks of northern provenance and J redaction, including

12) Erhard Blum, *Die Komposition des Vätersgeschichte*, WMANT 57, (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1984); Idem, *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch*, BZAW 189 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1990); David M. Carr, *Reading the Fractures of Genesis: Historical and Literary Approaches* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1996); Christoph Levin, *Der J-hwist*, FRLANT 157 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993).

the Jacob narratives in Genesis 25—35, the Joseph narratives in Genesis 37—50, and the Exodus narratives of Exodus 1—15.[13)]

3. Jacob Narratives in Genesis 25—35

Let us consider the Jacob narratives in Genesis 25—35. Jacob is portrayed in these chapters as the eponymous ancestor of Israel. Although Wellhausen and others considered this to be a reference to all Israel, we must consider that the narratives focus on locations in the northern kingdom of Israel and in Aram. Jacob founds the northern Israelite sanctuary at Beth El in Genesis 28 and during the course of his return to the land of Israel, we see etiological narratives for other important northern locales, including Penuel, Mahanaim, Sukkot, and Shechem. Some might argue that early narratives concerning Jacob, i.e., his purchase of Esau's birthright for lentils in Gen 25:27-34 and his deception of Isaac to take Esau's birthright in Gen 27:1-46, must take place in Gerar along the Philistine-Judean border or Beer Sheba in Judah itself. But we only know of these locales from Genesis 26, the J stratum Isaac narrative which includes the wife-sister motif and appears to be a redactional insertion into the underlying Jacob narrative. Others might argue that the birth of Jacob's sons includes Judah as the fourth son born to Leah, but we must recall that throughout most of the history of the so-called divided kingdom, Judah was a vassal of northern Israel. Indeed, Judah's position as the fourth son of Leah, behind Reuben, Shimon, and Levi, marks him as a less significant figure among the sons of Jacob. Among the sons

13) See now, Tzemah L. Yoreh, *The First Book of G-d,* BZAW 402 (Berlin and New York, 2010); Marvin A. Sweeney, "The Jacob Narratives: An Ephraimitic Text?" *CBQ* 78 (2016), 236-255.

of Jacob, Joseph and Benjamin, the sons of Rachel, have preeminence. Not only did Jacob love Rachel more than Leah, but Rachel's sons went on to become key figures in northern Israel, i.e., Joseph was the father of Ephraim and Manasseh, the key power tribes of northern Israel, and Benjamin became the first royal tribe of northern Israel when Saul was named king.

Overall, the Jacob narratives in Genesis 25—35 present Jacob as the eponymous ancestor of northern Israel. His conflicts with Esau, the eponymous ancestor of Edom, and Laban, the eponymous ancestor of Aram, appear to presuppose northern Israel's conflicts with Edom and Aram during the late-ninth and early-eighth centuries B.C.E.[14] During this period Edom broke away from Judah, northern Israel's vassal and Aram succeeded in subduing Israel and stripping away much of its territory in the Trans-Jordan until King Joash ben Jehoahaz restored Israel's borders with Aram. The Jacob narratives appear to constitute a reflection upon this troubled period in northern Israel's history; Jacob appears as a flawed character who was in conflict with Esau and Laban, just as Israel was in conflict with Edom and Aram and suffered defeats from both during this period.[15]

When we consider the role of the J stratum in relation to the Jacob narratives, it is clear that J plays a redactional role. First, J provides the context for the Jacob narratives by portraying the Judean-based Abraham and Sarah as the parents of Isaac, who in turn fathers Jacob through his wife Rebekah. Second, J provides the redactional framework for the Jacob narratives

14) Marvin A. Sweeney, "Puns, Politics, and Perushim in the Jacob Cycle: A Case Study in Teaching the English Hebrew Bible," *Shofar* 9 (1991), 103-118.

15) Cf. John E. Anderson, *Jacob and the Divine Trickster: A Theology of Deception and YHWH's Fidelity to the Ancestral Promise in the Jacob Cycle,* Siphrut 5 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011).

at several key points. One is the insertion of the Isaac-Rebekah narratives in Genesis 26, which present the endangered matriarch motif when the couple resides in Gerar along the Philistine-Judean border and then portrays their move to Beer Sheba, the southern city of Judah.[16] J also inserts the narrative of the rape of Dinah in Genesis 34, another example of the endangered matriarch motif, which reflects Judean interests by portraying the city of Shechem—and Jacob for that matter—in such an unflattering light. Shechem, of course, is the central city of northern Israel, located on the border between Manasseh and Ephraim, which serves as the scene of covenant making and political power in Israel as illustrated by texts such as Deuteronomy 27, Joshua 24, Judges 9, and 1 Kings 12. And finally when Jacob returns home to the land of Israel, he journeys to Kiriath Arba, also known as Hebron, in Judah where his father Jacob dies and is buried together with Abraham and Sarah. Jacob's return to Kiriath Arba/Hebron in Judah is the work of the J redactor once again who makes sure that the patriarch of the northern kingdom of Israel is subsumed into a Judean context at the conclusion of the narrative.

4. Joseph Narratives in Genesis 37—50

When we turn to the Joseph narratives in Genesis 37—50, we see a similar phenomenon of an underlying northern Israelite narrative that has been edited by the J stratum of the Pentateuch. The Joseph narratives have a degree of unity not readily apparent

16) Marvin A. Sweeney, "Form Criticism and the Endangered Matriarch Narratives of Genesis," *Method Matters: Essays on the Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Honor of David L. Petersen*, edited by J. L. LeMon and K. H. Richards (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature Press, 2009), 17-38.

in the preceding Abraham or Jacob narratives. Consequently, scholars view the Joseph narratives as a novella that depicts Joseph's fortunes—and the development of his character— rom his youth when he is sold by his brothers into slavery for his arrogant behavior, through his rise to power in Egypt, and finally through his later years when he emerges as the leading figure who saves his family from famine in Canaan.[17] Although the Joseph narratives are typically portrayed as a combination of J and E strata, there is little of J within the narrative. Joseph is the father of Ephraim and Manasseh, the two chief tribes of the later northern kingdom of Israel, and so he emerges as an ancestral figure of the northern kingdom on a par with his father Jacob. But unlike Jacob, Joseph is able to overcome his character flaws to become a mature and effective leader for his people. Later Rabbinic tradition notes the similarities between the experience of Joseph and Jeroboam ben Nebat, the first king of northern Israel, who likewise goes down to Egypt, matures there, and ultimately emerges as the leader of his people. Such a portrayal suggests that the Joseph narrative was composed in part with Jeroboam in mind to portray an ideal leading figure for the northern kingdom of Israel.[18]

Despite the relatively unified character of the Joseph novella, the redactional work of J is apparent. When Joseph is first sold into slavery by his brothers for his arrogant behavior toward them in Genesis 37, we see the hand of the redactor in the identification of the brother who attempts to save Joseph. At first it is Reuben, the first-born of Jacob, who talks his brothers

17) Hermann Gunkel, *Genesis*, HKAT 1/1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprehct, 1964), 397; contra George W. Coats, *Genesis, with an Introduction to Narrative Literature*, FOTL 1 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1983), 263-266.

18) Cf. James L. Kugel, In *Potiphar's House: The Interpretive Life of Biblical Texts* (New York: Harper San Francisco, 1990), who notes rabbinic observations of parallels between Joseph and Jeroboam ben Nebat.

out of killing Joseph in Genesis 37:18-24, and instead proposes that they simply cast him away in a pit. And then it is Judah, the fourth born of Jacob's sons, who likewise talks his brothers out of killing Joseph and proposes instead that they sell him to Midianite or Ishmaelite traders in Genesis 37:25-28. Indeed, Judah frustrates Reuben, who returned to the pit only to find Joseph gone. Judah emerges as the key figure who saves Joseph's life and sets him on his journey of self-growth and power.

The next instance of the J redaction of the Joseph narrative appears in Genesis 38, the story of Judah and Tamar.[19] Judah has three sons by a Canaanite woman, a marriage forbidden by Deuteronomic and Exodus law. The first is married to Tamar, apparently an Israelite or Judean woman, but the son dies before she bears a son. In keeping with levirate law, she is married to Judah's second son, but he too dies before fathering a son. When Tamar sees that she will not be married to the third son, she disguises herself as a prostitute, has relations with Judah, and ultimately gives birth to a bona fide Judean son in keeping with Levirite practice. Although this narrative is clearly an insertion, it is intended to contrast Judah with Joseph. Joseph marries an Egyptian woman, Asenath, daughter of the Egyptian priest Poti-phera, and she bears him two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. Although Jacob ultimately adopts both as his own, the boys are of Egyptian descent, the very nation that proves to be the enemy of Israel in the books of Exodus and Deuteronomy. Whereas Joseph is intermarried and produces half Egyptian sons, J presents Judah as properly married and the father of Judean sons in keeping with Deuteronomic and Exodus law.

The third example of J redaction of the Joseph novella appears in the account of Joseph's reunion with his brothers in Genesis 43—45. When the brothers appear before Joseph, now second

19) See Sweeney, "Form Criticism."

in command in Egypt, to ask for food, they do not recognize their long lost brother. Joseph plays on this to demand that they bring his full brother Benjamin before him. Fearing a threat to the last son of Rachel so beloved of his father, the brothers, led by Reuben, left Shimon as a hostage when Joseph demanded that Benjamin appear before him in Genesis 42:24. But when the brothers return and Benjamin is accused of theft before Joseph, Judah now serves as the spokesman for the brothers and offers himself to become Joseph's slave in place of Benjamin. Judah emerges as the hero in place of either Reuben or Shimon.

The fourth and final example of the J redaction of the Joseph novella is the insertion of the song of Jacob, generally recognized as a J composition, in Genesis 49. Here, Reuben, Shimon, and Levi are dismissed as the leading figures among the brothers, and Judah emerges as the ruling figure in Genesis 49:8-12.

5. Exodus Narratives in Exodus 1—15

When we turn to the Exodus narratives in Exodus 1—15, we find a narrative world that is very different from that of the ancestral narratives in Genesis. There is an initial literary bridge concerning the rise of a new Pharaoh who does not know Joseph, but otherwise, there seems to be little continuity. Because all of the scenes take place in Egypt and the Sinai wilderness, there is little indication of either northern Israelite or southern Judean background to this material. Nevertheless, scholars tend to associate the Exodus narratives with the north, especially since Hosea 12 cites a prophet, presumably Moses, who led the people up from Egypt. As in Genesis, Wellhausen found it to be extremely difficult to differentiate between J and E, especially after the burning bush episode in Exodus 3 when YHWH reveals the divine name to Moses.

Overall, Exodus 1—15 presents an account of national liberation from Egyptian bondage with both political and religious dimensions. On the political side, it points to Israel's or Judah's independence from Egyptian control, which was a key issue throughout Israelite history, particularly in the seventh century B.C.E. when Egypt was an ally of Assyria that may have had some role in controlling Judah on Assyria's behalf -or at least pretensions to do so. On the religious side, we note adherence to YHWH as the G-d of Israel and as the creator G-d who puts the natural features of Egypt into place in the form of plagues that facilitate Israel's release from Egyptian bondage.

None of this, unfortunately, tells us how to discern the presence of J or E in the narrative. But there is one key feature that points to northern Israelite identity, viz., the redemption of the first born. The significance of this feature is often overlooked. It takes up the culminating plague of the Exodus, the slaying of the Exodus, but interpreters have not yet fully understood the importance of this redemption for the religious life of northern Israel. Texts in Numbers 3, 4, and 8, however, present a clue when YHWH tells Moses that the former practice of employing first-born sons as priests would come to an end so that the tribe of Levi could serve in their places as the priesthood of Israel, viz., "And YHWH spoke to Moses saying, And behold, I have taken the Levites from the midst of the people of Israel in place of all the first-born, all that breaks the womb from the people of Israel, and they shall be to me as Levites. For all the first-born are mine from the day when I struck down all the first-born of the land of Egypt. I consecrated to myself all the first-born in the land of Egypt. For me, human and animal, they shall be. I am YHWH" (Num 3:11-13).

We know of the obligation to devote the first-born to YHWH from the Covenant Code, an early law-code from the northern kingdom of Israel, which states in Exodus 22:28, "Your produce

and the product of your vats you shall not withhold.[20] The first-born of your sons you shall give to me." And Exodus 34:19-20bα, part of a seventh-century revision of the Covenant Code elaborates, "All that breaks the womb is mine, including all your cattle that produces a male first-born, cattle or sheep. But the first-born of an ass you shall redeem a with lamb, and if not, then you shall break its neck. All the first-born of your sons you shall redeem."

Unfortunately, the Exodus law codes do not tell us what the redeemed first-born were used for, but 1 Samuel 1 does. As illustrated by the prophet Samuel, the first-born sons of women, those who break the womb, are taken to the sanctuary to be raised as priests. Samuel was the first-born to his mother Hannah and her Ephraimite husband Elkanah. Once he was weaned, Hannah took him to the sanctuary at Shiloh and left him there to be raised as a priest by the High Priest Eli. Indeed, Samuel's call narrative in 1 Samuel 3 is an example of a vision experience that a prospective young priest would have while sleeping in the sanctuary before the Ark of the Covenant.[21]

Additional perspective on this issue comes from the charges leveled against King Jeroboam ben Nebat, the founding monarch

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20) Contra David P. Wright, *Inventing G-d's Law: How the Covenant Code of the Bible Used and Revised the Laws of Hammurabi* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), who holds that the Covenant Code is an exilic composition due to Babylon's late interaction with Israel, but he fails to note that Hammurabi's Code served as a template for ancient Near Eastern law from the eighteenth century B.C.E. and following. Cuneiform fragments of Hammurabi's Code dating to the pre-Israelite Bronze Age have been found at Hazor; see W. Horowitz et al, "Fragments of a Cuneiform Law Collection from Hazor," *IEJ* 62 (2012), 158-176.

21) Marvin A. Sweeney, "Samuel's Institutional Identity in the Deuteronomistic History," *Constructs of History in the Former and Latter Prophets and Other Texts,* edited by L. L. Grabbe and M. Nissinen, ANEM 4 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature Press, 2011), 165-174.

of the northern kingdom of Israel, in 1 Kings 12:25-33. In addition to having erected the golden calves at Beth El and Dan, Jeroboam is charged with appointing priests from among the people who were not of Levitical descent. Our insights into the role of the first-born sons suggests that northern Israel employed a different means for establishing priesthood than their neighbors in Judah to the south, viz., in Israel, the first-born sons served as priests in the sanctuaries, whereas in Judah, the tribe of Levi served as the priests. We may also note that the golden calves simply served as mounts or thrones for YHWH, much as the Ark of the Covenant serves as a throne for YHWH in the south. The celebration of Sukkot in the eighth rather than the seventh month points to the use of a different festival calendar in the north. In short, Jeroboam was not an idolater who worshipped foreign gods; northern Israel simply employed different means to worship YHWH, the G-d of Israel, than those employed in Judah.

When viewed in this perspective, the pre-P Exodus 1—15 narrative emerges as a basically northern Israelite etiological narrative that, among other things, explains the origins of northern Israel's priesthood for YHWH. Such an observation enables us better to understand the J narratives concerning Abraham on the one hand and the wilderness journey on the other that constitute the framework for the northern Israel narratives concerning Jacob, Joseph, and the Exodus.

6. Abraham-Sarah Narratives in Genesis 12—25

When we turn to the Abraham-Sarah narratives in Genesis 12—25, we find a basically J (and P) narrative that presents Abraham in largely Judean terms as the founding ancestor of Israel who settles in Hebron, later known as the capital of the

tribe of Judah. Again, we may note Wellhausen's difficulties in separating J and E in his analysis, but three major narratives stand out as examples of E primarily because they use the term *'elohim* to designate G-d, viz., the narrative of the endangered matriarch in Genesis 20, the birth of Isaac in Genesis 21, and the binding of Isaac in Genesis 22.

When J is viewed as a redactional stratum that reworked an underlying northern narrative, Genesis 20, 21, and 22 emerge as the primary vestiges or remnants of that lost narrative. In Genesis 20, Abraham and Sarah are in Gerar along the Judean-Philistine border when Abimelech decides he would like Sarah as wife. G-d however averts disaster by appearing to Abimelech in a dream and informing him of Sarah's married status. In Genesis 21, Sarah finally bears a son, Isaac, finally resolving a long-standing tension as to whether or not she will ever bear a son.

For our purposes, the binding of Isaac in Genesis 22 is the most important of the three. G-d tests Abraham by demanding that he offer his son, Isaac, as a sacrifice. When G-d sees that Abraham is faithful and will not withhold his beloved son, G-d acts to redeem Isaac so that Isaac can inherit the covenant of his father and serve G-d as the second patriarchal ancestor of Israel. We must note that it is here that we see the motif of the first-born son born to the mother who is redeemed for sacred service to G-d, the very same motif that we saw in the Exodus narratives of Exodus 1—15. The redemption of Isaac in Genesis 22 sets the pattern for the redemption of the first-born son in Exodus 1—15. When read in relation to the underlying northern Israelite narratives of Jacob, Joseph, and the Exodus, the redemption of Isaac sets the pattern for the institution of the priesthood in the north. When read in relation to the southern Judean J narrative of Abraham and his successors, Isaac simply establishes the continuity among the

sequence of patriarchs. Although we cannot know the full form of the underlying northern narrative concerning Abraham in the current JP text of Genesis, it seems clear that it originally played a role in establishing northern patterns of priesthood. But in the current form of the text, the binding of Isaac plays a role in identifying the Judean Abraham as the first ancestor of all Israel, including both northern Israel and southern Judah.

7. Wilderness Narratives of Exodus 16—40

When we turn to the wilderness narratives of Exodus 16—40 and Numbers 11—25, we find a body of literature known for depicting Israel's rebellion against both YHWH and Moses. For our purposes, we must note that the wilderness narratives are also the narratives by which the Levites are selected to serve YHWH as priests. Again, we may observe Wellhausen's difficulties in separating J and E, made all the more difficult by the fact that the designation of YHWH is no longer an issue. But we may also observe that a basically northern narrative has been edited by a J redaction. Two key narrative blocks stand out in our analysis, the golden calf episode in Exodus 32—34 and the Korach revolt in Numbers 16—17.

For the most part, the pre-P wilderness narrative in Exodus take up basic issues, the lack of food and water, the need for defense against Amalekites, etc., that are just as easily J or E. Although the Sinai narrative is clearly the product of J and P, the Covenant Code in Exodus 20—24 very clearly derives from a northern context. But the account of the golden calves is noteworthy for our purposes because its portrayal of Israel's sins employs the motifs of Jeroboam ben Nebat's alleged worship of the golden calves and the Levites appear as a major factor in the purge of idolatry from among the people of Israel.

We may note that the establishment of the golden calves at Beth El and Dan is the centerpiece of Jeroboam's alleged crimes of idolatry in 1 Kings 12:25-33. Indeed, Aaron's statement to the people upon completing the calf in Exodus 32:8, "these are your gods, O Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt," is nearly identical to Jeroboam's statement in 1 Kings 12:28, "behold your gods, O Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt." When Moses asks, "who is for YHWH?" in Exodus 32:26, the Levites respond and they go through the camp killing those who engaged in idolatrous worship.

Most scholars follow Wellhausen in recognizing Exodus 32—34 as a largely J narrative, but the date of the narrative cannot be the early David period. My own earlier work on this narrative points to its dependence on 1 Kings 12:25-33 and other texts that play such important roles in the Josianic DtrH, including the account of YHWH's revelation to Elijah on Mt. Horeb in 1 Kings 19; the prohibition against marrying Canaanites in Deuteronomy 7, as well as the Covenant Code in Exodus 20—24.[22] In short, Exodus 32—34 is a J narrative, written on the basis of Dtr and DtrH texts as well as others, that employs images of northern Israelite idolatry attributed to Jeroboam as a means to charge the wilderness Israelites with apostasy. Insofar as the Levites respond to Moses' call to purge the idolaters from Israel, Exodus 32—34 builds the case for the emergence of the Levites as the priestly tribe in Israel that will replace the former northern practice of designating the first-born sons as priests.

The selection of the Levites as the priestly tribe of Israel is one of the key themes of the book of Numbers, particularly Numbers 11—25, which focuses on Israel's rebellion against

22) Marvin A. Sweeney, "The Wilderness Traditions of the Pentateuch: A Reassessment of their Function and Intent in Relation to Exodus 32-34," *Society of Biblical Literature 1989 Seminar Papers,* ed., D. J. Lull (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 291-299.

Moses and YHWH. Indeed, Numbers 17:20 maintains that the selection of Aaron and the Levites as priests is a means to alleviate the murmurings of the people. But we must recognize that the present form of Numbers 16—18, which portrays Korach's rebellion against Moses and the selection of Aaron as the priest, is a priestly text. Nevertheless, interpreters note that there is an extensive J layer within this text that P has redacted, specifically, the rebellion against Moses which also includes a rebellion by the Reubenites, Dathan, Abiram, and On, and their two hundred and fifty followers. Apparently, the narrative focused originally on the Reubenites in the J layer in Numbers 16:1b, 12-15, 25-26, and 27b-34 and the P layer revised the narrative to portray Korach, a key figure in the tribe of Levi, as the leader of the revolt. Most interpreters view the material concerned with the selection of Aaron as the product of the P stratum as well.

But there are several considerations that might revise this view. First, the so-called J layer focuses on Reubenites who would rebel against Moses, but tribe of Reuben—and likewise, the other Tran-Jordanian tribes of Gad and Manasseh—were never directly ruled as a discrete unit by Judah but were always a part of northern Israel even when northern Israel as a whole was ruled by Judah. Even when David fled to the Trans-Jordan during Absalam's revolt in 2 Samuel 15—19, he fled to a part of his kingdom that was aligned with Israel, not with Judah. That would suggest that our underlying J narrative is actually an underlying E narrative. Second, although the narratives concerning the selection of Aaron and Levites in Numbers 17—18 are ascribed to P, one portion of the narrative, Numbers 17:16-27 in which Aaron's rod sprouts to designate him and his tribe as the priesthood of Israel, stands out. The notion of a sprouting rod associated with the Levites is already well-known long before P's time, viz., it provides the imagery for Jeremiah's first vision in Jer 1:11-12. Although this vision functions as part of the

means by which Jeremiah is commissioned to speak as a prophet for YHWH, we must recognize that he is also a priest of the line of Itamar the son of Aaron. Noth had already observed affinities between Numbers 17:16-27 and the so-called J material concerning the Reubenite revolt in Numbers 16.[23] It then becomes possible that Numbers 17:16-27 is a reworked version of a J narrative in which Aaron and the Levites were chosen to serve as priests of YHWH and thereby alleviate the murmuring that constantly plagued Moses and YHWH throughout the Numbers narrative.

Finally, we may note the Balaam narrative in Numbers 22—24, arguably an important text in which the wilderness wandering reach their culmination. Balaam, a renowned Aramean seer is hired by Balak, King of Moab, to curse Israel. But Balaam can only speak what YHWH commands him and he ends up blessing Israel repeatedly before their entry into the promised land of Israel. Scholars have long recognized Numbers 22—24 as a composite J and E text, but now that J is viewed as later, Numbers 22—24 is a J redaction of an underlying E text. This makes perfect sense since the eighth-century Deir Alla inscription presents a vision of Balaam that celebrates the Aramean conquest of the Trans-Jordan from Israel in the ninth-eighth century B.C.E.[24] The account of Balaam's prophecy in Numbers 22—24 appears to be a response to that inscription that celebrates and affirms the land of Israel—including the Trans-Jordan—as Israelite territory.[25] Indeed, such a text would support Josiah's own

23) Martin Noth, *Numbers: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968) 130-131.

24) Meindert Dijkstra, "Is Balaam also among the Prophets?" *JBL* 114 (1995), 43-64.

25) Marvin A. Sweeney, "Balaam in Intertextual Perspective," *Tell it in Gath: Studies in the History and Archaeology of Israel. Essays in Honor of Aren M. Maeir on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, edited by I. Shai et al, Ägypten und Altes Testament 90 (Münster: Zaphon, 2018), 534-547.

ambitions to regain control of former Israelite territory, including the Trans-Jordan.

8. Conclusion

In conclusion then, we must ask what we have achieved in this reading of Pentateuchal literature and what it means for understanding seventh century Judean historiography. Fundamentally, it points to a seventh century redaction of an underlying northern Israelite narrative in the Pentateuch—or more properly, the Tetrateuch in Genesis—Numbers. Such a phenomenon should come as no surprise. After all, modern study of the Former Prophets points to a seventh century edition of the DtrH that would support the aims King Josiah's program of religious reform and national restoration in the late-seventh century B.C.E., but the reconstruction of a Josianic DtrH leaves open the question as to what literature accounts for the period prior to that of Moses's last speeches in Deuteronomy and Joshua's conquest of the land at the outset of the DtrH proper. A seventh century edition of the Tetrateuch accounts for that lacuna. It points to Abraham, identified especially with Judah, as the founding patriarch of Israel; it points to Isaac, also identified with Judah, as the true link in the patriarchal chain; it points to Jacob, associated with the northern kingdom of Israel, as the conflicted and problematic patriarch who is in constant conflict with his neighbors and who ultimately goes into exile twice as a result of his conflicts; it points to Joseph, again associated with the northern kingdom as the emerging leader of the tribes who remains problematic because of his assimilation into Egyptian culture; it points to the Exodus from Egypt as the national epic of independence that also legitimizes the selection of the first-born sons as the basis for the northern

Israelite priesthood; and it points to the wilderness period as a time of rebellion against Moses and YHWH following the pattern of alleged northern Israelite apostasy in the form of the golden calf that is finally resolved by the selection of Aaron and the Levites as the proper priesthood of YHWH. Such an account would legitimize Josiah's reforms by pointing to Judah as the foundation of all Israel and its covenant with YHWH and the Levites, ultimately centered at the Jerusalem Temple in Josiah's time, as the true priesthood to mediate that covenant for all Israel.[26)]

<주제어>

역사편찬 기술(記述), 신명기적 사학파(DtrH), '요시아 시대'의 편집, 개혁 프로그램, J층(stratum), 오경의 발전

<Key Words>

historiography, Deuteronomistic History, "Josianic" edition, Reform program, J stratum, development of the Pentateuch

* Received January 25, 2019, Revised March 26, 2019, Accepted March 30, 2019

26) An earlier version of this paper was presented at a conference on Seventh Century Historiography, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, August 31, 2012. My thanks go to Prof. Richard Bushman, formerly at Claremont Graduate University, for making my participation in this conference possible.

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<초록>

주전 7세기 유다 왕국의 역사편찬 기술(記述)

-오경을 중심으로-

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주전 7세기 유다 왕국의 역사편찬 기술(記述)에 관한 토론은 주로 소위 신명기적 사학파의 역사에 초점을 두고 이루어져 왔다. 신명기사학파의 역사 기술은 우리에게 여호수아서, 사사기, 사무엘서, 열왕기를 포함한 히브리성경의 전선지서로서 더 잘 알려져 있다. 전선지자들 혹은 신명기적 사학파(DtrH)는 여호수아의 지도력으로 가나안 땅을 정복한 역사로부터 주전 6세기의 예루살렘과 성전 파괴와 바빌론 포로기까지의 이스라엘 역사를 기술하고 있다. 프랭크 크로스(Frank Moore Cross, Jr.)가 중심이 되어 이끌어온 미국의 성서학계는 신명기적 사학파의 역사가 주전 7세기초 '요시아 시대'의 편집이라는 입장을 일반적으로 견지하고 있다. 즉, 요시아 왕의 통치가 현재 전선지서의 형태의 기저를 이루고 있다는 결론이다. 그들이 제안하고 있는 신명기적 사학파의 역사의 요시아 판은 예루살렘 성전을 정화하고 유다와 이전 북이스라엘 왕국을 독립된 다윗 왕국의 통치를 재건하려는 요시아 왕(주전 640-60년9)의 개혁 프로그램을 지지하기 위하여 만들어졌다는 것이다.

비록 신명기적 사학파의 역사에 대한 논쟁은 계속되겠지만, 나는 이 글에서 이 문제를 집중적으로 다룰 생각은 없으며, 다만 이와 연관된 쟁점으로서 주전 7세기 유다의 역사편찬에서 오경의 역할에 관해 말하고자 한다. 신명기는 신명기적 사학파의 모든 모델들에 대한 기초가 된다는 것이 옳다는 견해가 오랫동안 견지되어 왔다. 그러나 오경비평에서 일어난 변화로서, 특히 오경의

J층(stratum)의 연대가 후기-왕조시대(late-monarchic)의 것이거나 혹은 포로기 초기까지일 수 있다는 점은 오경과 신명기적 역사 사이의 관계에 대한 근본적인 질문을 제기하게 된다.

나는 이 글에서 오경의 발전에 집중하고자 한다. 나는 북이스라엘 왕국에서 나온 것으로 보이는 내러티브들로서, 야곱 내러티브(창 25-35장), 요셉 내러티브(창 37-50장), 출애굽 내러티브(출 1-15장)를 먼저 다룰 것이다. 그리고나서 오경의 J층에 의하여 형성된 것으로 보이는 내러티브들을 다룰 것이며, 이어서 전체 내러티브를 괄호로 묶어주며(bracket) 현장화시킨(contextualize) 아브라함과 사라의 내러티브(창 11-25장)와 광야 방황의 내러티브 요소들(출 17-40장; 민 11-25장)을 포함한 초기 북이스라엘의 내러티브들을 다루고자 한다. 전체적으로 나는 창세기, 출애굽기. 민수기 안에 오경의 주전 7세기판이 있었으며, 그것은 신명기, 여호수아서, 사사기, 사무엘서, 열왕기서에 있는 소위 신명기사학파 역사의 요시아판에 전주곡(prelude)이 되었음을 논증하고자 한다.

<Abstract>

Seventh Century Judean Historiography: The Pentateuch

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Discussion of seventh century historiography normally focuses on the so-called Deuteronomistic History, better known as the Former Prophets of the Hebrew Bible, including the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings. The Former Prophets or DtrH presents an account of Israel's history from the conquest under Joshua through the sixth century B.C.E. destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple and the Babylonian Exile. American biblical scholarship, led by Frank Moore Cross, Jr., generally argues that an earlier seventh century "Josianic" edition of the Deuteronomistic History that concluded with Josiah's reign underlies the current form of the Former Prophets. The proposed Josianic edition of the DtrH was designed to support the reform program of King Josiah of Judah (r. 640-609 B.C.E.) to purify the Jerusalem Temple and to reestablish independent Davidic rule over both Judah and the former northern kingdom of Israel.

Although debate continues on the DtrH, I do not plan to focus on this issue in this paper. Instead, I wish to address a related issue, the role of the Pentateuch in seventh century Judean historiography. Deuteronomy has long been viewed correctly as the foundation for all models of the DtrH, but changes in Pentateuchal criticism, particularly the dating of the J stratum of the Pentateuch to the late-monarchic or even to

the early exilic period, raises fundamental questions concerning the relationship between the Pentateuch and the DtrH.

I will focus on the development of the Pentateuch. My discussion will first treat narratives that appear to derive from the northern kingdom of Israel, i.e., the Jacob narratives in Genesis 25—35, the Joseph narratives in Genesis 37—50, and the Exodus narratives in Exodus 1-15. I will then turn to narratives that appear to be shaped by the J stratum of the Pentateuch and that in turn bracket and contextualize the earlier northern narratives, including the Abraham-Sarah narratives in Genesis 11—25 and elements of the Wilderness narratives in Exodus 17—40 and Numbers 11—25. Overall, I will argue for a seventh century edition of the Pentateuch in Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers, that was designed to serve as the prelude to the so-called Josianic edition of the Deuteronomistic History in Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings.