Restoration and the Refiguring of Israel's Identity:

Reading Allusion to Deuteronomy 30.1-10 in Second Temple Narratives

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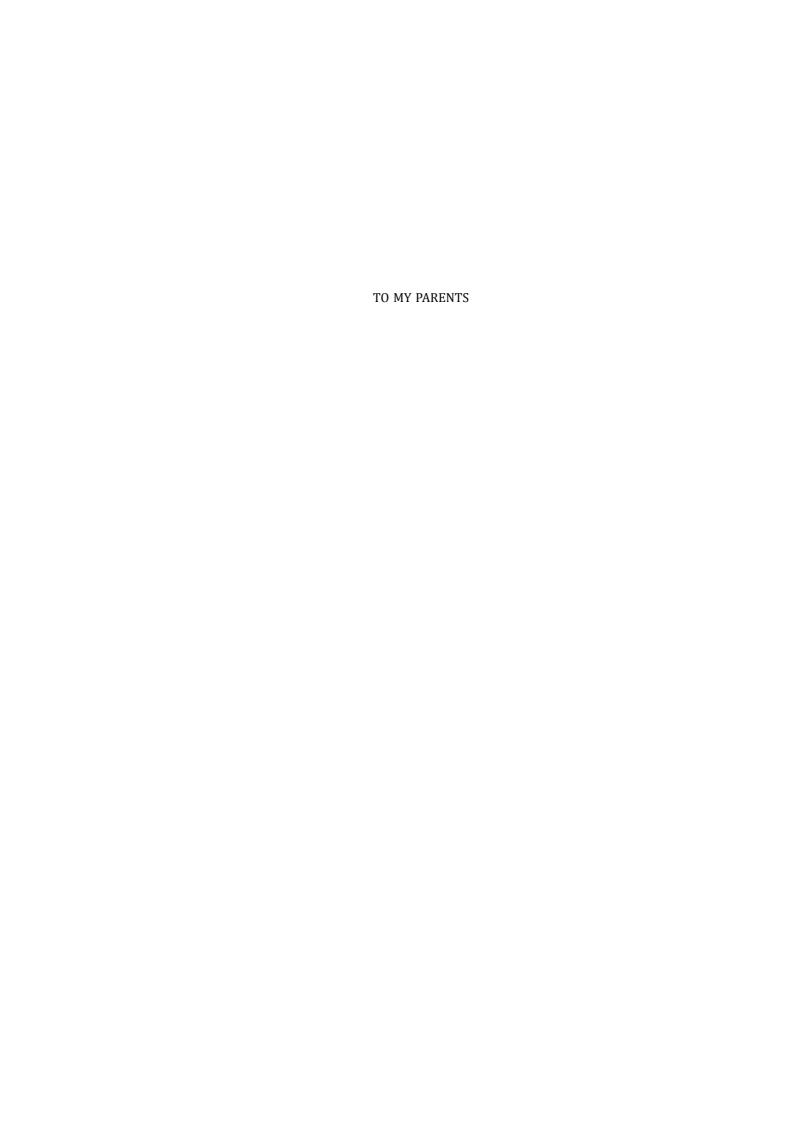
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TO MY PARENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

RESTORATION AND THE REFIGURING OF ISRAEL'S IDENTITY

Toward the end of book of Deuteronomy, in chapter 30 verses 1-10, Moses tells the Israelites assembled on the plains of Moab near the border of Canaan what will befall their descendants in the generations to come. He discloses that, after the Israelites endure a period of punitive exile from the land of Canaan, YHWH, their patron deity, will restore them to the ancestral homeland and prosper them there as of old. This reversal in the nation's fortune will occur, according to Moses, when the Israelite exiles turn back to their god in a foreign land and renew allegiance to YHWH alone. Although literarily the text addresses the descendants of the exodus generation, historically Deut 30.1-10 was probably composed shortly after groups of Judean exiles in Babylon began to return to the homeland in the late sixth century BCE.[1]

Several narrative works composed in the years following the nation's historical defeat, exile, and subsequent resettlement of the homeland allude to Deut 30.1-10 and to Moses' vision for a restored Israel. The alluding narratives include the books of Nehemiah, Ruth, and Tobit, as well as the Gospel of Mark. Each of these works bears discernible traces of Deut 30.1-10, both verbal and thematic. My project explores how reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in each of the four later works contributes to the literary figuration of a restored Israel.[2]

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1.   See the next chapter for a fuller discussion of the text's historical origins and possible meanings.
2.   Because my study addresses literary figurations of Israel's identity, throughout I use the terms "restored Israel" and "restoration." I recognize that these terms represent an ideological

What does the profile of this Israel look like? Who belongs and on what terms? When, where, and by what means does the nation's restoration occur? By addressing these questions I hope to underscore how reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in the four later narratives illumines various possible and indeed competing literary models for refiguring Israel's identity in the wake of foreign conquest and under the shadow of an exile literarily imagined as unresolved and ongoing.

To undertake this study I develop an intertextual and reader-oriented approach to biblical allusion. This approach allows for exploring the interpretive possibilities reading allusion offers irrespective of authorial intention. Rather than take up questions such as, "is there sufficient evidence to indicate that an author intended to signal an allusion to Deut 30.1-10" or, "how did the author intend for his/her original readers to construe the text's meaning in light of the allusion," my study considers questions such as, "what elements in the text, whether intentional or accidental, allow for reading an allusion to Deut 30.1-10" and, "how does the allusion, once activated, affect the perception of meaning in the alluding text." My interests, then, are less with demonstrating that an allusion is actually and intentionally present in the text or that an original audience would have interpreted an allusion in a particular way and more with

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claim to continuity with pre-exilic Israel and concur with Tamara Cohn Eskenazi, "From Exile and Restoration to Exile and Reconstruction," in *Exile and Restoration Revisited: Essays on the Babylonian and Persian Periods in Memory of Peter R. Ackroyd* (LSTS 73; eds. Gary N. Knoppers, Lester L. Grabbe, and Deirdre N. Fulton; London: T&T Clark, 2009), 78-93, here 83 note 16, that historically "the postexilic period [was not] a time of restoration but rather one of radical reconstruction, under the rubric of restoration." For a brief discussion of the ideological implications of the term "exile," see Thomas Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction* (London: T&T Clark: 2005; repr., 2009), 109-110.

exploring how reading certain textual elements as an allusion to Deut 30.1-10 repositions meaning in both the alluding and the evoked texts.

Although I am reticent to ascribe the presence or meaning of an allusion to an author's intention for reasons I discuss further below, I do not entirely eschew historical concerns. In choosing which alluding narratives to consider, I have selected works that were likely composed after Deut 30.1-10 during the period from the Persian conquest of Babylon in 539 BCE to the Roman destruction of the Jerusalem temple in 70 CE. This choice focuses my study on narrative works composed during the earliest formative period for ancient Judaism and early Christianity. It also preserves the diachronic relationship between an earlier evoked text and a later alluding text that has conventionally characterized studies of literary allusion. In addition, I have limited the scope of my inquiry to narratives widely accepted as authoritative and "canonical" within the collections of scripture developing in ancient Judaism and early Christianity. As such, my study limits the intertextual field to narratives included in the Hebrew and Greek Jewish Bibles and in the early Christian Bible. Further, I have chosen to read the alluding narratives as much as possible within their historical and cultural contexts as informed by scholarly accounts of their origins. Following Carol Newsom, though, I treat such accounts less as normative "historical reconstructions" and more as "heuristic fictions,"[3] themselves intertexts, that suggest and invite (even as they limit and foreclose) certain ways of construing allusive meaning. In what follows I introduce Deut 30.1-10 and elaborate further

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3.   See Carol A. Newsom, *The Book of Job: A Contest of Moral Imaginations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 16.

the questions my study addresses, the primary claim it advances, and the approach to reading biblical allusion it adopts.

Reading Restored Israel

According to biblical sources, in the late eighth and early sixth centuries BCE a series of catastrophic defeats brought about the dissolution of the northern kingdom of Israel and its southern counterpart in Judah.[4] In 722 BCE the Neo-Assyrians conquered the northern Israelite capital of Samaria and dispersed most of the survivors throughout their empire. In 597 BCE the Neo-Babylonians besieged Jerusalem, the capital of the kingdom of Judah, and took many of the city's elite into exile in Babylon. Ten years later, in 587 BCE, the invaders returned. This time they destroyed Jerusalem, burned the temple of YHWH to the ground, and deported still more of the city's populace to Babylon. Through these events the kingdoms of Israel and Judah suffered the loss of capital cities, major cultic sites, ruling monarchies, and, through deportation, ancestral lands. Compounding these ruinations were the theological implications of national defeat and exile. Had the deities of the foreign conquerers vanquished YHWH, the god of Israel and Judah? Or, perhaps even more troubling, was the fall of the two kingdoms emblematic of divine indifference or abandonment?

To address these and other questions, Judeans in Babylon and in the homeland set about the task of compiling, redacting, and augmenting the stories and traditions of their remembered past. They also composed new texts that

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4. For a historical account of the period see Rainer Albertz, *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E.* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003).

projected a future for the nation on the other side of defeat.[5] Some of these texts

claimed that Yʜᴡʜ would eventually reverse the nation's exile and usher in an era

of renewed prosperity, peace, and political sovereignty in the homeland. In such

texts the contours of a new national identity begin to take shape. The new texts

literarily refigure the Israel of the past, whose story had ended in defeat and

exile, into a restored Israel of the future. As Hebrew Bible scholar Mark A. Smith

explains, by means of "reading, writing, and interpretation," those who endured

the devastations endeavored to cope with their losses by "re-creating Israel's

identity" in literature.[6] To lend authority to promises of national restoration,

these new texts were often incorporated into older works and attributed to a

prophetic figure in the nation's past, whether Moses, Jeremiah, or Isaiah, who

spoke on Yʜᴡʜ's behalf.[7]

One of these new texts was Deut 30.1-10. There, Moses discloses that,

subsequent to a period of punitive exile, Yʜᴡʜ will restore the banished nation to

its former homeland and prosper it there again under the aegis of divine

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[5].   For the classic treatment of Israel's variegated literary response to the experience of exile in the sixth century ʙᴄᴇ see Peter R. Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration: A Study of Hebrew Thought of the Sixth Century B.C.* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox, 1968). For more recent studies see David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) and Konrad Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story: Israel's Dual Origins in the Hebrew Bible* (Siphrut 3; trans. James D. Nogalski of *Habilitationsschrift, Erzväter und Exodus: Untersuchungen zur doppelten Begründung der Ursprünge Israels innerhalb der Geschichtsbücher des Alten Testaments* [WMANT 81; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1999]; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2010).

[6].   Mark S. Smith, *The Memoirs of God: History, Memory, and the Experience of the Divine in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004), 85. For a sociological explication of the development of "crisis literature" that draws on the theory of A. Steil, see Thomas Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction* (London: T&T Clark: 2005; repr., 2009), 111-115.

[7].   For a discussion of the phenomenon of "Mosaic Discourse" in Second Temple literature as a means of authorizing new interpretations by relating them to the founding figure of Moses, see Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003).

compassion. Below are two annotated English translations of Deut 30.1-10 I have rendered, one from the Hebrew Masoretic Text (MT) and the other from the Greek Septuagint (LXX). I have included both versions because allusions to each are discernible in subsequent biblical literature. I have marked the most significant differences between the two (in vv. 3 and 6) with boldface type.

1. DEUT 30.1-10: HEBREW TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Hebrew MT[8]		English Translation
וְהָיָה֩ כִֽי־יָבֹ֨אוּ עָלֶ֜יךָ כָּל־הַדְּבָרִ֣ים הָאֵ֗לֶּה הַבְּרָכָה֙ וְהַקְּלָלָ֔ה אֲשֶׁ֥ר נָתַ֖תִּי לְפָנֶ֑יךָ וַהֲשֵׁבֹתָ֙ אֶל־לְבָבֶ֔ךָ בְּכָל־הַגּוֹיִ֔ם אֲשֶׁ֧ר הִדִּיחֲךָ֛ יְהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהֶ֖יךָ שָֽׁמָּה׃	1	When all these things have come upon you, the blessing and the curse that I have set before you, and[9] you come to your senses [Heb *bring back to your heart*][10] in all the nations where YHWH your God[11] has cast you out,
וְשַׁבְתָּ֞ עַד־יְהוָ֤ה אֱלֹהֶ֙יךָ֙ וְשָׁמַעְתָּ֣ בְקֹל֔וֹ כְּכֹ֛ל אֲשֶׁר־אָנֹכִ֥י מְצַוְּךָ֖ הַיּ֑וֹם אַתָּ֣ה וּבָנֶ֔יךָ בְּכָל־לְבָבְךָ֖ וּבְכָל־נַפְשֶֽׁךָ׃	2	and you return to YHWH your God, and you heed his voice in accord with all that I am commanding you today, you and your children,[12] with all your heart and with all your person,

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8. Throughout, quotations of the Hebrew Bible are from *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia: With Werkgroep Informatica, Vrije Universiteit Morphology; Bible. O.T. Hebrew (Werkgroep Informatica, Vrije Universiteit:* 2006), Logos Bible Software.

9. At this point many English translations, the NRSV included, embed a conditional clause within the larger temporal clause that begins the verse: "if you call them to mind among all the nations..." No explicit marker of conditionality appears beyond the prefixed וְ in וַהֲשֵׁבֹתָ֙ (which itself is syntactically ambiguous). The NJPS, which does not add the conditional clause to v. 1, more closely reflects the Hebrew by rendering vv. 1-3 as a temporal clause. My translation of vv. 1-3 aligns with the NJPS on this point.

10. I have opted for the more vivid translation, "come to your senses" (see NRSV 1 Kings 8.47, where the same idiom occurs); the rendering "take to heart" also nicely expresses the Hebrew with an English idiom. The NRSV provides an equally viable alternative: "call them to mind."

11. Richard D. Nelson, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 345, notes that the LXX omits the word "your God" from vv. 1, 3, and 6. He regards the Greek text as attesting the more authentic wording.

12. Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 345, observes that the LXX lacks the phrase "you and your children."

וְשָׁ֨ב יְהוָ֧ה אֱלֹהֶ֛יךָ אֶת־שְׁבוּתְךָ֖
וְרִחֲמֶ֑ךָ וְשָׁ֗ב וְקִבֶּצְךָ֙ מִכָּל־הָ֣עַמִּ֔ים אֲשֶׁ֧ר
הֱפִֽיצְךָ֛ יְהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהֶ֖יךָ שָֽׁמָּה׃

3 then Yнwн your God will reverse your fortune [Heb *turn back your turning*][13] and have compassion on you; he will gather you again [Heb *turn and gather you*][14] from all the peoples among whom Yнwн your God scattered you.

אִם־יִהְיֶ֥ה נִֽדַּחֲךָ֖ בִּקְצֵ֣ה הַשָּׁמָ֑יִם
מִשָּׁ֗ם יְקַבֶּצְךָ֙ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֔יךָ וּמִשָּׁ֖ם יִקָּחֶֽךָ׃

4 If your outcasts are at the end of the sky, from there Yнwн your God will gather you, and from there he will fetch you.

וֶהֱבִֽיאֲךָ֞ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֗יךָ אֶל־הָאָ֛רֶץ
אֲשֶׁר־יָרְשׁ֥וּ אֲבֹתֶ֖יךָ וִֽירִשְׁתָּ֑הּ וְהֵיטִֽבְךָ֥
וְהִרְבְּךָ֖ מֵאֲבֹתֶֽיךָ׃

5 And Yнwн your God will bring you into the land that your ancestors possessed, and you will inherit it; and he will do good to you and multiply you more than your ancestors.

וּמָ֨ל יְהוָ֧ה אֱלֹהֶ֛יךָ אֶת־לְבָבְךָ֖
וְאֶת־לְבַ֣ב זַרְעֶ֑ךָ לְאַהֲבָ֞ה אֶת־יְהוָ֣ה
אֱלֹהֶ֗יךָ בְּכָל־לְבָבְךָ֛ וּבְכָל־נַפְשְׁךָ֖ לְמַ֥עַן
חַיֶּֽיךָ׃

6 And Yнwн your God will circumcise your heart and the heart of your offspring to love Yнwн your God with all your heart and with all your person for the sake of your life.

וְנָתַן֙ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֔יךָ אֵ֚ת
כָּל־הָאָל֣וֹת הָאֵ֔לֶּה עַל־אֹיְבֶ֖יךָ
וְעַל־שֹׂנְאֶ֑יךָ אֲשֶׁ֖ר רְדָפֽוּךָ׃

7 And Yнwн your God will place all[15] these curses upon your enemies and upon your foes who persecuted you.

וְאַתָּ֣ה תָשׁ֔וּב וְשָׁמַעְתָּ֖ בְּק֣וֹל יְהוָ֑ה
וְעָשִׂ֙יתָ֙ אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֺתָ֔יו אֲשֶׁ֛ר אָנֹכִ֥י מְצַוְּךָ֖
הַיּֽוֹם׃

8 But as for you, you shall again heed [Heb *turn and heed*] Yнwн's voice; and you will do all his commandments that I am commanding you today.

וְהוֹתִֽירְךָ֩ יְהוָ֨ה אֱלֹהֶ֜יךָ בְּכֹ֣ל ׀
מַעֲשֵׂ֣ה יָדֶ֗ךָ בִּפְרִ֨י בִטְנְךָ֜ וּבִפְרִ֧י בְהֶמְתְּךָ֛
וּבִפְרִ֥י אַדְמָתְךָ֖ לְטֹבָ֑ה כִּ֣י ׀ יָשׁ֣וּב יְהוָ֗ה
לָשׂ֤וּשׂ עָלֶ֙יךָ֙ לְט֔וֹב כַּאֲשֶׁר־שָׂ֖שׂ
עַל־אֲבֹתֶֽיךָ׃

9 And Yнwн your God will make you prosper in every work of your hand: in the fruit of your womb, and in the fruit of your cattle, and in the fruit of your ground for good;[16] for Yнwн will rejoice over you again [Heb *turn and rejoice over you*] for good, just as he rejoiced over your ancestors.

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13.   For a discussion of the Hebrew idiom see John M. Bracke, "*šûb šebût*: A Reappraisal," *ZAW* 97 (1985): 233-44; see also more recently Martien A. Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile: The Metaphorization of Exile in the Hebrew Bible* (VTSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 91-93.

14.   The Hebrew idiom means "to do again." It appears three times in Deut 30.1-10, in vv. 3, 8, and 9.

15.   Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 345, notes that the word "all" does not appear in the LXX here and in v. 8 ("all his commandments").

16.   Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 345, observes that Sam, LXX, and 4QDeut^b do not follow the order "womb, cattle, ground" found in the MT but instead have the order "womb, ground, cattle" that appears in Deut 28.4, 18. He also notes that the LXX lacks the first occurrence of "for good."

כִּי תִשְׁמַע בְּקוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ 10
לִשְׁמֹר מִצְוֺתָיו וְחֻקֹּתָיו הַכְּתוּבָה בְּסֵפֶר
הַתּוֹרָה הַזֶּה כִּי תָשׁוּב אֶל־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ
בְּכָל־לְבָבְךָ וּבְכָל־נַפְשֶׁךָ׃ פ

10 For you will heed the voice of Yʜwʜ your God by keeping his commandments and his decrees written[17] in this book of instruction[18] when you return to Yʜwʜ your God with all your heart and with all your person.[19]

2. Dᴇᴜᴛ 30.1-10: Gʀᴇᴇᴋ Tᴇxᴛ ᴀɴᴅ Tʀᴀɴsʟᴀᴛɪᴏɴ

Greek LXX[20]

Καὶ ἔσται ὡς ἂν ἔλθωσιν ἐπὶ σὲ πάντα τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα, ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ κατάρα, ἣν ἔδωκα πρὸ προσώπου σου, καὶ δέξῃ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν σου ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, οὗ ἄν σε διασκορπίσῃ κύριος ἐκεῖ,

καὶ ἐπιστραφήσῃ ἐπὶ κύριον τὸν θεόν σου καὶ ὑπακούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ κατὰ πάντα, ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαί σοι σήμερον, ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου,

English Translation

1 And it shall be, when all these words come upon you,[21] the blessing and the curse that I put before you, and[22] you receive [them] into your heart among all the nations where the Lord may scatter you there,

2 and you return to the Lord your God and obey his voice concerning all that I command you today, from the whole of your heart and from the whole of your soul,

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17. In the MT the feminine singular participle, "written," corresponds to two masculine nouns, "commandments" and "decrees." Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 346, explains that Sam also preserves this reading, but Tg, Syr, and 4QDeutᵇ have made the participle plural.

18. Most English translations render הַתּוֹרָה as "law." I have opted for the more literal "instruction" in part so that the word does not bear the theological and canonical freight of early Christian discourse concerning the Mosaic Law.

19. It is possible to construe the two כִּי clauses differently, either as temporal ("when"), causal ("because"), conditional ("if"), or asseverative ("you will indeed"), or as some combination. See the survey of options discussed in Marc Zvi Brettler, "Predestination in Deuteronomy 30.1-10" in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism* (eds. Linda S. Schearing & Steven L. McKenzie; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 171-88, here 177-78. I have chosen to render the verse as a temporal construction in part to echo the temporal כִּי clause in v. 1-3, which, taken together with the כִּי clauses v. 10, rhetorically frames the text.

20. For the Greek text I have used John William Wevers, *Deuteronomium* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum 3/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977).

21. The plural verb ἔλθωσιν is irregular with the neuter plural subject πάντα τὰ ῥήματα. John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1995), 478, suggests that the plural verb may correspond to the phrase ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ κατάρα, which glosses "all these words."

22. Although Wevers, *Notes*, 478, construes the syntax as conditional, I have followed the NETS in rendering a temporal clause. With Wevers, 478, though, I construe the dependent clause as continuing into v. 2. The NETS begins the main clause with the καὶ in v. 1b.

καὶ ἰάσεται κύριος τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου καὶ ἐλεήσει σε καὶ πάλιν συνάξει σε ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν, εἰς οὓς διεσκόρπισέν σε κύριος ἐκεῖ.

3 that the Lord will heal your sins[23] and show mercy to you and gather you again from all the nations into which the Lord scattered you.

ἐὰν ᾖ ἡ διασπορά σου ἀπ' ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἕως ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐκεῖθεν συνάξει σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν λήμψεταί σε·

4 If your dispersion is from one end of the sky to the other end of the sky,[24] from there the Lord your God will gather you, and from there he will take you;

καὶ εἰσάξει σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν ἐκληρονόμησαν οἱ πατέρες σου, καὶ κληρονομήσεις αὐτήν· καὶ εὖ σε ποιήσει καὶ πλεοναστόν σε ποιήσει ὑπὲρ τοὺς πατέρας σου.

5 and the Lord your God will bring you into the land that your ancestors inherited, and you will inherit it; and he will do good to you and make you numerous beyond your ancestors.

καὶ περικαθαριεῖ κύριος τὴν καρδίαν σου καὶ τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ σπέρματός σου ἀγαπᾶν κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου, ἵνα ζῇς σύ.

6 And the Lord will cleanse your heart[25] and the heart of your progeny to love the Lord your God from the whole of your heart and from the whole of your soul so that you may live.

καὶ δώσει κύριος ὁ θεός σου τὰς ἀρὰς ταύτας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς μισοῦντάς σε, οἳ ἐδίωξάν σε.

7 And the Lord your God will put these curses on your enemies and on those who hate you, who pursued you.

καὶ σὺ ἐπιστραφήσῃ καὶ εἰσακούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου καὶ ποιήσεις τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, ὅσας ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαί σοι σήμερον,

8 And as for you, you shall turn yourself about [26]and obey the voice of the Lord your God and do his commandments, as many as I command you today.

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23.   The LXX has modified the Hebrew idiom, "reverse your fortune." Wevers, *Notes*, 479, observes that the change aligns with similar diction in the Palestinian Targums. According to Wevers, the change expressed the idea that the harm done by Israel's disobedience will be undone; they will return to their former healthy state" (479).

24.   The LXX expands the Hebrew to include both ends of the horizon.

25.   The LXX has modified the image of a circumcised heart in the Hebrew. Wevers, *Notes*, 480, thinks the choice of a περι- compound verb appropriate as the LXX typically renders מול (circumcise) with περιτέμνω.

26.   The translation of the clause follows Wevers, *Notes*, 481, who points out that the Greek middle verb ἐπιστραφήσῃ more literally translates the Hebrew idiom, which means "to do again."

καὶ πολυωρήσει σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ τῶν χειρῶν σου, ἐν τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τῆς κοιλίας σου καὶ ἐν τοῖς γενήμασιν τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τῶν κτηνῶν σου· ὅτι ἐπιστρέψει κύριος ὁ θεός σου εὐφρανθῆναι ἐπὶ σὲ εἰς ἀγαθά, καθότι εὐφράνθη ἐπὶ τοῖς πατράσιν σου,

9 And the Lord your God will treat you with much care[27] in every work of your hands: in the offspring of your womb, and in the produce of your land, and in the offspring of your livestock; for the Lord your God will turn to rejoice over you for good,[28] just as he rejoiced over your ancestors,

ἐὰν εἰσακούσῃς τῆς φωνῆς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου φυλάσσεσθαι τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς κρίσεις αὐτοῦ τὰς γεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τούτου, ἐὰν ἐπιστραφῇς ἐπὶ κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου.

10 if you obey the voice of the Lord your God to keep his commandments and his ordinances and his judgments[29] that have been written in the book of this law, if you turn yourself to the Lord your God[30] from the whole of your heart and from the whole of your soul.

Allusions to Deut 30.1-10 occur in several works written during the Second Temple period, that is, after groups of exiled Judeans had returned to Jerusalem and constructed a new second temple to Yнwн. The Second Temple period began in 539 BCE when the Persian king Cyrus conquered the Babylonian Empire and authorized exiled peoples to return to their native lands.[31] It ended in 70 CE, when Roman forces destroyed the second temple in Jerusalem while suppressing a major uprising in Judea. Richard Bauckham, a scholar of Second Temple Judaism and the New Testament, has catalogued a number of allusions to Deut 30.1-10 in Second Temple literature. These include the following texts:

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27.   The LXX verb πολυωρήσει ("will treat you with care") adapts the Hebrew, "will make you prosper," and drops the word לְטוֹבָה ("for good"). Wevers, *Notes*, 482, conjectures that the verb may "cover the entire idiom in the sense of being careful in treating you well."

28.   Wevers translates the phrase, "for good ends," *Notes*, 482.

29.   The LXX adds τὰς κρίσεις.

30.   The translation, " if you turn yourself to the Lord your God," follows Wevers, *Notes*, 483.

31.   Some scholars prefer to date the beginning of the period to 520 BCE, when work on the second temple began in earnest, or 515 BCE, when the new temple was dedicated; see, e.g. Albertz, *Israel in Exile*, 2.

Nehemiah 8.1-9; Tobit 13.5-6; 14.5; among the Dead Sea Scrolls: 4Q504 1-2 v 12-13; *Jubilees* 1.15; and Baruch 2.30, 33.[32] According to Bauckham, allusions to Deut 30.1-10 feature so prominently in Second Temple works because this text was thought to set out "the definitive sequence of events in Israel's restoration."[33] Although Bauckham may somewhat overstate the case, it is true that Deut 30.1-10 is unique when compared with other texts in the Pentateuch. Whereas Lev 26.40-45 and Deut 4.29-31 also address Israel's post-exilic fate, Deut 30.1-10 is the only Pentateuchal text in which Yhwh unambiguously promises to repatriate the exiles to their ancestral homeland. This in part is why Bauckham can claim that Deut 30.1-10 is "the foundational text for Israel's restoration from exile, establishing the sequence of Israel's 'turning' to Yhwh followed by Yhwh's 'turning' Israel's captivity and regathering the scattered people to the land."[34]

But why was Deut 30.1-10 still perceived as relevant for texts written long after its ostensible fulfillment in the late sixth century BCE, when groups of exiled Judeans in Babylon returned to the national homeland under Persian auspices? The ongoing evocation of Deut 30.1-10 in Second Temple literature suggests at least two possible answers. First, these allusions imply that the challenges posed to Israel's national identity remained unresolved in the centuries that followed Jerusalem's resettlement. With different groups of Israelites and Judeans now living both in the homeland and in diaspora, it became even more urgent to establish continuity with the past by laying claim to Israel's identity, traditions,

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32. Richard Bauckham, "The Restoration of Israel in Luke-Acts" in *Restoration: Old Testament, Jewish and Christian Perspectives* (ed. James M. Scott; JSJSup 72; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 435-87, here 444.
33. Bauckham, "Restoration of Israel," 440.
34. Bauckham, "Restoration of Israel," 447.

and ancestral land. Allusions to Deut 30.1-10 in Second Temple works could be construed as granting prestige to certain communities by imagining them as literarily embodying Moses' vision for a restored Israel.

Second, allusions to Deut 30.1-10 in Second Temple literature tacitly, if somewhat paradoxically, affirm that the nation's exile did not come to an end with the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple in the late sixth century BCE.[35] Instead, these texts imagine the conditions of exilic life as ongoing not only in diaspora but also in the homeland.[36] Israelites and Judeans remain under foreign rule, many still live outside the ancestral homeland, and nearly all do not enjoy the prosperity and peace literarily envisaged for a post-exilic restoration era. As I argue in the chapters that follow, for Second Temple works that imagine exile as ongoing, Moses' words in Deut 30.1-10 could be read as a prophetic script awaiting enactment.

Bauckham's own interest is in how Deut 30.1-10 features allusively in Luke-Acts alongside several other prophetic texts that depict Israel's restoration.

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35.   See the discussion and review of scholarship in Bauckham, "Restoration of Israel," 435-37. See also more recently Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 6-7, whose study addresses the early development of "the motif of a protracted and ongoing exile" in Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Zechariah. Halvorson-Taylor begins her study with the observation: "The Second Temple period, within its rich literary activity, witnessed the development of a motif that held that the Babylonian exile endured beyond the returns and the restoration of the late sixth century b.c.e." (1). She goes on to claim that, according to this motif, exile "was a condition that could not be resolved simply by returning to the land" (1).

36.   This is perhaps nowhere more striking than in the book of Ezra. On the one hand, Ezra 1.1-4 confidently asserts that the period of exile has come to a close with Cyrus' edict of repatriation. The book accomplishes this by alluding to a prophecy uttered by Jeremiah, who claimed that after seventy years YHWH would reverse Judah's exile (Jer 25.11-12; 29.10-14). According to the book of Ezra, Cyrus' edict of repatriation accomplishes "the word of YHWH by the mouth of Jeremiah" (Ezra 1.1, my translation). Later, however, Ezra concedes that, although YHWH has graciously permitted the exiles to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the temple, they remain enslaved to the Persian kings: "For we are slaves, yet in our slavery our god has not forsaken us" (Ezra 9.9, my translation). The book's ambivalence suggests that, despite the community's successes, the conditions of the exile persist nevertheless. See further the discussion in Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 4, 6-7.

He argues that Luke 1-2 sets out a program of restoration, drawn from allusions to texts like Deut 30.1-10, that stands in substantial continuity with widespread Jewish expectations broadly attested in Second Temple literature.[37] From there he claims that the ensuing narrative in Luke-Acts builds on the conventional "framework of hope" set out in chapters 1-2 in order to position the career of Jesus as "fulfil[ing] it only in unexpected ways."[38] For Baukham, "the hopes of [Luke] chapters 1-2, Israel's scriptural and traditional expectations of restoration," are "fulfilled" in the later chapters of Luke-Acts through "unexpected but divinely intended events," such as the messiah's execution as a criminal and exaltation to God's heavenly throne.[39] Bauckham's argument implies that the Jesus story refracted in Luke-Acts is unique when compared with Second Temple works that evoke a similar program of restoration drawn from allusions to paradigmatic texts like Deut 30.1-10. What sets Luke-Acts apart for Bauckham is the surprising, "unexpected," and unconventional ways the narrative proceeds to enact the prophetic script for national restoration allusively adumbrated in Luke 1-2.

But is the Gospel of Luke unique in promoting a program of restoration that draws allusively on Deut 30.1-10 yet in ways that turn out to be innovative and somewhat counterintuitive when read in light of the work as a whole? Four other narratives, each written during the Second Temple period, also bear

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37. Bauckham, "Restoration of Israel," 438, 464.
38. Bauckham, "Restoration of Israel," 438, see 467-487).
39. Bauckham "Restoration of Israel," 468; Bauckham explains that part of what is "unexpected" in the later chapters of Luke-Acts is the allusive incorporation of texts not traditionally construed as messianic to indicate how Jesus fulfills the conventional program of restoration set forth in Luke 1-2.

allusive traces of Deut 30.1-10: the books of Nehemiah, Ruth, and Tobit, and the Gospel of Mark. Each of these works explores the theme of national restoration, whether explicitly or implicitly. Nehemiah concerns the rebuilding of both the Jerusalem wall and the Judean community during the decades that follow Cyrus' conquest of Babylon. Ruth relates the plight of a Judean woman named Naomi who, after enduring a self-imposed "exile" to Moab, returns to Judah having suffered the loss of her husband, sons, and familial land. Tobit tells of an Israelite exile who construes his healing from blindness as a portent of the nation's future restoration from exile. The Gospel of Mark begins with an assertion that the era of national restoration anticipated in Isaiah 40 has begun in the careers of John the Baptizer and his successor, Jesus. How, then, does allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in these narratives contribute to the literary figuration of a restored Israel? When read allusively, do the stories told in these four works imagine a fulfillment of Deut 30.1-10 that conforms to or surprises the expectations generated by reading the allusion? A comparative analysis of the allusion's semantic effects in these works offers to resolve these questions and may shed broader light on the role that reading allusion plays in repositioning the perception of meaning.

In the chapters that follow I argue that varied and often competing literary figurations of a restored Israel emerge from reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in Nehemiah, Ruth, Tobit, and the Gospel of Mark. Whether intended or not, there are discernable traces of Deut 30.1-10 in each narrative that facilitate an allusive reading. Once activated, reading the allusion positions these works as

participants in a kind of experimental literary theatre;[40] each narrative renders a unique interpretive performance of the Deuteronomic script for Israel's restoration that, when compared to the evoked text, appears innovative and unconventional. Approached allusively, the four narratives seem to cast diverse and unlikely actors to play the role scripted in Deut 30 for restored Israel. These include: repatriated Judean exiles sequestered from the corrupting influence of foreigners (Nehemiah), a Moabite woman who serves as an emblem and agent of Judean restoration (Ruth), an afflicted Israelite exile who experiences a measure of divine restoration while living in diaspora (Tobit), and the followers of a Galilean prophet divinely acclaimed as Israel's messiah and charged with bringing about eschatological restoration (the Gospel of Mark). Read allusively, then, the four Second Temple narratives enact performances of Deut 30.1-10 that imagine various possible ways of refiguring national restoration under the shadow of an exile literarily portrayed as unresolved and ongoing. Below I discuss two different scholarly models for reading biblical allusion, one oriented toward literary influence and borrowing and the other toward poststructuralist theories of intertextuality, the latter of which I adopt in this study.

READING BIBLICAL ALLUSION

Broadly speaking, there are two ways biblical scholars approach reading allusion in and to the Bible. Most associate allusion with traditional studies of

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40. The concept is inspired in part by Carol Newsom, *The Self As Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2004), 4, who imagines the Qumran community and the early Jesus movement as being "engaged in a kind of social theatre, enacting communities of a reconstituted Israel."

literary influence and borrowing and identify the text's author as the architect of

allusive meaning.   Other scholars coordinate allusion with poststructuralist

theories of intertextuality and locate the production of allusive meaning with a

text's readers. Generally, those who take the first approach are interested in

establishing whether and how an author intended an allusion to be read.

Scholars who adopt the second approach are more concerned with exploring

how the process of reading an allusion affects the perception of a text's meaning

irrespective of authorial intention.[41] Below I complicate the distinction between

influence and intertextual models of biblical allusion in the context of mapping

some of the relevant scholarship; then I explain the particular approach I adopt

when reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in Nehemiah, Ruth, Tobit, and the Gospel

of Mark. By treating allusion as a species of intertextuality, my study retains the

conventional diachronic approach to the study of allusion, which reads a later

alluding text in light of an earlier evoked text, while emphasizing the role of

readers in configuring allusive meaning irrespective of authorial intention.

　　　　One study that strenuously promotes an influence-oriented approach to

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41.　　For a similar discussion of these two approaches, both under the rubric of intertextuality, see Ellen van Wolde, "Texts in Dialogue with Texts: Intertextuality in the Ruth and Tamar Narratives," *BI* 5 (1997), 1-28 (4-7). Wolde distinguishes two modes of intertextuality, one concerned with questions of text production and the other with text reception. The former is author-centered, while the latter is oriented toward readers. She maps the two as follows (5):

Intertextuality–text production	*Intertextuality–text reception*
writer	reader
diachronic	synchronic
sources	functions
causality	analogy
indexicality	iconicity
compulsory relations	potential relations

allusion is Benjamin D. Sommer's *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66.*   Sommer draws on the work of literary critics Jay Clayton and Eric Rothstein to associate allusion with literary influence and borrowing rather than intextexuality.[42]   Sommer understands the distinction between the two approaches in the following way. Studies of influence are diachronic and author-centered; they explore "how one composition evokes its antecedents, how one author is affected by another, and what sources a text utilizes."[43]   Intertextual studies, on the other hand, are often synchronic and focus on "the reader's construction of meaning of a given text...independent of its author."[44]

Sommer locates allusion within the broader framework of influence because for him the role of the author remains central to determining when an alleged parallel qualifies as a genuine allusion. Although he acknowledges in a note that there may be cases in which authors allude "unconsciously" rather than intentionally,[45] most of his rhetoric foregrounds active authorial agency. For example, in answer to the question, "Why do authors allude?" he argues that in

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42.   See Jay Clayton and Eric Rothstein, "Figures in the Corpus: Theories of Influence and Intertextuality," in *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary Studies* (ed. Jay Clayton and Eric Rothstein; Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 3-36.

43.   Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66* (Contraversions: Jews and Other Differences; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 6.

44.   Sommer, *Prophet*, 7-8.

45.   Sommer, *Prophet*, 208-09 note 17. In the note Sommer disparages scholarly definitions of allusion that place too much weight on authorial intention. As he acknowledges, one scholar who promotes such a view is Robert Alter, *The Pleasures of Reading* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989), 112, who contends, "allusion implies a writer's active, purposeful use of antecedent texts;" see also Kelli S. O'Brien, *The Use of Scripture in the Markan Passion Narrative* (LNTS 384; New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 22, 24: "Allusion concerns references to other texts, which an author intentionally included in his or her own work...as a signal to the reader." Although Sommer ostensibly eschews Alter's definition, his alignment of allusion with literary influence and borrowing implicates his project in a similar approach. When he introduces his study, which analyzes biblical allusions in Isaiah 40-66, Sommer, underscores its diachronic orientation and its emphasis on purposive authorial agency: "Some authors call attention to their own allusivity; they seem to insist on their relation to earlier texts...and, I shall argue, Deutero-Isaiah is such a case" (9).

alluding an author may recall, borrow, fashion, acknowledge, assert, display, or joke.[46] The use of such verbs conveys a sense of purposeful agency and suggests that the author determines what constitutes an allusion and how it affects the meaning of his or her work. Sommer concludes that an allusive "borrowing may tell a good deal about an author and his or her relationship to predecessors."[47] For Sommer, then, allusion reflects authorial agency and as such belongs to the category of literary borrowing and influence rather than intertextuality.

Sommer's distinction between influence and intertextuality, however useful heuristically for his study, is probably too stark. It is possible to conceive of literary borrowing and influence as a particular mode of intertextuality more broadly conceived. Indeed, this is how Christopher B. Hays maps the two concepts in a recent essay on echoes of ancient Near Eastern texts and traditions in the Hebrew Bible. Hays construes literary influence as "properly only a subcategory of intertextuality."[48] For Hays, then, intertextuality constitutes a broader phenomenon that incorporates the kind of literary borrowing with which Sommer associates allusion. Similar to Hays, Peter D. Miscall offers a more capacious understanding of intertextuality in an essay that explores the relationship between the Genesis creation story and certain texts in the book of Isaiah. Miscall regards intertextuality as a "covering term for all possible relations that can be established between texts," including everything from direct

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46.   Sommer, *Prophet*, 18-19.
47.   Sommer, *Prophet*, 20.
48.   Christopher B. Hays, "Echoes of the Ancient Near East? Intertextuality and the Comparative Study of the Old Testament" in *The Word Leaps the Gap: Essays on Scripture and Theology in Honor of Richard B. Hays* (eds. J. Ross Wagner, C. Kavin Rowe, and A. Katherine Grieb; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 20-43, here 25.

quotations, to allusions, to "dependence on language itself."[49] I would argue, then, that a concern with the "wide range of correspondences among texts," which Sommer associates with intertextuality, need not exclude an interest in the "more narrow set" he aligns with studies of literary borrowing and allusion.[50] One particularly influential monograph that approaches allusion as a subcategory of intertextuality is Richard B. Hays's *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*.

Although Hays's study on biblical allusion in Paul's epistles begins by associating allusion with intertextuality and suggesting that allusive meaning does not depend on authorial intention, it ends by tethering allusive effects to the intentions of a text's author and the literary astuteness of its original audience. Hays commences his discussion of method by aligning allusion with theories of intertextuality (French *intertextualité*) developed by Julia Kristeva, who coined the term, and her colleague Roland Barthes. According to Hays, these scholars define intertextuality in semiotic terms as "the study of the semiotic matrix within which a text's acts of signification occur."[51] Construed as such, meaning is a function of contiguity; any given sign (or text) derives its meaning not in isolation but in relation to other signs (or texts) as part of a larger semiotic system (or intertextual web). As Hays explains it, intertextual studies are often interested in more than matters of literary borrowing and influence. To

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49.   Peter D. Miscall, Isaiah: "New Heavens, New Earth, New Book" in *Reading Between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible* (Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation; ed. Danna Nolan Fewell; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992), 41-56, here 44.
50.   Sommer, *Prophet*, 8.
51.   Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 15.

underscore the point, Hays appeals to literary critic Jonathan Culler, who clarifies that intertextuality is "less a name for a work's relation to prior texts than a designation of its participation in the discursive space of a culture."[52]   In other words, instead of focusing narrowly on "genetic or causal explanations for specific texts," projects performing intertextual analysis "are interested in describing the system of codes or conventions that the texts manifest."[53] It would seem, then, that associating allusion with intertextuality allows Hays to downplay the role of authorial agency in determining the presence and meaning of a perceived allusion.   Indeed, in Hays's initially definition of allusion, he deemphasizes authorial intention, focusing instead on the role of readers in producing allusive meaning.

Hays first defines allusion as a species of intertextuality concerned with exploring the range of meaning effects generated by the audible evocation of an earlier text in a later one. Drawing on John Hollander's notion of "echo," Hays understands allusion as a "diachronic trope" that "functions to suggest to the reader that text B should be understood in light of a broad interplay with text A, encompassing aspects of A beyond those explicitly echoed."[54]   Hollander's approach resonates with theories of intertexuality in its reticence to address "problems of actual or putative audience" and its silence regarding an author's "degree of self-awareness, of conscious design."[55] Instead, Hollander's interest is

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52.   Jonathan Culler, *The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 103, quoted in Hays, *Echoes*, 15. Because my interest is in how Hays uses the ideas of writers such as Culler and, later, John Hollander, I cite them as they appear in Hays' work.
53.   Hays, *Echoes*, 15.
54.   Hays, *Echoes*, 20.
55.   John Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley:

in how "the revisionary power of allusive echo generates new figuration."[56] Following Hollander, Hays sets out to do two things: first, to identify allusive echoes in a biblical text and, second, to map the semantic "distortions and new figuration that they generate."[57] Although Hays retains the diachronic orientation characteristic of Sommer's influence model, his intertextual approach ostensibly allows him to explore the range of semantic effects generated by reading an allusion irrespective of whether an author intended it or the text's original audience understood it.

I say "ostensibly" because Hays does not seem to follow through consistently with the promise of an intertextual approach to allusion indebted to Hollader's notion of "echo." When he proceeds to discuss the problem of where to locate the production of allusive meaning, he equivocates. Drawing on contemporary literary theory, Hays identifies five possible sites for the "hermeneutical event," as he calls it, involved in making meaning of allusion: (1) the ancient biblical author, (2) the original audience/readers, (3) the text itself, (4) a modern reader (in Hays's case, a scholarly reader), and (5) a modern reading community (for Hays, the guild of biblical scholars).[58] After surveying these possibilities, he selects option four above: "the hermeneutical event occurs in my reading of the text."[59] Based on his earlier description of this fourth option, Hays presumably means that "the perception of intertextual effects has emerged

University of California Press, 1981), ix, quoted in Hays, *Echoes*, 19.
56.   Hollander, *The Figure of Echo*, ix, quoted in Hays, *Echoes*, 19.
57.   Hays, *Echoes*, 19.
58.   Hays, *Echoes,* 26.
59.   Hays, *Echoes,* 28.

from my own reading experience, and no further validation is necessary."[60]   Yet

he hastens to qualify this assertion by appealing to the conventions of his

scholarly community (option five), which privilege the text's historical author

and audience (options one and two), buttressed by a literary poetics informed by

New Criticism (option 3).[61] According to these conventions, claims about allusion

are deemed valid among biblical scholars insofar as "they can plausibly be

ascribed to the intention of the author and the competence of the original

readers" and "it can credibly be demonstrated that they occur within the literary

structure of the text."[62] But how can Hays be certain that his readings of allusion

accord with the ancient author's intentions and accurately replicate the original

recipients' experience?

        To address these hermeneutical problems, Hays departs from Hollander

and explicitly incorporates both the author and the original readers in a

(re)definition of allusion: "The concept of allusion depends both on the notion of

authorial intention and on the assumption that the reader will share with the

author the requisite 'portable library' to recognize the source of the allusion."[63]

Hays recognizes that this definition runs contrary to Hollander's notion of

allusive echo, which, "does not depend on conscious intention."[64] Nevertheless,

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60.   Hays *Echoes,* 26.
61.   In a review of Hays' book, Dale B. Martin, review of Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, *Modern Theology* 7, no. 3 (April, 1991), 291-292, draws attention to the mutual incompatibility of the hermeneutical approaches Hays attempts to synthesize; specifically, he questions "how Hays intends to enjoy such diverse bedfellows as E. D. Hirsch, Jr. (authorial intention), T. S. Eliot (the text itself), and Stanley Fish (community of interpretation and reader-response) all at the same time" (291).
62.   Hays, *Echoes,* 28.
63.   Hays, *Echoes*, 29.
64.   Hays, *Echoes*, 29.

he proceeds to articulate a hermeneutic that allows him to align his own readings of allusion with those of the text's historical author and readers. To do this, he posits a "'common sense' hermeneutics" that presupposes "an authentic analogy" between his reading experience on the one hand and that of the author and original audience on the other, between what the text means to him as a modern scholarly reader and what it meant to its author and original recipients.[65] Whereas Hollander seems content to acknowledge that, when it comes to allusive echo, "we must always wonder what our contribution was – how much we are always being writers as well as readers of what we are seeing,"[66] Hays elides the modern scholarly reader with the ancient author and audience. Presumably, Hays makes this hermeneutical move to ward off the specters of subjectivity and circularity that might otherwise haunt his study and to ensure that his interpretations adhere to the "constraints" necessary for his readings to be deemed "persuasive within [his] reading community."[67] Hays's hermeneutical model, then, purportedly allows him to leverage his own allusive readings to advance historical claims about original intent, reception, and meaning. In summary, although Hays' model initially promises a reader-oriented intertextual approach to biblical allusion, he ends up closer to Sommer's influence model

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65.   Hays, *Echoes,* 27.

66.   Hollander, *The Figure of Echo*, 99, quoted in Hays, *Echoes*, 25.

67.   Hays, *Echoes,* 28. Martin, review of Hays, 292, also draws attention to Hays's concern for objectivity by pointing out his debt to New Criticism. He observes that Hays's rhetoric often suggests that the text fosters a certain semantic inexorability, especially when he resorts to "sham[ing] the reader into accepting his interpretation ('we cannot help hearing the echoes – unless we are tone-deaf' 40)." Martin concludes that "*Echoes* is an example of the way New Criticism and essentialist beliefs about 'the text itself' still rule so much of biblical scholarship that calls itself literary critical." In Martin's estimation, Hays' work typifies that of many biblical scholars plagued by a "quaint…anxiety for certitude" that arises from a concern "to adjudicate good from bad readings" (292).

than to Hollander's notion of echo.[68]

Other scholars, however, have built on the promise of Hays's work to develop intertextual approaches to biblical allusion that are more consistent with Hollander's idea of "echo." These scholars focus more on the process a reader undergoes in activating a perceived allusion than on establishing authorial intention and original meaning. One such scholar is Timothy K. Beal.[69] Like Hays, Beal takes Julia Kristeva's theory of intertextuality as a hermeneutical starting point. Her theory, which draws on Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of dialogicity,[70] posits that texts are not in principle isolated; every text stands in relation to other texts, whether explicitly or implicitly. As Beal explains, intertexuality is "that total and limitless fabric of text which constitutes our linguistic universe."[71] For Kristeva, "each word (text) is an intersection of word (texts) where are least one other word (text) can be read."[72] This means that "any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of

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68.   Sommer, *Prophet*, 212 note 42, recognizes as much when he notes, "Hays uses the term intertextual to include what I call influence and allusion." For another study that attempts to incorporate author, text, and reader into a model for reading allusion, see Stephen P. Ahearne-Kroll, *The Psalms of Lament in Mark's Passion: Jesus' Davidic Suffering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).   Ahearne-Kroll prefers the term "evocation" to allusion and aims to combine a diachronic and synchronic approach to reading allusion. Although he acknowledges that in activating an allusion, "the insights that emerge from such a process are created by the reader and only the reader" (26), he nevertheless choses to focus exclusively on cases that evince to him a high probability that the author intended to evoke an earlier text (33). I am grateful to Elizabeth Struthers Malbon for bringing this work to my attention.

69.   For a critique of Beal's approach to intertextuality, see Hays, "Echoes of the Ancient Near East," 32-34.

70.   See M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (ed. Michael Holquist; trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist; Austin: University of Texas Press: 1981).

71.   Timothy K. Beal, "Ideology and Intertextuality: Surplus of Meaning and Controlling the Means of Production," in *Reading Between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible* (Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation; ed. Danna Nolan Fewell; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), 27-39, here 27.

72.   Julia Kristeva, "Word, Dialogue, and Novel," in *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (Leon S. Roudiez, ed.; Thomas Gora, Alice Jardine, and Leon S Roudiez, trans.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 64-91, here 66.

another."[73]   Text as intersection and mosaic is what Kristeva designates the phenomenon of intertextuality. As she recognizes, her theory suggests that the semantic horizons of a text are fluid and open rather than fixed and closed. She construes "the 'literary word' as an *intersection of textual surfaces* rather than a *point* (a fixed meaning)."[74] This implies that the meaning of any given text is not univocal but contingent and polyvalent. As Beal puts it: "Every text – as an intersection of other textual surfaces – suggests an indeterminate surplus of meaningful possibilities."[75] From there, Beal poses the problem of how to move from the boundless "general text" to a single written text, a move which necessarily involves imposing limits, however arbitrary, on the intertextual field.[76]

Based on his entries in the book's glossary, Beal seems to find some resolution to this problem in Hollander's notion of echo.   He explains that Hollander imagines texts as cavernous echo chambers that resound with the voices of other texts.[77]   Once audible, the sound of one text echoing in another has the potential to distort and alter a reader's perception of both. Beal is drawn to Hollander's theory because it "expresses the intertextual character of all writing" even as it "maintain[s], in the metaphor at least, a sense of closure (walls) around a text's structure."[78] An echo cannot be heard in the boundless

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73.   Kristeva, "Word, Dialogue, and Novel," 66.
74.   Kristeva, "Word, Dialogue, and Novel," 65 (author's emphasis).
75.   Beal, "Ideology and Intertextuality," 31.
76.   Beal, "Ideology and Intertextuality," 28.
77.   Timothy K. Beal, "Glossary," in *Reading Between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible* (Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation; ed. Danna Nolan Fewell; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), 21-24, here 21.
78.   Beal, "Glossary," 21.

intertextual field; it becomes audible only when enclosed within the discursive space of another text.

Beal turns next to the problem of how readers discern the voice of one text resounding in another. Instead of being concerned with questions of authorial intention or "the subtle artistry of the writer," Beal's entry on allusion focuses on the process readers undertake to link one text with another."[79] He cites the work of Israeli literary scholar Ziva Ben-Porat, who maps how readers activate a perceived allusion to reposition a text's meaning. Beal resonates with Ben-Porat's approach to allusion because she articulates a strategy for reading relationships among specific literary texts within a broader theortical framework of intertextuality.[80] My study builds on Hollander's and Beal's approach to reading allusion and draws explicitly on Ben-Porat's model, outlined below.

Ben-Porat defines literary allusion as a device that allows readers to activate two texts simultaneously, an alluding text and an evoked text.[81] What results is "the formation of intertextual patterns whose nature cannot be predetermined."[82] Ben-Porat outlines the process whereby readers discern and activate an allusion in four stages.[83] This process begins when a reader (1)

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79. Beal, "Glossary," 21.
80. Beal, "Glossary," 21.
81. Ziva Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," *PTL: A Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature* 1 (1976):105-28, here 107. See also Ziva Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Allusion" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1974).
82. Ben-Porat, "Literary Allusion," 107.
83. For a similar process, see Ellen van Wolde, "Text as Dialogue," 7-8. Van Wolde outlines three stages a reader undergoes once she discerns similarities between two texts and hypothesizes that these suggest an intertextual relationship: (1) she begins by studying the two texts on their own, attending to their intrinsic networks of meaning; (2) then, she takes an inventory of repetitions, analogies, and similarities between the two texts to ascertain whether the hypothesized connection is based on genuine markers in the text or associations in her own mind; (3) finally, she becomes aware of a new level of meaning, indeed a new text, that arises from the intertextual meeting of the two.

recognizes that a sign in the alluding text appears to point beyond its local context to a corresponding sign in a different text, the evoked text. She calls this sign a "marker" because it functions for a reader as a "directional signal" that points to "an element or pattern belonging to another independent text."[84] Once a reader (2) identifies the source of the marked element, she is able (3) to leverage the evoked text to elucidate the meaning of the local context in which the allusion occurs. But a reader does not fully activate an allusion until she goes on (4) to correlate broader intertextual patterns between the two texts that initially may have seemed unrelated. The patterns a reader generates in this final stage of activation are "free" in that they do not depend on additional markers elsewhere in the alluding text[85] and their sematic effects have an unpredicttible quality.[86]

It follows from Ben-Porat's model that readers will not necessarily activate an allusion in the same way. Indeed, some readers may not grant the presence of an allusive marker to begin with, due in part to the elusive quality of the allusive marker itself. Sometimes, according to Ben-Porat, there may be formal identity between a marker in the alluding text and its corresponding element, the "marked," in an evoked text, e.g. "an exact quotation or a name."[87] More often, however, a reader's "identification does not depend on formal identity" between the marker and the marked.[88] In some cases "a distorted

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84.   Ben-Porat, "Literary Allusion,"107.
85.   Ben-Porat, "Literary Allusion," 108, note 6.
86.   Ben-Porat, "Literary Allusion," 107.
87.   Ben-Porat, "Literary Allusion,"110.
88.   Ben-Porat, "Literary Allusion,"110.

quotation or a unique noun in a new declension are examples of markers that are recognizable as belonging to a certain system in spite of a new form."[89] Because the marker and the marked need not, and often are not, formally identical, it remains for readers to determine whether and on what grounds allusive markers occur.[90] Significantly, Ben-Porat does not attempt to establish a set of criteria to make the process of readerly detection more objective and verifiable. She merely states that the sign functioning as a marker may be "simple or complex."[91] Her reticence suggests that readers must adjudicate the grounds for determining what constitutes an allusive marker to an evoked text. The upshot of her discussion, as Hays recognizes, is that "there will be room for serious differences of opinion about whether a particular phrase should be heard as an echo of a prior text and, if so, how it should be understood."[92]

Further, although Ben-Porat addresses texts that are diachronically related, as do Sommer and Hays, her theory does not explicitly locate the production of allusive meaning in the mind of the author, or original reader(s), or even in poetic elements intrinsic to the text beyond those that readers initially construe as markers of allusion. As one scholar who appropriates her theory notes, "Ben-Porat is not as concerned with the intentional arrangement of a text. The textual marker is efficacious whether or not the author intended it to be."[93]

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89.   Ben-Porat, "Literary Allusion,"110.
90.   See van Wolde, Texts in Dialogue, 6: "By putting two texts side by side, the reader becomes aware of the analogies, or repetitions and transformations, between texts…The reader…[then] lets these [perceived similarities] function as signs referring to intertextual relationships between texts."
91.   Ben-Porat, "Literary Allusion,"108.
92.   Hays, *Echoes*, 29.
93.   John S. Vassar, *Recalling a Story Once Told: An Intertextual Reading of the Psalter and the Pentateuch* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2007), 21.

This, too, is why Beal finds her approach conducive to theories of intertextuality: "In all this, the emphasis is on how the process of allusion evokes for the reader a larger textual field...the question of whether or not the author intended to allude need not be raised in determining what is an allusion and what is not." (21). My study builds on those of Hays, Beal, and Ben-Porat, by treating allusion as a sub-species of intertexuality; following the latter two authors, together with Hollander, I take a reader-oriented approach and concentrate on the semantic effects generated by reading an allusion, whether intented or accidental. Such an approach allows for uncoupling allusive meaning from authorial intention, which is especially relevant to studies of biblical allusion generally and to my project in particular.

One recent monograph that implements Ben-Porat's intertexual approach to allusion is Beth Tanner's *The Book of Psalms Through the Lens of Intertextuality*. Tanner explains that locating the production of allusive meaning with authorial intention can be problematic, especially in books of the Hebrew Bible.[94] This is because the final form of biblical texts often stands at a significant remove from any author(s), which makes it difficult to speak with certainty about intentionality.[95] In addition, she goes on to point out the inherent circularity involved in the attempt to divine authorial intention from biblical texts by situating them in an author's historical context. Because scholarly depictions of

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94. Beth LaNeel Tanner, *The Book of Psalms through the Lens of Intertextuality* (Studies in Biblical Literature 26; New York: Peter Lang, 2001), 33. Although books in the New Testament may not be as removed from their authors as those in the Hebrew Bible, in many cases there is often enough debate about authorship and/or original audience to warrant the kind (if not degree) of cautionary approach Tanner advocates concerning claims of authorial intentionality.

95. Tanner, *Book of Psalms*, 33.

ancient Israel's history and culture are almost wholly constructed from the biblical texts themselves, "history or culture in biblical studies cannot stand as an independent judge as to the author's intent."[96] Tanner prudently concludes that attempts to evaluate a biblical author, especially an author's allusive intentionality, remain "speculative" at best.[97]

The four alluding narratives I consider in this study illustrate and underscore the problems Tanner points out. In each context where I read an allusive marker to Deut 30.1-10, authorship remains literarily opaque and contested among scholars. In the chapters that follow I argue that markers of allusion to Deut 30.1-10 are discernable in Nehemiah's prayer in chapter 1, in the account of Ruth's return with Naomi to Judah in Ruth 1, in the literary frame of Tobit in chapters 1, 13, and 14, and in Jesus' apocalyptic discourse in Mark 13. In each case the text's historical origins and authorship remain to greater and lesser degrees uncertain and debated. Was Nehemiah's prayer part of the so-called Nehemiah Memoir, or was it a later editorial addition to the Memoir?[98] If the latter, did it originate with the author of Chronicles or with an independent redactor?[99] Was the book of Ruth written by an author living in the early decades

96.   Tanner, *Book of Psalms*, 33.
97.   Tanner, *Book of Psalms*, 33.
98.   Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Judaism: The First Phase, The place of Ezra and Nehemiah in the Origins of Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 100-101, for example, considers Nehemiah's prayer in 1.5-11a an editorial insertion rather than an original part of the autobiographical material.
99.   See the discussion and review of scholarship in Sara Japhet, "The Relationship between Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah," in *From the Waters of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah: Collected Studies on the Restoration Period* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 169-182; repr. from *Congress Volume: Leuven, 1989* (VTS 43; Leiden: Brill Academic, 1991), 298-313, who concludes that different writers with distinct ideologies composed the books of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah respectively.

of a divided Israelite and Judean monarchy, as at least one commentator posits,[100] or was it composed much later during the Persian period?[101] Was the literary frame of Tobit written by the same author who produced the story about Tobit's healing from blindness in the book's core chapters?[102] Was Jesus' apocalyptic discourse against the temple original to the author of the Gospel, or was it incorporated into the narrative from a preexisting independent source? If the latter, was this source an extended Passion Narrative or did it include only the apocalyptic discourse itself?[103] In each case, to make an assertion about authorial intentionality would require a level of historical certitude and scholarly consensus that does not and probably will not exist.[104] Not only is it historically imprudent to associate allusive meaning with an author's intention, from the standpoint of contemporary hermeneutics it is scarcely possible to do so.

Much contemporary hermeneutical theory has troubled the notion that a

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100.   Kirsten Nielsen, *Ruth: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1997), 21-28.

101.   See the discussion in Tamara Cohn Eskenazi and Tikva Frymer-Kensky, *The JPS Bible Commentary: Ruth* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2011), xvi-xix, who conclude that the book was probably composed in the early Persian period.

102.   See the discussion and review of scholarship in John J. Collins, "The Judaism of the Book of Tobit," in *The Book of Tobit: Text, Tradition, Theology, Papers of the First International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Pápa, Hungary, 20-21 May, 2004*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér (JSJSup 98; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 23-40, who argues that an editor added a literary frame oriented toward Jerusalem (parts of chapters 1, 13-14) to an older core story redolent with the folkloric motifs of the "grateful dead" and "the dangerous bride" (chapters 2-12).

103.   See the discussion and review of scholarship in Adela Yarbro Collins, *Mark: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 593-600. See also George W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Genre and Function of the Markan Passion Narrative," *HTR* 73 (1980), 153-84.

104.   See Newsom, *Job*, 16, who, in view of the lack of certainty and consensus, ventures that alternate scholarly accounts of a book's origins "are valuable not so much as historical reconstructions as suggestions for different ways of reading the book." Newsom prudently regards such accounts as "heuristic fictions, invitations to read the book 'as if' it had come into being in this or that fashion, with the intents and purposes characteristic of such an origin." In Kristeva's terms, Newsom's approach suggests that scholarly arguments about the origins of a biblical book function as intertexts that readers may leverage to (re)position meaning.

text's meaning is univocal and coextensive with the intentions of an author. This problem receives explicit treatment in the work of French philosopher Paul Ricoeur among others. To explain what takes place when spoken discourse becomes fixed in a written text, Ricoeur develops the notion of distanciation. According to Ricoeur, inscribing oral discourse in writing distances the resultant text from its author's intentions. He argues that the act of writing "makes the text autonomous in relation to the intention of the author. What the text signifies no longer coincides with what the author wanted to say."[105] This does not mean that texts have no authors; rather, "a text remains a discourse told by somebody, said by someone to someone else about something."[106] Undoubtedly, biblical authors made use of literary allusion as a device to forge semantically freighted links between texts. The problem that Ricoeur highlights, however, is that when dealing with a written text "the author is not available for questioning."[107] Along with the concept of distanciation, Ricoeur also argues that written texts do not possess a univocal meaning, bound up with an author's intention, but instead demonstrate a surplus of meaning. As Ricoeur explains, the act of writing allows a literary work "to transcend its psycho-sociological conditions of production

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105.   Paul Ricoeur, "The Hermeneutical Function of Distanciation," trans. David Pellauer, *Philosophy Today* 17, no. 2 (Summer, 1973): 129-141, here 133.

106.   Paul Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1976), 30.

107.   Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 30. Although in places Ricoeur intimates that if the author were present, then she could tell readers what she had intended, I am reticent to grant such a point. I am more confident affirming that an author could clarify what she intended to write (compositional intentionality) than what she intended to mean (hermeneutical intentionality). I am not convinced that, psychologically, writers are fully cognizant of their own hermeneutical intentions. Further, were an author to attempt to clarify her intentions after writing a text, she would be doing so not only as the author but also as a reader of her own work; that is, she would be attempting to clarify/interpret a distanciated text. I am indebted to Prof. Larry Bouchard for these insights.

and to be open to an unlimited series of readings, themselves situated within different socio-cultural contexts."[108] Ricoeur's hermeneutic thus underscores both that a text means more than its author intended and that authorial intention is itself all but unrecoverable.

Ricoeur's notions of distanciation and the surplus of meaning share affinities with certain poststructuralist assumptions about textuality that accord with the approach to reading biblical allusion I take in this study. In an essay on Deconstructive Criticism and the Hebrew Bible, Dana Nolan Fewell begins with the premise that textual meaning is inherently unstable. She argues that texts, like people, do "not manifest one uncontestable meaning;" moreover, a "text's possible meanings (like our own various roles in life) are not even necessarily compatible."[109] To explain what she means, Fewell imagines looking at a painting that, from a distance, appears to be entirely blue.[110] On closer inspection, however, there are several red dots around the margins of the painting and some scattered across the middle. Fewell goes on to ask how the painting should be interpreted. Which layer is dominant and which in the background? Does the red emerge out of the blue, or is the red superimposed over the blue? Are the red dots the result of an accidental spattering of paint, or are they there by design? Does a vast unseen field of red lie submerged under the blue? What else has been hidden or marginalized by the blue? Is the painting about the blue or about the red? Does it tell a story of the blue's dominance over the red or of the red's

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108.   Ricoeur, "Distanciation," 133.

109.   Dana Nolan Fewell, "Deconstructive Criticism: Achsah and the (E)razed City of Writing" in *Judges & Method: New Approaches in Biblical Studies*, second edition (Gale A. Yee, ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 115-37, here 116.

110.   The following paragraph draws on Fewell, "Deconstructive Criticism," 116-17.

clandestine subversion of the blue?

From there, Fewell argues that texts are like her imagined painting; although most readers can recognize the major subjects of a text, like the blue in the painting, even these subjects "do not elicit uniform interpretations."[111] This is because texts always have "various hues" and "various dimensions of character, nuances of argument, ambiguities of imagery, vocabulary, and syntax that keep even the most commonly accepted subject from being decidable."[112] Such elements function like the red dots in her painting in that they have the potential to reposition a text's meaning: they "may disturb, they may counter, they may discredit, they may dismantle, they may subvert, they may twist, they may draw attention away from the dominant meanings and subjects of the text."[113] It is these "seemingly incidental" elements, which often "go unnoticed by many," that conspire to "complicate and destabilize meaning."[114]

Fewell's analogy provides a useful heuristic tool for conceptualizing the effects of reading literary allusion. Rather than stabilizing or closing textual meaning, allusions function instead like the surfacing "red dots" in Fewell's "blue" painting. Once readers activate an allusion, the allusion has the potential to expand and alter the semantic horizons of a text in sometimes significant and frequently unpredictable ways. Reading allusion allows for generating new shades of meaning made possible by the perception that one text intersects with another. In Fewell's terms, a textual sign that appears to be "blue" turns out on

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111.   Fewell, "Deconstructive Criticism," 117.
112.   Fewell, "Deconstructive Criticism," 117.
113.   Fewell, "Deconstructive Criticism," 117.
114.   Fewell, "Deconstructive Criticism," 117.

closer inspection to bear traces of "red." The intersection of the two colors opens the borders of each. What were once discrete hues of "blue" and "red" now playfully merge and give rise to something other, something "purple."[115] This conception of textuality underlies my approach to biblical allusion. As I understand it, activating a perceived allusion allows readers to link an earlier text with a later text to generate new semantic figurations. The emergent figurations have the potential to affect how readers perceive meaning in both the alluding and the evoked texts irrespective of authorial intention.

Returning to Fewell's image of the painting, in my analysis of allusions to Deut 30.1-10 I begin by drawing attention to the places where I see allusive "red dots" submerged in textual seas of "blue." I argue that, whether by design or accident, markers of allusion to Deut 30.1-10 are discernible in Nehemiah, Ruth, Tobit, and the Gospel of Mark. My aim is not to adduce evidence that an allusion is "really there" or that certain verbal collocations are intentional literary allusions to Deut 30.1-10 and not conventional turns of phrase, traces of oral tradition, or marks of non-literary patterns of thought. Instead, my interest is in considering how reading certain textual signs as allusive markers of Deut 30.1-10 repositions the perception of meaning in the alluding (and evoked) works. As such, my goal in detecting traces of Deut 30.1-10 in the four narratives is to provide a context of plausibility for activating the allusion and exploring its broader semantic effects.[116]

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115.   This is similar to van Wolde's third stage, described above in note 61.

116.   In van Wolde's terms, this provides "a basis for intertextual linking" by demonstrating that "intertextuality is not just something in the reader's mind, but that the markers in the text make this connection possible" (van Wolde, "Text as Dialogue," 8). It is important to bear in mind, though, that van Wolde's reader-oriented "text reception" model concentrates on possible and

Because discerning an allusion is itself an interpretive act, in each case I explain what prompts me to detect traces of Deut 30.1-10 in the four Second Temple narratives. There are several phenomena that, when taken together, consistently trigger my readings of allusion. These phenonena are not prescriptive criteria meant to distinguish valid from invalid allusions; rather, they are descriptive of my own allusive reading practice, informed by several factors. Among these factors are the contours of the biblical texts themselves, both their composition and canonical placement subsequent to Deut 30.1-10 (whether in the Hebrew or Greek Jewish Bibles or in the early Christian Bible), their interpretive reception in related ancient works (e.g. The Gospel of Matthew's adaptation of Mark 13), and a certain measure of scholarly intuition, itself informed by training in historical and literary modes of critical inquiry. Typically, the phenomena that trigger my readings of allusion include some combination of the following: (1) verbal affinities, ranging from precise to suggestive, though always (as it turns out) with at least one shared word or phrase between the two texts; (2) thematic parallels, whether major or minor; (3) similarities between the "emplotment" of Israel's restoration in Deut 30.1-10 and the sequence of episodes in the four alluding works; (4) allusions to the book of Deuteronomy elsewhere in the four narratives that suggest reading certain signs as markers of Deut 30.1-10 even if they may have been "intended" to point elsewhere or, perhaps, nowhere; (5) the recognition by other readers, whether ancient or modern and scholarly, of an allusive marker to Deut 30.1-10 in Nehemiah, Ruth,

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potential relationships between texts rather than on the actual or necessary relationships that characterize ,an author-centered "text production" model (5-6).

Tobit, or the Gospel of Mark.

After identifying markers of Deut 30.1-10, I proceed to activate the allusion to consider how it affects both the local context in which it occurs and the global coxtext of the narrative as a whole. In making this move, I am not concerned with whether such effects were authorially intended or historically perceived by ancient readers. Rather, I seek to explore the range of semantic possibilities an allusive reading of Deut 30.1-10 allows in order to discern the extent to which the balance of the four alluding works conforms to or surprises the expectations generated by reading the allusion.

That having been said, my intent in performing this kind of reading is not to isolate the biblical narratives from their historical context as if this were irrelevant to their interpretation. Literature, whether biblical or otherwise, is neither aloof from implication in history, nor is it simply a passive reflector onto a more concrete and perspicacious extra-textual reality. Rather, as Jean E. Howard, a scholar of English Renaissance literature, insists, "literature is *part* of history;" in language that resonates with Kristeva's, she clarifies that "both social and literary texts are opaque, self-divided, and porous, that is, open to mutual intertextual influences of one another."[117] For Howard, this means that literature has an "ideological function"[118] in that it exercises "real power" as "an agent in constructing a culture's sense of reality."[119] Howard's new historicist model thus regards literature as a form of social practice that both refracts and shapes the

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117. Jean E. Howard, "The New Historicism in Renaissance Studies." *English Literary Renaissance* 16 (1986): 13-43, here 25, author's emphasis.
118. Howard, "New Historicism," 29.
119. Howard, "New Historicism," 25, author's emphasis.

patterns of discourse that characterized its contemporary cultural milieu.

Although I am reticent, largely on hermeneutical grounds, to associate the presence or meaning of an allusion with authorial agency, my study nevertheless resonates with Howard's model in the following ways. To begin with, I approach the four alluding narratives as literary productions of the Second Temple period composed after Deut 30.1-10. This means that I read the alluding narratives within their historical and cultural contexts as informed by scholarly accounts of their origins. I do not, however, treat these accounts as strictly objective or normative reconstructions. Rather, following Carol Newsom, I appropriate them as "heuristic fictions"[120] that permit certain ways of construing allusive meaning.[121] Specifically, this allows for approaching the alluding works as participants in a wider Second Temple discourse concerning the re-forming of Israel's identity in the wake of events that took place during the sixth century BCE. As Newsom elsewhere underscores, the question of national identity remained at the heart of the discursive matrix that shaped Judaic culture throughout the Second Temple period:

> One can treat the diverse cultural phenomena of Second Temple Judaism as a protracted discussion of the question, "What is it that really constitutes Israel?" Not every society is so preoccupied with a discourse of identity, but the peculiar historical circumstances of Second Temple Judaism brought that issue to the fore. Even when

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120. See Newsom, *Job*, 16.

121. I find Newsom's approach consonant with the following set of assumptions Howard, "New Historicism," associates with new historicism: first, the human self is a construct and product "of specific cultural discourses and social processes" and does not possess "a transhistorical core of being" (20); second, the contemporary scholar, as a product of his or her own historical context, cannot claim strict objectivity but instead always approaches the past "in part through the framework of the present" (23); and third, history itself is best understood as "a construct made up of textualized traces assembled in various configurations by the historian/interpreter" rather than as "a realm of retrievable fact" (23-24).

> not explicitly engaged in responding to one another, the literary works, religious movements, new social institutions, emerging symbols, and so forth, ceaselessly suggested alternative ways of answering that question.[122]

As Newsom intimates, the production of new literary works was one means by which Jews engaged in the cultural project of refiguring the nation's identity during the Second Temple period. Building on Newsom's insights, my study explores the interpretive possibilities opened up by reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in Nehemiah, Ruth, Tobit, and Mark. In doing so, it considers the capacity of those works to imagine and so also to shape alternate visions of a restored Israel at a time when ancient Jews and early Christians lived under the shadow of foreign rule and literarily imagined themselves as enduring a protracted experience of exile.

PROSPECTUS

In the chapters that follow I begin with a literary orientation to Deut 30.1-10 in which I map the contours of the text's own allusive topography (chapter 1). Next, I trace the path of the text's allusive reception among non-narrative works of the Second Temple period (chapter 2). Then, I explore how reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in Nehemiah, Ruth, Tobit, and the Gospel of Mark contributes to the literary figuration of a restored Israel in unexpected and often unconventional ways (chapters 3-6). I argue that, when read allusively, these works cast a company of diverse and unlikely actors in the role of

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122.   Newsom, *Symbolic Space*, 4.

Deuteronomy's restored Israel. Such actors include returning Judean exiles led by a Persian-appointed governor (Nehemiah), a Moabite woman who facilitates Judean restoration (Ruth), a pious though afflicted Israelite who experiences restoration outside the homeland (Tobit), and the followers of a crucified Galilean prophet acclaimed by God as Israel's messiah and charged with the task of bringing about eschatological restoration (Mark). I conclude that reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in these four works illustrates several possible and competing literary models for figuring the identity of a restored Israel in the wake of an exile whose horizons are imagined as extending well into the Second Temple period.

Reading Allusion in Deuteronomy 30.1-10

Introduction

This chapter offers a literary introduction to Deut 30.1-10 that explores the text's own allusive character and contribution to the book. I begin with a brief orientation to the book of Deuteronomy that situates 30.1-10 within a larger section (chapters 29-32) in which Moses addresses Israel's near and distant future. I also discuss how scholars have understood the book and the significance of Deut 30.1-10 in particular. Most scholars date Deut 30.1-10 to the the late exilic or early Persian period. Reading the text in this context, some scholars have construed Deut 30.1-10 as expressing a summons to national repentance that mitigates the finality of divine curse and inflects the book as a whole with a message of hope. After introducing the book and its reception among scholars, I discuss the text's literary structure and themes. I argue that Deut 30.1-10 envisions Israel's restoration as proceeding in two stages. First, Israel turns back to Yhwh while in exile; second, Yhwh reverses the nation's fortune by returning the exiles to their homeland and prospering them there as of old. This literary figuration privileges returning exiles by granting them the status of restored Israel and the right to acquire and settle the ancestral land. From there, I attend to the text's own allusive texture. I discuss grounds for reading Deut 30.1-10 as an intertextual mosaic comprised of allusions to several texts from elsewhere in the book of Deuteronomy, chapters 6, 10, 28, and 29 in particular. Read allusively, the text offers an important qualification to the

finality of YHWH's curse as expressed in chapter 28. Finally, I coordinate this allusive reading with a historical intertext: Cyrus' conquest of Babylon in 539 BCE and his policy of repatriating subject peoples to their native lands, both of which are commemorated in an inscription known as the Cyrus Cylinder. Reading Deut 30.1-10 in dialogue with this historical intertext positions the biblical text as a counter-edict of repatriation that credits YHWH's renewed compassion, instead of Cyrus' magnanimity or Marduk's beneficence, with effecting Israel's restoration to the national homeland.

THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY: LITERARY STRUCTURE AND SCHOLARLY RECEPTION

Literarily, the book of Deuteronomy takes the form of an extended farewell discourse that Moses offers on the day of his death. Moses delivers his speech on the plains of Moab along the southeastern border of Canaan. He addresses his remarks to the children of the exodus generation, who have laid claim to Canaan as their ancestral homeland. Structurally, the book divides into four major sections. The book marks each literary division by an editorial superscription written in the third-person voice of the narrator. The superscriptions function to introduce successive material and appear at the following junctures: 1.1; 4.44; 29.1 (MT 28.69); and 33.1.[123]

The first section, Deut 1.1-4.43, presents a retrospect on the doomed exodus generation. After the Israelites disobey YHWH, the offended deity forbids those who experienced the exodus from entering the land of Canaan, the land

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123.   See the discussion in Dennis Olson, *Deuteronomy and the Death of Moses: A Theological Reading* (Overtures to Biblical Theology; eds. Walter Brueggemann et al.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 14-17, which also informs the survey that follows.

which Yʜᴡʜ long ago promised to their ancestors. Instead, Yʜᴡʜ condemns the exodus generation to die in the liminal space of the wilderness between Egypt and Canaan (1.34, 39-40; 3.14-16). In chapter 4 Moses issues a summons to obedience directed toward the children of the exodus generation, who stand poised to enter Canaan in place of their ill-fated parents. Moses warns, however, that if future generations forsake Yʜᴡʜ then the deity will banish them from the homeland to live among the nations (4.25-28). Moses tempers the warning with the assurance that Yʜᴡʜ will not entirely abandon the exiles. Rather, if they seek him and return to him while in exile, they will find him (4.29-31).

The second and largest section, Deut 4.44-28.68, contains a multi-layered legal code whose overall form has been adapted from Neo-Assyrian treaties.[124] The book frames the legal code as a treaty or covenant between Yʜᴡʜ and Israel. Yʜᴡʜ plays the role of the suzerain, offering protection and care, while Israel acts the part of the vassal, rendering loyal obedience. Evidently, the treaty was intended for the exodus generation but only concluded with its children (5.1-3; 26.16-19). The first generation had received the Decalogue at Horeb (i.e. Sinai) after escaping from Egypt.   But only the second generation, gathered in Moab, receives the full legal code, which, the book discloses, Yʜᴡʜ had entrusted privately to Moses at Horeb (5.4-33).   In effect, the book of Deuteronomy purports to be the literary record of this disclosure.   The legal code itself is

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124.   For Deuteronomy's relation to ancient Near Eastern (ANE) treaties, see Delbert R. Hillers, *Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets* (Biblica et orientalia 16; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1964); Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972; Repr., Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992); and Dennis J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament* (2d ed.; Analecta Biblica 21; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1978).

perhaps best known for its emphasis on the centralization of cultic worship at "the place where YHWH your God will choose to make his name dwell" (12.11). As such, it represents an innovative attempt to orient Israel's worship around a central cultic site devoted to a single deity. The legal code is primarily intended to govern the nation's life in the land of Canaan (5.31; 6.1), though at times the book suggests that its observance also qualifies Israel for entrance into the new homeland (6.18-19; 11.8-9).

The third section of the book, 29.1 (MT 28.69)-32.52, features the ratification of a covenant at Moab with the second generation. The text describes this Moab covenant as a supplement to the earlier covenant made at Horeb, where YHWH gave the Decalogue to the exodus generation. This new covenant at Moab essentially binds the second generation and their descendants to observe the legal code of the previous section, which YHWH had originally disclosed only to Moses while at Horeb. The contents of the book's third section concern Israel's future, both near and distant. More remotely, Moses bemoans Israel's failure to observe the legal code and the people's eventual defection from YHWH to serve other gods. He then predicts the nation's punitive banishment from the land but adds the qualification that, if the exiles turn back to YHWH, the deity will return them to the land bequeathed to their ancestors (29-30). Closer to hand, Moses appoints Joshua to succeed him and provides for the deposition and reading of the *torah* (תּוֹרָה) or divinely disclosed "instruction" (i.e. the book of Deuteronomy) every seven years at Sukkot, the Feast of Booths (31). At the end of the section Moses sings a prophetic poem on Israel's coming fate known as the Song of Moses (32).

Finally, in the book's fourth section, 33.1-34.12, Moses pronounces an oracular blessing on each of the Israelite tribes (33). The final chapter of the book chronicles Moses' death and hidden burial on Mt. Nebo in the land of Moab outside Canaan. The book closes with a stirring paean in honor of Moses that distinguishes him as the superlative and archetypal prophet of Yhwh.

Scholarship on the book of Deuteronomy[125] has tended to approach the book as part of various purported collections of biblical literature. Readers who follow the traditional canonical arrangement regard Deuteronomy as the final work in a Pentateuch that also includes the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. Some scholars, however, locate the book within a Hexateuch that concludes with the book of Joshua.[126] Still others approach the book as the first work in a larger Deuteronomistic History (DtrH) comprised of the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings.[127] The regnant position remains the latter and has undergone several important developments and modifications.

In his seminal study on the DtrH, Martin Noth postulated that a single author working from a variety of sources produced the entire work shortly after the final event chronicled in the books of Kings: the realease of the exiled Judean king Jehoiachin from prison and his promotion in the Babylonian court (2 Kings

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125. For surveys of modern scholarship see John Van Seters, *The Pentateuch: A Social-Science Commentary* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999; repr., London: T & T Clark, 2004), 30-86; Rainer Albertz, *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E.* (trans. David Green; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003); Thomas Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction* (London: T & T Clark, 2005; repr., 2009), 13-43.

126. For the classic treatments, see J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 3d ed., 1889) and Gerhard von Rad, "The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch," in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (trans. E. W. T. Dicken; Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1966), 1-78.

127. Martin Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History* (JSOTSup 15; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981).

25.27-30), ca. 562 BCE. Noth contended that the Deuteronomist (Dtr) sought to produce a history of Israel and Judah that comports with the ideology of retributive justice promoted in the book of Deuteronomy. Accordingly, the DtrH interprets the conquests of Assyria and Babylon over Israel and Judah respectively as the implementation of YHWH's covenantal curse for the failure of the two nations to uphold the covenant.

Two significant early modifications of Noth's proposal ensued. Gerhard von Rad appealed to the promise of a perpetual dynasty to David (2 Sam 7) and the release of Jehoiachin at the end of 2 Kings to challenge Noth's pessimistic characterization of the DtrH.[128] Alternatively, Hans Walter Wolff argued that, in accord with Jeremiah's prophecies, the DtrH issues a summons to national repentance most vividly expressed in two late additions to Deuteronomy: Deut 4.29-31 and 30.1-10.[129]

The most significant developments of Noth's thesis came from two groups of scholars, one German and another American. Working in Germany, Rudolf Smend and his students posited three major redactions of the DtrH, all of which were produced in the sixth century BCE.[130] The literary strata they uncovered

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128.　Gerhard von Rad, "The Deuteronomic Theology of History in I and II Kings," in idem, *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (trans. E. W. T. Dicken; London: SCM, 1984), 205-21.

129.　Hans Walter Wolff, "The Kerygma of the Deuteronomistic Historical Work" in *The Vitality of Old Testament Traditions* (eds. Walter Brueggemann and Hans Walter Wolff; trans. Frederick C. Prussner of "Das Kerygma des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk," *ZAW* [1961]: 171-86; Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1975; repr., in *Reconsidering Israel and Judah: Recent Studies on the Deuteronomistic History* (eds. Gary N. Knoppers and J. Gordon McConville; SBTS 8; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 62-78.

130.　Rudolph Smend, "Das Gesetz und die Völker: Ein Beitrag zur deuteronomistischen Redaktionsgeschichte," in *Probleme biblischer Theologie: Festschrift Gerhard von Rad* (ed. H. W. Wolff; Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1971), 494-509. For an English translation of this essay, see Rudolph Smend, "The Law and the Nations: A Contribution to Deuteronomistic Tradition History" in *Reconsidering Israel and Judah: Recent Studies on the Deuteronomistic History* (eds. Gary N. Knoppers and J. Gordon McConville; trans. Peter T. Daniels; SBTS 8; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns,

were these: an initial pro-monarchical redaction (DtrH),[131] a subsequent anti-monarchical redaction inspired by the prophets (DtrP), and finally a nomistic redaction (DtrN) that stressed the importance of obeying Yʜwʜ's commandments for acquiring and maintaining the land. Meanwhile, in the United States Frank Moore Cross and his students developed the theory of a double redaction of the DtrH.[132] In contrast to Noth and Smend, Cross and his colleagues argued that the first redaction (Dtr^1) took place during the reign of the Judean king Josiah in the late seventh century ʙcᴇ. This was largely a piece of royal propaganda calculated to promote the "reforms" of the ambitious young king. The second redaction (Dtr^2) followed after Jerusalem's destruction in the early sixth century ʙcᴇ and was more pessimistic in outlook.

Variations on Noth's thesis persist, and despite the prominence of Cross' model in English language scholarship broad consensus has remained elusive.[133] For example, a recent proposal by the French scholar Thomas Römer promises a sociological, historical, and literary approach to the DtrH. Römer combines aspects of Smends' and Cross' models to posit three stages of literary

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2000), 95-110. See also, e.g., Walter Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk* (FRLANT 108; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972); Timo Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie: David und die Entstehung seiner Dynastie nach der deuteronomistischen Darstellung* (AASF.B 193; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1975). Smend and his colleagues are often referred to in scholarship as the Göttingen school.

131. Smend uses DtrH to denote the earliest stratum of the Deuteronomistic History, whereas English language scholars use DtrH to refer to the Deuteronomistic History as a whole.

132. F. M. Cross, "The Themes of the Book of Kings and the Structure of the Deuteronomistic History," in idem, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 274-289; see also, e.g., Richard D. Nelson, *The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History* (JSOTSup 18; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981). Cross' model remains regnant in English language scholarship.

133. For an elaborationn of the questions that animate much current scholarship on the DtrH, see the essays collected in T. Römer, ed., *The Future of the Deuteronomistic History* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000).

development: an initial stage during the Assyrian period, a middle stage during
the Neo-Babylonian period, and a final stage during the Persian period.[134] As for
Deut 30.1-10, scholars working with the model of a DtrH consistently attribute
the text to the latest proposed redactional layer or to a subsequent editorial
hand, most often dated to the early years of the Persian period.[135]

Recently, Swiss scholar Konrad Schmid has challenged the premises of
both the Hexateuch model and the DtrH.[136] Schmid argues that the primary fault
line in the early narratives of the Hebrew Bible occurs not between Joshua and
Judges, as in the Hexateuch model, or between Numbers and Deuteronomy, as in
the DtrH, but between the books of Genesis and Exodus. Schmid locates
Deuteronomy within a larger complex of material that tells the story of Moses
and Israel (Exodus-Kings). Schmid distinguishes this work, the Moses-Israel
story, from another body of traditions about the nation's ancestors: Abraham,
Isaac, and Jacob (Genesis). According to Schmid, the ancestor narratives and the
Moses-Israel story give two alternate and competing accounts of the nation's
origins. In the former Israel emerges from within the land of Canaan, while in
the latter the nation's story begins outside the homeland in Egypt. Schmid
argues that the two works were first brought together by priestly tradents in the
first half of the fifth century.[137] They are connected literarily by a number of

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134.   Römer, *Deuteronomistic History*.
135.   See the survey of scholarly positions in J. G. McConville, "1 Kings VIII 46-53 and the Deuteronomic Hope" *VT* XLII, no. 1 (1992): 67-79, here 70-71.
136.   Konrad Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story: Israel's Dual Origins in the Hebrew Bible* (Siphrut 3; trans. James D. Nogalski of *Habilitationsschrift, Erzväter und Exodus: Untersuchungen zur doppelten Begründung der Ursprünge Israels innerhalb der Geschichtsbücher des Alten Testaments* [WMANT 81; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1999]; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2010).
137.   Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story*, 255.

"bridge texts" that presume a unified narrative arc that encompasses the ancestor narratives in Genesis and the story of Israel's rise and fall in Exodus-Kings; Schmid's bridge texts include Gen 15, Gen 50-Exod 1, Exod 3-4, Exod 15, and Josh 24.[138] Regarding Deut 30.1-10, Schmid argues that this text, together with the Decalogue in Deut 5, dates to the early Persian period. He contends that these two texts place an interpretive frame around the legal material in chapters 6-26 that allows diaspora Jews to remain loyal to Yhwh by observing the Decalogue rather than the particular laws of the legal code, which are oriented toward life in the homeland (e.g. the call for centralized worship).[139] At the end of this chapter I offer a tentative historical reading of Deut 30.1-10 informed in part by the scholarly consensus that it belongs to an early Persian period edition of the book. Below, I attend to the text's literary structure and themes and to the contours of its own allusive topography.

Deuteronomy 30.1-10: Figuring Israel's Restoration

Literarily, Deut 30.1-10 is located in the third section of the book of Deuteronomy (29.1 [MT 28.69]-32.52) as part of the supplementary Moab covenant made between Yhwh and the children of the exodus generation. In keeping with the forward-looking orientation of this section, the text purports to offer a glimpse into Israel's distant future. It envisions a time after the minatory curses of chapter 28 have become historical reality. Chapter 30 begins by

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138.   Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story*, 157-158.

139.   Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story*, 151; see also Konrad Schmid, "Das Deuteronomium innerhalb der 'deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerke' in Gen-2Kön" in *Das Deuteronomium zwischen Pentateuch und deuteronomistischem Geschichtswerk* (FRLANT 206; eds. E. Otto and R. Achenbach; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004).

presuming Israel's defeat and deportation from its land in a punitive exile. From there, the text projects a reversal in the nation's fortune that restores Israel to divine favor and to the prosperity and peace once enjoyed by the ancestors (i.e. the book's putative audience, the children of the exodus generation). Below are English translations of both the Hebrew MT and the Greek LXX of Deut 30.1-10.

1. Deut 30.1-10: Hebrew Text and Translation

Hebrew MT[140]		English Translation
וְהָיָה֩ כִֽי־יָבֹ֨אוּ עָלֶ֜יךָ כָּל־הַדְּבָרִ֣ים הָאֵ֗לֶּה הַבְּרָכָה֙ וְהַקְּלָלָ֔ה אֲשֶׁ֥ר נָתַ֖תִּי לְפָנֶ֑יךָ וַהֲשֵׁבֹתָ֙ אֶל־לְבָבֶ֔ךָ בְּכָל־הַגּוֹיִ֔ם אֲשֶׁ֧ר הִדִּיחֲךָ֛ יְהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהֶ֖יךָ שָֽׁמָּה׃	1	When all these things have come upon you, the blessing and the curse that I have set before you, and you come to your senses [Heb *bring back to your heart*] in all the nations where YHWH your God has cast you out,
וְשַׁבְתָּ֞ עַד־יְהוָ֤ה אֱלֹהֶ֙יךָ֙ וְשָׁמַעְתָּ֣ בְקֹל֔וֹ כְּכֹ֛ל אֲשֶׁר־אָנֹכִ֥י מְצַוְּךָ֖ הַיּ֑וֹם אַתָּ֣ה וּבָנֶ֔יךָ בְּכָל־לְבָבְךָ֖ וּבְכָל־נַפְשֶֽׁךָ׃	2	and you return to YHWH your God, and you heed his voice in accord with all that I am commanding you today, you and your children, with all your heart and with all your person,
וְשָׁ֨ב יְהוָ֧ה אֱלֹהֶ֛יךָ אֶת־שְׁבוּתְךָ֖ וְרִחֲמֶ֑ךָ וְשָׁ֗ב וְקִבֶּצְךָ֙ מִכָּל־הָ֣עַמִּ֔ים אֲשֶׁ֧ר הֱפִֽיצְךָ֛ יְהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהֶ֖יךָ שָֽׁמָּה׃	3	then YHWH your God will reverse your fortune [Heb *turn back your turning*] and have compassion on you; he will gather you again [Heb *turn and gather you*] from all the peoples among whom YHWH your God scattered you.
אִם־יִהְיֶ֥ה נִֽדַּחֲךָ֖ בִּקְצֵ֣ה הַשָּׁמָ֑יִם מִשָּׁ֗ם יְקַבֶּצְךָ֙ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֔יךָ וּמִשָּׁ֖ם יִקָּחֶֽךָ׃	4	If your outcasts are at the end of the sky, from there YHWH your God will gather you, and from there he will fetch you.
וֶהֱבִֽיאֲךָ֞ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֗יךָ אֶל־הָאָ֛רֶץ אֲשֶׁר־יָרְשׁ֥וּ אֲבֹתֶ֖יךָ וִֽירִשְׁתָּ֑הּ וְהֵיטִֽבְךָ֥ וְהִרְבְּךָ֖ מֵאֲבֹתֶֽיךָ׃	5	And YHWH your God will bring you into the land that your ancestors possessed, and you will inherit it; and he will do good to you and multiply you more than your ancestors.

וּמָל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֶת־לְבָבְךָ
וְאֶת־לְבַב זַרְעֶךָ לְאַהֲבָה אֶת־יְהוָה
אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּכָל־לְבָבְךָ וּבְכָל־נַפְשְׁךָ לְמַעַן
חַיֶּיךָ׃

6 And Yнwн your God will circumcise your heart and the heart of your offspring to love Yнwн your God with all your heart and with all your person for the sake of your life.

וְנָתַן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֵת
כָּל־הָאָלוֹת הָאֵלֶּה עַל־אֹיְבֶיךָ
וְעַל־שֹׂנְאֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר רְדָפוּךָ׃

7 And Yнwн your God will place all these curses upon your enemies and upon your foes who persecuted you.

וְאַתָּה תָשׁוּב וְשָׁמַעְתָּ בְּקוֹל יְהוָה
וְעָשִׂיתָ אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֹתָיו אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי מְצַוְּךָ
הַיּוֹם׃

8 But as for you, you shall again heed [Heb *turn and heed*] Yнwн's voice; and you will do all his commandments that I am commanding you today.

וְהוֹתִירְךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּכֹל
מַעֲשֵׂה יָדֶךָ בִּפְרִי בִטְנְךָ וּבִפְרִי בְהֶמְתְּךָ
וּבִפְרִי אַדְמָתְךָ לְטוֹבָה כִּי יָשׁוּב יְהוָה
לָשׂוּשׂ עָלֶיךָ לְטוֹב כַּאֲשֶׁר־שָׂשׂ
עַל־אֲבֹתֶיךָ׃

9 And Yнwн your God will make you prosper in every work of your hand: in the fruit of your womb, and in the fruit of your cattle, and in the fruit of your ground for good; for Yнwн will rejoice over you again [Heb *turn and rejoice over you*] for good, just as he rejoiced over your ancestors.

כִּי תִשְׁמַע בְּקוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ
לִשְׁמֹר מִצְוֹתָיו וְחֻקֹּתָיו הַכְּתוּבָה בְּסֵפֶר
הַתּוֹרָה הַזֶּה כִּי תָשׁוּב אֶל־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ
בְּכָל־לְבָבְךָ וּבְכָל־נַפְשֶׁךָ׃ פ

10 For you will heed the voice of Yнwн your God by keeping his commandments and his decrees written in this book of instruction when you return to Yнwн your God with all your heart and with all your person.

2. Deut 30.1-10: Greek Text and Translation

Greek LXX[141]

English Translation

Καὶ ἔσται ὡς ἂν ἔλθωσιν ἐπὶ σὲ πάντα τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα, ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ κατάρα, ἣν ἔδωκα πρὸ προσώπου σου, καὶ δέξῃ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν σου ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, οὗ ἄν σε διασκορπίσῃ κύριος ἐκεῖ,

1 And it shall be, when all these words come upon you, the blessing and the curse that I put before you, and you receive [them] into your heart among all the nations where the Lord may scatter you there,

καὶ ἐπιστραφήσῃ ἐπὶ κύριον τὸν θεόν σου καὶ ὑπακούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ κατὰ πάντα, ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαί σοι σήμερον, ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου,

2 and you return to the Lord your God and obey his voice concerning all that I command you today, from the whole of your heart and from the whole of your soul,

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141. For the Greek text I have used John William Wevers, *Deuteronomium* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum 3/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977).

καὶ ἰάσεται κύριος τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου
καὶ ἐλεήσει σε καὶ πάλιν συνάξει σε ἐκ
πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν, εἰς οὓς
διεσκόρπισέν σε κύριος ἐκεῖ.

ἐὰν ᾖ ἡ διασπορά σου ἀπ' ἄκρου τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ ἕως ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,
ἐκεῖθεν συνάξει σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου,
καὶ ἐκεῖθεν λήμψεταί σε·

καὶ εἰσάξει σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου εἰς τὴν
γῆν, ἣν ἐκληρονόμησαν οἱ πατέρες σου,
καὶ κληρονομήσεις αὐτήν· καὶ εὖ σε
ποιήσει καὶ πλεοναστόν σε ποιήσει
ὑπὲρ τοὺς πατέρας σου.

καὶ περικαθαριεῖ κύριος τὴν καρδίαν
σου καὶ τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ σπέρματός
σου ἀγαπᾶν κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ
ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς
ψυχῆς σου, ἵνα ζῇς σύ.

καὶ δώσει κύριος ὁ θεός σου τὰς ἀρὰς
ταύτας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου καὶ ἐπὶ
τοὺς μισοῦντάς σε, οἳ ἐδίωξάν σε.

καὶ σὺ ἐπιστραφήσῃ καὶ εἰσακούσῃ τῆς
φωνῆς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου καὶ
ποιήσεις τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, ὅσας ἐγὼ
ἐντέλλομαί σοι σήμερον,

καὶ πολυωρήσει σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου
ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ τῶν χειρῶν σου, ἐν τοῖς
ἐκγόνοις τῆς κοιλίας σου καὶ ἐν τοῖς
γενήμασιν τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐν τοῖς
ἐκγόνοις τῶν κτηνῶν σου· ὅτι
ἐπιστρέψει κύριος ὁ θεός σου
εὐφρανθῆναι ἐπὶ σὲ εἰς ἀγαθά, καθότι
εὐφράνθη ἐπὶ τοῖς πατράσιν σου,

ἐὰν εἰσακούσῃς τῆς φωνῆς κυρίου τοῦ
θεοῦ σου φυλάσσεσθαι τὰς ἐντολὰς
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς
κρίσεις αὐτοῦ τὰς γεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ
βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τούτου, ἐὰν
ἐπιστραφῇς ἐπὶ κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ
ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς
ψυχῆς σου.

3 that the Lord will heal your sins and show mercy to you and gather you again from all the nations into which the Lord scattered you.

4 If your dispersion is from one end of the sky to the other end of the sky, from there the Lord your God will gather you, and from there he will take you;

5 and the Lord your God will bring you into the land that your ancestors inherited, and you will inherit it; and he will do good to you and make you numerous beyond your ancestors.

6 And the Lord will cleanse your heart and the heart of your progeny to love the Lord your God from the whole of your heart and from the whole of your soul so that you may live.

7 And the Lord your God will put these curses on your enemies and on those who hate you, who pursued you.

8 And as for you, you shall turn yourself about and obey the voice of the Lord your God and do his commandments, as many as I command you today.

9 And the Lord your God will treat you with much care in every work of your hands: in the offspring of your womb, and in the produce of your land, and in the offspring of your livestock; for the Lord your God will turn to rejoice over you for good, just as he rejoiced over your ancestors,

10 if you obey the voice of the Lord your God to keep his commandments and his ordinances and his judgments that have been written in the book of this law, if you turn yourself to the Lord your God from the whole of your heart and from the whole of your soul.

In the text's canonical placement, Moses offers a prophetic adumbration

of Israel's distant future, in which Y$_{HWH}$ returns the descendants of those exiled among the nations to their ancestral homeland as the vanguard of a restored Israel. The text figures Israel's restoration in discrete stages. As Richard D. Nelson, a scholar of the Deuteronomistic History, recognizes, in the text "the path of return is laid out step by step."[142] Indeed, as I argue in subsequent chapters, Second Temple works such as *Jubilees*, 4QMMT, Nehemiah, and Tobit, seem to treat the text as a script awaiting enactment. What, then, are the major episodes or stages that comprise Deut 30's figuration of Israel's restoration from exile?[143]

Although there is not universal consensus among scholars, I align with the majority in affirming that the text configures the nation's restoration as unfolding in two primary stages. First, in vv. 1-2 Israel turns to Y$_{HWH}$ in renewed allegiance while in exile. Second, in vv. 3-9 Y$_{HWH}$ pledges to reverse the nation's fortune for the better by restoring it to the homeland and to the conditions of prosperity once enjoyed by the ancestors. Verse 10 offers a concluding reflection that underscores Israel's role in securing this future: the nation must return to

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142. Richard D. Nelson, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 348.

143. For an argument, oriented toward a Structuralist approach, that texts such as Deut 30.1-10 evince an underlying conceptual scheme, "the familiar sin-exile-restoration (SER) scheme," see James M. Scott, "Paul's Use of Deuteronomic Tradition," *JBL* 112 (1993): 645-65, here 650. Scott appropriates the model of the SER scheme developed by Hebrew Bible scholar Odil H. Steck called the *deuteronomische Geschichtsbild*, the "Deuteronomistic conception of Israel's history." See further Odil H. Steck, *Israel und gas gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum* (WMANT 23; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967). Steck sets out his model in six parts, the historical development of which he traces in several stages. In a table of abbreviations appended to his book, Steck lists all six parts and the pages on which they are discussed in the body of the work (323). Scott, "Paul's Use," 647-650 provides a lucid survey of Steck's six-part model of the *deuteronomische Geschichtsbild*. Scott, "Paul's Use," 647, 650, concludes with Steck, *Israel*, 189, that from 200 BCE to 100 CE this conceptual schematization of Israel's history pervaded nearly all Palestinian Jewish literature as well as certain early Christian works. For a critique of Steck and Scott, see Guy Waters, *The End of Deuteronomy in the Letters of Paul* (WUNT 221; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 29-42.

Y<small>HWH</small> in exile and keep his commandments perpetually once in the homeland.

Most English translations construe the Hebrew text as figuring the nation's restoration in these two stages.[144] A temporal clause in vv. 1-3 provides the contours of the two stages.

וְהָיָה֩ כִֽי־יָבֹ֨אוּ עָלֶ֜יךָ כָּל־הַדְּבָרִ֣ים הָאֵ֗לֶּה הַבְּרָכָה֙ וְהַקְּלָלָ֔ה אֲשֶׁ֥ר נָתַ֖תִּי לְפָנֶ֑יךָ וַהֲשֵׁבֹתָ֙ אֶל־לְבָבֶ֔ךָ בְּכָל־הַגּוֹיִ֔ם אֲשֶׁ֧ר הִדִּיחֲךָ֛ יְהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהֶ֖יךָ שָֽׁמָּה׃	1 When all these things have come upon you, the blessing and the curse that I have set before you, and you come to your senses [Heb *bring back to your heart*] in all the nations where YHWH your God has cast you out,
וְשַׁבְתָּ֞ עַד־יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֗יךָ וְשָׁמַעְתָּ֤ בְקֹלוֹ֙ כְּכֹ֣ל אֲשֶׁר־אָנֹכִ֥י מְצַוְּךָ֖ הַיּ֑וֹם אַתָּ֣ה וּבָנֶ֔יךָ בְּכָל־לְבָבְךָ֖ וּבְכָל־נַפְשֶֽׁךָ׃	2 and you return to YHWH your God, and you heed his voice in accord with all that I am commanding you today, you and your children, with all your heart and with all your person,
וְשָׁ֨ב יְהוָ֧ה אֱלֹהֶ֛יךָ אֶת־שְׁבוּתְךָ֖ וְרִחֲמֶ֑ךָ וְשָׁ֗ב וְקִבֶּצְךָ֙ מִכָּל־הָ֣עַמִּ֔ים אֲשֶׁ֧ר הֱפִֽיצְךָ֛ יְהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהֶ֖יךָ שָֽׁמָּה׃	3 then YHWH your God will reverse your fortune [Heb *turn back your turning*] and have compassion on you; he will gather you again [Heb *turn and gather you*] from all the peoples among whom YHWH your God scattered you.

The major English translations regard verses 1-2 as a subordinate temporal clause introduced by וְהָיָה֩ כִֽי־יָבֹ֨אוּ ("When [all these things] have come"), whose main clause begins in v. 3 with the notice וְשָׁ֨ב יְהוָ֧ה אֱלֹהֶ֛יךָ אֶת־שְׁבוּתְךָ֖ ("then Y<small>HWH</small> your God will reverse your fortune"). The temporal sequence implies a causal relationship between the two stages of restoration. That is, the sequence suggests that Israel must first turn back to Y<small>HWH</small> before the deity revives compassion for the exiles and reverses the nation's fortune for the better.

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144.   See, e.g., the NRSV quoted above in the Introduction.

Several modern translations, such as the NRSV, make this explicit by embedding a conditional clause within the structure of the temporal clause: "[1]When all these things have happened to you...*if* you call them to mind...[2]and return to the L<small>ORD</small> your God...[3]then the L<small>ORD</small> your God will restore your fortunes and have compassion on you..." (Deut 30.1-3 NRSV, my emphasis).[145] Despite the consensus regarding the two-stage restoration figured in the text, at least one scholar promotes an alternate way of construing the syntax. In what follows I analyze his argument and offer reasons for maintaining the majority view.

In a provocative essay published in 1999, Hebrew Bible scholar Marc Brettler argues that Deut 30.1-10 actually outlines a single-stage process of restoration.[146] He attributes the nation's repentance while in exile (30.1-2) exclusively to Y<small>HWH</small>'s agency and gracious initiative. To make the case, Brettler projects the theology of Deut 30.6, where Y<small>HWH</small> circumcises Israel's collective heart, onto vv. 1-2 and reinterprets the syntax of the passage accordingly.[147] Brettler argues for beginning the main clause earlier than v. 3 with the first prefixed perfect verb in v. 1, וַהֲשֵׁבֹתָ, "then you will come [to your senses]" (my translation, reflecting Brettler's construal of the syntax). This reading exploits

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145.   No explicit marker of conditionality appears beyond the prefixed וְ in וַהֲשֵׁבֹתָ (which itself is syntactically ambiguous). The NJPS, which does not add the conditional clause to v. 1, more closely reflects the Hebrew by leaving the element of conditionality in vv. 1-2 as more of a connotation than a denotation of the temporal configuration: "When all these things befall you – the blessing and the curse that I have set before you – and you take them to heart amidst the various nations to which the L<small>ORD</small> your God has banished you, and you return to the lord your God, and you and your children heed his command with all your heart and soul, just as I enjoin upon you this day, then the lord your God will restore your fortunes and take you back in love . . ." My translation of vv. 1-3 aligns with the NJPS on this point.

146.   Marc Zvi Brettler, "Predestination in Deuteronomy 30.1-10" in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism* (eds. Linda S. Schearing & Steven L. McKenzie; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 171-88.

147.   Brettler, "Predestination," 177: "If that typical reading is rejected, the passage would read very smoothly, and the theology of v. 6 would permeate all of it."

the admittedly ambiguous syntax of the temporal clause to suggest that both

Israel's turning in exile in vv. 1-2 and the circumcision of the nation's heart in v. 6

result from Yₕwₕ's agency. For Brettler, Deut 30.1-10 thus affirms that "there is

no need for Israel to return of its own initiative before Yₕwₕ steps in."[148] To

render his approach consistent, Brettler must construe the כִּי clauses in v. 10 not

as explanatory, temporal, or causal but as asseverative: "You will indeed heed

Yₕwₕ your God...you will indeed return to Yₕwₕ your God."[149] Given the text's

purported emphasis on exclusive divine agency, Brettler argues that, while

borrowing diction from elsewhere in the book, Deut 30.1-10 is a late tendentious

insertion into the book: "Deut 30.1-10 is likely quite late and is *sui generis* within

Deuteronomy in terms of ideology, though not in terms of phraseology."[150] As I

discuss more fuly in the next chapter, Brettler believes that the author of Deut

30.1-10 inserted the text in an effort to align the book's theology with that of

prophetic texts such as the new covenant promise in Jer 31.

Brettler's interpretation of the text's syntax is certainly possible and is, as

he shows, reflected in some, though not all, Second Temple texts that allude to

Deut 30.1-10.[151] The major problem with his approach, however, is that it is

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148.   Brettler, "Predestination," 182.

149.   Brettler, "Predestination," 178. Brettler's translation of v. 10 does not account for the LXX, which unambiguously renders the two Hebrew כִּי clauses as conditional. In the LXX at least the conditional clauses in v. 10 imbue the temporal clause in vv. 1-3 with connotations of conditionality.

150.   Brettler, "Predestination," 186.

151.   See, implicitly, 4QMMT and, more clearly, 4Q504 and (possibly) Baruch 2.27-35 (see the discussion of these texts in the next chapter). Although Brettler also includes Neh 1.8-9, the syntax of the allusion remains ambiguous as in Deut 30.1-3 itself. At most, these Second Temple texts illustrate the possibility of exploiting the syntactical ambiguity of Deut 30.1-3 to advance a particular ideological figuration of Israel's restoration. In effect, this is what Brettler himself has done.

overly subtle. In Brettler's understanding, "Dtr clichés have been intentionally used"[152] in the text in order to smuggle into the book an otherwise innovative proposal, namely that Yʜᴡʜ is solely responsible for bringing about Israel's restoration.[153] Brettler ascribes the text to "a later editor [who] wanted to sneak an innovative idea into the text by dressing it – even over-dressing it – with Dtr phraseology."[154] The difficulty with this claim is that the "clichéd" language effectively assimilates the text to the retributive ideology that otherwise characterizes the book. Toward the end of his essay Brettler himself concedes the point:

> It is quite possible that the author of this passage did not fully appreciate that by integrating his ideas into the book of Deuteronomy, their theological innovation, namely that Yʜᴡʜ will assure Israel's repentance, might be lost, as this passage would be read within the purview of standard Deuteronomic ideology.[155]

In contrast to Brettler, I argue that Deut 30.1-10 stands in continuity with the book's ideology of retribution. That is, the temporal sequence in vv. 1-3, echoed later in v. 10, suggests that Yʜᴡʜ returns the exiles to the homeland and circumcises the national heart after (and in response to) Israel's return to Yʜᴡʜ while in exile. Further, the theology of v. 6 is not so alien as Brettler supposes. As I discuss below, it is possible to read v. 6 as an allusive response to a theological problem that arises in chapter 29, namely that in withholding from Israel an understanding heart Yʜᴡʜ may be at least partially responsible for the nation's

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152.   Brettler, "Predestination," 178.
153.   Brettler, "Predestination," 186.
154.   Brettler, "Predestination," 186.
155.   Brettler, "Predestination," 186.

disloyalty. With these considerations in view, I think it best to retain the traditional reading, which understands Israel's restoration as unfolding in two stages, the first in the subordinate temporal clause in vv. 1-2 and the second beginning with the main clause in v. 3.

In the first stage (vv. 1-2), then, the exiles turn back to Yʜᴡʜ in a pledge of renewed allegiance.[156] In the second (v. 3a), Yʜᴡʜ responds by vowing to reverse the nation's (mis)fortune for the better. The text signals this second stage with an idiomatic expression in Hebrew, וְשָׁ֣ב יְהוָ֧ה אֱלֹהֶ֛יךָ אֶת־שְׁבוּתְךָ (lit. "And Yʜᴡʜ your God will turn back your turning"), which connotes a general reversal of fortune[157] or, in this particular context, a restoration from exile.[158] The LXX has interpreted this expression with the phrase, καὶ ἰάσεται κύριος τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου ("And the Lord will heal your sins"). As John Wevers explains, the phrase in the LXX signifies an undoing of the harm brought about by Israel's disobedience.[159] In both the MT and the LXX this expression introduces the

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156. Scholars have identified various chiastic patterns in the text. For example, Timothy A. Lenchak, *"Choose Life!" A Rhetorical-Critical Investigation of Deuteronomy 28,69 – 30,20* (AnBib 129; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1993), 178 observes a chiastic pattern in vv. 8-10 and a larger one that encompasses the entire text based on the repetition of words and phases in vv. 1, 2 and 10. Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 347, also notes two chiastic patterns in the text; the first charts the alternation of subjects between Israel and Yʜᴡʜ, while the second develops around variations of the root שׁוב ("turn, return") and the repetition of the phrase, בְּכָל־לְבָבְךָ וּבְכָל־נַפְשֶׁךָ ("with all your heart and with all your person") in vv. 2, 6, 10. See also Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy* (JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 284, who in noting a chiastic pattern oriented around שׁוב confirms the two-stage model of restoration advocated here: "The chiasm shows how Israel's return to the Lord will lead to His returning them."

157. See Ezekiel 16.53 and esp. Job 42.10.

158. See John M. Bracke, "*šûb šebût*: A Reappraisal," *ZAW* 97 (1985), 233-44; see also the lucid discussion of the idiom in Martien A. Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile: The Metaphorization of Exile in the Hebrew Bible* (VTSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 91-93; see also Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Judaism: The First Phase, The Place of Ezra and Nehemiah in the Origins of Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 124.

159. John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 479.

program of restoration enumerated in vv. 3b-9. First, in vv. 3b-5b, Yʜwʜ

repatriates Israel to its ancestral land, however far flung its dispersion. Next, in

vv. 5b and 9 Yʜwʜ renews Israel's prosperity in the land. Yʜwʜ promises good to

Israel (v. 5b: וְהֵיטִבְךָ; v. 9: לְטוֹב) to a degree that exceeds (v. 5b) or equals (v. 9)

the experience of the ancestors. The deity's beneficence brings remarkable

fecundity to the people, their livestock, and the land that sustains them. Verses 5

and 9 form an *inclusio* around vv. 6-8, in which Yʜwʜ takes steps to ensure Israel

retains the land. First, Yʜwʜ, circumcises (מָל, MT) or cleanses (περικαθαριεῖ,

LXX) the collective heart to facilitate willing and abiding loyalty to the deity and

obedience to his commandments. Verses 6 and 8 seem calculated in part to

prevent Israel from bringing on itself once more the disasters that ensued from

forsaking Yʜwʜ. Having mitigated the internal threat to Israel's stability in the

land, verse 7 addresses potential dangers from outside the homeland. The

transfer of divine imprecations from Israel to its adversaries in v. 7 implicitly

secures the nation's political sovereignty over the homeland.   In summary, vv.

3-9 set out a comprehensive program of national restoration in which Yʜwʜ takes

extraordinary measures to ensure Israel's repatriation to, prosperity within, and

perpetual retention of the ancestral homeland.   The text's figuration of the

nation's future suggests, then, that when Israel's restoration arrives it will not be

partial, temporary, or tenuous but rather swift, complete, and enduring.

As part of its program for restoration the text constructs a new national

identity for a restored Israel. Deut 30.1-10 adumbrates a profile of this restored

Israel that includes the following elements: repentance in exile, return to and

resettlement of the national homeland, extraordinary fecundity, circumcision of the heart, and vindication over enemies. With language that echoes vv. 2 and 8, the text's final verse compliments this profile by accenting the role Israel plays in securing restoration: having turned back to Yʜᴡʜ while in exile (10b), those who resettle the land then obey the divine will "written in this book of *torah* (הַכְּתוּבָ֔ה בְּסֵ֖פֶר הַתּוֹרָ֣ה הַזֶּ֑ה)," i.e. the book of Deuteronomy (10a).[160] This profile has certain ideological implications. Deut 30.1-10 implicitly reserves membership in restored Israel for repentant exiles who resettle the homeland. On the one hand, the text broadens the constituency of the exiles to include not just Judeans in Babylonia but those scattered among "all the peoples" (30.3). On the other hand, the text intimates that repatriated exiles are the only group that can assert continuity with pre-exilic Israel and lay claim to the ancestral land and the prerogative of divine favor. Deut 30.1-10 remains conspicuously silent about the status of those who never left the homeland or of those who continue to abide outside its borders in diaspora.

Rᴇᴀᴅɪɴɢ Dᴇᴜᴛᴇʀᴏɴᴏᴍʏ 30.1-10 ᴀs ᴀɴ Iɴᴛᴇʀᴛᴇxᴛᴜᴀʟ Mᴏsᴀɪᴄ

The verbal and thematic contours of Deut 30.1-10 bear discernible traces of several other texts in the book of Deuteronomy. By approaching these traces as allusive markers, it is possible to read Deut 30.1-10 as an intertextual mosaic comprised of allusions to other texts elsewhere in the book of Deuteronomy,

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160.   See Georg Braulik, "The Development of the Doctrine of Justification," in *The Theology of Deuteronomy: Collected Essays by Georg Braulik* (trans. Ulrika Lindblad of idem, "Gesetz als Evangelium. Rechtfertigung und Begnadigung nach der deuteronomiums [Stuttgart, 1988], 123-160; N. Richland Hills: BIBAL, 1994), 151-164, here 164.

principally chapter 28. Deut 28 concludes the legal code of chapters 6-26 with a series of divine blessings and curses. These are framed as two possible alternatives that govern the nation's fate. If Israel remains loyal to the covenant, Yhwh will bestow blessings such as abundant fecundity, national security, seasonal rains, and regional hegemony (28.4-14). If Israel betrays the covenant to serve other deities, then Yhwh will unleash a devastating series of curses that includes pestilence, disease, drought, futility, foreign invasion, national subjugation, and deportation from the land (28.16-44).

Ancient Near Eastern vassal treaties, especially those of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, routinely concluded with a series of minatory curses such as those found in Deut 28.[161] These treaties threaten that the gods will impose punitive sanctions against vassal nations that break their oaths of fealty to the suzerain power. Among these sanctions, deportation from the homeland often appears as a form of national destruction.[162] For example, the treaty of Esarhaddon with the king of Tyre, drafted in 672 BCE, reads in part: "May Melqarth and Eshmun deliver your land to destruction and your people to deportation; may they [uproot] you from your land."[163] Deut 28.63-64 also associates deportation with destruction.

63 וְהָיָה כַּאֲשֶׁר־שָׂשׂ יְהוָה עֲלֵיכֶם לְהֵיטִיב אֶתְכֶם וּלְהַרְבּוֹת אֶתְכֶם כֵּן יָשִׂישׂ יְהוָה עֲלֵיכֶם לְהַאֲבִיד אֶתְכֶם וּלְהַשְׁמִיד אֶתְכֶם וְנִסַּחְתֶּם מֵעַל הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר־אַתָּה בָא־שָׁמָּה לְרִשְׁתָּהּ׃

Just as Yhwh rejoiced in doing you good and in multiplying you, so Yhwh will rejoice in annihilating and destroying you. You will be forcibly removed from the land of which you are entering to take possession.

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161.   See Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 22, who argues that "ancient Israel inherited a concept of exile" from its ancient Near Eastern counterparts as reflected in their treaties.

162.   Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 24.

163.   Esarhaddon's treaty with Baal, King of Tyre (iv:14-17); Simo Parpola and Kazuko Watanabe, eds., *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths* (SAA 2; Helsinki: University of Helsinki Press, 1988), 27; quoted from Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 24.

וְהֵפִֽיצְךָ֤ יְהוָה֙ בְּכָל־הָ֣עַמִּ֔ים 64 Yʜᴡʜ will scatter you among the peoples
מִקְצֵ֥ה הָאָ֖רֶץ וְעַד־קְצֵ֣ה הָאָ֑רֶץ וְעָבַ֣דְתָּ from one end of the earth to the other, and
שָּׁ֞ם אֱלֹהִ֣ים אֲחֵרִ֗ים אֲשֶׁ֧ר לֹא־יָדַ֛עְתָּ אַתָּ֖ה there you will serve other gods – mere
וַאֲבֹתֶ֑יךָ עֵ֥ץ וָאָֽבֶן׃ wood and stone – that neither you nor
your ancestors have known.

In these verses Israel's deportation and dispersal among the nations occur as a
form of national destruction at Yʜᴡʜ's hand.

Deportation also connotes the dissolution of Israel's relationship with
Yʜᴡʜ.[164] Israel's scattering in 28. 64 "among all the peoples from one end of the
earth to the other" (בְּכָל־הָעַמִּ֔ים מִקְצֵ֥ה הָאָ֖רֶץ וְעַד־קְצֵ֣ה הָאָ֑רֶץ) threatens to
reverse its divine election in 7.6 "out of all the peoples on the face of the earth"
(מִכֹּל הָֽעַמִּ֔ים אֲשֶׁ֖ר עַל־פְּנֵ֥י הָאֲדָמָֽה). The final verses of chapter 28 confirm
that deportation implies divine repudiation by employing a startling image.[165] In
a reversal of the exodus, Yʜᴡʜ threatens to send Israel back to Egypt to be sold as
slaves (28.68; see also 2 Kings 25.26), symbolically undoing the event that
precipitated Israel's birth as a nation. Indeed, according to verses 45-46 Yʜᴡʜ's
rejection of Israel will be complete and irreversible.

וּבָ֧אוּ עָלֶ֣יךָ כָּל־הַקְּלָל֖וֹת הָאֵ֑לֶּה וּרְדָפ֙וּךָ֙ 45 All these curses will come upon you, and
וְהִשִּׂיג֔וּךָ עַ֖ד הִשָּֽׁמְדָ֑ךְ כִּֽי־לֹ֣א שָׁמַ֔עְתָּ they will pursue you and overtake you until
בְּק֖וֹל יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֑יךָ לִשְׁמֹ֧ר מִצְוֺתָ֛יו you are destroyed; for you would not heed
וְחֻקֹּתָ֖יו אֲשֶׁ֥ר צִוָּֽךְ׃ the voice of Yʜᴡʜ your God to keep his
commandments and decrees that he
commanded you.

וְהָי֣וּ בְךָ֔ לְא֖וֹת וּלְמוֹפֵ֑ת וּֽבְזַרְעֲךָ֖ 46 So they will become a sign and a portent
עַד־עוֹלָֽם׃ on you and your descendants for eternity.

These verses, combined with the image of deportation and exile as a return to

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164.   See the discussion of this theme as it pertains to Deut 28 in Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 25-31.
165.   Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 30.

Egypt, suggest that Israel's ruination will be total and irrevocable. There is no indication that Israel's fall is only partial or temporary or that the exiled nation may one day reclaim its privileged status or reacquire its former homeland. As Halvorson-Taylor concludes: "in the oldest layers of Deut 28, exile is understood as a permanent disaster that might befall Israel, as befits the context of a treaty curse;" it is only later, in the post-exilic period, that texts such as Deut 30.1-10 "represent exile as potentially coming to an end."[166]

Deut 30.1-10 overrides the categorical claims of chapter 28 by allusively inverting its diction and imagery. The text promises the exiles nothing less than a restoration to the prosperity that in former times was coextensive with divine blessing.[167] There are even indications that Israel's post-exilic prosperity will exceed that of its ancestors (30.5). Deut 30.1-10 begins in v. 1 by recalling the two alternatives of blessing and curse set before Israel in chapter 28. The opening phrase of the chapter, "When all these things have come upon you, the blessing and the curse that I have set before you," echoes 28.2, 15, and 45. Deut 30.1-10, however, has subtly transformed the two alternatives of chapter 28 into two successive stages in Israel's history, stages that by the time of the text's composition have already transpired.[168] The historical sequencing of blessing

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166. Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 30-31.

167. Alexander Rofé, "The Covenant in the Land of Moab, Deuteronomy 28.69-30.20: Historico-Literary, Comparative and Form Critical Considerations" in *Das Deuteronomium. Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft* (ed. N. Lohfink; BETL 68; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1985, 310-20; repr., Alexander Rofé, *Deuteronomy: Issues and Interpretation* [Old Testament Studies; ed. David J. Reimer; London: T & T Clark, 2002]), 193-203, here 195, notes many of the inversions of chapter 28 discussed below. Rofé, however, infers from this that Deut 30.1-10 was originally a continuation of chapter 28 and so not a part of the Moab covenant. He suggests that 30.1-10 "was transferred here by a scribe who wanted the consolation to follow all punishment, even the one mentioned in 29.21-27" (195). Because Deut 30.7 alludes not to chapter 28 but to 29.20, Rofé contends that it must be a later addition to the text.

168. A. D. H. Mayes, "Deuteronomy 4 and the Literary Criticism of Deuteronomy," JBL 100

and curse allows the text to plot a third and final chapter in the national story: Israel's restoration to divine blessing and return to the national homeland.

The text's reversal of chapter 28 begins in earnest with 30.3, which claims that Yʜᴡʜ "will gather you again from all the peoples among whom Yʜᴡʜ your God scattered you (וְשָׁ֣ב וְקִבֶּצְךָ֗ מִכָּל־הָ֣עַמִּ֔ים אֲשֶׁ֧ר הֱפִֽיצְךָ֛ יְהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהֶ֖יךָ שָֽׁמָּה)." This declaration reverses the threat of 28.64: "Yʜᴡʜ will scatter you among the peoples from one end of the earth to the other (וֶהֱפִֽיצְךָ֤ יְהוָה֙ בְּכָל־הָ֣עַמִּ֔ים מִקְצֵ֥ה הָאָ֖רֶץ וְעַד־קְצֵ֣ה הָאָ֑רֶץ)." Significantly, it tacitly signals the reclamation of Israel's chosen status by recalling the nation's initial election in 7.6 "out of all the peoples on the face of the earth (מִכֹּל֙ הָֽעַמִּ֔ים אֲשֶׁ֖ר עַל־פְּנֵ֥י הָֽאֲדָמָֽה)." Moreover, when Yʜᴡʜ vows in 30.4 to gather Israel's outcasts as far as "from the end of the sky (בִּקְצֵ֣ה הַשָּׁמָ֑יִם)," this playfully extends the hyperbole of 28.64, where Yʜᴡʜ threatens to scatter the nation "from one end of the earth to the other (מִקְצֵ֥ה הָאָ֖רֶץ וְעַד־קְצֵ֣ה הָאָ֑רֶץ)." Indeed, it seems that the LXX more closely aligns 30.4 with 28.45 when it predicates a gathering "from one end of the sky to the other end of the sky (ἀπ' ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἕως ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ)." The allusive inversion of 28.45 in 30.4 suggests that Yʜᴡʜ's restorative compassion exceeds the reach of his imprecatory fury.[169]

Deut 30.1-10 continues to reverse the comminations of chapter 28 with the announcement in v. 5 that "Yʜᴡʜ your God will bring you into the land that

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(1981): 23-51; repr. *A Song of Power and the Power of Song: Essays on the Book of Deuteronomy* (SBTS 3; ed. Duane L. Christensen; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1993), 195-224, here 224.

169.   See Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 432, who observes, "However, in 30:1-10, the promises of prosperity after restoration are so glorious that they practically overshadow the threats."

your ancestors possessed and you will inherit it (וִירִשְׁתָּהּ)." This evokes the end

of 28.63, "You will be forcibly removed from the land that you are entering to

possess (לְרִשְׁתָּהּ)," to imagine the undoing of Israel's exile from the land. The

latter part of v. 5, "he will do good (וְהֵיטִבְךָ) to you and multiply you (וְהִרְבְּךָ),"

also echoes language from 28.63, which recalls a time before the onset of the

curses when "Yʜwʜ rejoiced over you to do you good (לְהֵיטִיב) and to multiply

(וּלְהַרְבּוֹת) you." The allusion intimates that Yʜwʜ will restore Israel to the

prosperous conditions that prevailed before the nation defected from the

covenant.

This reading gains force from 30.9, which promises "Yʜwʜ your God will

make you prosper in every work of your hand: in the fruit of your womb, and in

the fruit of your cattle, and in the fruit of your earth for good." The assertion

reiterates language from 28.11, where Yʜwʜ assures the nation that loyalty yields

prosperity and abundant fertility: "And Yʜwʜ will make you prosper for good in

the fruit of your womb, and in the fruit of your cattle, and in the fruit of your

earth."[170] Below are the two verses in Hebrew, each of which portrays Israel's

"good" (טוֹב) in terms of the same triad of divine blessings.

וְהוֹתִירְךָ יְהֹוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּכֹל מַעֲשֵׂה יָדֶךָ בִּפְרִי בִטְנְךָ
וּבִפְרִי בְהֶמְתְּךָ וּבִפְרִי אַדְמָתְךָ לְטוֹבָה (Deut 30.9a)

וְהוֹתִרְךָ יְהוָה לְטוֹבָה בִּפְרִי בִטְנְךָ וּבִפְרִי בְהַמְתְּךָ וּבִפְרִי
אַדְמָתֶךָ (Deut 28.11a)

170.　　See also 28.4 and 18, which contain an analogous triad in an alternate order.

The conclusion to 30.9 furthers the allusion to chapter 28 by drawing once more on 28.63. The promise that "Yʜᴡʜ will rejoice over you again (יָשׁוּב יְהוָה לָשׂוּשׂ עָלֶיךָ) for good, just as he rejoiced (שָׂשׂ) over your ancestors" in 30.9 reverses the warning in 28.63 that Yʜᴡʜ will respond to Israel's infidelity by "rejoicing" or "delighting" (שׂושׂ) in its annihilation: "so Yʜᴡʜ will rejoice (יָשִׂישׂ) over you to exterminate you and destroy you." Read allusively, then, Deut 30.1-10 consistently appears to echo chapter 28 in order to overrule the finality of Israel's imagined destruction with a prophetic announcement of a restoration to divine favor and prosperity emblematic of the pre-exlic era.

Allusions to three other texts in Deuteronomy are discernible in 30.6 in conjunction with the metaphor of heart circumcision.[171]

וּמָל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֶת־לְבָבְךָ וְאֶת־לְבַב זַרְעֶךָ לְאַהֲבָה אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּכָל־לְבָבְךָ וּבְכָל־נַפְשְׁךָ לְמַעַן חַיֶּיךָ׃	6 And Yʜᴡʜ your God will circumcise your heart and the heart of your offspring to love Yʜᴡʜ your God with all your heart and with all your person for the sake of your life.

The image of a circumcised heart connotes the removal of any volitional impediment to Israel's collective loyalty to Yʜᴡʜ.[172] Implicitly, the operation prevents the former exiles from recapitulating the kinds of perfidious deeds that called down Yʜᴡʜ's wrath. That Yʜᴡʜ performs the operation on both the initial generation of returning exiles and their offspring contributes to the sense that its effects are ongoing.

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171. For a comprehensive discussion of the metaphor, see R. Le Déaut, "Le thème de la circoncision du Coeur (Dt. 30:6; Jer. 4:4) dans les versions anciennes (LXX et Targum) et à Qumrân," *VTSup* 32 (1982): 178-205.

172. See Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 285; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 137.

The metaphor of heart (un)circumcision appears elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible but functions differently.[173] Two other texts summon Israel itself to circumcise the collective heart (Deut 10.16; Jer 4.4). Several others invert the metaphor to create the pejorative image of an uncircumcised heart, whether of Israel (Lev 26.41), of the nations (Ez 44.6-9), or of both (Jer 9.25). Deut 30.6 is thus unique in promoting the notion that YHWH will intervene to circumcise the heart of those who return from exile to resettle the homeland.

Approaching the book of Deuteronomy as a whole, the divine circumcision of the heart in 30.6 appears to solve certain problems posed by texts earlier in the book. In 10.16 Moses commands Israel to counter its obstinate disposition by circumcising the national heart: "So circumcise the foreskin of your heart (עָרְלַת לְבַבְכֶם), and do not stiffen your neck any longer." Prior to chapter 10 the image of the heart appears most prominently in 6.5-6: "[5]You shall love YHWH your God with all of your heart (בְּכָל־לְבָבְךָ), and with all of your person, and with all of your might. [6]And these words that I am commanding you today shall be on your heart (עַל־לְבָבֶךָ)." Both 6.5 and 10.16 are framed as directives from Moses issued with the expectation that Israel both can and will comply.

In contrast, chapter 29 is starkly pessimistic about the capacity of Israel's heart to acknowledge YHWH's beneficent rule. In vv. 4, 6 (MT vv. 3, 5) Moses cautions:

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173. On the development of the metaphor, see Werner E. Lemke, "Circumcision of the Heart: The Journey of a Biblical Metaphor" in *A God So Near: Essays on Old Testament Theology in Honor of Patrick D. Miller* (eds. Brent A Strawn and Nancy R. Bowen; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 299-319.

³וְלֹא־נָתַן֩ יְהֹוָ֨ה לָכֶ֥ם לֵב֙ לָדַ֔עַת וְעֵינַ֥יִם לִרְא֖וֹת וְאָזְנַ֣יִם לִשְׁמֹ֑עַ עַ֖ד הַיּ֥וֹם הַזֶּֽה... ⁵לְמַ֣עַן תֵּדְע֔וּ כִּ֛י אֲנִ֥י יְהֹוָ֖ה אֱלֹהֵיכֶֽם:

⁴But to this day Yʜᴡʜ has not given you a heart to know, or eyes to see, or ears to hear…⁶so that you may know that I am Yʜᴡʜ your God.

These verses offer an explanation as to how Israel became so intractably disobedient that Yʜᴡʜ was compelled "in anger, wrath, and great fury…[to] cast them into another land as is now the case" (29.28, MT 29.27). With this in mind, Eckhart Otto reads Deut 30.6 as a response to the concession in 29.3 that Yʜᴡʜ is at least partially responsible for Israel's incorrigibility.[174] Taken as such, Deut 30.6 reverses the deity's decision to hasten Israel's doom by denying the wayward nation an understanding and obedient heart. The possession of the circumcised heart thus implicitly ensures that Israel will not betray the covenant once back in the homeland and set in motion events that would ensue in a second exile. The allusion to Deut 6.5 at the end of v. 6 positively affirms this notion; it suggests that the circumcised heart enables restored Israel to fulfill the mandate of its election by rendering willing allegiance to Yʜᴡʜ alone.

Additional allusions to chapter 29 are audible in Deut 30.7. This verse uses the word הָאָל֔וֹת, "the curses," instead of the term הַקְּלָלָ֖ה, "the curses," which appears in Deut 30.1 and throughout chapter 28. The word used in Deut 30.7, הָאָל֔וֹת, does occur frequently in chapter 29 in vv. 12, 14, 19, 20, and 21 (MT vv. 11, 13, 18, 19, and 20).[175] Further, Deut 29.21 (MT 29.20), which uses the plural אָלֹ֔ות as in 30.7, also includes the phrase, "written in this book of the

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174. Eckart Otto, "Old and New Covenant. A Post-exilic Discourse between the Pentateuch and the Book of Jeremiah. Also a Study of Quotations and Allusions in the Hebrew Bible," *OTE* 19, no. 3 (2006): 939-49, here 943.

175. Brettler, "Predestination," 183.

torah" (הַכְּתוּבָ֖ה בְּסֵ֑פֶר), which recurs in 30.10 (הַכְּתוּבָ֗ה בְּסֵ֙פֶר֙ הַתּוֹרָ֣ה הַזֶּ֔ה,

הַתּוֹרָ֥ה הַזֶּ֖ה). Some scholars, such as Alexander Rofé, have argued that 30.7 is a

later insertion into the text because it alludes to chapter 29 and appears to

rupture the thematic continuity between vv. 6 and 8.[176] Given the relationship of

30.6 to chapter 29 discussed above as well as the links between 29.21 (MT

29.20) and 30.7 and 10 mentioned here, I think it more prudent to conclude with

Brettler that Deut 30.1-10 "is a learned written addition, very well integrated

into, and thus subsequent to, the previous two chapters."[177]   Literarily, the

allusion to chapter 29 in 30.7 furthers the motif of inversion. Over against the

finality of 29.20 (MT 29.19), "and every curse (כָּל־הָאָלָ֜ה) that is written in this

book will rest upon him, and Yʜwʜ will wipe out his name from under the sky,"[178]

Deut 30.7 imagines a time when Yʜwʜ will transfer the curses from the once-

doomed nation and place them on its enemies. Collaterally, this move secures

Israel's political hegemony over the newly reacquired homeland.

Read allusively, then, Deut 30.1-10 echoes several texts from elsewhere in

the book, notably chapters 6, 28, and 29. Construed as such, Deut 30.1-10

subverts the book's figuration of exile as a permanent and irrevocable

manifestation of divine wrath by attributing to Moses a prophecy of national

restoration. In place of a decisive repudiation by the deity and a perpetual exile

among the nations, Deut 30.1-10 predicates a reversal of the nation's fortune that

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176.   Rofé, 195; see also Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 349, note 6.
177.   Brettler, "Predestination," 183.
178.   Although the verse refers to a single hypothetical defector, the end of v. 19 (MT v. 18)
suggests that the arrogance of the one will affect the fate of the many; moreover, v. 25 (MT v. 24)
speaks in the plural about those who abandoned the covenant (see the NRSV, which translates the
pronouns as plural throughout).

allows Israel to fulfill the promise of its initial election by Yʜᴡʜ.

Hɪsᴛᴏʀʏ ᴀs Iɴᴛᴇʀᴛᴇxᴛ

What, if anything, does this reading suggest about the text's historical origins? In what follows, I argue that reading Deut 30.1-10 together with the intertext of Cyrus' conquest of Babylon in 539 ʙᴄᴇ positions the text as a counter-edict of repatriation. That is, the text attributes Israel's restoration not to the beneficence of a foreign monarch and his patron deity but to the reparation of Israel's covenant with Yʜᴡʜ and the renewal of divine compassion.[179]

According to the Cyrus Cylinder, the victorious Persian king authorized several groups exiled by the Babylonians to return to their native lands. Cyrus went on to provide for the refurbishing of dilapidated local temples and the restoration of plundered divine images – all under the beneficent auspices of Marduk, the chief Babylonian deity.[180] Although the Cylinder does not specifically name Judah among Cyrus' beneficiaries, it gives a sense of how the king represents his disposition and policies toward former subjects of the Babylonian Empire. If, as many scholars conclude, Deut 30.1-10 was composed during the

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179.   Scholars are virtually unanimous in ascribing Deut 30.1-10 to the late exilic or early Persian period. Brettler, "Predestination," 185, note 46, who attributes the text to the exilic period, points to stylistic connections with the prose sections in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Second Isaiah. He also cites as evidence the phrase, "book of the torah" in v. 10, which "is particularly well attested in Nehemiah and Chronicles" (184). For an argument that the text was composed during the post-exilic period see N. Mendecki, "Dtn 30,3-4 – nachexilisch?," *BZ* 29 (1985): 267-71; see also Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story*, 150-51.

180.   The Cyrus Cylinder (ca. 539-530 ʙᴄᴇ) chronicles Cyrus' victory over the Babylonian king Nabonidus, his peaceful takeover of Babylon, and his acts of beneficence toward its subject peoples. For a discussion of the Cyrus Cylinder and a quotation of the relevant portions, see Albertz, *Israel in Exile*, 113-116. Photographs of the Cyrus Cylinder as well as an English translation are available online at the website of the British Museum in London, England: Irving Finkel, trans. of the text on the Cyrus Cylinder, n.p. [cited 25 Aug 2012]. Online: http:/ /www.britishmuseum.org/ explore/highlights/article_index/c/cyrus_cylinder_-_translation.aspx.

early years of the Persian period, perhaps Cyrus' victory over the Babylonians in 539 BCE and the policies that ensued called for an update to the book of Deuteronomy to bring the text into alignment with the new situation.

Adding force to this proposal is an argument Geo Widengren advances concerning texts in the Hebrew Bible, such as Deut 30.1-10, that forecast YHWH's gathering of Israel's dispersed to return them to the homeland. In an essay entitled "Yahweh's Gathering of the Dispersed," Widengren compares these biblical texts to several royal inscriptions and psalms from ancient Mesopotamian empires in which the "gathering and return" formula also appears.[181] Among them, for example, is an inscription from the Neo-Assyrian king Assurbanipal concerning Babylon that reads in part: "Its scattered people I gathered and then restored to their place."[182] Remarkably, the same formulaic diction appears centuries later in the inscription on the Cyrus Cylinder, which celebrates the Persian king's peaceful conquest of Babylon: "All their inhabitants I gathered and then restored to their habitation."[183] This is significant because it indicates that this kind of stock vocabulary was still in use as late as the Persian conquest of Babylon in 539 BCE. After coordinating several Akkadian terms and phrases with their counterparts in Hebrew biblical texts (Deut 30.3 among them), Widengren finds "astonishing agreement between Akkadian and Hebrew use" of the "gathering the dispersed" thematic and concludes that its occurrence

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181. Geo Widengren, "Yahweh's Gathering of the Dispersed," in *In the Shelter of Elyon: Essays on Ancient Palestinian Life and Literature in Honor of G.W. Ahlstrom* (JSOTSup 31; eds. W. Boyd Barrick and John R. Spencer; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 227-245; see also Geo Widengren, "The Gathering of the Dispersed," *SEÅ* 41-42 (1976-1977): 224-234.
182. Widengren, "Yahweh's Gathering," 235.
183. Widengren, "Yahweh's Gathering," 236.

in texts of the Hebrew Bible "is due to the direct influence of Mesopotamian civilization."[184] Although Widengren's conclusion may be overstated, his argument invites an exploration of how the Cyrus Cylinder, when read as an intertext for Deut 30.1-10, affects the meaning of the biblical text.

Taking the Cyrus Cylinder as an intertext for Deut 30.1-10 allows for construing the Deuteronomic text as a kind of counter-edict of repatriation. Understood as such, Deut 30.1-10 tacitly subverts Cyrus' claim that Marduk authorized the Persian conquest of Babylon and the subsequent repatriation of subject peoples. Against this, Deut 30.1-10 credits Israel's restoration to the reparation of the nation's covenant with Yʜᴡʜ and to the revival of the deity's compassion. The text authorizes those dispersed by Yʜᴡʜ's wrath to return to their ancestral homeland to begin a new life once more under the aegis of Yʜᴡʜ's blessing.

In such a setting the literary conceit of the book would have strengthened the text's appeal. Deut 30.1-10 implicitly casts the exiles in the role of the second generation of Israelites poised to enter Canaan in place of their parents. For both the children of the exodus generation and the returning exiles, the text portrays Yʜᴡʜ's wrath as having been exhausted on a former unfaithful generation, whether those who perished in the wilderness outside Egypt or those who suffered defeat and exile among the nations. The book of Deuteronomy thus assures both the fictive and historical audiences that the period of divine wrath has ended, that Yʜᴡʜ's compassion rests upon them, and that they are the

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184.   Widengren, "Yahweh's Gathering," 239.

rightful heirs to the legacy and land of their ancestors – so long as they uphold the oath of loyalty to Yʜᴡʜ forsaken by the previous generation.

Cᴏɴᴄʟᴜsɪᴏɴ

In this chapter I have argued that, literarily, Deut 30.1-10 configures Israel's restoration into two distinct episodes or stages. First, Israel renews allegiance to Yʜᴡʜ while in exile. Second, Yʜᴡʜ reverses the nation's fortune by returning the exiles to their homeland and prospering them there as before. After resettling the exiles in their ancestors' land, Yʜᴡʜ grants them abundant fecundity, a capacity for ongoing loyalty, and vindication over foreign adversaries. Ideologically, the text's figuration privileges those in diaspora who return to the homeland by granting them the status of restored Israel, the right to acquire and settle the ancestral land, and the prestige of divine favor. The text remains conspicuously silent about the fates of those who never left the homeland or who remain living in diaspora. Read allusively, Deut 30.1-10 resounds with echoes of several other texts in the book of Deuteronomy, chapters 6, 10, 28, and 29 in particular. These allusions conspire to undermine the book's portrayal of exile as final and irreversible in order to project a future for Israel in which the descendants of those banished by the deity's wrath may return to the homeland and prosper there under Yʜᴡʜ's blessing. Finally, bringing Deut 30.1-10 into conversation with the intertext of the Cyrus Cylinder positions Yʜᴡʜ's promise of future restoration as a counter-edict of repatriation that attributes the exiles' resettlement of their native land to Israel's repentance and Yʜᴡʜ's compassion rather than Cyrus' patronage or Marduk's beneficence.

Allusions to Deut 30.1-10 are discernible in a number of Second Temple literary works in addition to Nehemiah, Ruth, Tobit, and the Gospel of Mark, the four narratives that feature in this study. These allusions attest to the text's ongoing vitality and appeal during the Second Temple period. They underscore its capacity to generate new allusive figurations of a restored Israel long after the text's ostensible fulfillment in the late sixth century BCE, when the first waves of exiles returned from Babylonia to resettle Jerusalem and rebuild YHWH's temple. The next chapter surveys the reception of Deut 30.1-10 in non-narrative literature of the Second Temple period. Throughout, I explore how reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 generates diverse and competing figurations of Israel's identity in the context of an exile that was often literarily imagined as enduring well into the Second Temple period.

Chapter Two

The Allusive Reception of Deuteronomy 30.1-10
in Non-Narrative Second Temple Literature

Introduction

This chapter surveys allusions to Deut 30.1-10 that scholars have identified in non-narrative works written or redacted during the Second Temple period. Reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in these works underscores the text's capacity to generate multiple and competing figurations of a restored Israel in the context of an exile that is literarily imagined as unresolved and ongoing. It also provides a context of plausibility for discerning allusive traces of Deut 30.1-10 in the four Second Temple narratives I discuss in the chapters that follow: Nehemiah, Ruth, Tobit, and the Gospel of Mark.

Richard Bauckham has drawn attention to the numerous allusions to Deut 30.1-10 in Second Temple literature as evidence of the text's importance and broad appeal during this period. In a study exploring the theme of Israel's restoration in Luke-Acts, Bauckham claims that "Deuteronomy 30:1-5 is the foundational text for Israel's hope of restoration from exile, establishing the sequence of Israel's 'turning' to Yhwh followed by Yhwh's 'turning' Israel's captivity and regathering the scattered people to the land."[185] Elsewhere in the essay, Bauckham enumerates several Second Temple texts that allude to Deut 30.1-10; his list includes Neh 8.1-9; Tob 13.5-6; 14.5; 4Q504 1-2 5.12-13; Jub

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185. Richard Bauckham, "The Restoration of Israel in Luke-Acts" in *Restoration: Old Testament, Jewish and Christian Perspectives* (ed. James M. Scott; JSJSup 72; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 435-487, here 447.

1.15; and Bar 2.30, 33.[186]   The first two texts in Bauckham's list are narrative

works that I discuss in the body of the dissertation. Below I treat the remaining

three along with others he does not mention. Before turning to these, I briefly

discuss a number of other texts that have an ambiguous allusive relationship to

Deut 30.1-10: Deut 4.29-31; 1 Kings 8.46-53; and several passages from the book

of Jeremiah.

TEXTS OF AMBIGUOUS ALLUSIVE RELATIONSHIP TO DEUTERONOMY 30.1-10

There are several texts whose allusive relationship to Deut 30.1-10

remains a point of contestation among scholars. These texts include Deut

4.29-31; 1 Kings 8.46-53; and several texts in the book of Jeremiah that envision

national restoration from exile. For each of these texts there are several scholars

who advocate some kind of literary and thematic relationship to Deut 30.1-10.

Opinions differ, however, concerning the existence, extent, and direction of

influence. Some scholars, for example, contend that a single author composed

Deut 30.1-10 and one or more of the above-mentioned texts. Others assign them

to different authors but do not agree as to the extent and direction of literary

influence. It is beyond the scope of this project to attempt a resolution to these

matters. Instead, I survey below some of the scholarly options and comment on

the implications of reading the allusion along the lines of one or more of the

various proposals.

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186.   Bauckham, "Restoration," 440; his list includes texts that allude to Deut 30.1-5.

A. Deut 4.29-31

Both Deut 4.29-31 and 1 Kings 8.46-53 feature language and themes that resonate with Deut 30.1-10. In contrast to the latter text, however, neither Deut 4.29-31 nor 1 Kings 8.46-53[187] explicitly identifies return to the national homeland as a defining feature of Israel's restoration.[188] Deut 4.29-31 occurs toward the end of the first section of Deuteronomy (1.1-4.43). It is part of an extended paranetical discourse in chapter 4 in which Moses summons the children of the exodus generation to comply with YHWH's covenant in order to ensure their possession of the land promised to their ancestors. In vv. 29-31 Moses anticipates Israel's return to YHWH after enduring a punitive exile among the nations (vv. 27-28).

וְהֵפִיץ יְהוָה אֶתְכֶם בָּעַמִּים וְנִשְׁאַרְתֶּם מְתֵי מִסְפָּר בַּגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר יְנַהֵג יְהוָה אֶתְכֶם שָׁמָּה׃	27	And YHWH will scatter you among the peoples; and you will be left few in number among the nations where YHWH will lead you.
וַעֲבַדְתֶּם־שָׁם אֱלֹהִים מַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵי אָדָם עֵץ וָאֶבֶן אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִרְאוּן וְלֹא יִשְׁמְעוּן וְלֹא יֹאכְלוּן וְלֹא יְרִיחֻן׃	28	There you will serve gods that are a work of human hands – wood and stone – that neither see nor hear nor eat nor smell.
וּבִקַּשְׁתֶּם מִשָּׁם אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ וּמָצָאתָ כִּי תִדְרְשֶׁנּוּ בְּכָל־לְבָבְךָ וּבְכָל־נַפְשֶׁךָ׃	29	But from there you will seek YHWH your god, and you will find him if you seek him with all of your heart and with all of your person.
בַּצַּר לְךָ וּמְצָאוּךָ כֹּל הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים וְשַׁבְתָּ עַד־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ וְשָׁמַעְתָּ בְּקֹלוֹ׃	30	When you are in distress and all these things find you in the days ahead, then you will turn back to YHWH your god and heed his voice.

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187.   See also Lev 26.40-45, in which YHWH promises to remember the covenant with Israel's ancestors if the exiles confess their iniquity and perfidy.

188.   Cf. Richard D. Nelson, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 69, who thinks Deut 4.29-31 may imply repatriation: "Although no return from exile is explicitly mentioned, there is at least a hint of this possibility in the promissory content of Yahweh's covenant with the ancestors."

31 כִּי אֵל רַחוּם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לֹא יַרְפְּךָ
וְלֹא יַשְׁחִיתֶךָ וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח אֶת־בְּרִית
אֲבֹתֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע לָהֶם׃

31 Because Y**HWH** your god is a compassionate god, he will not abandon you or destroy you; he will not forget the covenant with your ancestors that he swore to them.

Although many scholars recognize the verbal and thematic affinity these verses share with Deut 30.1-10, opinions differ as to the exact nature of their relationship. Hans Walter Wolff and Richard D. Nelson, for example, argue that the same author composed both texts, probably in the late exilic or early post-exilic period.[189] These scholars regard Deut 4.29-31 as a late interpolation into the chapter, marked in part by a shift from the largely second-person plural discourse in vv. 1-28 to the predominate use of the second-person singular in vv. 29-40. Alternatively, A. D. H. Mayes argues for the literary integrity of Deut 4.1-40, though he too proposes that it belongs to the same late redactional stratum as does Deut 30.1-10.[190] Other scholars distinguish between Deut 4.29-31 and 30.1-10. Marc Brettler, for one, reads Deut 30.1-10 as a later exegetical expansion of 4.29-31 that differs in emphasis, themes, and style.[191] On

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189. Hans Walter Wolff, "The Kerygma of the Deuteronomistic Historical Work" in *The Vitality of Old Testament Traditions* (eds. Walter Brueggemann and Hans Walter Wolff; trans. Frederick C. Prussner of "Das Kerygma des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk," ZAW [1961], 171-86; Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1975; repr., in *Reconsidering Israel and Judah: Recent Studies on the Deuteronomistic History* (eds. Gary N. Knoppers and J. Gordon McConville; SBTS 8; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 62-78, here 75; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 348 note 2; see also Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge: Harvard University Pres, 1973), 278 note 3 and Jon D. Levinson, "Who Inserted the Book of the Torah?" *HTR* 68, nos. 3-4 (July-Oct 1975): 203-33, who both posit a single author (Dtr²) for Deut 4.29-31; 30.1-10 and 1 Kings 8.46-53; see also Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy* (JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 432, who regards Deut 4.29-31 and 30.1-10 as exilic interpolations into the book but does not explicitly specify whether a single author wrote both texts.

190. A. D. H. Mayes, "Deuteronomy 4 and the Literary Criticism of Deuteronomy," JBL 100 (1981): 23-51; repr. *A Song of Power and the Power of Song: Essays on the Book of Deuteronomy* (SBTS 3; ed. Duane L. Christensen; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1993), 195-224, here 197-202, 217-219, upholds the literary unity of Deut 4.1-40 but proposes that it belongs to the same late redactional stratum as does Deut 30.1-10.

191. Marc Zvi Brettler, "Predestination in Deuteronomy 30.1-10" in *Those Elusive*

the other hand, Eckart Otto regards Deut 4.1-40 as a unified literary text composed during the early Persian period.[192] Following G. Vanoni, he discerns allusions to Deut 30.1-5 in 4.27, 29-32, 34, and 38-40.[193] If this latter suggestion is correct, it may be that, by omitting any explicit reference to repatriation, Deut 4.29-31 tacitly authorizes an experience of restoration for those outside the homeland in diaspora.

B. 1 Kings 8.46-53

A similar lack of consensus also characterizes scholarship on the relationship between Deut 30.1-10 and 1 Kings 8.46-53, the seventh petition of Solomon's dedicatory prayer for the Jerusalem temple. Here again, several scholars acknowledge the verbal and thematic kinship between the two texts but make alternate claims about literary priority.[194] In 1 Kings 8.46-53 Solomon

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Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism (eds. Linda S. Schearing & Steven L. McKenzie; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 171-88, here 184-85; see S. R. Driver, *Deuteronomy* (ICC: Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1895), 328; Robert Polzin, *Moses and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomic History; Part One: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges* (New York: Seabury, 1980), 70.

192.   Eckart Otto, "Old and New Covenant. A Post-exilic Discourse between the Pentateuch and the Book of Jeremiah. Also a Study of Quotations and Allusions in the Hebrew Bible," *OTE* 19, no. 3 (2006): 939-949, here 944; see Eckart Otto, *Das Deuteronomium im Pentateuch und Hexateuch: Studien zur Literaturgeschichte von Pentateuch und Hexateuch im Lichte des Deuteronomiumrahmens* (Forschungen zum Alten Testament 30; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 157-75; see Konrad Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story: Israel's Dual Origins in the Hebrew Bible* (Siphrut 3; trans. James D. Nogalski of *Habilitationsschrift, Erzväter und Exodus: Untersuchungen zur doppelten Begründung der Ursprünge Israels innerhalb der Geschichtsbücher des Alten Testaments* [WMANT 81; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1999]; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 150, note 652.

193.   Otto, "A Postexilic Discourse," 944; see also G. Vanoni, "Anspielungen und Zitate innerhalb de hebräischen Bibel. Am Beispiel von Dtn 4,29; Dtn30,3 und Jer 29,13-14, in *Jeremia und die "deuteronomistische Bewegung"* (BBB 98; ed. W. Gross; Weinheim: Beltz, Athenäum, 1995), 383-397, here 396.

194.   For more on the allusive character of the prayer, and the seventh petition specifically, see E. Talstra, *Solomon's Prayer: Synchrony and Diachrony in the Composition of 1 Kings 8, 14-61* (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 3; Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1993), 216-225.

imagines a scenario in which Israel's sin against Yʜᴡʜ precipitates military defeat and deportation from the land. Surprisingly, Solomon does not ask Yʜᴡʜ to return repentant captives to the homeland as he does in vv. 33-34. Instead, the king implores Yʜᴡʜ to grant the exiles "compassion before their captors" (v. 50, וְהֵשִׁיבוּ) (וּנְתַתָּם לְרַחֲמִים לִפְנֵי שֹׁבֵיהֶם) if they "come to their senses" (v. 47, אֶל־לִבָּם) and "turn back to you with all their heart and with all their person in the land of their enemies who took them captive" (v. 48, וְשָׁבוּ אֵלֶיךָ בְּכָל־לְבָבָם וּבְכָל־נַפְשָׁם בְּאֶרֶץ אֹיְבֵיהֶם אֲשֶׁר־שָׁבוּ אֹתָם). The end of the books of Kings seems to instatiate part of Solomon's petition. In 2 Kings 25.27-30 the Babylonian king unexpectedly releases the captive Judean monarch Jehoiachin, promotes him over the other subject kings in Babylon, and grants him the prestige of a daily allowance and a seat at the royal table.

Scholars are divided as to the literary relationship between Deut 30.1-10 and 1 Kings 8.46-53. On one side are Frank Moore Cross and Jon D. Levinson. On the basis of the verbal parallels adduced above, both scholars argue that Deut 30.1-10 and 1 Kings 8.46-53, together with Deut 4.29-31, were composed in exile as part of a second redaction of the DtrH (Dtr²).[195] That is, these scholars regard all three texts as the product of the same editorial hand. On the other side are scholars who construe 1 Kings 8.46-53 as a later text that alludes to Deut 30.1-10. For example, in a note Marc Brettler refers to "the use of Deut. 30.1-10 in the exilic section of Solomon's prayer (1 Kgs 8.46-50)."[196] J. G. McConville

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195. See note 4 above.
196. Brettler, "Predestination," 180, note 33; in his essay M. Brettler, "Interpretation and Prayer: Notes on the Composition of 1 Kings 8.15-53" in *Minhah le-Nahum* (JSOTSup 154; eds. M. Brettler and M. Fishbane; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 17-35, Brettler argues for

provides a more extensive argument for reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in 1 Kings 8.46-53. He contends that the allusion functions to subvert the Deuteronomic vision of restoration by limiting the national hope from repatriation to the homeland to compassion while in exile.[197] Somewhat problematically, his argument seems to require dating 1 Kings 8.46-53 to the exile and Deut 30.1-10 even earlier. Other scholars, such as Marvin A. Sweeney, argue that Solomon's prayer addresses not the Babylonian exile of Judah but "the Assyrian exile of the northern tribes of Israel" because it envisions the exile and return of the people to a temple that remains standing in vv. 33-34.[198] Taking the opposite view, Volkmar Fritz sees in the text an incipient diaspora ideology beginning to take shape. Commenting on 1 Kings 8.46-53, Fritz argues that the petition "points to a time in which the exiles accepted their fate and started to settle in foreign lands," which suggests that the text was composed in "postexilic times."[199] If Fritz's position is taken as a starting point, then it is possible to read 1 King's 8.46-53 as an allusion to Deut 30.1-10 that obfuscates the latter's promise of repatriation to allow for an experience of restoration in diaspora. Construed as such, Jehoiachin's release from prison at the end of 2 Kings would signal the availability of Yhwh's restorative compassion in diaspora mediated through the clemency of the foreign king.

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reading an allusion to Deut 4.29-31 in 1 Kings 8.46-50 but does not mention Deut 30.1-10.

197.   J. G. McConville, "1 Kings VIII 46-53 and the Deuteronomic Hope," *VT* XLII, no. 1 (1992): 67-79.

198.   Marvin A. Sweeney, *I & II Kings: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2007), 130.

199.   Volkmar Fritz, *1 & 2 Kings* (Continental Commentary; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 100.

C. Restoration Texts in the Book of Jeremiah

Several scholars have proposed some form of literary relationship between Deut 30.1-10 and texts in the book of Jeremiah that discuss the nation's restoration together with similar texts in the book of Ezekiel (e.g. 11.14-21; 36.16-38). Because most of the scholarly energy concerns the kinship between Deut 30.1-10 and Jeremiah, I will focus my discussion there. A number of locutions in Deut 30.1-10 also appear in texts concerning Israel's restoration in the book of Jeremiah.[200] These include the following terms and verbal collocations:

נדח, hiphil (cast out):	30.1, 4 (niphal)
פוץ, hiphil (scatter):	30.3
קבץ, piel (gather):	30.3, 4
שׁוּב שְׁבוּת (reverse [your] fortune):	30.3
בוא, hiphil (bring back):	30.5
מול, qal (circumcise) + לֵבָב (heart):	30.6
שׂושׂ, qal (rejoice, delight):	30.9
שׁוב, qal (return) + לֵבָב (heart):	30.10

Below is a brief catalogue of texts in the book of Jeremiah where the above locutions occur.

> Jer 23.7-8 (also 16.14-16; OG, after v. 40) – Yʜwʜ promises a new exodus from the land of the north and from all the lands where Israel has been driven.

> Jer 24.4-7 – "Good figs," Judeans exiled to Babylon, are contrasted with "bad figs" (vv. 8-10), Judeans who remained in the land or fled to Egypt; to the "good figs," who return to Yʜwʜ with all of their heart, Yʜwʜ will grant the land and give a heart to know him.

> Jer 29.14 (absent in OG; present in Theod, T, S, and Vg)[201] – Yʜwʜ

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200.   Many of these verbal parallels are noted in Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 328-330; see also Brettler, "Predestination," 187.

will reverse the fortune of exiled Judeans and gather them from all the nations and places to which they were driven and bring them back to the place from which they were exiled.

Jer 30.3 (OG 37.3) – Yʜwʜ will reverse the fortune of Israel and Judah and bring both exiled nations back to the ancestral land to possess it.

Jer 31.8, 33-34 (OG 38.8, 33-34) – Yʜwʜ will gather the remnant of Israel from the land of the north and from the remotest part of the earth (31.8); Yʜwʜ will make a new covenant with Israel and Judah in which he will forgive sin and write the divine *torah* on Israel's heart; as a result, instruction will become redundant because all will know Yʜwʜ (31.33-34).

Jer 32.37-41 (OG 39.37-41) – Yʜwʜ will gather the exiles from all the lands to which he had driven them in wrath; Yʜwʜ will give them one heart to fear him perpetually; Yʜwʜ will make an eternal covenant to do them good and to cause their heart to fear him in order to prevent them from turning away again.

Of the above texts, the language in Deut 30.1-10 comes closest to Jer 24.4-7; 29.14; 30.3; and 32.37-41.

As with Deut 4.29-31 and 1 Kings 8.46-53, several scholars have recognized the parallels in diction between Deut 30.1-10 and Jeremiah, but consensus has yet to emerge regarding the direction and extent of literary influence. The situation is complicated both by the lack of agreement about the relationship between the book of Jeremiah and the Deuteronomists more broadly[202] and also by the complex redactional history of Jeremiah itself, which

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201. Jack R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 21-36: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (The Anchor Bible 21B; New York: Doubleday, 2004), 354.

202. The first to contend for extensive Deuteronomistic influence on the book of Jeremiah was Bernard Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia* (KAT 11; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1901), who attributed approximately 70% of the book to Deuteronomistic redactors. For a survey of scholarship and an argument against the Deuteronomistic provenance of Jer 31-34 specifically, see William McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah XXVI-LII* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996), 823-827. For recent contributions, see Thomas Römer, "How Did Jeremiah Become a Convert to Deuteronomistic Ideology? in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism* (JSOTSup 268; Linda S. Schearing & Steven L. McKenzie eds.; Sheffield: Sheffield

by most accounts has undergone several stages of editing and expansion.[203]

Several scholars contend that texts in Jeremiah have influenced the production of Deut 30.1-10. In a seminal essay entitled "The Kerygma of the Deuteronomistic Historical Work," Hans Walter Wolff enumerates many of the above linguistic parallels and concludes that Deut 30.1-10 "makes use of the salvation words of the Jeremiah tradition."[204] Similarly, in a study of the "gathering and return" formula in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Johan Lust deduces that Deut 30.3-5 "has combined the terminology of Jeremiah with that of Ezekiel in such a way that one has to conclude that it was inspired by these prophetic writings."[205] Lust, who also takes account of the parallels in Mesopotamian sources noted by Widengren,[206] thinks that Ezekiel and Jeremiah drew first from Mesopotamian royal ideology and then influenced Deut 30.1-10. More recently, Marc Brettler has ventured that the author of Deut 30.1-10 was influenced by an exilic Deuteronomistic redaction of Jeremiah, especially YHWH's pledge in Jer 31.31-34 to make a new covenant.[207] To corroborate the claim of Jeremiah's literary priority, scholars often point out that the verbal parallels adduced in

Academic Press, 1999), 189-199 and Thomas Römer, "The Formation of the Book of Jeremiah as a Supplement to the So-called Deuteronomistic History" in *The Production of Prophecy: Constructing Prophecy and Prophets in Yehud* (BibleWorld; Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi eds.; London: Equinox, 2009), 168-183.

203.　For the conception of Jeremiah as a "rolling corpus," see William McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah I-XXV* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1986), xlvii-xcii.

204.　Wolff, "Kerygma," 74.

205.　J. Lust, "'Gathering and Return' in Jeremiah and Ezekiel," in *Le Livre de Jeremie: Le Prophete et Son Milieu les Oracles et Leur Transmission* (ed. P.-M. Bogaert; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1981), 119-142, here 125.

206.　Geo Widengren, "Yahweh's Gathering of the Dispersed," in *In the Shelter of Elyon: Essays on Ancient Palestinian Life and Literature in Honor of G.W. Ahlstrom* (JSOTSup 31; eds. W. Boyd Barrick and John R. Spencer; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 227-245; see the discussion of Widengren above in the first chapter.

207.　Brettler, "Predestination," 187.

Deut 30.1-10 are virtually absent from the rest of Deuteronomy and from the DtrH more broadly but occur frequently in the several texts listed above from the book of Jeremiah.

Representing the other side, McConville asserts the literary priority and influence of Deut 30.1-10 throughout his theological commentary on the book of Jeremiah.[208] Likewise, Rudolph Otto argues that Jer 30.3 quotes Deut 30.3 and that Jeremiah 30-31 recapitulates the sequence set out in Deut 30.1-10, where YHWH remedies the nation's heart after returning the exiles to the land.[209] Otto further contends that Jer 29.14, which does not appear in the OG, is a late Masoretic addition to Jeremiah 29 drawn from Deut 30.1, 3, and 5.[210] The summary of his conclusions attests to the complexity of both the problem of literary influence and the solutions proposed by scholars.

> The Deuteronomistic Jeremiah-tradition in Jeremiah 29:13.14aα was adopted in the post-Deuteronomistic chapter Deuteronomy 4:29 together with the Deuteronomistic supplement of Deuteronomy in Deuteronomy 30.1-10, which was adopted in the post-Deuteronomistic Jeremiah-texts of the LXX-version in Jeremiah 30:1-3, 31:27-34, that reacts to the post-Deuteronomistic covenant theology of the Pentateuch..."[211]

Suffice it to say that adjudicating the relationship of literary dependence between Deut 30.1-10 and the book of Jeremiah remains a scholarly conundrum that still awaits resolution and consensus.

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208. J. G. McConville, *Judgment and Promise: An Interpretation of the Book of Jeremiah* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1993).
209. Otto, "A Post-exilic Discourse," 943-944.
210. Otto, "A Post-exilic Discourse," 944-945; Lundbom, *Jeremiah 21-36*, 354 does not regard the verse as a Masoretic expansion but instead attributes its absence to haplography as it does appear in Theod, T, S, and Vg.
211. Otto, "A Post-exilic Discourse," 946-47.

Whatever the direction of literary influence, scholars such as Rudolph Otto and Dennis Olson correctly emphasize the ideological differences between the two.[212] First, in many of the Jeremiah texts the promise of repatriation does not depend, as it does in Deut 30.1-2, on Israel's prior return to Yʜwʜ while in exile.[213] For example, in Jer 30.3 Yʜwʜ offers restoration without explicitly requiring that the exiles first pledge renewed allegiance to the covenant.

כִּי הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים נְאֻם־יְהוָֹה וְשַׁבְתִּי אֶת־שְׁבוּת עַמִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל וִיהוּדָה אָמַר יְהוָה וַהֲשִׁבֹתִים אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר־נָתַתִּי לַאֲבוֹתָם וִירֵשׁוּהָ:	3 For look, days are coming – an oracle of Yʜwʜ – when I will reverse the fortune of my people, Israel and Judah, says Yʜwʜ; and I will bring them back to the land that I gave to their ancestors, and they will take possession of it.

Deut 30.3, 5 makes a similar claim using much of the same vocabulary. The difference is that the Deuteronomy text prefaces these verses with a subordinate temporal clause in vv. 1-2 in which Israel first turns back to Yʜwʜ while in exile.

וְהָיָה כִי־יָבֹאוּ עָלֶיךָ כָּל־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה הַבְּרָכָה וְהַקְּלָלָה אֲשֶׁר נָתַתִּי לְפָנֶיךָ וַהֲשֵׁבֹתָ אֶל־לְבָבֶךָ בְּכָל־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר הִדִּיחֲךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ שָׁמָּה:	1 When all these things have come upon you, the blessing and the curse that I have set before you, and you come to your senses [Heb *bring back to your heart*] in all the nations where Yʜwʜ your God has cast you out,
וְשַׁבְתָּ עַד־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ וְשָׁמַעְתָּ בְקֹלוֹ כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר־אָנֹכִי מְצַוְּךָ הַיּוֹם אַתָּה וּבָנֶיךָ בְּכָל־לְבָבְךָ וּבְכָל־נַפְשֶׁךָ:	2 and you return to Yʜwʜ your God, and you heed his voice in accord with all that I am commanding you today, you and your children, with all your heart and with all your person,

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212.   Otto, "A Post-exilic Discourse," 947, note 16 stakes out his position in explicit contrast to Brettler's assertion of theological continuity between Deut 30.1-10 and Jer 31.31-34; see the discussion below; Dennis Olson, *Deuteronomy and the Death of Moses: A Theological Reading* (Overtures to Biblical Theology; eds. Walter Brueggemann et al.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994).

213.   Although see Jer 29.13 [OG 36.13] and 31.18-20. The latter is an oracle addressed to "Ephraim" that originally may have concerned the exile of the northern tribes.

‏...וְשָׁ֣ב יְהוָ֧ה אֱלֹהֶ֛יךָ אֶת־שְׁבוּתְךָ֖ וְרִחֲמֶ֑ךָ	3a then YHWH your God will reverse your fortune and have compassion on you...
‏וֶהֱבִֽיאֲךָ֞ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֗יךָ אֶל־הָאָ֛רֶץ אֲשֶׁר־יָרְשׁ֥וּ אֲבֹתֶ֖יךָ וִֽירִשְׁתָּ֑הּ...	5a And YHWH your God will bring you into the land of which your ancestors took possession, and you will take possession of it...

The sequence established by the temporal clause suggests that Y<small>HWH</small>'s offer of reversal and repatriation depends on the prior repentance of the exiles. This is why many English translations (e.g. NRSV) render the phrase, "and you come to your senses," in v. 1 as conditional, "if you come to your senses" ("if you call them to mind," NRSV), even though there is no specific marker of conditionality beyond the ‏וְ‎ prefixed to the verb ‏וַהֲשֵׁבֹתָ֙‎ (which is syntactically ambiguous).[214]

Second, Otto, Olson, and others have shown that the ideology of restoration promoted by Deut 30.1-10 differs from that advocated in Jer 31.31-34, in which Y<small>HWH</small> vows to make a new covenant with the returned exiles. Below is the Hebrew text of Jer 31.31-34 and an English translation.

‏הִנֵּ֛ה יָמִ֥ים בָּאִ֖ים נְאֻם־יְהוָ֑ה וְכָרַתִּ֗י אֶת־בֵּ֧ית יִשְׂרָאֵ֛ל וְאֶת־בֵּ֥ית יְהוּדָ֖ה בְּרִ֥ית חֲדָשָֽׁה׃	31 Look, the days are coming – an oracle of YHWH – when I will make with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah a new covenant,
‏לֹ֣א כַבְּרִ֗ית אֲשֶׁ֤ר כָּרַ֙תִּי֙ אֶת־אֲבוֹתָ֔ם בְּיוֹם֙ הֶחֱזִיקִ֣י בְיָדָ֔ם לְהוֹצִיאָ֖ם מֵאֶ֣רֶץ מִצְרָ֑יִם אֲשֶׁר־הֵ֜מָּה הֵפֵ֣רוּ אֶת־בְּרִיתִ֗י וְאָנֹכִ֛י בָּעַ֥לְתִּי בָ֖ם נְאֻם־יְהוָֽה׃	32 not like the covenant that I made with their ancestors in the day I took them by the hand to bring them out from the land of Egypt, because they broke my covenant, and I had to prove myself their master"[215] – an oracle of YHWH.

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214.   The NJPS, which only renders the temporal clause and does not add a conditional clause, more accurately reflects the Hebrew text.

215.   The translation of this clause follows Leslie C. Allen, *Jeremiah: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2008), 351.

33 כִּי זֹאת הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר אֶכְרֹת אֶת־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל אַחֲרֵי הַיָּמִים הָהֵם נְאֻם־יְהֹוָה נָתַתִּי אֶת־תּוֹרָתִי בְּקִרְבָּם וְעַל־לִבָּם אֶכְתֲּבֶנָּה וְהָיִיתִי לָהֶם לֵאלֹהִים וְהֵמָּה יִהְיוּ־לִי לְעָם׃

"But this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days" – an oracle of Yʜᴡʜ: "I will put my torah within them, and I will write it on their heart; and I will be their god, and they will be my people.

34 וְלֹא יְלַמְּדוּ עוֹד אִישׁ אֶת־רֵעֵהוּ וְאִישׁ אֶת־אָחִיו לֵאמֹר דְּעוּ אֶת־יְהֹוָה כִּי־כוּלָּם יֵדְעוּ אוֹתִי לְמִקְטַנָּם וְעַד־גְּדוֹלָם נְאֻם־יְהֹוָה כִּי אֶסְלַח לַעֲוֺנָם וּלְחַטָּאתָם לֹא אֶזְכָּר־עוֹד׃

And they will no longer teach, each man his neighbor and each man his brother, saying: 'Know Yʜᴡʜ;' for all of them will know me from the least of them to the greatest of them" – an utterance of Yʜᴡʜ. For I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no longer."

In contrast to Otto and Olson, Marc Brettler claims not only that Deut 30.1-10 draws on Jer 31.31-34 but also that the two texts stand in theological continuity.[216] According to Brettler, Yʜᴡʜ assumes full responsibility for Israel's restoration in both texts. To advance his claim, Brettler reconfigures the syntax of Deut 30.1-10.[217] He begins the main clause not in Deut 30.3, where most translations place it, but in v. 1 with the first prefixed verb. The result would read as follows: "When all these things come upon you...then you will come to your senses...and Yʜᴡʜ will reverse your fortune." This removes the implication of conditionality from the opening verses. From there, Brettler projects the theology of Deut 30.6, where Yʜᴡʜ circumcises Israel's collective heart, onto the exiles' turn to Yʜᴡʜ in vv. 1-2. This allows him to construe the text as crediting Yʜᴡʜ with effecting Israel's repentance while in exile.[218] Because he concedes that the syntax of Deut 30.1-3 remains ambiguous, Brettler must support his

216.   Brettler, "Predestination," 173-174.
217.   Brettler, "Predestination," 175-177.
218.   Brettler, "Predestination," 177: "If that typical reading is rejected, the passage would read very smoothly, and the theology of v. 6 would permeate all of it."

reading with extra-textual evidence.[219] For this, he appeals to Jer 31.31-34.[220] He

argues that the author of Deut 30.1-10 draws on Jer 31.31-34 in order to smuggle

a theology of unilateral divine agency into the book of Deuteronomy. In Brettler's

estimation this act of allusive subterfuge allows the author of Deut 30.1-10 to

subvert the notion, replete throughout the book of Deuteronomy, that Israel's

fate depends on its response to YHWH's covenant.[221]

The problem with this reading, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, is

that it is overly subtle. Given that the rhetoric of Deut 30.1-10 looks so similar to

the rest of the book, as Brettler himself concedes,[222] there is nothing to prevent a

reading that would align Deut 30.1-10 with classic Deuteronomic retributive

theology: YHWH does circumcise the nation's heart but only after Israel has taken

the initiative to renew the covenantal bond while in exile. Further, as Otto

understands the verse, Deut 30.6 responds to an internal problem raised by the

notion in 29.4 (MT 29.3) that "YHWH himself is preventing His people from

hearing and seeing."[223] If YHWH has withheld from Israel an understanding and

compliant heart, then YHWH must provide the solution in order to prevent Israel,

once back in the homeland, from lapsing into the same pattern of disobedience

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219.   Brettler, "Predestination," 176: "I would suggest that from the syntactic perspective, the clause structure of [Deut 30] vv. 1-9...is ambiguous. In such cases, extra-syntactic considerations must be considered to resolve the ambiguity."
220.   Brettler, "Predestination," 174, 178, and 186-87; on the question of literary influence, Brettler concludes: "it seems quite possible, even likely, that Deut. 30.1-10 may be later than the exilic Dtr redaction of Jeremiah, and thus the Deuteronomy passage has been influenced by Jeremiah" (187).
221.   Brettler, "Predestination," 178, 186.
222.   Brettler, "Predestination," 186: "It is quite possible that the author of this passage did not fully appreciate that by integrating his ideas into the book of Deuteronomy, their theological innovation, namely that YHWH will assure Israel's repentance, might be lost, as this passage would be read within the purview of standard Deuteronomic ideology."
223.   Otto, "A Post-exilic Discourse," 943.

that precipitated the exile. Instead of aligning Deut 30.1-10 with Jer 31.31-34, then, the promise in v. 6 that Yhwh will deal with Israel's heart actually serves to distinguish them. In contrast to Jeremiah's promise of a new covenant, Deut 30.1-2 foregrounds the initiative of the exiles in turning back to Yhwh prior to resettling the homeland and acquiring the circumcised heart.

Another difficulty with Brettler's claim is the conflation of Jeremiah's new covenant with Deuteronomy's circumcised heart. Brettler argues that the two images are "parallel" and coordinates Deut 30.6 with the notion in Jer 31.34 that "all will be pre-programmed or 'firmwired' to follow Yhwh."[224] According to Jeffrey H. Tigay, however, this is not what the image of heart circumcision connotes. Tigay explicitly differentiates Deut 30.6 from the formulations found in some prophetic texts that argue that "God would ultimately 'program' Israel to be loyal and obedient to him, so that they would obey him instinctively and never again experience exile."[225] Among the prophetic texts Tigay cites are Jer 31.31-34 and 32.38-41,[226] the very texts Brettler adduces to argue for theological continuity between Jeremiah and Deut 30.6.[227] According to Tigay, Moses does not claim that Yhwh will "program" Israel's heart for obedience.[228] Instead, the metaphor of heart circumcision "implies only that God would remove impediments that prevent Israel from voluntarily following God's teachings."[229]

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224. Brettler, "Predestination," 174.
225. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 285.
226. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 400, note 8 (left column); he also lists Hos 2.21; Jer 24.7; Ezek 11.19-20; 36.25-28.
227. Brettler, "Predestination," 173.
228. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 285.
229. Tigay,*Deuteronomy*, 285.

Although heart circumcision seems implicitly to provide Israel the means to avoid a second exile, especially in its application to both the former exiles and their descendants, the metaphor does not go so far as to suggest that Israel may dispense with learning the divine will from the "book of the *torah*" (30.10). The text affirms that, after the exiles have returned to the land, Yₕwₕ will grant the community a heart willing to obey the prescriptions of the written *torah*. The divine circumcision of the heart thus removes any volitional impediments to restored Israel's willing allegiance to Yₕwₕ's commandments.

Indeed, the most significant incongruity between the Jeremiah texts and Deut 30.1-10 concerns the role of *torah* in the restored community. Reading Deut 30.6 together with vv. 8 and 10, the circumcised heart facilitates Israel's obedience to the divine commandments "written in this book of *torah*" (הַכְּתוּבָ֗ה בְּסֵ֥פֶר הַתּוֹרָ֖ה הַזֶּ֑ה). Olson explains that in Deuteronomy the teaching of "the scriptural *torah*" by one generation to the next is what engenders obedience to the divine will.[230] Olson directs attention to Deut 31.9-13, where the *torah* appears as "a catechism or foundational teaching document that is to be written down and taught from generation to generation."[231] Circumcision of the heart thus grants Israel the willingness to obey but not innate knowledge of Yₕwₕ's *torah*.[232] The divine *torah* remains written in "the book" (בְּסֵ֫פֶר) and must be learned from authorized tradents.

The opposite obtains in Jer 31.31-34. There, Yₕwₕ pledges to inscribe

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230. Olson, *Deuteronomy and the Death of Moses*, 154, who cites Deut 4.1, 5, 10, 14; 5.31; 6.1, 6-7; 11.19; 31.19, 22 in support of this view.
231. Olson, *Deuteronomy and the Death of Moses*, 154.
232. Olson 154.

torah on Israel's heart.   This act apparently renders human instruction superfluous, as in 31.34 "they will all know me, from the least of them to the greatest of them " (כִּי־כוּלָם יֵדְעוּ אוֹתִי לְמִקְטַנָּם וְעַד־גְּדוֹלָם). As Otto explains: "Israel will not be a community of teaching and learning the torah, which was transcribed by Moses, but the torah will be written on everybody's heart, so that there will be no necessity for teaching and learning the torah."[233] In contrast, to Deut 30.6, 8, 10, then, Jeremiah's new covenant offers Israel not only the will to obey but also an innate knowledge of YHWH's *torah* that reduces the catechetical program of Deuteronomy to redundancy.[234]

The two texts also differ concerning the role of the covenant made with the exodus generation. Deut 30.1-10 occurs within the section of the book that introduces the Moab covenant. YHWH makes the covenant at Moab specifically with the children of the exodus generation and their descendants (29.14-15 [MT 29.13-14]). The Moab covenant binds the second generation to observe the legal code disclosed privately to Moses on Mt. Horeb (i.e. Mt. Sinai). According to Deut 29.1 (MT 28.69), the Moab covenant does not replace but rather supplements the Horeb/Sinai covenant by extending it to a new generation:

אֵלֶּה דִבְרֵי הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶת־מֹשֶׁה לִכְרֹת אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּאֶרֶץ מוֹאָב מִלְּבַד הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר־כָּרַת אִתָּם בְּחֹרֵב:	These are the words of the covenant that YHWH commanded Moses to make with the Israelites in the land of Moab in addition to the covenant that he had made with them at Horeb.

Significantly, the verse conflates members of the exodus generation, who entered

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233.   Otto 947.

234.   Olson, *Deuteronomy and the Death of Moses*, 154.

into the covenant at Horeb, with their children, who receive the covenant at Moab. As Richard D. Nelson observes, "The generations merge: all are addressed as having experienced the past from Egypt to the victories over Sihon and Og. All are challenged to obey the covenant."[235] Even, then, as the text distinguishes the two covenants of Horeb and Moab, it takes measures to coordinate them and make them interdependent. For Nelson, this is part of a larger narrative strategy in the book intended to authorize the contents of the Moab covenant (i.e. the book of Deuteronomy) by relating them to the Decalogue given earlier at Horeb. The notion that Moses receives the contents of the Moab covenant at the same time the exodus generation receives the Decalogue "thus serves as an etiology that authorizes the contents of Deuteronomy."[236] Deut 30.1-10 fits into this schema by reactivating the Moab covenant for repentant exiles. Deut 30.6 grants to restored Israel the willingness to keep the commandments that their forbearers had broken. As with the literary conceit of the Moab covenant, this allows a new generation to succeed where the previous one had failed.

Jer 31.31-34 also predicates a new era for Israel, marked by another covenant, but the breech with the past is more profound. The text depicts Yʜᴡʜ as eschewing the former covenant made with the exodus generation in favor of a new covenant. Terence Fretheim is probably correct to coordinate this contrast with Jer 23.7-8 (also 16.14-15), where Yʜᴡʜ promises that, in swearing oaths, people will no longer invoke the god who brought Israel out of Egypt but the god

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235. Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 340.
236. Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 77.

who led Israel out of exile.[237] That is, in the future Israel's restoration will eclipse the exodus to become the new paradigmatic redemptive event that defines Israel's identity. Jer 31.31-34 takes the contrast a step further. As the exodus resulted in the covenant mediated by Moses, so the return from exile will yield a new covenant. But the new covenant does not serve as a supplementary correlative to the exodus covenant; rather, the latter covenant effectively replaces the former. According to 31.32 the exodus covenant was flawed because it could be – and in fact was – broken. The new covenant resolves this problem and thereby renders the former redundant. Under the aegis of the new covenant, YHWH inscribes the *torah* on the nation's heart so that all will know and acknowledge him as the nation's rightful god. The new covenant thus implicitly transfers the *torah* from stone tablets to Israel's heart in order to secure its observance.

In Deut 30.6, however, the problem is not that *torah* remains outside the national heart but that the heart is unwilling to obey its precepts. The verse solves the problem by means of a divine circumcision of the heart, which removes impediments to Israel's willing allegiance. The commandments themselves, however, remain external to the heart "written in this book of the *torah*" (Deut 30.10).[238] By the end of Deuteronomy, the *torah* scroll is set alongside the ark, which contains and preserves the stone tablets of the Decalogue (Deut 10.5; 31.26). On the one hand, this signals the derivative

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237. Terence E. Fretheim, *Jeremiah* (Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary; Macon: Smyth & Helwys, 2002), 442.
238. Olson, *Deuteronomy and the Death of Moses*, 154.

character of the written *torah* (i.e. the book of Deuteronomy); on the other hand,

placing the *torah* alongside the ark subtly authorizes its use as a stand-in for the

tablets after Judah's fall to Babylon.[239]

It is true that in several places Deuteronomy depicts the words of the

covenant as being upon or in the collective heart (6.6; 11.18; 30.14). But this is

different from what Jer 31.31-34 envisions in conjunction with the new covenant.

First, as Nelson explains, the Deuteronomic images are both "literary metaphors

of constant attention and awareness" and "descriptions related to actual,

concrete practices," such as hanging texts around the neck for either

instructional or apotropaic uses.[240] Second, and more importantly, in the

Deuteronomy texts Israel assumes responsibility, whether explicitly (6.6; 11.18)

or implicitly (30.14), for placing YHWH's words in the heart. In Jer 31.33, however,

YHWH puts the *torah* within Israel and writes it on the collective heart, rendering

written *torah* superfluous.

Reading Deut 30.1-10 in conversation with Jer 31.31-34, whatever the

direction of influence, thus illustrates the different figurations of restoration each

text envisions. Contrary to Jer 31.31-34, Deut 30.1-10 implicitly frames YHWH's

compassionate reversal of the nation's fortune as a response to Israel's

repentance while in exile. Further, Deuteronomy does not replace an older

covenant with a newer one but rather preserves the Horeb covenant (literarily

and literally) alongside the Moab covenant. Finally, Deut 30.1-10 stresses the

ongoing pedagogical role of written *torah* even for those who possess the

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239. Olson, *Deuteronomy and the Death of Moses*, 176-177.
240. Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 92.

circumcised heart.

Given the ambiguity of the literary relationships among Deut 30.1-10, Deut 4.29-31, 1 Kings 8.46-53, and Jeremiah, it may be more productive to shift the discussion away from how to untangle the chain of influence and toward how reading the allusion contributes to each text's figuration of a restored Israel. Although these texts, along with others such as Lev 26.40-45 and Ezek 11.14-21; 36.16-38, partake of a specialized vocabulary as well as a set of stock images and common themes,[241] they each deploy them differently to construct literary profiles of restoration that are quite distinct and often mutually incompatible. In what follows, I survey the varied figurations of restored Israel that result from reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in non-narrative Second Temple works.

ALLUSION TO DEUTERONOMY 30.1-10 IN NON-NARRATIVE SECOND TEMPLE WORKS

In this section I discuss non-narrative Second Temple works in which scholars have discerned allusions to Deut 30.1-10. In each case scholars unequivocally affirm the literary priority of Deut 30.1-10. As I elaborate below, not all of the alleged echoes of Deut 30.1-10 are equally audible, especially given the similarities adduced above among Deut 30.1-10 and Deut 4.29-31; 1 Kings 8.46-53; and texts in the book of Jeremiah. After discussing the textual grounds

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241. According to Benjamin Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 32-33, this fact alone troubles any attempt to determine the presence and direction of literary borrowing; in his estimation, "we cannot view an older text as a source for a [later] passage...if both utilize stock vocabulary...or treat a subject that calls for certain words." For example, the two times Sommer mentions Deut 30.4 he refuses to render a verdict on the text's literary relationship to other texts with similar diction because all of them employ "stock vocabulary" (218, note 6) and "make use of a widespread vocabulary cluster" (257, note 90).

for reading an allusion to Deut 30.1-10, I offer some reflections on how such a reading, where justified, might affect an understanding of the alluding text.

A. Baruch

The apocryphal book of Baruch purports to be the work of the prophet Jeremiah's secretary, Baruch, written in Babylon to the community of Judean exiles there. Several sections comprise the book, including a narrative introduction (1.1-14), a prose prayer of confession (1.15-3.8), and two poems: one celebrating wisdom (3.9-4.4) and the other offering consolation (4.5-5.9). Each section probably originated as an independent composition, which a later redactor incorporated into the final form of the book sometime during the second or first century BCE. The four sections were likely composed in Hebrew; but the book survives only in translations, of which the Greek recension is the most substantial.[242]

Alleged allusions to Deut 30.1-10, together with allusions to Deut 4.29-31 and several of the texts in Jeremiah mentioned above, occur in the second section of the book, the prose prayer of confession in Bar 2.30-35. The Greek text follows the English translation below.

> [30]…But they will turn back to their heart in the land of their exile [31]and know that I am the Lord their God. And I will give them a heart that obeys and ears that hear, [32]and they will praise me in the land of their exile, and they will remember my name [33]and turn

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242.   See the discussions of the book's literary and historical origins in Anthony J. Saldarini, *The Book of Baruch* (NIB vol. 6; Nashville: Abingdon, 2001), 929-934; David G. Burke, *The Poetry of Baruch: A Reconstruction and Analysis of the Original Hebrew Text of Baruch 3:9-5:9* (SBLSCS; Chico: Scholars Press, 1982), 1-32. For a reconstruction of the Hebrew *Vorlage* see Emanuel Tov, *The Book of Baruch: Also Called 1 Baruch* (Greek and Hebrew) (Texts and Translations 8; Pseudepigrapha Series 6; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975).

away from their stiff neck and their evil deeds, for they will remember the way of their ancestors who sinned before the Lord. [34]And I will return them to the land, which I swore to their ancestors: to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, and they will rule it, and I will multiply them, and they will not be diminished in number; [35]and I will establish for them an eternal covenant to be their god and they will be my people, and I will no longer remove my people Israel from the land, which I gave to them.[243]

[30]...καὶ ἐπιστρέψουσιν ἐπὶ καρδίαν αὐτῶν ἐν γῇ ἀποικισμοῦ αὐτῶν [31]καὶ γνώσονται ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν. καὶ δώσω αὐτοῖς καρδίαν καὶ ὦτα ἀκούοντα, [32]καὶ αἰνέσουσί με ἐν γῇ ἀποικισμοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ μνησθήσονται τοῦ ὀνόματός μου [33]καὶ ἀποστρέψουσιν ἀπὸ νώτου αὐτῶν τοῦ σκληροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ πονηρῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν, ὅτι μνησθήσονται τῆς ὁδοῦ πατέρων αὐτῶν τῶν ἁμαρτόντων ἔναντι κυρίου. [34]καὶ ἀποστρέψω αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν ὤμοσα τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν τῷ Αβρααμ καὶ τῷ Ισαακ καὶ τῷ Ιακωβ, καὶ κυριεύσουσιν αὐτῆς, καὶ πληθυνῶ αὐτούς, καὶ οὐ μὴ σμικρυνθῶσι· [35]καὶ στήσω αὐτοῖς διαθήκην αἰώνιον τοῦ εἶναί με αὐτοῖς εἰς θεὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί μοι εἰς λαόν, καὶ οὐ κινήσω ἔτι τὸν λαόν μου Ισραηλ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἧς ἔδωκα αὐτοῖς.[244]

It is possible to construe Bar 2.30 as an echo of Deut 30.1. The phrase "they will turn back to their heart in the land of their exile" is a literal translation of the Hebrew idiom that appears in Deut 30.1: וַהֲשֵׁבֹתָ אֶל־לְבָבֶךָ (lit. "you bring back to your heart," that is, "you take to heart" or "come to your senses"). In addition, Bar 2.34 appears to echo Deut 30.5, in which Yʜᴡʜ brings the exiles back to the land of their ancestors to take possession of it and multiplies them there.

Brettler cites Bar 2.30-35 as evidence for his proposal that in Deut 30.1-3 "it is Yʜᴡʜ's grace that causes him to make Israel return or repent."[245] According to Brettler, this is how the author of Baruch construes the syntax of Deut 30.1-3.

243. The translation is my own made from the Greek text in Tov, *The Book of Baruch*, 24, 26.
244. The Greek text is reproduced from Tov, *The Book of Baruch*, 24, 26.
245. Brettler, "Predestination," 181-82, here 182.

But there are several difficulties with this reading. Although Brettler is correct that Baruch ascribes Israel's repentance to Yʜwʜ's agency, the text's assertion of this point in vv. 30-31 does not depend on Deut 30.1-3 but on a conflation of Jer 24.7 and Deut 29.4, 6.[246] In Jer 24.7 Yʜwʜ declares: "I will give them a heart to know me, that I am Yʜwʜ, and they will be my people, and I will be their god; for they will turn back to me with all of their heart." Below is the verse in Hebrew and Greek.

וְנָתַתִּ֨י לָהֶ֥ם לֵ֣ב לָדַ֣עַת אֹתִי֮ כִּ֣י אֲנִ֣י יְהֹוָה֒ וְהָֽיוּ־לִ֣י לְעָ֔ם וְאָ֣נֹכִ֔י אֶהְיֶ֥ה לָהֶ֖ם לֵֽאלֹהִ֑ים כִּֽי־יָשֻׁ֥בוּ אֵלַ֖י בְּכָל־לִבָּֽם׃

καὶ δώσω αὐτοῖς καρδίαν τοῦ εἰδέναι αὐτοὺς ἐμὲ ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι κύριος, καὶ ἔσονταί μοι εἰς λαόν, καὶ ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς θεόν, ὅτι ἐπιστραφήσονται ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν.

The references to Israel turning back to Yʜwʜ and to Yʜwʜ giving the nation a heart to know him resonate with Baruch 2.30-31. Moreover, the covenantal formula, "and they will be my people, and I will be their god," that appears at the end of Jer 24.7 also occurs in Bar 3.35 in the context of the "eternal covenant."

In addition to echoing Jer 24.7, Baruch also inverts the negative assessment made of Israel in Deut 29.4, 6 [MT, LXX 29.3, 5]: "⁴But to this day Yʜwʜ has not given you a heart to know, or eyes to see, or ears to hear…⁶so that you may know that I am Yʜwʜ your god." The verse appears below in Hebrew and Greek.

וְלֹֽא־נָתַן֩ יְהֹוָ֨ה לָכֶ֥ם לֵב֙ לָדַ֔עַת וְעֵינַ֥יִם לִרְא֖וֹת וְאָזְנַ֥יִם לִשְׁמֹ֑עַ ³

עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה...⁵לְמַעַן תֵּדְעוּ כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם׃

³καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν καρδίαν εἰδέναι καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς βλέπειν καὶ ὦτα ἀκούειν ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης...⁵ἵνα γνῶτε ὅτι οὗτος κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν.

Here, Bar 2.31 seems to reverse Deut 29.4, 6 [MT, LXX 29.3, 5], where Yнwн withholds a knowing heart and hearing ears to prevent Israel from acknowledging the deity's exclusive rights to the nation's allegiance. Baruch's claim that Israel will turn back to Yнwн while in exile thus resonates more closely with the diction and imagery of Jer 24.7 and Deut 29.4, 6 rather than that of Deut 30.1-3.

It is important to note, however, that the ascription of the exiles' repentance to Yнwн's agency appears neither in Deuteronomy 29 nor in Jeremiah 24. Rather, the notion is a unique contribution of Baruch. In Jer 24.7 Yнwн gives the nation an understanding heart only *after* returning the exiles in Babylon to their homeland in 24.6. By contrast, in Baruch's prayer Israel receives a heart to know Yнwн while still in exile. In fact, nowhere does the book of Jeremiah claim that Yнwн renews Israel's heart outside the homeland. In 31.33 and 32.39, the two verses most similar in thought to 24.7, Yнwн acts upon the nation's heart after the exiles have come back to the ancestral land (see also 31.27-28 and, by implication, v.32; 32.37).[247] Baruch's contribution, then, to the figuration of a restored Israel is the notion that Yнwн rectifies the nation's heart, thereby enabling repentance, before returning the exiles to the homeland. It is not clear, however, that the book evokes Deut 30.1-3 to advance this claim.

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247. The same is true of the sequences in Ezek 11.17-20 and 36.24-27 respectively.

Indeed, on closer examination, it is unlikely that Deut 30.1 contributes the phrase in Bar 2.30, "they will turn back to their heart in the land of their exile and know that I am the Lord their god." The Hebrew idiom, וַהֲשֵׁבֹתָ֖ אֶל־לְבָבֶ֑ךָ (lit. "bring back to your heart") also appears in Deut 4.39 and 1 Kings 8.47,[248] both of which align more closely with Bar 2.30 than does Deut 30.1. In Deut 4.39 Moses adjures: "So know today and bring back to your heart [i.e. take to heart] that Yʜᴡʜ – he is the only god in heaven above and on earth below; there is not another." Below is the verse in Hebrew and Greek.

וְיָדַעְתָּ֣ הַיּ֗וֹם וַהֲשֵׁבֹתָ֮ אֶל־לְבָבֶךָ֒ כִּ֤י יְהוָה֙ ה֣וּא הָֽאֱלֹהִ֔ים בַּשָּׁמַ֣יִם
מִמַּ֔עַל וְעַל־הָאָ֖רֶץ מִתָּ֑חַת אֵ֖ין עֽוֹד׃

καὶ γνώσῃ σήμερον καὶ ἐπιστραφήσῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ ὅτι κύριος ὁ
θεός σου, οὗτος θεὸς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω,
καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πλὴν αὐτοῦ

This verse has two of the components in Bar 2.30-31: the idiom, "bring back to your heart" as well as the exhortation to know that Yʜᴡʜ is god. 1 Kings 8.47, 48 features the same idiom. Below are the verses in English, Hebrew, and Greek:

[47]But if they bring back to their heart [i.e. come to their senses] in the land where they have been taken captive, and turn back, and implore your favor in the land of their captivity…[48]if they turn back to you with all their heart and with all their person in the land of their enemies who took them captive, and make intercession to you toward their land, which you gave to their ancestors…

[47]וְהֵשִׁ֙יבוּ֙ אֶל־לִבָּ֔ם בָּאָ֖רֶץ אֲשֶׁ֣ר נִשְׁבּוּ־שָׁ֑ם וְשָׁ֧בוּ וְהִֽתְחַנְּנ֣וּ אֵלֶ֗יךָ
בְּאֶ֥רֶץ שֹֽׁבֵיהֶם… [48] וְשָׁ֣בוּ אֵלֶ֗יךָ בְּכָל־לְבָבָם֙ וּבְכָל־נַפְשָׁ֔ם בְּאֶ֧רֶץ
אֹיְבֵיהֶ֛ם אֲשֶׁר־שָׁב֥וּ אֹתָ֖ם וְהִֽתְפַּֽלְל֣וּ אֵלֶ֗יךָ דֶּ֤רֶךְ אַרְצָם֙ אֲשֶׁ֣ר נָתַ֣תָּה
לַאֲבוֹתָ֔ם…

[47]καὶ ἐπιστρέψουσιν καρδίας αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ, οὗ μετήχθησαν

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248.   See Steck, *Das apokryphe Baruchbuch*, 109.

ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ δεηθῶσίν σου ἐν γῇ μετοικίας αὐτῶν…[48]καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν πρὸς σὲ ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ ψυχῇ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν, οὗ μετήγαγες αὐτούς, καὶ προσεύξονται πρὸς σὲ ὁδὸν γῆς αὐτῶν, ἧς ἔδωκας τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν…

Here, Israel comes to its senses in the land of its captivity, as in Baruch 2.30. Not only that, but the phrase occurs in the context of a prayer of confession and repentance – the very context in which it also appears in Baruch 2.30. To my ear, then, echoes of Deut 4.39 and 1 Kings 8.47 are more audible in Baruch 2.30 than are those of Deut 30.1.[249]

This is not to say that Brettler cannot read allusion to Deut 30.1 in Bar 2.30 and argue for how such a reading might affect the construal of Baruch's prayer and/or the evoked text from Deut 30. Indeed, approaching Bar 2.30 in the context of the entire book could provide textual warrant for such a reading, especially in light of Bar 3.29-30, whose diction closely aligns with Deut 30.12-13.[250] But this is not what Brettler does. Instead, he attempts to corroborate his understanding of "the original meaning of Deut. 30.1-10" by appealing to its supposed evocation in Baruch 2.27-35.[251] From there, he argues that Baruch's author appeals to Deut 30.1-3 to signal that, "as in Jeremiah 31 and 32, there is no need for Israel to return of its own initiative before Yʜᴡʜ steps in."[252] But Jeremiah 31 and 32 do not address the situation in exile. As in Deut

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249. Tov, *The Book of Baruch*, 25, does not include any verses from Deut 30.1-10 in his list of biblical parallels to Bar 2.30-35 adduced to support his reconstruction of the book's Hebrew *Vorlage*.
250. See the discussion in N. T. Wright, *The Letter to the Romans: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections* (NIB 10; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2002), 661-662.
251. Brettler, "Predestination," 182.
252. Brettler, "Predestination," 182.

30.6, these chapters from Jeremiah claim that Yʜᴡʜ effects a change in Israel's heart only after the exiles have returned to the homeland. Further, even if Baruch 2.30 does allude to Deut 30.1-10, this would not necessarily illumine the "original meaning" of Deut 30.1-10. Rather, it would commend reading the allusion to explore how it affects the perception of meaning in one or both texts.

B. *Jubilees*

Some scholars have discerned allusions to Deut 30.1-10 in the first chapter of the book of *Jubilees*. The book was probably composed in the mid-second century ʙᴄᴇ, probably sometime during or shortly after the turbulent reign of the Seleucid monarch Antiochus IV.[253] *Jubilees* claims to be the product of a secret revelation to Moses at Mt. Sinai and provides an interpretive retelling of Genesis 1-Exodus 12.[254] Literary allusions to Deut 30.1-10 appear in the first chapter of *Jubilees*, which incorporates a divine revelation of Israel's fate into Yʜᴡʜ's disclosure to Moses at Sinai. Yʜᴡʜ begins by informing Moses that Israel will be banished among the nations for failing to observe the correct cultic calendar: "I will remove them from the land and disperse them among the nations. They will forget my law...They will err regarding the beginning of the

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253. See the discussion of dating in James C. Vanderkam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (HSM 14; Missoula: Scholars, 1977), 214-85 and George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*: *A Historical and Literary Introduction* (2d ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 73-74.

254. *Jub* 1.1-5. For an argument that the book invokes the figure of Moses to authorize its own tendentious rewriting of the biblical narrative, see Hindy Najman, "Interpretation as Primordial Writing: Jubilees and Its Authority Conferring Strategies," *JSJ* 30 (1999) 379-410; see also Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (JSJSup 77; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 43-69. For a discussion of the interpretation of the Jacob-traditions in the book of Jubilees, see John C. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees* (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1987).

month, the sabbath, the festival, the jubilee, and the decree" (1.13-14).[255] In what

follows, portions of Deut 4.29-31 and 30.1-10, together with Ps 51.10-12, provide

the script for Yʜᴡʜ's prescient disclosure of Israel's restoration. Verses 15-18 go

on to explain that "after this" Israel will return to Yʜᴡʜ "with all their minds, all

their souls, and all their strength." In response, Yʜᴡʜ pledges to gather Israel

from the nations, transform the nation "into a righteous plant," renew its blessed

status, and rebuild the temple in order to dwell in the nation's midst as of old.

Not content with the divine plan, Moses offers an intercessory

counterproposal in vv. 19-21.[256] He pleads with Yʜᴡʜ to spare Israel its coming

woes by granting the nation "a pure mind and a holy spirit" while still encamped

at Sinai (1.21). Yʜᴡʜ answers Moses in vv. 22-25 by drawing on Lev 26.40[257] to

underscore the remedial function of Israel's punitive suffering: the experience of

exile will induce the nation to acknowledge its sins and return to Yʜᴡʜ "in a fully

upright manner and with all (their) minds and all (their) souls" (1.23). Only then

will Yʜᴡʜ take measures to ensure Israel's perpetual allegiance by "cut[ting]

away the foreskins of their minds and the foreskins of their descendants' minds"

to "create a holy spirit for them" (1.23). Presumably, the exile is a non-negotiable

element in the divine plan because it had already occurred when the text was

written. What is striking is that *Jubilees* tacitly regards the conditions of exile as

persisting until such time as Israel properly observes the cultic calendar. By

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255.   I use the translation of Jubilees from the Ethiopic produced by James C. Vanderkam, *The Book of Jubilees* (CSCO 510-511, Scriptores Aethiopici 87-88; vol. II; Leuven 1989).

256.   For an analysis of Moses' prayer as an allusion to Deuteronomy 9, see Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (JSJSup 117; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 247-251.

257.   David Lambert, "Did Israel Believe That Redemption Awaited Its Repentance? The Case of *Jubilees* 1," *CBQ* 68 (2006): 631-650, here 645.

evoking the image of the circumcised heart in Deut 30.6, the text intimates that only those who observe the solar calendar advocated in *Jubilees* can claim the privileged identity of restored Israel.

David Lambert has recently proposed that *Jubilees* 1 allusively exploits a tension between Deut 4.29-31, which emphasizes the necessity of Israel's repentance in procuring restoration, and Deut 30.1-10, where Yʜwʜ purportedly assumes sole responsibility (Lambert follows Brettler on this point). According to Lambert, the book resolves the tension by means of Moses' intercessory prayer, which prompts Yʜwʜ to modify the divine plan for Israel by mitigating the need for national repentance as a prerequisite for restoration. As Lambert understands the sequence of the text, "God revealed to Moses a plan for Israel's redemption, Moses protested the absence of divine re-creation, and God revised the original formulation accordingly."[258] The book thus alters the deity's initial plan, drawn from allusion to Deut 4.29-31, with one shaped by the theology of Deut 30.1-10, where Yʜwʜ pledges to circumcise the nation's heart. Lambert elaborates his thesis as follows:

> The author of Jubilees inherits a paradigm of sin-exile-repentance-redemption from the Book of Deuteronomy, but chooses to modify that paradigm, which is reflected in the initial divine plan of Deut 4:29-31, by introducing the divine-circumcision-of-the-heart language of Deut 30:1-10, to present the latter passage as replacing the former.[259]

In the course of making his case, Lambert explicitly appeals to Brettler's contention that different authors wrote Deut 4.29-31 and Deut 30.1-10, the latter

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258.   Lambert, "Repentance," 639.
259.   Lambert, "Repentance," 640.

of which is a late non-Deuteronomistic text that attempts to subvert the thought of the former by smuggling into the book the "prophetic expectation of a divinely initiated transformation of Israel."[260]   Lambert's argument implicitly adopts Brettler's claim that Deut 30.1-10 represents a one-stage configuration of restoration that attributes Israel's reversal exclusively to Yʜwʜ's agency. That is, following Brettler, Lambert has tacitly projected the theology of Deut 30.6 onto Israel's initial return to Yʜwʜ while in exile. If, as I argue above, this is an unlikely construal of the text's syntax, then the tension Lambert perceives between Deut 4.29-31 and 30.1-10 dissipates; both texts would in fact suggest that Yʜwʜ offers restoration in response to Israel's renewed allegiance while in exile.

Further troubling Lambert's argument is his assertion that the promise of divine re-creation appears only in the portion of Yʜwʜ's speech that follows Moses' intercession in 1.19-21. But this does not appear to be the case; in fact, both sections of Yʜwʜ's speech set out a similar sequence, each of which concludes with a promise of renewal. The chart below illustrates the point by setting out the two sections in synoptic parallel.

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260.   Lambert, "Repentance," 635.

Jubilees 1.15-18	Jubilees 1.22-25

[15]After this they will return to me from among the nations with all their minds, all their souls, and all their strength.

[22]They will not listen until after they acknowledge their sins and the sins of their ancestors. [23]After this they will return to me in a fully upright manner and with all (their) minds and all (their) souls.

Then I will gather them from among the nations, and they will search for me so that I may be found by them when they have searched for me with all their minds and with all their souls. I will rightly disclose to them abundant peace.

[16]I will transform them into a righteous plant with all my mind and with all my soul…[17]I will become their God and they will become my true and righteous people. [18]I will neither abandon them nor become alienated from them, for I am the Lord their God.

I will cut away the foreskins of their minds and the foreskins of their descendants' minds. I will create a holy spirit for them and will purify them in order that they may not turn away from me from that time forever. [24]Their souls will adhere to me and to all my commandments. I will become their father and they will become my children.

Both sections of the prayer envisage a two-stage program of restoration that begins with Israel's return to Yʜwʜ while in exile and concludes when Yʜwʜ alternately transforms the nation into a righteous plant (1.16) or circumcises the heart and creates a clean spirit to engender abiding loyalty to the covenant (1.23). The difference between the two sections is not so much in their theology as in the images drawn from the respective evoked texts to convey the nation's post-exilic renewal. The first section of Yʜwʜ's speech (*Jub* 1.16-17) alludes to Jer 32.37-41. There, Yʜwʜ pledges to renew the covenant so that Israel will be his people and he their god (v. 38) and to plant Israel in its land with all his heart and soul (v. 41). Significantly, this text from Jeremiah also includes an assurance from Yʜwʜ that he will place the fear of the deity into Israel's heart to prevent the

nation from turning away again (v. 40). This notion, implicit in the allusion that occurs in the first part of Yʜᴡʜ's disclosure in *Jubilees*, appears explicitly in the second part at the end of v. 23. This gives the sense that both parts of Yʜᴡʜ's speech affirm a similar theology of national renewal following the exile. As for the latter section of Yʜᴡʜ's revelation (*Jub* 1.22-25), the image of the circumcised heart derives from Deut 30.6, while that of a holy spirit resonates with Ps 51.10 and echoes Moses' request in 1.21 that Yʜᴡʜ "create for them a pure mind and a holy spirit." Each section thus draws on different allusive imagery to convey the same two-stage configuration of restoration in which divine renewal follows national repentance.

Also problematic for Lambert's argument is the possibility that *Jub* 1.15 does not allude to Deut 4.29-31 but to Deut 30.1-10 and Jer 29.13-14.[261] Although Deut 4.30 envisions Israel returning to Yʜᴡʜ to heed him, Deut 30.2 contains the same phrase but adds the notion that the exiles will return and obey with all their heart and all their person, similar to *Jub* 1.15. Deut 30.3 then goes on to imagine Yʜᴡʜ gathering Israel from among the peoples, a notion that does not appear in Deut 4.29-31 but does occur in *Jub* 1.15. Second, the image of seeking and finding Yʜᴡʜ that appears in the latter portion of *Jub* 1.15 occurs not only in Deut 4.29 but also in Jer 29.13-14. Like Deut 30.3, Jer 29.14 also includes a pledge from Yʜᴡʜ to gather the exiles from among the nations. The only point at which *Jub* 1.15 is closer to Deut 4.29 than to Jer 29.13 is the reference to Israel seeking Yʜᴡʜ with all its heart and soul. Jer 29.13 only refers to seeking with all

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261.   See Gene L. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (Studia Post-Biblica; Leiden: Brill, 1971), 25, note 3, who identifies Deut 4.29 as "the basic source for the description" that has been "expanded from material from other sources," Jer 29.13-14 among them.

the heart, whereas in Deut 4.29 the exiles seek after Yʜwʜ with all their heart and all their person/soul. That having been said, the explicit mention of a gathering from among the nations in *Jub* 1.15 tips the balance in favor of Jer 29.13-14. Yet even if the end of *Jub* 1.15 alludes to Deut 4.29 rather than Jer 29.13, it is likely that the beginning of the verse evokes Deut 30.2. This undercuts Lambert's attempts to pit the two sections of the discourse against each other on the grounds that they allude to two different and ideologically incompatible texts in Deuteronomy.

In summary, it does not appear that *Jubilees* 1 counters the first part of Yʜwʜ's speech with the second, overriding Deut 4.29-31 with 30.1-10 in the process. Rather, the two sections are complementary and relate to each other in a way analogous to the parallel couplets in Hebrew poetry: the latter part reasserts, underscores, and advances the thought of the former.[262] The doubling structure allows Yʜwʜ to reassure Moses that, after the exile has run its course, Israel will indeed become obedient to the divine will as Moses had requested: the exiles will return to Yʜwʜ, who will grant them the capacity for perpetual allegiance to the covenant. Then, Israel will become a righteous plant (1.16) and a true and righteous people (1.17) that will possess a circumcised heart and a holy spirit (1.23).

How, then, do these allusions contribute to the book's figuration of a restored Israel? Activating the allusions to Deuteronomy and Jeremiah in chapter 1 suggests that *Jubilees* restricts membership in restored Israel to those who

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262.   For the classic treatment of parallelism in Hebrew poetry see James Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981; 2d ed., Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

implement the correct cultic calendar. That is, the book assures those who keep the solar calendar that they (alone) embody the restored Israel envisaged in Deut 4.29/Jer 29.13-14; Jer 32.37-41; Deut 30.1-10; and Ps 51.10. For this group, the exile has come to an end and the era of divine restoration has begun.

C. Sectarian and Liturgical Texts from Qumran

Several texts found at Qumran among the Dead Sea Scrolls allude to Deut 30.1-10. The most important allusion occurs in 4QMMT, a composite text scholars have reconstructed from six extant fragments.[263] Literarily, 4QMMT is comprised of three sections: (A) a 364-day solar calendar, which most scholars consider to be a late appendage;[264] (B) a series of halakhic rulings; and (C) a paraenetic conclusion. Allusions to Deut 30.1-2 appear in Section C conflated with evocations of Deut 4.29-30 and 31.29.[265]

...בספר כתוב [ו ו[ל[ו ו]יֹם לֹ ° וֹ לוא [11	[11...And in the book (of Moses) it is written
]ה° [12 [לך וקדֹמניוֹת	[... ... ...] not [12][...] and former days [...]
ואף כתוב ש[ותסורו] מהֹדֹ[ורו]ך	And it is written that [you "will stray] from
וקרתֹ[ורו] הרֹעֹה	the path (of the *torah*) and that calamity will meet [you]."

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263. For scholarly discussions of 4QMMT, see the essays collected in Florentino García Martínez, Annette Steudel and Eibert Tigchelaar, eds., *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges qumraniens en homage à Émile Puech* (Leiden: Brill, 2006) and John Kampen and Moshe J. Bernstein, eds., *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (SBLSymS 2; Atlanta: Scholars, 1996).

264. Steven D. Fraade, "To Whom It May Concern: 4QMMT and Its Addressee(s)," *Revue de Qumran* 76 (2000): 507-526, p. 521.

265. See Hanne von Weissenberg. *4QMMT: Reevaluating the Text, the Function, and the Meaning of the Epilogue* (STDJ 82; Leiden: Brill, 2009) 207-209.

וֹכֹתֹ[וב] ¹³[וֹהיא כי ¹⁴[יבו]א עֹליך [וכול
הדברים] הֹאֹלֹה בֹּאֹחרי[ת] הימים
הבֹּרֹכה ¹⁵[וה]קֹללא [והשיבות]הֹ אל
ל[בב]ך ושֹּבֹתֹה אלו בכל לבבך
¹⁶[וֹבֹכו]ל נפֹשֹ[וך   בֹּאֹחרי]ת] [
וֹהֹ[ן] [ ]°[ ]

And it is written ¹³"and it shall come to pass, when ¹⁴all these things [be]fall you,' at the end of days, the blessings ¹⁵and the curses, ['and you take] it to hea[rt] and you return to Him with all your heart ¹⁶and with all your person', at the end [of time, so that you may live … …][266]

4QMMT elaborates on the sequence set out in Deut 30.1-2, which structures Israel's history into three stages: blessing, curse, and renewed blessing or restoration.[267] It historicizes the blessing and curse by coordinating them, at least in part, with the monarchic period.[268] 4QMMT identifies the period of blessing with the reign of Solomon. The text then associates the divine curses with the period ranging from the accession of Jeroboam over the northern tribes to Jerusalem's fall to Babylon and the exile of its final king, Zedekiah. From there, 4QMMT identifies the third stage, the period of restoration, with the "end of days" (בֹּאֹחרי[ת] הימים) by conflating allusions to Deut 4.30 (see also 31.29) and 30.2. 4QMMT thus refigures Deuteronomy's schema by projecting the era of restoration onto the eschaton. This move allows the text to assert that the community's repentance, demonstrated in its adherence to the laws set out earlier in Section B of the document, enacts Deut 30.1-2 and signals the arrival of the end of days.

For Brettler, 4QMMT provides further attestation of his claim that Deut 30.1-10 actually envisions a one-stage restoration because Israel's return to YHWH

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266. I have followed the textual reconstruction of the Hebrew fragments and adapted the translation of 4QMMT in E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4 V: Misqat Ma'ase ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 58-61.

267. See John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (London: Routledge, 1997), 61.

268. See Fraade, " To Whom It May Concern," 515.

occurs in the Last Days, when "God will force the people to return to him."[269] But it is not clear from lines 13-16 where or even if the subordinate temporal clause in Deut 30 ends and a main clause begins. Brettler therefore overstates the case when he asserts that these lines confirm that Yʜᴡʜ will forcibly compel Israel to return to him.[270] 4QMMT identifies the period in which Israel's repentance occurs as the eschaton without explicitly ascribing agency to Yʜᴡʜ. Perhaps more significant than the question of agency is that 4QMMT does not identify a far-flung diaspora (Deut 30.3) as the place where its return to Yʜᴡʜ occurs.

In his book, *4QMMT: Reevaluating the Text, the Function, and the Meaning of the Epilogue*, Hanne von Weissenberg notes that 4QMMT alters Deut 30.1-2 by omitting the reference to exile among the nations as the setting in which Israel turns to Yʜᴡʜ.[271] Instead, he observes, the text replaces the geographical locale of exile with a temporal setting at the end of days. For Weissenberg, the text's author omits mention of the exile for the simple reason that "it was not their historical context."[272] But the omission may be more tendentious than Weissenberg allows. It may reflect the notion that the return to Yʜᴡʜ envisioned in Deut 30.1-2 actually occurs not in Babylon among the nations but in the environs of Judea among those who adhere to the halakhic prescriptions set out earlier in the text.[273] As Lambert explains, "For the sectarians, the שוב passages

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269.   Brettler, "Predestination," 180.
270.   Brettler, "Predestination," 180.
271.   Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 209; see Guy Waters, *The End of Deuteronomy in the Epistles of Paul* (WUNT 221; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006) 46.
272.   Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 209, note 110.
273.   See the argument in Fraade, "To Whom It May Concern," 507-26, who reads 4QMMT not as an "extramural polemic" but as a "pedagogical communication internal to the Qumran community" or a form of "intramural paranesis" (526).

in Deuteronomy apply to a remnant, not the nation as a whole, and perform the vital function of ordaining (and hence validating) the emergence and acceptance of sectarian practice."[274] Approaching the composite text as a whole, the allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in Section 3 of 4QMMT suggests that membership in restored Israel belongs exclusively to those who turn to YHWH by implementing the halakhic practices set out in Section B and the solar calendar outlined in Section A.

Additional echoes of Deut 30.1-10 occur elsewhere among the community's liturgical prayers: 4Q434 in the *Barkhi Nafshi* collection and 4Q504 in the *Words of the Luminaries*.[275] A hymn in 4Q434 1 i 3-4 lauds the deity for renewing the heart of the humble:

[3]...ברוב רחמיו חנן ענוים	[3]...In the abundance of his mercy he has been gracious to the humble,
ויפקח עיניהם לראות את דרכיו	and has opened their eyes to see his ways,
ואוֹזֹנֵ[י]הֹם לשמוע [4]למודו	and their ears to hear his [4]teaching.
וימול עורלות לבם	And he has circumcised the foreskins of their heart,
ויצילם למען חסדו	and has delivered them because of his loyal love,
ויכן לדרך רגלם	and has set their feet on the way.[276]

David Rolph Seely argues that these lines combine allusions to Deut 29.4 [MT 29.3] with 30.6.[277] The hymn understands YHWH's promise of heart-circumcision

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274.   Lambert 649.
275.   Noted by David Rolph Seely, "The 'Circumcised Heart' in 4Q434 *Barki Nafshi.*" *Revue de Qumran* 17 (1996): 527-35.
276.   The translation is adapted from that of David Rolph Seely 532, who includes the Hebrew text. For a critical edition of the Hebrew text of 4Q434, see Esther Chazon et al., *Qumran Cave 4 XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 267-286.
277.   Seely, "The 'Circumcised Heart,'" 533-535.

in Deut 30.6 as resolving the problem of the unseeing and unhearing heart of Deut 29.4 [MT 29.3]. As Seely explains, "In the Barki Nafshi passage the circumcised heart allows the people to see and hear, and walk in the way of the Lord."[278] An allusion to Deut 30.1-2 also occurs in 4Q504 1-2v recto:

Hebrew	Translation
[11]...ותחנון את עמכה ישראל בכול [12]‏[ה]ארצות אשר הדחתם שמה	[11]…and you were gracious toward your people Israel among all [12][the] lands where you had driven them,
להשיב [13]אל לבבם לשוב עודך ולשמוע בקולכה	to bring back [13]to their heart to return to you and to listen to your voice
[14]‏[כ]כֹּוֹל אשר צויתה ביד מושה עבדכה	[14]in accordance with all that you commanded by the hand of Moses your servant.[279]

In crediting Yʜᴡʜ with inducing Israel to repent while in exile, the text's theology is similar to that of Baruch.[280]

The allusive rhetoric of these two texts suggests that those who offer such prayers embody Deuteronomy's restored Israel. Although the prayers themselves are not necessarily sectarian, Seely points out that their language resonates with analogous diction in the Community Rule.[281] According to 1QS 5.1-2, 5, those who join the ranks of the sectarian community have repented, separated themselves from their perverse contemporaries, and circumcised the foreskin of the inclination (i.e. the heart).[282] The two prayers, then, complement

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278. Seely, "The 'Circumcised Heart,'" 533.

279. The translation is adapted from that of James R. Davila, *Liturgical Works* (Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 260, who includes notes on the Hebrew text. For a critical edition of the Hebrew text of 4Q504 see Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4 III: (4Q482-4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 137-168.

280. See Brettler, "Predestination," 182.

281. Seely, "The 'Circumcised Heart,'" 532-535

282. Seely, "The 'Circumcised Heart,'" 535, associates the diction of 1QS 5.4-5 with 4Q434 and argues that "inclination" is synonymous with "heart."

more explicitly sectarian works such as the Community Rule and allow those who say them to claim the prestige of belonging to restored Israel.

D. The Works of Philo of Alexandria

Deut 30.1-10 also features in the works of Philo, the first-century CE Alexandrian exegete noted for his allegorical and philosophical interpretation of Jewish scripture. James M. Scott opens his essay entitled "Philo and the Restoration of Israel" by asking whether Philo retains the notion of a literal restoration to the ancestral homeland or reinterprets this political hope in terms of a more abstract philosophical ideal.[283] Scholars have generally approached the question by assuming the same dichotomy set out in Scott's query. E. R. Goodenough, for example, argues that Philo retains the political hope of a pan-global reversal wherein "the Jews will then arise as a body and come together from all over the earth to a single place (obviously Palestine)."[284] H. A. Wolfson reaches a similar conclusion when he asserts that Philo aimed to solve "the Jewish problem of his time" by promoting "the revival of the old prophetic promises of the ultimate disappearance of the diaspora"[285] by means of "the ultimate return of the scattered exiled to their home land."[286] Considerably more skeptical, Betsy Halpern-Amaru argues that Philo's "'land' language seems to serve far more as a metaphor for that return [to wisdom and knowledge of God]

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283. James M. Scott, "Philo and the Restoration of Israel" in *Society of Biblical Literature 1995 Seminar Papers* (Eugene H. Lovering, Jr. ed.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 553.
284. Erwin R. Goodenough, *The Politics of Philo Judaeus, Practice and Theory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938), 117.
285. Harry Austryn Wolfson, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (2 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), 2:407.
286. Wolfson, *Philo*, 2:414.

than for a physical recovery of real estate."[287]   She concludes that here as

elsewhere "the allegorical treatment of text in Philo utterly overwhelms the

literal."[288] Likewise John J. Collins observes, "Philo is [primarily] interested in the

spiritual triumph of virtue"[289] even as he speaks "of a gathering in of the exiles

and overthrow of the enemies of Judaism."[290] In my understanding, however, it

seems that Philo is able to hold the two approaches together by emphasizing

virtue in both his political and allegorical readings of Deut 30.1-10.

That Philo maintains the traditional expectation of Israel's repatriation is

difficult to deny based on his comments in *De Praemiis et Poenis* 117, which draw

on Deut 30.3-4: "With a single command God could readily gather from the ends

of the earth to any place he should wish people who have been exiled to the

farthest regions" (…ἀνθρώπους ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς ἀπῳκισμένους ῥᾳδίως <ἂν> ἑνὶ

κελεύσματι συναγάγοι ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ περάτων εἰς ὅ τι ἂν θελήσῃ χωρίον).[291]

Although Philo's affirmation above may appear hypothetical, he speaks more

concretely of the nation's restoration in 164-165, where he evokes Deut

30.3-5:[292] "For even if they should be in the farthest regions of the earth, being

slaves before their enemies who led them away captive, as if from one

prearranged signal on one day they all will be set free" (κἂν γὰρ ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς

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287.   Betsy Halpern-Amaru, "Land Theology in Philo and Josephus" in *The Land of Israel: Jewish Perspectives* (Lawrence A. Hoffman ed.; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), 85.

288.   Halpern-Amaru, "Land Theology," 87, note 10.

289.   John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 135.

290.   Collins, *Athens and Jerusalem*, 136.

291.   The translations of Philo are my own based on the Greek text in Philo, *De Praemiis et Poenis* (trans. F. H. Colson; LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939, repr. 1999).

292.   Colson, 417 note c, observes Philo's allusion to Deut 30.4-5.

᾽ὦσι γῆς δουλεύοντες παρὰ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτους αὐτοὺς ἀπάγουσιν ἐχθποῖς, ὥσπερ ἀφ' ἑνὸς συνθήματος ἡμέρα μιᾷ πάντες ἐλευθερωθήσονται). At that time "those scattered a little while ago in Greece and in the rest of the world, over islands and over continents, risen up with one impulse, will hasten from everywhere to the one appointed place" (οἱ πρὸ μικποῦ σποράδες ἐν Ἑλλάδι καὶ βαρβάρῳ κατὰ νήσους καὶ κατὰ ἠπείρους ἀναστάντες | ὁρμῇ μιᾷ πρὸς ἕνα συντενοῦσιν ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλοι τὸν ἀποδειχθέντα χῶον). Philo proceeds from there to clarify how this will happen. What precipitates the liberation of those in diaspora is not, as in Deut 30.1-2, a renewal of covenant allegiance but "their sudden conversion to virtue" (τῆς ἀθρόας πρὸς ἀρετὴν μεταβολῆς). The exiles' collective turn to virtue provokes such "amazement in their masters" (κατάπληξιν…τοῖς δεσπόταις) that "they will set them free, ashamed to rule those superior to themselves" (μεθήσονται γὰρ αὐτοὺς αἰδεδθέντες κπειττόνων ἄρξειν). But this is not the only way Israel's restoration affects the nations. In *De Praemiis et Poenis* 169 Philo evokes Deut 30.7[293] to assert that "there will be a sudden change of all things, for God will redirect his curses onto the enemies of those who have repented…" (μεταβολὴ δὲ πάντων ἐξαπιναίως ἔσται. τρέψει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰς ἀρὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς <τῶν> μετανενοηκότων ἐχθρούς). It appears, then, that Philo retains the traditional hope of a diaspora-wide repatriation to the homeland even as he depicts Israel's repentance in exile as a fundamental reorientation toward virtue.

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293.   Colson 420, 21 note b, marks the allusion to Deut 30.7.

An interest in virtue continues to shape Philo's more allegorical appropriations of Deut 30.1-10. In *De Praemiis et Poenis* 115,[294] for example, he speaks of "a return to virtue and wisdom as from a dispersion of the soul that vice produced" (ὥσπερ ἐκ διασπορᾶς ψυχικῆς ἣν εἰργάσατο κακία πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ σοφίαν ἐπάνοδον). Elsewhere, in *De Confusione Linguarum* 196, Philo maintains on the basis of Deut 30.4 that those exiled by folly's tyranny through ways inimical to virtue are able to return. In addition, then, to positing a political repatriation resulting from Israel's conversion to virtue, Philo also invokes Deut 30.1-10 to construct a philosophical allegory of the soul's return to virtue from an exile in vice and folly. In both readings Philo refigures the Deuteronomic intertext to incorporate the attainment of virtue into the profile of a restored Israel.

Philo's dual reading strategy with respect to Israel's restoration comports with his position in *De Migratione Abrahami* 93 regarding circumcision. There he affirms the complementary relationship between non-allegorical and allegorical readings of scripture. He reasons that, "just as it is necessary to provide for the body, because it is the soul's house, so also it is necessary to take care of the stated laws" (ὥσπερ οὖν σώματος, ἐπειδὴ | ψυχῆς ἐστιν οἶκος, προνοητέον, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ῥητῶν νόμων ἐπιμελητέον).[295] Philo goes on to argue, "for in keeping these [laws] those things of which these are symbols will be made known clearer" (φυλαττομένων γὰρ τούτων ἀριδηλότερον κἀκεῖνα

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294. Colson, 383 note a, observes an allusion to Deut 30.4.
295. The translations of Philo are my own based on the Greek text in Philo, *De Migratione Abrahami* (trans. F. H. Colson; LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932, repr. 2005).

γνωρισθήσεται, ὧν εἰσιν οὗτοι σύμβολα). Based on his comments here, it may be that it was important for Philo to preserve the traditional notion of a political restoration to the national homeland, even if displaced onto the eschaton, in the interest of rendering Deut 30.1-10 a philosophical allegory of the soul's turn from folly to virtue.[296]

E. Paul's Letter to the Romans

Traces of Deut 30.1-10 are also discernable in Paul's Letter to the Romans. Paul evinces an acquaintance with Deut 30 in his Christological exegesis of Deut 30.11-14 in Rom 10.6-8. There, he reframes "the word" (τὸ ῥῆμα) of Deuteronomy, which mandates Israel's loyalty to the covenant, in terms of the saving "word of faith" (τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως) by which Christians confess Jesus as the risen Lord.[297] Earlier in the epistle in Rom 2.29, Paul uses the image of a circumcised heart: "But the Jew is one in secret, and circumcision is of the heart, in Spirit not letter, whose recognition comes not from people but from God" (ἀλλ᾽ ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖος, καὶ περιτομὴ καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι, οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ).[298] According to

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296.   Collins, *Athens and Jerusalem*, 136, concedes the point, admitting that, "in his desire to be faithful to the letter of the law, he [Philo] did in fact maintain the belief in the eventual disappearance of the Diaspora."

297.   For a learned discussion of this allusion see e.g. Per Jarle Bekken, "Paul's Use of Deut 30,12-14 in Jewish Context: Some Observations" in *The New Testament and Hellenistic Judaism* (Peder Borgen and Soren Giversen eds.; Oxford: Aarhus University Press, 1995), 183-203 and his more recent monograph, Per Jarle Bekken, *The Word is Near You: A Study of Deuteronomy 30:12-14 in Paul's Letter to the Romans in a Jewish Context* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007).

298.   Throughout, quotations of the Greek New Testament are from B. Aland, K. Aland, M. Black, C. M. Martini, B. M. Metzger, and A. Wikgren, *The Greek New Testament*, 4th ed. (Federal Republic of Germany: United Bible Societies, 1993).

both Timothy Berkley[299] and Guy Waters,[300] Paul's use of the metaphor constitutes an allusion to Deut 30.6.[301] Although the image of a circumcised heart appears elsewhere (e.g. Deut 10.16; Lev. 26.41; Jer 4.4), Deut 30.6 is the only biblical text to ascribe the operation to YHWH's agency.[302] Paul accents the deity's role in performing heart circumcision when he argues that it originates "in Spirit not letter" (ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι) and that it results in "recognition [that] comes not from people but from God" (ὁ ἔπαινος οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ).

Paul appeals to Deut 30.6 to lend force to his provocative claim that Israel's god will extend salvation to gentiles only if they become (secretly or inwardly) Jewish – that is, by possessing the circumcised heart of Deut 30.6. Paul addresses his argument in Romans to a particular set of problems confronting the Christian community in Rome. Neil Elliott has shown that Paul's comments in Romans 2 are part of a larger rhetorical strategy deployed "against an emergent supersessionism among gentile Christians in Rome."[303] In Rom 2.28-29

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299.   Timothy W. Berkley, *From a Broken Covenant to Circumcision of the Heart: Pauline Intertextual Exegesis in Romans 2:17-29* (SBLDS 175; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 100-107.

300.   Waters, *End of Deuteronomy*, 252-253.

301.   If this is so, Paul varies from the LXX, which uses the verb περικαθαρίζω to translate the Hebrew מול, "to circumcise." Instead, Paul uses a nominal form of the verb περιτέμνω in Rom 2.29 (περιτομή, "circumcision"). Waters, *End of Deuteronomy*, 252, points out that Aquila uses περιτέμνω rather than περικαθαρίζω in Deut 30.6, which reflects the more frequent use of περιτέμνω to translate מול in the LXX. He suggests that Paul may have had access to a textual tradition attested in Aquila.

302.   *Contra* Stanley Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and Gentiles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 155, who argues for similarities between Rom 2.29 and Deut 10.

303.   Neil Elliott, "Romans 13:1-7 in the Context of Imperial Propaganda" in *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society* (Richard A. Horsley ed.; Harrisburg: Trinity, 1997), 184-204, p. 189. I differ here from Thomas H. Tobin, SJ, *Paul's Rhetoric in its Contexts: The Argument of Romans* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 70-76, 363, who attributes anti-Jewish sentiment to Paul, however misconstrued, rather than to his gentile Christian readers in Rome.

Paul contends that physical circumcision is of benefit to a Jew (2.25; 3.1) so long as it is joined with a circumcised heart obedient to the Mosaic law (2.25-29).[304] If a Jew is physically circumcised but does not obey the commandments, then his "Jewishness" does not avail him before the divine judge. For Paul, then, Jewish identity is tantamount to possessing a circumcised heart that knows and performs the will of God (2.18, 23). Correlatively, this interpretive move implicitly casts heart-circumcised gentiles in the role scripted for restored Israel in Deut 30.6 (see Rom 2.26-27). According to Paul's logic, 2.29 implies that gentiles who undergo heart circumcision become Jews "in secret" (ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ) and "in Spirit" (ἐν πνεύματι) and are recognized as such by God (ὁ ἔπαινος…ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ). In order to benefit from divine salvation, then, gentiles not only *can* but, in a sense, *must* become Jews (albeit secretly or inwardly) by demonstrating the allegiance to Israel's god that arises from of a circumcised heart.

Paul's argument in Rom 2.28-29 becomes more explicit in Rom 11.[305] There, he addresses the role of Jews and gentiles in the divine plan with a view toward redressing the arrogance of gentile Christians in Rome. In Rom 11.8 Paul laments that the majority of Jews abide under the covenant curse threatened in Deut 29.4 (MT, LXX 29:3).[306] At present, only a small number of Jews, in contrast to a sizable contingent of gentiles, experience a measure of the restoration

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304. See Neil Elliott, *The Rhetoric of Romans: Argumentative Constraint and Strategy and Paul's Dialogue with Judaism* (JSNTSup 45; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd, 1990), 198.

305. See Neil Elliott, *The Arrogance of Nations: Reading Romans in the Shadow of Empire* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2008), 107.

306. The quotation of Deut 29.4 (MT, LXX 29:3), conflated with Isa 29.10, shows that Deuteronomy's schema for Israel's restoration continues to inform Paul's thinking in Rom 11.

promised to Israel in Deut 30.1-10. The future, however, holds the potential of reversal for both groups.[307] Jews who turn back to God by believing the divine gospel may yet receive mercy, while gentile Christians may revert to their former status under God's curse if they continue to despise their Jewish counterparts in Rome.[308] Paul develops his position in 11.17-24 through the image of Israel as an olive tree (ἐλαία) into which believing gentiles have been grafted as a shoot from a wild olive tree (ἀγριέλαιος). According to the logic of the image, gentiles become beneficiaries of God's kindness only insofar as their identity remains bound up with that of Israel, the root (ἡ ῥίζα). The moment they become severed from Israel they forfeit their claim to God's kindness (11.21-22). Throughout, then, Paul endeavors to temper the arrogance of gentile Christians in Rome by reminding them that rescue from divine wrath depends on their evincing the "Jewishness" characteristic of those who possess the circumcised heart of Deut 30.6.

Conclusion

The allusions to Deut 30.1-10 in the works surveyed above speak to the text's enduring vitality and appeal throughout the Second Temple period. Reading the allusion suggests that Moses' schema for the nation's restoration had

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307. See Elliott, *Arrogance*, 107, who argues, "the fundamental dissociation toward which Paul's rhetoric drives is *the distinction of appearance from reality*, which in Romans means also *the distinction of the present from the future*" (author's emphasis).

308. Berkley, *Broken Covenant*, 69, note 4, observes that the collocation "anger" (ὀργή) and "wrath" (θυμός) in Rom 2.5,8 alludes to Deut 29.20, 24, and 28. This suggests that Paul has integrated both gentiles and Jews thoroughly into Deuteronomy's restoration schema. Both groups stand under God's wrath (2.5, 8; 11.8); both groups must turn to God to receive mercy (2.4; 11.23, 30-32); both groups must possess a Jewish identity defined by circumcision of the heart (2.28-29).

the capacity to generate varied and competing literary figurations of a restored Israel. The constituency of this Israel varied; it could include those in the homeland who adhere to a solar calendar and a particular halakhic code of conduct, those in disapora who abandon folly and vice to pursue virtue, or those who, regardless of ethnicity, become Jews in Spirit by acclaiming Jesus as messiah and lord. The evocative traces of Deut 30.1-10 in the texts discussed above provide a context of plausibility for reading the allusion in the four Second Temple narratives I discuss in the balance of this study.

In the chapters that follow I explore the semantic effects of reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in the books of Nehemiah, Ruth, and Tobit, as well as in the Gospel of Mark. I argue that, once activated, the allusions to Deut 30.1-10 position these works as participants in a kind of literary theatre, with each narrative enacting a different performance of Deuteronomy's script for Israel's restoration. Approached allusively, the four narratives seem to cast a troupe of diverse and unlikely actors to play the role scripted in Deut 30 for restored Israel. These actors include repatriated Judean exiles sequestered from foreign influence (Nehemiah), a Moabite woman who serves as an emblem and agent of restoration for a community of Judeans (Ruth), an Israelite exile afflicted with blindness who experiences a measure of divine restoration while living outside the homeland (Tobit), and the followers of a Galilean prophet whom the Lord acclaims as Israel's messiah and charges with bringing about eschatological restoration (the Gospel of Mark). When read allusively, Nehemiah, Ruth, Tobit, and Mark render literary performances of Deut 30.1-10 that imagine alternate ways of refiguring national identity in the wake of an unresolved and ongoing

experience of exile.

CHAPTER 3

READING ALLUSION TO DEUTERONOMY 30.1-10 IN THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH

INTRODUCTION

The book of Nehemiah tells of a Judean courtier to the Persian king who returns to Judah,[309] rebuilds Jerusalem, and settles it with former exiles who have come back to the national homeland to begin their lives anew under the auspices of YHWH's favor. While still in Persia, Nehemiah offers a desperate prayer to YHWH when he learns of Jerusalem's ruined state. The prayer, as many scholars note, is "shaped by traditional language"[310] that includes an allusion to Deut 30.1-10 among others. There, Moses discloses that YHWH will return repentant Israelite exiles to their homeland when they turn back to the deity from their dispersion among the nations. What is often overlooked is how, in evoking this intertext, Nehemiah reorients Israel's restoration around his own project of reconstruction. This suggests both that the conditions of Israel's exile have persisted, despite previous migrations of exiles to Judah, and that Nehemiah's ultimate task is to bring the nation's restoration to completion.

In what follows I explore how reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in the book of Nehemiah affects an understanding of both in the local context in which the allusion occurs and in the global context of the narrative as a whole. I argue that

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309. Under Persian rule Judah was designated an imperial province called Yehud. For a history of the Persian period, see. Lester L. Grabbe, *Yehud: A History of the Persian Province of Judah* (vol. 1 of *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period*; London: T&T Clark, 2004).

310. Ralph W. Klein, "The Books of Ezra & Nehemiah: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections" in *NIB* 3:661-851 (Nashville: Abingdon, 1999), 751, who catalogues the prayer's several biblical allusions, including its evocation of Deut 30.1-4 (752).

allusive echoes of Deut 30.10 are audible in the first chapter of the book, where Nehemiah offers a prayer of national repentance in the context of a petition for divine aid. Read allusively, the prayer casts repatriated Judean exiles,[311] not least Nehemiah himself, in the role scripted for restored Israel in Deut 30.1-10. The book's figuration of restoration implicitly excludes all other groups from laying claim to the identity of restored Israel by pejoratively rendering them as foreigners and allusively coordinating them with the original inhabitants of Canaan whom the Israelites dispossessed. The prayer's allusion to Deut 30.1-10 also serves to legitimate Nehemiah's project by suggesting that the rebuilding and repopulating of Jerusalem mark the culmination of the nation's restoration. Beyond the context of the prayer, reading the allusion in the rest of the book produces effects that are both surprising and counterintuitive. Once activated, the allusion subverts the expectations generated by its evocation in the book's first chapter. Read allusively, the balance of the narrative calls into question whether the former exiles are, indeed, qualified to play the role of Deuteronomy's restored Israel. This troubles the notion, implicit in the prayer, that Nehemiah's

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311. Because I am interested in how the book of Nehemiah literarily figures the returning exiles, I refer to them throughout this chapter as "Judeans." This epithet underscores the book's tendentious claim that the community led by Nehemiah (and Ezra) is comprised exclusively of descendants of those who inhabited the geographical and political region of Judah and who were deported to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Judaism: The First Phase, The Place of Ezra and Nehemiah in the Origins of Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmanns, 2009), 81-83, discusses evidence from the lists of names in Ezra and Nehemiah that seems to tell otherwise; the names in the lists suggest "that not all, and perhaps not many, of those who left Babylonia for Judah in the Persian period were descendants of the deportees of more than a century earlier, that not all were Jewish by birth, and that the links between the *golah* [i.e. those emigrating from Babylon] and the national past were more the product of ideology than either descent from common ancestors or cultural continuity." On the basis of this and other evidence, Blenkinsopp, *Judaism*, 19-28, concludes that the moniker "Jew" is an appropriate historical designation for those living in Judah or in diaspora during the Persian period. Cf. Shaye J. D. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) for the view that the term יְהוּדִי remained primarily a geographical-ethnic designation that did not take on religio-cultural connotations until the Hasmonean period.

project will fully instantiate Israel's promised restoration, even as it tacitly beckons other literary players, as it were, to stage alternative performances of the Deuteronomic script. Below, I provide a brief historical and literary orientation to Nehemiah, the latter of which introduces the motif of the wall, which first appears in conjunction with the book's allusion to Deut 30.1-10.

In the book's final literary form, achieved sometime in the early fourth century BCE,[312] Nehemiah functions as the sequel to events narrated in the book of Ezra.[313] For this reason, most scholars speak in terms of a single work, Ezra-Nehemiah,[314] though some are still willing to offer literary readings that consider each book on its own terms.[315] It is equally evident to biblical scholars that both Ezra and Nehemiah are made up of several independent literary sources and that the two books probably existed in part or in whole as originally distinct works.[316]

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312.   Most scholars think that the book achieved the form attested in the MT sometime during the early fourth century BCE. Blenkinsopp, *Judaism*, 89 note 7, presents this view as "the *opinio communis*."

313.   For a discussion of Ezra-Nehemiah's relationship to the books of Chronicles, see the argument and review of scholarship in Sara Japhet, "The Relationship between Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah," in *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah: Collected Studies on the Restoration Period* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 169-182; repr. from *Congress Volume: Leuven, 1989* (VTS 43; Leiden: Brill Academic, 1991), 298-313, who concludes that different writers with distinct ideologies composed the books of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah respectively; see also Tamara Cohn Eskenazi, *In An Age of Prose: A Literary Approach to Ezra-Nehemiah* (SBL Monograph Series 36; Atlanta: Scholars, 1988), 14-36, who also concludes that Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles are independent works.

314.   Although English Bibles divide the two, Ezra and Nehemiah form a single book in the Hebrew and Greek Bibles, as noted e.g. by Eskenazi, *Age of Prose*, 11-12 and Blenkinsopp, *Judaism*, 86.

315.   See. e.g. Lester L. Grabbe, *Ezra-Nehemiah* (London; New York: Routledge, 1998).

316.   For a discussion of the book's development consult Sara Japhet, "Composition and Chronology in the Book of Ezra-Nehemiah" in *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah: Collected Studies on the Restoration Period* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 245-267. See also H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah* (WBC 16; Waco: 1985), xxiii-xxxiii; Grabbe, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 154-59. Blenkinsopp, *Judaism*, 89-90, concludes that "it is probably safe to think of Ezra-Nehemiah as a work in progress from the mid-fifth century down into the Hasmonaean period;" he goes on to argue: "However one construes the relation between the two parts of the book, the fact that on the few occasions where their names appear in later Second Temple texts they never occur together is consistent with the hypothesis of a combination in the canonical book of two originally distinct accounts" (61).

The most notable among these sources has been identified as a "Memoir" of Nehemiah narrated in the first person and roughly spanning chapters 1-7 and 13.[317] Although my inquiry concerns the final form of the book of Nehemiah, in certain places I will suggest how reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in Nehemiah 1 might affect a unified Ezra-Nehemiah.

Nehemiah's allusion to Deut 30.1-10 occurs in relation to the extended literary motif of the wall, which integrates the book and provides a metaphor for one of its chief concerns, namely the creation of a people separated from foreign influence. In what follows I discuss the motif of the wall in order to provide a context for understanding the import of the book's allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in chapter 1. After learning that Jerusalem's wall lies in ruins, Nehemiah evokes Deut 30.1-10 in a prayer to Yhwh calculated to remind the deity that he had entrusted Moses with a promise of national restoration (1.8-9). Nehemiah then petitions the king to return and rebuild the city, which begins with a

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317.   For a discussion of the genre, see Ulrich Kellermann, *Nehemia: Quellen, Überlieferung und Geschichte* (BZAW 102; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1967), 4-56; Kellermann, 84-88 concludes that the genre of the Memoir is closest to the *Gebet des Angeklagten* ("prayer of the accused") found in several canonical psalms and in portions of Jeremiah and Job; see also the summary and critique of Kellermann in J. A. Emerton, review of Ulrich Kellermann, *Nehemia: Quellen, Überlieferung und Geschichte*, *JTS* 23 (1972), 171-85. As for the delineation of the Memoir, David J. A. Clines, *What Does Eve Do to Help? and Other Readerly Questions to the Old Testament* (JSOTSup 94; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 125, remarks: "Only the hyper-critical will disallow that in 1.1-7.7 (minus perhaps ch. 3), 12.31-43 and 13.4-31 at least we hear the *ipsissima vox* of Nehemiah." According to Blenkinsopp, *Judaism*, 90, the Memoir "is generally taken to include all or most of 1:1-7:5 and 13:4-31;" he concedes that "beyond this generalization" there is "a wide range of opinion." In his commentary, Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah: A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM, 1989), 47, 343-44, he argues that the following verses are not original to the Memoir: 1.1, 5-11a; 11.27-29, 33-36, 41-43. For an accessible survey of several different scholarly viewpoints see Blenkinsopp, *Judaism*, 90-92; see further 93-97, where Blenkinsopp provides a comparative analysis that coordinates the Nehemiah Memoir with Mesopotamian, Greek, Persian, and Egyptian counterparts; see also Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Nehemiah Autobiographical Memoir," in *Language, Theology and the Bible: Essays in Honour of James Barr* (ed. Samuel E. Balentine and John Barton; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 199-122.

reconstruction of its outer walls (2.5).[318] In the balance of the book Nehemiah

superintends this work amidst threats of opposition from within and without. As

the book unfolds, it becomes clear that Nehemiah actually oversees two related

projects of reconstruction. In chapter 2 Nehemiah arrives in Jerusalem with an

imperial commission and sets out to restore the dilapidated wall of the city and

secure it with new gates (2.13). By the end of chapter 6 Nehemiah's crew has

completed the reconstruction of the old city wall. It is somewhat odd, then, that

the book delays the report of the wall's dedication ceremony until the middle of

chapter 12 in vv. 27-43.[319] The intervening chapters begin with the observation

in 7.4: וְהָעִיר רַחֲבַת יָדַיִם וּגְדוֹלָה וְהָעָם מְעַט בְּתוֹכָהּ וְאֵין בָּתִּים בְּנוּיִם

("Now the city was wide and large, but the people in its midst were few, and

there were no houses being built"). In other words, though the city has been

rebuilt and fortified it remains sparsely populated. Chapters 7-12 go on to

describe the process of finding a people qualified to inhabit Nehemiah's restored

Jerusalem.[320] Only when the narrative identifies such people and sees them

settled within the city is the wall dedicated in chapter 12.

The narrative structure of wall-people-wall takes the form of a literary

inclusio. The device has several implications for understanding the relationship

between the wall and the people. First, it implies that Nehemiah's project of

reconstruction includes both building the city walls and fashioning a people fit to

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318.   See Blenkinsopp, *Judaism*, 91-92, who clarifies: "Actually, his [Nehemiah's] mandate was to rebuild the city, of which the restoration of the wall would have been only the first stage (2:5)."
319.   Blenkinsopp, *Judaism*, 101, notes the dislocation of the wall's dedication ceremony.
320.   See the discussion in Douglas Green, "Ezra-Nehemiah" in *A Complete Literary Guide to the Bible* (eds. Leland Ryken and Tremper Longman III; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1993), 206-215, here, 208-09.

dwell within their bounds.[321]   This further suggests that the city's rebuilding

remains incomplete until qualified inhabitants have been found to live there.[322]

Second, the *inclusio* speaks to the function of the wall as a boundary that sets the

city's inhabitants apart.[323]   The wall encloses the city's inhabitants, both literarily

and literally, marking them as distinct and separating them from those outside.

The narrative first hints at the wall's function as a physical boundary marker

after its completion in chapter 7. In v. 3 Nehemiah orders, without explanation,

that the gates be locked and that some of the city's few inhabitants be posted as

guards. Although the narrative does not clarify why Nehemiah does this, it is

important to note, as Douglas Green points out, that "immediately upon the

completion of the walls and gate they begin to function as a barrier between two

realms."[324] The wall distinguishes what resides within from what lies without.

Later, in chapter 13, the narrative makes the wall's function more explicit.

In order to prevent violation of the Sabbath, Nehemiah evicts foreign merchants

from the city, bars the gates, and posts Levities along the walls as sentries (Neh

13.15-22). This suggests that the wall functions in part as an "instrument of

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321.   See Gordon F. Davies, *Ezra and Nehemiah* (*Berit Olam*: Studies in Hebrew Narrative & Poetry; ed. David W. Cotter, O.S.B.; Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1999), 80: "In rhetorical terms the walls are simply the *topos* or 'topic.' A rhetorical 'topic' is a 'place' where the speaker looks for something to say about the subject of real interest. The walls are the lever that opens up a further set of problems in the matter of Israel's social and spiritual upbuilding." See also Lester L. Grabbe, "Was Jerusalem a Persian Fortress?," in *Exile and Restoration Revisited: Essays on the Babylonian and Persian Periods in Memory of Peter R. Ackroyd* (LSTS 73; eds. Gary N. Knoppers, Lester L. Grabbe, and Deirdre N. Fulton; T&T Clark, 2009), 128-137, here 131, who notes: "The physical state of the city is a symptom of the state of the people (Neh 2.3)."
322.   See Blenkinsopp, *Judaism*, 102, who argues that the repetition of the lengthy census list from Ezra 2.1-67 in Neh 7.5b-73a [MT 72a] links Nehemiah's project with Ezra's work with the effect that the list in Neh 7 "signifies the end of a phase and the fulfillment of a preordained plan…even as embodying a kind of realized eschatology."
323.   On the theme of boundaries in Ezra-Nehemiah, see Green, "Ezra-Nehemiah," 207-210.
324.   Green, "Ezra-Nehemiah," 208.

social control"[325] to sequester the city's inhabitants from foreign influence.

Commenting on the significance of the Sabbath episode, Lester Grabbe notes that

Nehemiah's "actions in this case look almost as much an issue of exclusion or

control of 'foreigners' as of observance of the Sabbath."[326] Read in light of the

book as a whole, the episode in chapter 13 recalls the oath sworn by the people

in chapter 10. There, the former exiles vow not to purchase goods or grain from

עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ ("the peoples of the land") who enter the city to trade on the Sabbath

(Neh 10.31 [MT 10.32]. According to Neh 10.28 [MT 10.29], the vow is part of a

covenantal oath sworn by כָּל־הַנִּבְדָּל מֵעַמֵּי הָאֲרָצוֹת אֶל־תּוֹרַת הָאֱלֹהִים נְשֵׁיהֶם

בְּנֵיהֶם וּבְנֹתֵיהֶם כֹּל יוֹדֵעַ מֵבִין ("all those who have separated themselves from

the peoples of the lands to the *torah* of God, their wives, their sons, and their

daughters, all who have knowledge and understanding"). In the narrative, then,

Nehemiah's wall takes on a metaphorical function as a concretization of the

people's oath to separate from foreigners and obey Yʜwʜ's commandments.[327]

Defining this people and marking their distinction from the "peoples of the land"

is of paramount importance in the book;[328] and it is in this connection that its

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325.   Lester L. Grabbe, "'They Shall Come Rejoicing to Zion' – or Did They? The Settlement of Yehud in the Early Persian Period," in *Exile and Restoration Revisited: Essays on the Babylonian and Persian Periods in Memory of Peter R. Ackroyd* (LSTS 73; eds. Gary N. Knoppers, Lester L. Grabbe, and Deirdre N. Fulton; T&T Clark, 2009), 116-127, here 121.

326.   Grabbe, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 174; see also Green, "Ezra-Nehemiah," 209.

327.   As Green, "Ezra-Nehemiah," 209 points out, Nehemiah's wall "is both a physical wall of separation and a metaphor for the boundary of separation that adherence to the Law would erect."

328.   See Sara Japhet, "People and Land in the Restoration Period," in *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah: Collected Studies on the Restoration Period* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 96-116, here 108; repr. from *Das Land Israel in biblischer Zeit* (ed. G. Strecker; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 103-25, who argues, "The question of national identity is a major and central issue in the book, and the answers to this question unequivocal."

allusion to Deut 30.1-10 occurs.

DISCERNING ALLUSION TO DEUTERONOMY 30.1-10 IN NEHEMIAH 1

The first chapter of the book alludes to Deut 30.1-10 in the context of a prayer Nehemiah offers after hearing distressing news about the state of Jerusalem and its inhabitants. While in service to the Persian king in Susa, Nehemiah receives a visit from his brother Hanani, accompanied by an entourage of men from Judah. Nehemiah wastes no time in inquiring about the welfare of "the surviving Judeans who escaped the captivity (הַיְּהוּדִים הַפְּלֵיטָה אֲשֶׁר־נִשְׁאֲרוּ מִן־הַשֶּׁבִי),[329] and about Jerusalem" (1.2). Although it is possible to construe הַיְּהוּדִים ("the Judeans") as inhabitants of Judah whom the Babylonians did not take into exile, the alternative proposed by Lester Grabbe is more likely: "the rest of the book indicates that it is the *golah* community (those returned from captivity) who are in mind."[330] Significantly, the word פְּלֵיטָה, used in Neh 1.2 of the Judean "survivors," also appears in Ezra 9.8, 15, where it refers to the community of repatriated Judean exiles. Reading the book as the sequel to Ezra suggests, then, that Hanani refers to Judean exiles who have already returned to the homeland but who have recently encountered new troubles. Indeed, Hanani goes on to tell Nehemiah that the former exiles are "in great misfortune and disgrace" (בְּרָעָה גְדֹלָה וּבְחֶרְפָּה) and that "the wall of Jerusalem is broken down, and its gates have been burned with fire" (Neh 1.3). This news evokes a

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329. See Ezra 9.8, 15; see also 2 Kings 19.30 and Isaiah 37.31.
330. Grabbe, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 39-40.

response of mourning, fasting, and prayer that consumes Nehemiah for several days. The content of Nehemiah's prayer resounds with allusive echoes of Deut 7 and 30.[331]

Three sections comprise the prayer itself: an opening address (v. 5), a confession (vv. 6-7), and a petition (vv. 8-11). Markers of allusion to Deut 30.1-10 are discernable in the prayer's petition, where there are a number of verbal parallels. Significantly, Nehemiah introduces the allusion with an explicit reference in 1.8 to הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתָ אֶת־מֹשֶׁה עַבְדְּךָ ("the word that you commanded Moses, your servant"). On the basis of this introductory formula, Wilhelm Rudolph identified the Deuteronomic locutions that follow in Nehemiah's prayer as a "*freiem Zitat*" (free quotation).[332] Seconding Rudolph, Klaus Baltzer claims that Neh 1.9 "corresponds almost word for word to Deuteronomy 30:4."[333] In fact, the prayer echoes diction from Deut 30.2-5, with a significant change, discussed below, at the end of v. 9. A comparison of the relevant verses from Nehemiah and Deuteronomy underscores their verbal similarities.[334]

331.   Due in part to the prayer's Deuteronomic rhetoric, Blenkinsopp, *Judaism*, 100-101, thinks that its contents are a later edition to the "Memoir."
332.   Wilhelm Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia* (HAT 20; Tübingen: Mohr, 1949), 105, cited in Klaus Baltzer, "Moses Servant of God and the Servants: Text and Tradition in the Prayer of Nehemiah (Neh 1:5-11);" trans. Christopher R. Seitz in *The Future of Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester* (ed. Birger A. Pearson; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 121-130, here 121 note 2.
333.   Baltzer, "Prayer of Nehemiah," 125.
334.   Klein, "Ezra & Nehemiah," 751-52, provides a list of biblical quotations and allusions in Nehemiah's prayer that includes Deut 30.1-4.

Neh 1.8-9	Deut 30.2-5
⁸זְכׇר־נָא אֶת־הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתָ אֶת־מֹשֶׁה עַבְדְּךָ לֵאמֹר אַתֶּם תִּמְעֲלוּ אֲנִי אָפִיץ אֶתְכֶם בָּעַמִּים׃ ⁹וְשַׁבְתֶּם אֵלַי וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם מִצְוֺתַי וַעֲשִׂיתֶם אֹתָם אִם־יִהְיֶה נִדַּחֲכֶם בִּקְצֵה הַשָּׁמַיִם מִשָּׁם אֲקַבְּצֵם וַהֲבוֹאֹתִים אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְתִּי לְשַׁכֵּן אֶת־שְׁמִי שָׁם׃	²וְשַׁבְתָּ עַד־יְהֹוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ וְשָׁמַעְתָּ בְקֹלוֹ כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר־אָנֹכִי מְצַוְּךָ הַיּוֹם...³יְהֹוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ...וְשָׁב וְקִבֶּצְךָ מִכׇּל־הָעַמִּים אֲשֶׁר הֱפִיצְךָ יְהֹוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ שָׁמָּה׃ ⁴אִם־יִהְיֶה נִדַּחֲךָ בִּקְצֵה הַשָּׁמָיִם מִשָּׁם יְקַבֶּצְךָ יְהֹוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ...⁵וֶהֱבִיאֲךָ יְהֹוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר־יָרְשׁוּ אֲבֹתֶיךָ וִירִשְׁתָּהּ

Neh 1.8-9	Deut 30.2-5
⁸Remember the word that you commanded Moses, your servant: If you are disloyal,[335] I will scatter you among the peoples; ⁹but if you return to me and keep my commandments and do them, if your outcasts should be at the end of the sky, from there I will gather them, and I will bring them to the place where I have chosen to cause my name to dwell.	²…and you return to Yнwн your God, and you heed his voice in accord with all that I am commanding you today…³Then Yнwн your God…will gather you again from all the peoples among whom Yнwн your God scattered you. ⁴If your outcasts should be at the end of the sky, from there Yнwн your God will gather you…⁵And Yнwн your God will bring you into the land that your ancestors possessed, and you will inherit it…

The most striking verbal similarity between the two texts is the repetition of Yнwн's promise to gather (קבץ, piel) and return the exiles even "if your outcasts should be at the end of the sky" (אִם־יִהְיֶה נִדַּחֲךָ בִּקְצֵה הַשָּׁמָיִם). Both texts also refer to the exiles as being scattered (פוץ, hifil) among the peoples (עַמִּים), and both use a hifil form of the verb בוא to depict their return. Finally, in both Neh 1.9 and Deut 30.2 restoration follows the exiles' return (שׁוב, qal) to Yнwн in renewed allegiance.

Beyond the verbal parallels adduced above, the book also shares with Deut 30.1-10 a similar interpretation of the nation's history. Deut 30.1 figures

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335. Klein, "Ezra & Nehemiah," 753, notes that the verb מעל ("to be disloyal, unfaithful, untrue") does not occur in Deuteronomy but appears frequently in Chronicles. He concludes" It represents an adaptation of the traditional deuteronomistic language to a new context."

Israel's history into three periods: blessing, curse, and renewed blessing. The period of divine curse ends when Israel returns to Y{HWH} from its exile among the nations. The sequence set out in the text suggests that Israel's renewed allegiance awakens Y{HWH}'s compassion and sets in motion a reversal of national fortune. The book of Nehemiah ostensibly comports with this configuration insofar as it regards the period of divine curse as belonging to the past, that is to Judah's defeat and exile in the early sixth century {BCE}. Further, the book construes the present as the period of renewed divine compassion and favor. Even in the face of opposition and hostility, Nehemiah repeatedly appeals to Y{HWH}'s abiding faithfulness to vindicate him and establish his work: "This also remember concerning me, O my God, and look compassionately on me according to the greatness of your loyal love" (Neh 13.22). Sara Japhet confirms as much when she observes that in the book the people "restrict the application of God's justice to the past, to the interpretation of the events that brought about the destruction of Judah and the Exile."[336] They do not regard their difficulties as divine punishments, nor do they attribute their successes to collective obedience. Rather, Japhet contends, "It is God's good will, compassion, and faithfulness to which they continually appeal, to guard them and cause them to prosper."[337] It would seem, then, that the book aligns with the historical and theological schematization adumbrated in Deut 30.1-10: the resettlement of the national homeland signals the end of Y{HWH}'s curse and the beginning of a new era under

336. Sara Japhet, "Theodicy in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles," in *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah: Collected Studies on the Restoration Period* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 367-398, here 379; repr. from *Theodicy in the World of the Bible* (eds. A. Laato and J. C. de Moor; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 429-69.
337. Japhet, "Theodicy," 380.

the aegis of divine compassion. As I argue below, however, the narrative complicates this assessment by questioning the quality and permanence of Nehemiah's project of restoration. There are troubling indications both that the nation's exile remains unresolved despite Nehemiah's best efforts and that the community risks evoking a further and more devastating manifestation of divine wrath.

ACTIVATING ALLUSION TO DEUTERONOMY 30.1-10 IN THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH

Nehemiah's allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in chapter 1 performs at least two important functions in the narrative. First, the allusion defines restored Israel exclusively in terms of Judeans who return from exile to settle in the environs of Jerusalem, with particular emphasis on the figure of Nehemiah himself. In chapter 1 Nehemiah petitions YHWH in behalf of the nation. In v. 6 he confesses חַטֹּאות בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר חָטָאנוּ לָךְ וַאֲנִי וּבֵית־אָבִי חָטָאנוּ ("the sins of the people of Israel, which we have sinned against you; both I and my father's house have sinned"). This statement is significant as it defines Nehemiah, his family, and the former exiles in Judah as בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל ("the people of Israel"). From there, he alludes in 1.9 to YHWH's promise of restoration in Deut 30.2-5: וְשַׁבְתֶּם אֵלַי וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם מִצְוֹתַי וַעֲשִׂיתֶם אֹתָם...אֲקַבְּצֵם וַהֲבִיאֹתִים אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְתִּי לְשַׁכֵּן אֶת־שְׁמִי שָׁם: ("but if you return to me and keep my commandments and do them...I will gather them, and I will bring them to the place where I have chosen to cause my name to dwell"). The evocation of Deut 30.1-10 implicitly identifies בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל ("the people of Israel"), mentioned in v. 6, with the exiles

who turn back to Y<small>HWH</small> and subsequently resettle the homeland.

Further, the prayer itself functions as a kind of speech-act, with Nehemiah performing the role of the repentant nation about which he speaks. His confession acts out the return to Y<small>HWH</small> scripted for exiled Israel in Deut 30.1-2:

	Hebrew		English
1	...וַהֲשֵׁבֹתָ אֶל־לְבָבֶךָ בְּכָל־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר הִדִּיחֲךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ שָׁמָּה:		...and you come to your senses in all the nations where YHWH your God has cast you out,
2	וְשַׁבְתָּ עַד־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ...בְּכָל־לְבָבְךָ וּבְכָל־נַפְשֶׁךָ:		and you return to YHWH your God...with all your heart and with all your person

In the act of praying in behalf of בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל ("the people of Israel") and of confessing national and personal sins, Nehemiah himself performs the role of repentant Israel by turning to Y<small>HWH</small> while in exile. Shortly after the prayer, the Persian king Artaxerxes grants Nehemiah leave to journey back to Judah in order to rebuild Jerusalem. Nehemiah's personal arrival in Jerusalem enacts the collective gathering and return promised to the repentant nation in Deut 30.3-5. By alluding to Deut 30.1-10, then, the narrative identifies both the former exiles resettled in Judah and the figure of Nehemiah himself as the embodiments of Deuteronomy's restored Israel.

Second, the allusion also suggests that Israel's exile remains ongoing until Nehemiah completes the rebuilding and repopulating of Jerusalem. Nehemiah's evocation of Deut 30.1-10 on behalf of the former exiles already settled in Judah implies that he regards the nation's restoration as inchoate at best.[338] As Ralph

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338. Grabbe, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 187-89, argues that three distinct and originally independent "founder legends" underlie the MT version of Ezra-Nehemiah: traditions featuring Joshua and Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah respectively. If he is correct, this in part may explain, from a source-critical perspective, why the beginning of Nehemiah seems to suggest that the Judean community's restoration remains incomplete even after the events narrated in the book of Ezra.

Klein explains, Nehemiah's petition is tantamount to a request that "God restore the exiled Israelites who have turned to God in repentance and obedience."[339] This is significant as it suggests that "[f]rom Nehemiah's point of view, Israel had not yet been restored out of its exile into its homeland."[340] Hanani's report intimates that the conditions of the exile have not yet been fully reversed despite the fact that some Judeans have returned to Jerusalem and rebuilt the temple. Until the community repairs the city and regains its honor, restoration remains elusive.

To underscore the point, Nehemiah diverges from the Deuteronomic script at a crucial point in his prayer. In Deut 30.5, Yₕwₕ promises to return the penitent exiles אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר־יָרְשׁוּ אֲבֹתֶיךָ ("to the land of which your ancestors took possession"), with the promise, וִירִשְׁתָּהּ ("and you will take possession of it"). Nehemiah alters the destination of the returning exiles to הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְתִּי לְשַׁכֵּן אֶת־שְׁמִי שָׁם ("the place where I have chosen to cause my name to dwell"). The import of this change is more than the swapping of one Deuteronomistic locution[341] for another. As Klaus Baltzer recognizes, the substitution enables Nehemiah to sidestep the issue of Judah's repossession of the land, which remains under Persian control.[342] It also allows him to insinuate the rebuilding of Jerusalem, the chosen "place" (מָקוֹם), into Deut 30's schema for the nation's restoration. This move deftly grants Mosaic authorization to

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339. Klein, "Ezra & Nehemiah," 753.
340. Klein, "Ezra & Nehemiah," 753.
341. See Deut 12.5, 11; 1 Kings 8.29; 2 Chron 6.20.
342. Baltzer, "Prayer of Nehemiah," 125.

Nehemiah's program and suggests that until Jerusalem is rebuilt and inhabited, Israel's restoration remains incomplete.[343] In summary, reading the allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in the prayer in chapter 1 effectively casts Nehemiah and the returning Judean exiles in the role of Deuteronomy's "restored Israel" and promotes Nehemiah's project, the reconstruction and repopulation of Jerusalem, as the means for bringing the nation's restoration to completion.

How, then, does the allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in chapter 1 affect a reading of the book's remaining chapters? Nehemiah's allusion in the prayer implicitly sets in motion the sequence of events set out in Deut 30.1-10 that brings about Israel's restoration from exile. This generates an expectation that, once in the land, Nehemiah and the Judean community will experience the remaining tokens of restoration adumbrated in Deut 30.1-10. These include the renewal of fecundity to the land, its people, and their livestock; the facilitation of abiding loyalty to YHWH; and the vindication of the nation over its adversaries. Reading the book in anticipation of these themes produces a rather startling effect, whether "intended" or not: the ensuing narrative subverts the expectation that Nehemiah's prayer allusively engenders by troubling the notion that national restoration has, in fact, been accomplished.

Ostensibly, Nehemiah succeeds in implementing his project. The end of

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343.   The narrative structure of Ezra 4 may also points in this direction. There, reports of hostility toward the building of the second temple frame an account, from a much later time, of opposition to the wall's reconstruction. Eskenazi, *Age of Prose*, 55-56, argues that the literary *inclusio* of temple-city walls-temple in Ezra 4 suggests: "The [two] tasks are mere extensions of each other…building walls and city is part of building the house of God." For a critique of Eskenazi's proposal, see David J. A. Clines, "The Force of the Text: A Response to Tamara C. Eskenazi's 'EzraNehemiah: From Text to Actuality,'" in *On the Way to the Postmodern: Old Testament Essays 1967-1998*, Volume 1 (JSOTSup 292; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 351-69.

chapter 6 confirms that his crew of laborers has finished rebuilding the Jerusalem wall. Then, verse 1 of chapter 11 identifies new inhabitants for the city from among שְׁאָר הָעָם ("the rest of the people"), presumably the same group הַנִּבְדָּל מֵעַמֵּי הָאֲרָצוֹת אֶל־תּוֹרַת הָאֱלֹהִים ("who have separated themselves from the peoples of the lands to the law of God") in 10.28 (MT 10.29), where the same designation, שְׁאָר הָעָם ("the rest of the people"), occurs. Finally, chapter 12 tells of the wall's rededication and the resumption of temple services as in the days of David and Solomon. Reading canonically suggests that, when taken with the allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in the book's opening prayer, the apparent success of Nehemiah's project should betoken the completion of Israel's restoration. At certain places, however, the narrative troubles this buoyant assessment. Below I consider the extent to which the Judean community embodies three defining elements of Deut 30's restored Israel: abundant fecundity, renewed obedience, and vindication over foreign enemies.

In keeping with Ben-Porat's fourth stage in activating allusion, my readings at this point do not depend on detecting further markers of Deut 30.1-10 in the book of Nehemiah beyond those discussed above in chapter 1. Rather, having discerned allusive echoes of Deut 30.1-10 in the opening prayer, I now move to consider the broader intertextual patterns generated by activating the allusion in the rest of the book. I am not arguing that the connections I perceive are "really there" or intentionally present in the book. Instead, I am interested in exploring how activating the allusion inflects the book's meaning in ways that may not have been apparent or even possible apart from its

discernment and activation. That said, I acknowledge that other readers may discern different connections or, perhaps in certain places, find the association too tenuous to warrant reading any at all. I also concede that in my readings I maximize the potential the allusion offers for generating broader intertextual patterns that contribute to the book's meaning. To begin, then, I consider the degree to which the community achieves the remarkable fertility and prosperity that Moses' envisions for restored Israel.

A. Abundant Fecundity

The activation of the book's allusion to Deut 30.1-10 effectively undermines the ostensible signs of Nehemiah's success.[344] To begin with, in several places the narrative suggests that Moses' promise of renewed prosperity and fecundity has miscarried.[345] This pertains not only to the land and its fruit but also to livestock and to children born to the returning Judean exiles. For example, chapter 5 reports that a severe food shortage has forced many to sell their fields, vineyards, and houses to acquire grain (5.1-3). In addition, many are struggling to pay the imperial tax collected to fund the Persian administration (5.4). This same crisis has forced the poor not only to borrow money against their fields and vineyards (5.4) but also to sell their children into debt slavery with the collateral result that some of their daughters have fallen prey to sexual

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344. The observations that follow are stimulated in part by Green, "Ezra-Nehemiah," 213, who argues, "at the height of the nation's accomplishments – the completion of the building project and the final radical commitment of the people to separate from all Gentiles – the narrative subverts the success."

345. Even worse, these and other failings discussed below align the community's experience with that of those living under YHWH's covenant curses as enumerated in Lev 26 and Deut 28. I am grateful to Martien Halvorson-Taylor for suggesting this connection to me.

predation (5.5).

Further, in Neh 9.36-37 the Levites[346] lament that, although Yʜᴡʜ gave the land לַאֲבֹתֵ֫ינוּ לֶאֱכֹל אֶת־פִּרְיָהּ וְאֶת־טוּבָהּ ("to our ancestors to eat its fruit and its rich bounty"), nevertheless, וּתְבוּאָתָהּ מַרְבָּה לַמְּלָכִים אֲשֶׁר־נָתַתָּה עָלֵינוּ בְּחַטֹּאותֵ֫ינוּ ("it produces its yield for the kings whom you have placed over us because of our sins"). Giving voice to the community's "great distress," the Levites go on in 9.37 to complain that foreign kings וְעַל גְּוִיֹּתֵ֫ינוּ מֹשְׁלִים וּבִבְהֶמְתֵּ֫נוּ כִּרְצֹונָ֫ם ("rule over our bodies and over our livestock according to their liking"). Finally, in 13.24 Nehemiah reports that none of the children born to the returned exiles מַכִּירִים לְדַבֵּר יְהוּדִ֫ית ("knew how to speak the language of Judah"), i.e. Hebrew, וְכִלְשֹׁון עַם וָעָם ("but spoke instead the language of each people"). This is the case, he explains, because their fathers had intermarried with the "women of Ashdod, Ammon, and Moab" (13.23) in implicit violation of the proscription in Deut 23.3-6 (MT 23.4-7), alluded to in 13.1-2, which forbids Ammonites and Moabites from participating in Israel's cultic community.

In summary, the picture that emerges from the narrative is bleak: the land cannot sustain the people, and its fruits are paid in tribute to foreign kings; both the livestock and the people are property of the Persian Empire; and the children of the returning exiles have become slaves, victims of sexual assault, and virtual foreigners, unable to speak the language of their ancestors. Activating the book's allusion to Deut 30.1-10 thus suggests that the community falls short of Deuteronomy's vision of abundant prosperity and fertility for the land, the

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346.   The Greek reads Ezra, but this is less likely.

people, and their livestock. This implicitly undermines Nehemiah's assumption in his opening prayer that the returned exiles embody the restored Israel of Deut 30.1-10. Equally unsettling is the fact that in Deut 30.9 renewed fertility and well-being signal the revival of Yʜwʜ's delight in Israel as of old. If the community in Judah lacks the former, this may betoken the absence, obfuscation, or withdrawal of the latter.

B. Renewed Obedience

Additional problems emerge with the book's depiction of the people's allegiance to Yʜwʜ. According to Deut 30.6, 8, and 10 restored Israel will possess a divinely circumcised heart, which facilitates ongoing and exclusive obedience to Yʜwʜ's commandments. By considering the extent to which the community seems to adhere to Yʜwʜ's decrees, it is possible, in activating the allusion, to assess the degree to which it attains the renewed obedience Deut 30.1-10 projects for restored Israel. Events narrated throughout the book of Nehemiah and especially in chapter 13 make it difficult to conclude that the returned exiles obey Yʜwʜ to the degree imagined in Deut 30. Turning to chapter 13, the episodes related there partake of a common theme: the community's relationship to foreigners. In each case, social intercourse with foreigners threatens the community's integrity.

The chapter begins in vv. 1-3 by describing a solemn communal gathering. At its conclusion in 13.3, the people "separated all foreigners from Israel" (וַיַּבְדִּילוּ כָל־עֵרֶב מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל) after they had heard an injunction in 13.1-2 from

בְּסֵפֶר מֹשֶׁה ("the book of Moses") that prohibits Ammonites and Moabites from entering Yʜᴡʜ's assembly (presumably a reference to Deut 23.3-6 [MT 23.4-7]). At the outset of chapter 13, then, the former exiles assert their claim to the identity of Deuteronomy's "Israel" by reaffirming the community's ethnic boundary. In their zeal the Judeans apply Deuteronomy's proscription against Ammonites and Moabites to כָל־עֵרֶב ("all foreigners"), whom they summarily expel from their midst.[347]

In the episodes that follow in chapter 13, however, the people consistently compromise this ethnic boundary in violation of Yʜᴡʜ's commandments. In vv. 4-9 Nehemiah describes how, while he was away at the Persian court, the priest Eliashib had converted a room in the temple, used to store the Levites' tithes of grain, wine, and oil, into a personal residence for Tobiah, a figure whom the book earlier identifies in 2.10 as הָעֶבֶד הָעַמֹּנִי ("the Ammonite official").[348] According to the text, Nehemiah catches the priest in the egregious act of violating the boundary between Israel and Ammon prescribed in the Mosaic *torah* (e.g. Deut 23.3 [MT 23.4]). Nehemiah responds by evicting Tobiah and his belongings from the storeroom and cleansing the chamber from ritual defilement contracted from the foreigner's presence.

In the next episode, in vv. 10-14, Nehemiah is appalled to discover that the

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347.   See David J. A. Clines, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* (NCB; ed. Ronald E. Clements; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 237, who argues that the Hebrew עֵרֶב "refers most naturally to aliens without any Jewish ancestor." He goes on to explain: "Exclusion of **all** such from the cult reflects an interpretation of Dt. 23:3-6 on a *pars pro toto* basis, but it is contrary to the intention of Dt. 23 itself" (author's emphasis).

348.   Disputing the text's portrayal of Tobiah, Grabbe, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 161, argues that, in fact, "Tobiah was probably a member of an old Jewish upper-class family with an estate in Transjordan." It appears, then, that in an effort to reserve the moniker "Israel" for repatriated Judean exiles, the book tendentiously refigures Tobiah as a foreigner.

Levites have not been receiving their allotted portions of grain, wine, and oil from the people (see Neh 12.44). As a result, the Levites have had to abandon the service of the temple and return to work their own fields. According to 13.12, the tithes accorded to the Levites belong in temple storehouses. By mentioning the storehouses, the text implies a connection between the neglect of the Levites and Eliashib's allocation of a storehouse to Tobiah in 13.4-5. This suggests that the admittance of a foreigner into the temple has jeopardized the Levites' livelihood, thereby disrupting the cultic service of Yhwh.

In the subsequent episode, related in vv. 15-22, economic collusion with foreigners threatens the observance of the Sabbath. According to 13.16, Tyrian merchants who resided in the city were selling fish and goods on the Sabbath לִבְנֵי יְהוּדָה וּבִירוּשָׁלָ͏ִם ("to the people of Judah and in Jerusalem"). Again, the people have transgressed the boundary between Israel and the nations. To rectify the situation, Nehemiah re-inscribes this border by evicting the foreign merchants from the city and posting sentries at the gates to prevent trading and selling on the Sabbath. To underscore the severity of the situation, in 13.17-18 Nehemiah warns that the profanation of the Sabbath threatens to rekindle Yhwh's vengeful anger against the people and the city:

17 מָה־הַדָּבָר הָרָע הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם עֹשִׂים וּמְחַלְּלִים אֶת־יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת:	17 What is this evil thing you are doing by profaning the Sabbath Day?
18 הֲלוֹא כֹה עָשׂוּ אֲבֹתֵיכֶם וַיָּבֵא אֱלֹהֵינוּ עָלֵינוּ אֵת כָּל־הָרָעָה הַזֹּאת וְעַל הָעִיר הַזֹּאת וְאַתֶּם מוֹסִיפִים חָרוֹן עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל לְחַלֵּל אֶת־הַשַּׁבָּת:	18 Did not your ancestors act similarly so that our God brought all this evil upon us and upon this city? Now you are bringing more wrath upon Israel by profaning the Sabbath.

The ominous prospect of a further manifestation of divine wrath suggests that

the community's experience of restoration is tenuous at best.

The final altercation, narrated in vv. 23-29, concerns the problem of intermarriage with foreign women from Ashdod, Ammon, and Moab discussed above. It constitutes a further violation of the boundary between Israel and the nations, yet in this case not without precedent. After cursing, beating, and pulling the hair from the offenders, Nehemiah warns that the people are in danger of recapitulating the sin of Solomon, who (in)famously married seven hundred royal wives in addition to his three hundred concubines (1 Kings 11.3). The allusion to Solomon's sin fosters a sense of foreboding; in the book of 1 Kings Solomon's marriages to foreign women signal the beginning of the end for Judah. From Nehemiah's perspective, then, the community's future is at stake. If he does not act to enforce the boundary between the returned exiles and their foreign neighbors, the community risks repeating the very offenses that precipitated Israel's doom. In context, this accounts for Nehemiah's insistence, summarized in 13.30, that foreign influence must be eradicated from the community's bounds: וְטִהַרְתִּים מִכָּל־נֵכָר ("And so I cleansed them from all things foreign"). Apart, then, from the effects of Nehemiah's coercive leadership, the narrative does not instill confidence that the Judean community has attained the renewed obedience to Yhwh's commandments that characterizes restored Israel in Deut 30.6, 8, 10.

C. Vindication over Foreign Enemies

Finally, activating the allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in Nehemiah's petition in chapter 1 subverts the expectation, based on Deut 30.7, that Yhwh will vindicate

the returned exiles over their enemies. The development of this theme begins with the prayer itself, whose allusions to Deut 7 and 30 tacitly cast the community's foreign adversaries in the role of the original Canaanite peoples whom Y{HWH} had authorized the Israelites to destroy.[349] Following Wilhelm Rudolph,[350] Klaus Baltzer reads allusions to Deut 7 at the beginning and closing of Nehemiah's prayer.[351] These provide a frame around the evocation of Deut 30.1-10 at the prayer's heart.   In the beginning of the prayer, in 1.5, Nehemiah addresses Y{HWH} as follows:

וָאֹמַר אָנָּא יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא שֹׁמֵר הַבְּרִית וָחֶסֶד לְאֹהֲבָיו וּלְשֹׁמְרֵי מִצְוֹתָיו:

And I said, "Please Y{HWH}, the God of heaven, the great and fearsome God, who keeps the covenant and maintains loyal love toward those who love him and keep his commandments;"

Discernable in the address are verbal markers of Deut 7.21, where Moses refers to Y{HWH} as אֵל גָּדוֹל וְנוֹרָא ("a great and fearsome God")[352] and Deut 7.9, where Moses depicts Y{HWH} as הָאֵל הַנֶּאֱמָן שֹׁמֵר הַבְּרִית וְהַחֶסֶד לְאֹהֲבָיו וּלְשֹׁמְרֵי מִצְוֹתוֹ ("the faithful God who keeps the covenant and maintains loyal love toward those who love him and keep his commandments"). At the end of the prayer, in 1.10, Nehemiah implores Y{HWH} to hear his petition in behalf of the returned exiles in Judah because they belong to the same people whom Y{HWH} redeemed, presumably in the exodus: וְהֵם עֲבָדֶיךָ וְעַמֶּךָ אֲשֶׁר פָּדִיתָ בְּכֹחֲךָ

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349.   For a discussion of how allusions to Deut 7 and 30 in the prayer contribute to the book's portrayal of Nehemiah as a Moses-like figure, see Davies, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, 90-92.
350.   Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia*, 105, cited in Baltzer, "The Prayer of Nehemiah," 124.
351.   Baltzer, "Prayer of Nehemiah," 123-125.
352.   Davies, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, 90 and note 19 points out: "The title 'great and fearsome God' is uniquely used by Moses, Nehemiah, and Daniel" (Deut 7.21; 10.17; Dan 9.4; Neh 1.5).

הַגָּדוֹל וּבְיָדְךָ הַחֲזָקָה ("they are your servants and your people, whom you redeemed by your great power and by your mighty hand"). The diction of Neh 1.10 echoes Deut 7.8, where Moses asserts: הוֹצִיא יְהוָה אֶתְכֶם בְּיָד חֲזָקָה וַיִּפְדְּךָ מִבֵּית עֲבָדִים מִיַּד פַּרְעֹה מֶלֶךְ־מִצְרָיִם ("the LORD has brought you out by a mighty hand, and redeemed you from the house of slavery, from the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt").   Neh 1.10 also shares linguistic affinities with Deut 9.26, 29.[353]   There, Moses recounts how he interceded with Yʜᴡʜ in Israel's behalf, imploring the deity not to destroy those delivered in the exodus:

26 אֲדֹנָי יְהֹוִה אַל־תַּשְׁחֵת עַמְּךָ וְנַחֲלָתְךָ אֲשֶׁר פָּדִיתָ בְּגָדְלֶךָ אֲשֶׁר־הוֹצֵאתָ מִמִּצְרַיִם בְּיָד חֲזָקָה:	26 Lord Yʜᴡʜ, do not annihilate your people and inheritance whom you redeemed by your greatness, whom you brought out of Egypt with a mighty hand.
29 וְהֵם עַמְּךָ וְנַחֲלָתֶךָ אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתָ בְּכֹחֲךָ הַגָּדֹל וּבִזְרֹעֲךָ הַנְּטוּיָה:	29 For they are your people and your inheritance, whom you brought out by your great power and by your outstretched arm.

The parallels in diction between Neh 1 and Deut 7, 9 commend exploring what effects reading an allusion to these Deuteronomic texts might have on an understanding of Nehemiah's prayer.

The contexts of both Deut 7 and 9 are significant for understanding the prayer. Like Moses in Deut 9, Nehemiah intercedes before Yʜᴡʜ for the survival of the nation, confessing sin on its behalf. The connection with Deut 9 suggests, as Baltzer recognizes, that Nehemiah fashions himself to some extent as a latter-day Moses.[354] The context in Deut 7, on the other hand, concerns Israel's divine

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353.   Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia*, 105, notes the similarity with Deut 9.29; Baltzer, "Prayer of Nehemiah," 124, mentions Deut 9.26.
354.   Baltzer, "Prayer of Nehemiah," 128.

election from among the peoples (7.6-8) and its authorization to destroy the nations native to the land of Canaan. (7.1-5).[355] Deut 7 also includes an injunction in vv. 1-4 prohibiting intermarriage with the seven Canaanite groups enumerated there. Echoes of these verses resound later in the book of Nehemiah in 10.30 and 13.25. By activating both Deut 7 and 30 simultaneously, the prayer in Neh 1 tacitly includes the foreign peoples marked for destruction in Deut 7.1-5 within the ranks of the nation's enemies destined to receive Yhwh's imprecations in Deut 30.7.[356] This connection is important because it suggests that Nehemiah views his task as completing Israel's restoration by implementing a new conquest of the national homeland.

The new conquest model the book allusively implements helps explain in part why the narrative figures restored Israel exclusively in terms of repatriated Judean exiles and marks as foreign all the current inhabitants of the homeland, regardless of their ethnicity and religious commitment.[357] Reading canonically, the literary model of the original conquest suggests that the Israelites entered Canaan only after escaping from slavery in Egypt. In the biblical stories there are no Israelites living in Canaan apart from the group being led there by Moses

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355.   Noted by Baltzer, "Prayer of Nehemiah," 125.

356.   Although the prayer does not explicitly allude to Deut 30.7, activating its allusions to vv. 2-5 allows for considering how the wider context of Deut 30.1-10 affects the prayer's meaning.

357.   See Sara Japhet, "People and Land," 114-115, who affirms: "The view of Ezra-Nehemiah on the question of identity is simple and uncomplicated, like many a dogmatic conviction. 'Israelites' equal 'returned exiles.' Otherwise there are only foreigners in the land, no matter what their religious practices may be...Whether or not these people were in fact foreigners and whether or not Ezra the scribe or the author of Ezra-Nehemiah were aware that they might not all be Gentiles, though interesting questions, are nevertheless beside the point. In the conceptual world of Ezra-Nehemiah there is only one Israel and her verity is unchallenged." Similarly, Grabbe, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 100, confirms that in Ezra and Nehemiah "only the returnees were true members of the community, the true Israelites; anyone who had not gone into captivity had no claim on the God, temple, and community of Judah."

and Joshua. At the time of the land's original conquest, non-Israelites are its only inhabitants. Operating within a new conquest model, the book of Nehemiah figures the returning Judeans as (restored) Israel and the current inhabitants of the homeland as adversarial foreigners. In keeping with Deut 7.1-6, then, the book portrays Nehemiah as engaged in a struggle against ethno-cultural insurgency in which exogamous marriage with "foreigners" will lead the community to compromise its exclusive loyalty to YHWH.

When Nehemiah arrives in Judah to superintend the restoration of the city and community, he operates within the conceptual framework of the biblical conquest narrative.[358] Joseph Blenkinsopp, for example, has argued that the book patterns Nehemiah's altercations with his opponents in chapters 4-6 [MT 3-6] after "the traditional language of the 'holy war.'"[359] Blenkinsopp proceeds to enumerate the elements that comprise this "patterning device:"

> The sequence is somewhat as follows: enemies conspire together; the righteous, whose numbers and resources are limited, call on their God for help; they form battle lines according to tribes; they are told they are not to fear since their God is on their side; the evil plans of the enemy are frustrated through divine intervention, and they are obligated to acknowledge the hand of God in what has transpired.[360]

Nehemiah's response to foreign hostility also resonates with Deut 30.7. When Sanballat of Samaria and Tobiah of Ammon mock the Judeans building the wall, Nehemiah pleads with YHWH to curse them in 4.4 [MT 3.36]:

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358. For a discussion and list of parallels, see Ulrich Kellermann, *Nehemia: Quellen, Überlieferung und Geschichte* (BZAW 102: Berlin: Töpelmann, 1967), 102. For an analysis of the motifs that feature in the holy war traditions, see Gerhard von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991).

359. Blenkinsopp, *Judaism*, 98.

360. Blenkinsopp, *Judaism*, 98.

שְׁמַ֤ע אֱלֹהֵ֙ינוּ֙ כִּי־הָיִ֣ינוּ בוּזָ֔ה וְהָשֵׁ֧ב חֶרְפָּתָ֛ם אֶל־רֹאשָׁ֖ם וּתְנֵ֥ם לְבִזָּ֖ה בְּאֶ֥רֶץ שִׁבְיָֽה׃

Hear, O our God, for we are held in contempt; turn their reproach back onto their own heads, and give them over as plunder in a land of captivity.

Significantly, Nehemiah's imprecation predicates the very reversal imagined in Deut 30.7, where YHWH transfers the divine curse from Israel to the nations responsible for its harassment. Notably, Nehemiah calls on YHWH to vindicate the beleaguered Judeans by sending their foreign opponents into exile.

In what follows, the conquest model continues to shape Nehemiah's perception of events. When the Judeans, undaunted, continue to repair the wall, Nehemiah bemoans that Sanballat and Tobiah, now joined by a contingent of Arabs, "conspired together to come and fight against Jerusalem (לְהִלָּחֵם בִּירוּשָׁלַ֗ם) and to cause confusion in it" (Neh 4.8 [MT 4.2]). Shortly thereafter in 4.11 (MT 4.5), the text reports a speech of Judah's "enemies" (צָרֵ֫ינוּ), who conspire to thwart the rebuilding efforts: "They will not know nor will they see until the time when we come into their midst and kill them (וַהֲרַגְנ֗וּם) and bring the work to a halt." David J. A. Clines questions the historical veracity of Nehemiah's claim that an attack on the city was imminent, as it appears to be based on unsubstantiated "rumour [sic.] among countryfolk" in 4.12 (MT 4.6).[361] Regardless of the event's historicity, however, the conquest model has probably influenced its depiction in the narrative. Clines acknowledges as much when, in

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361. Clines, *What Does Eve Do*, 140. As if to add to the ambiguity, the report of rumor in 4.12 (MT 4.6) is garbled in Hebrew. Clines, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther*, 162 deems it "unintelligible" and suggests several possible textual emendations. He offers the following literal translation: "From all places which you shall return to us." A note in the NRSV observes that the meaning of the Hebrew text is uncertain.

response to Blenkinsopp, he inquires: "Was there a plot or was there not? Is the very notion of a plot just a creation of the author's to conform his narrative to the pattern of a holy war story?"[362] By attributing belligerent intent to his opponents, then, Nehemiah tacitly conforms them to the profile of the hostile Canaanite nations/persecuting enemies of Deut 7.1-5 and 30.7.

In keeping with the conquest theme, Nehemiah again alludes to Deut 7.21 when he adjures the Judean laborers in 4.14 (MT 4.8) אֶת־אֲדֹנָ֞י הַגָּד֤וֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא֙ זְכֹ֗רוּ וְהִלָּחֲמ֞וּ עַל־אֲחֵיכֶם֙ בְּנֵיכֶ֣ם וּבְנֹתֵיכֶ֔ם נְשֵׁיכֶ֖ם וּבָתֵּיכֶֽם ("Remember the Lord, who is great and fearsome, and fight for your kin, your sons, your daughters, your wives, and your homes"). As they prepare for the worst, he assures them in 4.20 (MT 4.14), אֱלֹהֵ֖ינוּ יִלָּ֥חֶם לָֽנוּ ("Our God will fight for us"). Nehemiah's belligerent rhetoric and confidence in divine vindication contributes to the sense both that war is imminent and that Yнwн will defend the community as he did the Israelites of old, whom Moses assured with similar words: יְהוָ֖ה יִלָּחֵ֣ם לָכֶ֑ם ("Yнwн will fight for you").[363]

Although no attack eventuates, Nehemiah continues to evoke the model of the conquest to describe the effects of the wall's completion on the surrounding peoples: "And when all our enemies (כָּל־אוֹיְבֵ֗ינוּ) heard, all the nations surrounding us were afraid and fell greatly in their opinion of themselves; for they understood that this work had been accomplished by our God" (Neh 6.16). The fearful response of Nehemiah's enemies evokes the horrified reaction of the

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362.   Clines, *What Does Eve Do*, 142.
363.   Exod 14.14.

native Canaanite peoples in Josh 2.8-11. There, the Canaanites are said to be paralyzed with fear at the prospect of an Israelite invasion when they learn that Y<small>HWH</small> has delivered his people from slavery in Egypt and enabled them to defeat the Amorites before crossing the Jordan into Canaan. Taken together, then, these allusions would seem to suggest that Nehemiah's campaign to rebuild the ruined city has secured the nation's restoration, imagined as a new conquest of the homeland.

Here again, however, the narrative subverts Nehemiah's apparent success over his foreign rivals. This is nowhere clearer than in the episodes that follow the account of the wall's completion in chapter 6 and its dedication in chapter 12. First, immediately after the notice that the nations responded in fear to the wall's completion, Nehemiah reports unsettling news about Tobiah's ongoing influence. Many of the Judean nobles, he explains, have allied with Tobiah because they are bound to him by marriage (Neh 6.17-18). This leads the nobles to commend Tobiah to Nehemiah even as Tobiah himself dispatches letters intended to intimidate Nehemiah (6.19). It seems, then, that Tobiah, at least, does not share the fearful response of the community's enemies to the completion of the city wall. Rather, he seems to have redoubled his efforts to trouble Nehemiah's administration.[364]

Second, after the celebratory account of the wall's dedication in chapter 12, the narrative relates the litany of the people's failures discussed above in

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364. This, at least, is what Nehemiah seems to suggest. Clines, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther*, 176-77 points out, "it is hard to see what Tobiah was hoping to achieve by threatening Nehemiah and at the same time arranging for his friends to speak of his **good deeds** in Nehemiah's presence" (author's emphasis)." In Cline's estimation, "Nehemiah apparently regarded any interest of Tobiah's in Jerusalem as an intrusion, and any direct approach as a threat."

chapter 13. These implicate the community in colluding with foreigners, not least Tobiah. Again the specter of intermarriage with the peoples of the lands returns to haunt the community and jeopardize its ethnic and religious integrity. The influence of Tobiah over the nobles and priests, together with the transgression of the communal boundary by exogamous marriage, conspires to undermine the report of Nehemiah's successful "conquest" of his enemies.[365]

In fact, as Green observes, chronological disjunctions in the narrative suggest that the book's structure deliberately troubles the otherwise buoyant accounts of Nehemiah's achievements over his rivals.[366] As discussed above, verses 1-3 of chapter 13 tell of the assembly at which the Judeans "separated all foreigners from Israel" after hearing injunctions from the "book of Moses." Verse 4, however, begins with the notice: וְלִפְנֵי מִזֶּה ("Now before this"). The only additional temporal marker in the chapter is the rather vague notice, בַּיָּמִים הָהֵמָּה ("in those days"), which occurs in 13.15 and again in 13.23. According to 13.4, then, the episode concerning Tobiah's acquisition of a residence in the temple, and possibly the succeeding episodes as well, occur *before* the assembly described in vv. 1-3. Had the events beginning in 13.4 been recounted as a preface to the assembly in 13.1-3, the book would have ended on a more triumphant note. As it stands, however, even if the point of the chronological displacement is to laud Nehemiah's vigorous efforts to enforce the community's ethno-religious boundary, the narrative's structure effectively "raises doubts about the quality and permanence of what the postexilic community has

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365.   See Green, "Ezra-Nehemiah," 213-214.
366.   Green, "Ezra-Nehemiah," 213-215.

achieved."[367] There is certainly no indication that the community's adversaries have fallen prey to Yhwh's curse as Nehemiah had hoped. If anything, chapter 13 suggests that the the specter of foreign influence continues to haunt the community and threaten both its integrity and its viability.

In addition to evincing concerns about local foreign rivals such as Tobiah, the book also draws attention to the larger problem of the Persian Empire's ongoing hegemony in chapter 9.[368] Amidst a protracted prayer of national confession, the Levites lament in 9.36:

הִנֵּה אֲנַחְנוּ הַיּוֹם עֲבָדִים וְהָאָרֶץ
אֲשֶׁר־נָתַתָּה לַאֲבֹתֵינוּ לֶאֱכֹל אֶת־פִּרְיָהּ
וְאֶת־טוּבָהּ הִנֵּה אֲנַחְנוּ עֲבָדִים עָלֶיהָ:

Here this day we are slaves; and the land that you gave to our ancestors to eat its fruit and its rich bounty – here and now we are slaves in it.

Read in connection with Deut 30.5, 7, this observation is particularly unsettling. In Deut 30.5 Yhwh grants returning exiles possession of their ancestors' land. Then, in v. 7 Yhwh transfers divine imprecations from Israel to its enemies, which ensures that the returning exiles enjoy unmolested terrestrial sovereignty. Activating of the book's allusion to Deut 30.1-10 intimates that Yhwh's pledge to

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367.   Green, "Ezra-Nehemiah," 214. See also Eskenazi, *Age of Prose*, 151, who argues that the current sequence emphasizes the community's initiative over that of Nehemiah: "The twist on Nehemiah's role and portrait could have been avoided had the memoirs of Chapter 13 preceded Nehemiah 10. Such arrangement would have confirmed Nehemiah's influence and impact by suggesting that he precipitated reforms which the community then consented to undertake. The present arrangement, however, reverses the relation and turns Nehemiah's claim into a hollow boast."

368.   Hugh G. M. Williamson, "Structure and Historiography in Nehemiah 9" in *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Panel Sessions: Bible Studies and Ancient Near East* (ed. D. Assaf; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988), 117-31 argues that the prayer in Neh 9 does not reflect a pattern of exile and restoration but rather that it originated in a Judean community that remained in the homeland after Jerusalem fell to Babylon in the early sixth century BCE. Even if this is the case, the prayer's present location "in a work which is so predominantly shaped by the pattern of exile and restoration," as he recognizes, effectively conforms it to this paradigm (Hugh G. M. Williamson, "The Belief System of the Book of Nehemiah" in *The Crisis of Israelite Religion: Transformation of Religious Tradition in Exilic and Post-Exilic Times* [eds. Bob Becking and Marjo C. A. Korpel; Leiden: Brill, 1999], 276-287, here 287).

give the former exiles control over their ancestors' land remains unfulfilled.

This reading gains force from allusions in Neh 9.32 to the Deuteronomic language evoked earlier in chapter 1. As discussed above, in his prayer Nehemiah addresses Yʜwʜ with language that echoes Deut 7.21. In Neh 1.5 he refers to the deity as הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא שֹׁמֵר הַבְּרִית וָחֶסֶד לְאֹהֲבָיו וּלְשֹׁמְרֵי מִצְוֹתָיו ("the great and fearsome God, who keeps the covenant and maintains loyal love toward those who love him and keep his commandments"). The reference to Deut 7 recurs at the end of the prayer in 1.10, where Nehemiah draws on Deut 7.8. He appeals to Yʜwʜ on the grounds that the former exiles are עֲבָדֶיךָ וְעַמֶּךָ אֲשֶׁר פָּדִיתָ בְּכֹחֲךָ הַגָּדוֹל וּבְיָדְךָ הַחֲזָקָה ("your servants and your people, whom you redeemed by your great power and by your mighty hand"). Significantly, the same Deuteronomic diction that appears in Neh 1.5 occurs "with only minor modification"[369] in the Levites' address in 9.32: וְעַתָּה אֱלֹהֵינוּ הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל הַגִּבּוֹר וְהַנּוֹרָא שׁוֹמֵר הַבְּרִית וְהַחֶסֶד ("Now therefore, our God – the great and powerful and fearsome God, keeping the covenant and maintaining loyal love"). The repetition of this language invites the coordination of the two prayers.

Reading the Levites' lament in connection with Nehemiah's prayer underscores the ambiguity of the community's identity. Nehemiah alludes to the exodus to portray the Judeans as Yʜwʜ's servants whom the deity has redeemed. From the Levites' perspective in 9.32-37, however, the returned exiles are slaves of the Persians. The Levites' prayer implies that, apart from a further act of

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369. Baltzer, "Prayer of Nehemiah," 124.

divine redemption, the Judean community will not regain full possession of its ancestors' land. Whatever strides Nehemiah may have attained over local foreigners, the community still remains subjected to the Persian Empire at the end of the book. This suggests that the reversal of divine imprecations envisioned in Deut 30.7 has yet to be fully realized. Even in Nehemiah's "new" Jerusalem, the conditions of the nation's exile persist, and its restoration remains elusive.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have explored how activating an allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in Nehemiah's opening prayer affects the perception of the narrative's meaning. I argue that reading the allusion positions the book as a participant in a kind of literary theatre, where it renders an ideologically inflected performance of Deut 30's script for Israel's restoration. The allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in the prayer functions to cast both the former exiles in Judah and Nehemiah specifically in the role of Deuteronomy's restored Israel. Further, the book alters the Deuteronomic schema by inserting a reference to the place chosen for YHWH's name as the destination of the returning exiles. This move locates Jerusalem's reconstruction at the heart of Moses' program for Israel's restoration. The prayer's evocation of Deut 30.1-10 suggests that the problem of exile remains unresolved despite the repatriation of the exiles and the construction of a second temple to YHWH. Correlatively, the the prayer's allusion also intimates that Nehemiah's efforts will bring the nation's restoration to completion.

Activating the allusion in the balance of the narrative consistently

subverts this expectation. Whereas Deut 30.9 offers the hope of renewed prosperity and fecundity, in the book of Nehemiah the land cannot sustain the people, and its fruits are given as tribute to the Persian kings. Likewise, while Deut 30.6, 8, and 10 envision a restored Israel obedient to YHWH's commandments, in Nehemiah the community of former exiles repeatedly fails to comply with Mosaic injunctions to separate from foreigners. Instead, the Judeans allow foreigners to infiltrate the temple, to engage in commerce inside the city on the Sabbath, and to intermarry with their children. Finally, though Deut 30.5, 7 promise possession of the ancestral homeland and vindication over national enemies, local foreigners persistently thwart Nehemiah's efforts to preserve the community's ethnic boundary, and the Judeans ambiguously remain "slaves" of the Persian Empire within their own land. The book's subversion of these allusive expectations casts doubt on the extent to which the returned exiles fit the profile of Deuteronomy's restored Israel. Indeed, by the end of the book it seems that the only "actor" qualified to play the role of a restored Israel is the tenaciously dutiful figure of Nehemiah himself, who with his final words plaintively supplicates the deity: זָכְרָה־לִּי אֱלֹהַי לְטוֹבָה ("Remember me, my God, for good.").

On the one hand, then, the book's allusion implicitly restricts membership in restored Israel exclusively to former Judean exiles who have resettled the environs of Jerusalem. The book of Nehemiah refuses to acknowledge the existence of either Israelites or Judeans who were never deported. Instead, it marks all other groups in the homeland as foreign and excludes them categorically from membership in a restored Israel. The book justifies its stance

with allusions to Deuteronomy 7 and 30 that portray Nehemiah as achieving the nation's restoration by means of a second conquest of the ancestral homeland. As in the initial conquest literarily depicted in the books of Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua, Israel enters the land from the outside after escaping from captivity to a foreign oppressor (Neh 1.3). The only groups that occupy the land are non-Israelites native to Canaan whose eradication Yʜwʜ has already sanctioned. Implementing this program of restorative conquest, Nehemiah attributes belligerent intent to his "foreign" rivals and resorts to coercive tactics to maintain the community's ethnic boundary. In all this Nehemiah hopes to prevent the community from recapitulating the wrongs that he believes had formerly brought about the nation's doom.

On the other hand, the narrative's subversion of the prayer's allusive expectations invites other literary players to take the stage and, perhaps, to upstage Nehemiah's narrative enactment of Deut 30.1-10 with new and more compelling performances. The book's ambiguous "fulfillment" of Deut 30.1-10 unwittingly authorizes its allusive redeployment in works that project alternate figurations of Israel's restoration. As the Second Temple period progresses, it is as though the literary successors of Nehemiah's "Memoir" and its subsequent redaction(s) recast the Deuteronomic script to offer the part of restored Israel to an ever more diverse and unlikely company of actors. Among them is a young woman literarily lauded for her remarkable loyalty to Israel's god and her uncommon devotion to her Judean mother-in-law. Her only problem is that she herself is neither a Judean nor even an Israelite. Rather, she is a member of a foreign people whom the book of Nehemiah explicitly denounces and excludes

from the restored community. She is a Moabite.

CHAPTER 4

READING ALLUSION TO DEUTERONOMY 30.1-10 IN THE BOOK OF RUTH

INTRODUCTION

Hermann Gunkel, the notable German scholar of the Hebrew Bible working at the turn of the twentieth century, argued concerning the book of Ruth, "Eine 'Tendenz' hat die Geschichte überhaupt nicht".[370] That is, Ruth is not a tendentious narrative; it has no ideological axe to grind. Rather, the book is an innocuous, if charming, prose idyll that tells the story of a romance between the Judean Boaz and his rather forward Moabite suitor, Ruth. Dutch Hebrew Bible scholar Marjo Korpel takes an alternative approach to the book. She contends that "the Book of Ruth is a programmatic pamphlet in the guise of a captivating idylle [sic.]."[371] This is not to say that the book is stridently or aggressively polemical in orientation. On the contrary, its story challenges the status quo "through positive examples rather than attack."[372] Building on the insight of Korpel and others, I argue that reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in the first chapter of the book of Ruth produces an unexpected and indeed unconventional figuration of Israel's restoration. In Deut 30.1-10 the constituency of restored Israel consists exclusively of repatriated Israelite exiles. The only other group the text mentions is the nation's persecuting, presumably foreign, enemies whom

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370. H. Gunkel, "Ruth," in *Reden und Aufsätze* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913), 65-92, here 89; quoted from Marjo Korpel, *The Structure of the Book of Ruth* (Pericope 2; Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2001), 227.
371. Korpel, *Structure*, 233.
372. Tamara Cohn Eskenazi and Tivka Frymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, The JPS Bible Commentary (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2011), xix.

Yʜᴡʜ curses (Deut 30.7). The book of Ruth alters this figuration in a rather startling way. When read allusively, the book subversively casts a Moabite woman in the role scripted for restored Israel in Deut 30.1-10. In the course of the narrative Ruth not only embodies Deuteronomy's restored Israel, she also mediates divine restoration to her Judean mother-in-law, Naomi, and to the Judean people as a whole. Approached allusively, then, the book commends the inclusion of a foreign woman in the Judean community by portraying her as an embodiment and agent of Israel's restoration. Before discussing the allusion, I provide a brief historical and literary introduction to the book of Ruth.

The book of Ruth is set literarily before the monarchies of Saul and David during the time when the Israelites were led by various charismatic tribal warlords called judges (הַשֹּׁפְטִים, "those who judge/rule" [Ruth 1.1]). Although some scholars have argued for a pre-exilic date for the book of Ruth,[373] several recent studies have confirmed an older position that locates the book's composition in the early post-exilic period. Among the most decisive factors in support of this position are the following: the presence throughout the book of late biblical Hebrew;[374] allusions in Ruth to legal texts in the books of Leviticus

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373. E.g. Robert L. Hubbard Jr., *The Book of Ruth* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 23-34 and Kirsten Nielsen, *Ruth: A Commentary* (trans. Edward Broadbridge; OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 21-28. Several scholars have proposed that the book of Ruth was written by a woman, including Hubbard, *Ruth*, 24; Irmtraud Fischer, "The Book of Ruth: A 'Feminist' Commentary to the Torah?" in *Ruth and Esther: A Feminist Companion to the Bible* (Second Series 3; ed. Athalya Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 24-49 (33-34); and Hillel I. Millgram, *Four Biblical Heronies and the Case for Female Authorship: An Analysis of the Women of Ruth, Esther and Genesis 38* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2008); see also Richard Bauckham, "The Book of Ruth and the Possibility of a Feminist Canonical Hermeneutic," *Biblical Interpretation: A Journal of Contemporary Approaches* 5 (1997): 29-45.

374. See the analysis in Frederic W. Bush, *Ruth, Esther* (WBC 9; Waco: Word Books, 1996), 19-30.

and Deuteronomy and to the ancestor narratives in Genesis;[375] Ruth's similarity to post-exilic "Jewish novels" such as Esther, Judith, Susanna, and *Joseph and Aseneth*, which also feature a leading female character; and the book's classification among the *Writings* in the Jewish canon.[376] That said, Carol Newsom argues that differing scholarly accounts of a book's origins have value "not so much as historical reconstructions [but] as suggestions for different ways of reading the book."[377] Accordingly, Newsom qualifies such accounts as "heuristic fictions, invitations to read the book 'as if' it had come into being in this or that fashion, with the intents and purposes characteristic of such an origin."[378] With this in mind, in the following discussion I adopt the "heuristic fiction" that Ruth was composed in the early Persian period sometime during the fifth century BCE.[379]

The book's four chapters chronicle the plight of a Judean woman named Naomi, who, when a famine strikes the land of Judah, leaves with her husband

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375.　For a discussion of Ruth's allusions to legal texts in Deuteronomy, see Georg Braulik, "Das Deuteronomium und die Bucher Iob, Sprichworter, Rut," in *Die Tora als Kanon fur Juden und Christen* (HBS 10; ed. Eeich Zenger; Freiburg: Herder, 1996), 61-138; see also Michael D. Goulder, "Ruth: A Homily on Deuteronomy 22-25?" in *Of Prophets' Visions and the Wisdom of Sages: Essays in Honour of R. Norman Whybray on his Seventieth Birthday* (JSOTSup 162; eds. Heather A. McKay and David J. A. Clines; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 307-19. On Ruth's allusions to Genesis and Deuteronomy, see Fischer, "'Feminist' Commentary," 34-41.

376.　The last two points are mentioned by Goulder, "Homily," 313 note 15. For an analysis of the literary genre see Lawrence M. Wills, *The Jewish Novel in the Ancient World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995; see also W. Lee Humphreys, "Novella" in *Saga, Legend, Tale, Novella, Fable: Narrative Forms in Old Testament Literature* (JSOTSup 35; ed. George W. Coats; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985 repr. 1989), 82-96. See also Jack M. Sasson, *Ruth: A New Translation with a Philological Commentary and a Formalist-Folklorist Interpretation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979) for an argument that draws on Vladimir Prop's analysis of Russian folktales and concludes that Ruth's genre is best construed as "folkloristic" (215).

377.　Carol A. Newsom, *The Book of Job: A Contest of Moral Imaginations*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 16.

378.　Newsom, *Job*, 16.

379.　See the discussion of the book's authorship and dating in Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky, xvi-xix, who also propose a fifth-century date for the book's composition.

and two sons for the land of Moab to find food. Once in Moab, Naomi's husband and two sons die, leaving her alone with her sons' Moabite wives, Orpah and Ruth. Naomi desponds of her capacity to provide for the welfare of her daughters-in-law and urges them to seek their fortunes among their own kin and native gods. After Orpah returns to her family, Ruth vows to accompany Naomi to Judah and adopt the Judean people, god, and land as her own. When Naomi returns to Judah with Ruth at the end of chapter 1, she bemoans her fate, and charges Y ʜᴡʜ with having brought upon her the misfortunes that have left her empty. As chapter 2 opens Ruth agrees to glean in the fields to procure a daily ration of grain for herself and Naomi. By chance Ruth arrives at the field of a prominent Judean named Boaz, a relative of Naomi's deceased husband. Boaz kindly permits Ruth to glean throughout the harvest season in Naomi's behalf. In chapter 3 Naomi charges Ruth to proposition Boaz in a bid for domestic security. Ruth finds Boaz at night and petitions him to perform the duty that is his as Naomi's גֹּאֵל ("next-of-kin, redeemer"). Boaz consents but notifies Ruth that there is another man more closely related to Naomi's husband who has a prior claim as the family's גֹּאֵל. In the fourth and final chapter of the book Boaz tries to persuade this closer relative, unnamed in the narrative, that he is obligated not only to acquire Naomi's familial land but also to marry the Moabite Ruth in order to sire children who will perpetuate the family's name. When the man declines and renounces his right as Naomi's next-of-kin, Boaz assumes responsibility for the family's welfare, acquires Naomi's land, and marries Ruth. In time, Y ʜᴡʜ gives the couple a son named Obed, who, as it turns out, is an ancestor to David.

According to Israel's literary tradition, King David stands at the head of a royal dynasty that endures until Judah falls to Babylon in the early sixth century BCE.

DISCERNING ALLUSION TO DEUTERONOMY 30.1-10 IN RUTH 1

Whether intended or accidental, there are several elements in Ruth that, when taken together, provide plausible grounds for reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in the book's first chapter. These include verbal parallels, thematic similarities, a common narrative pattern, and allusions to other texts in Deuteronomy elsewhere in the book. First, Ruth 1 shares with Deut 30.1-10 a characteristic *Leitwort*, the Hebrew root שׁוב.[380] In its verbal forms שׁוב most commonly denotes "turn," "return," "turn back," and "bring back" and often connotes "repentance." In Deut 30.1-10 it occurs eight times, in vv. 1, 2, 3 (three times), 8, 9, and 10. In vv. 2 and 3 two verbal forms expresses Israel's "turn" to YHWH while in exile (וְשַׁבְתָּ עַד־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ, "if you return to YHWH your God") and YHWH's subsequent reversal of Israel's circumstances for the better (וְשָׁב יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֶת־שְׁבוּתְךָ, "then YHWH you God will reverse your fortune [lit. turn back your turning]"). The Hebrew root also appears in an idiomatic expression that means, "to do something again." For example, in v. 3 Moses asserts: וְשָׁב וְקִבֶּצְךָ מִכָּל־הָעַמִּים אֲשֶׁר הֱפִיצְךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ שָׁמָּה ("he will gather you again [MT, turn and gather you] from all the peoples among whom YHWH your God scattered you").

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380.   For a comprehensive study of the term, consult William L. Holladay, *The Root Šûbh in the Old Testament, with Particular Reference to Its Usages in Covenantal Contexts* (Leiden: Brill, 1958).

Although admittedly a common Hebrew root, in the first chapter of Ruth שׁוּב occurs no less than twelve times; it appears in vv. 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 15 (twice), 16, 21, 22 (twice).[381]   At the beginning and end of the chapter it expresses Naomi's return to Judah after living for a time in Moab (vv. 6, 7, 21, 22). Verses 7 and 22 include Ruth in Naomi's return home even though the former does not technically "return" because she is not herself a Judean: "So Naomi returned (וַתָּשָׁב נָעֳמִי); and with her was Ruth the Moabite, her daughter-in law, who returned (הַשָּׁבָה) from the land of Moab..." (Ruth 1.22a). In the middle of the chapter the root שׁוּב occurs in the context of an altercation between Naomi and her daughters-in-law in which the older woman tries to persuade the two younger women to "go back" to their native kin and gods rather than "return" with her to Judah (vv. 8, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16). The dispute ends in v. 16 when Ruth unreservedly commits herself to Naomi and her land, people, and god. Ruth signals her resolve with these words: "Do not plead with me to abandon you, to turn back (לָשׁוּב) from going after you."

Ruth's refusal "to turn back" (לָשׁוּב) to her native gods in 1.15-16 is a negative use of שׁוּב that expresses her determination to turn to Naomi's god and adopt him as her own. It is possible to construe the use of the root in this context as an allusive echo of Deut 30.2, 10, where Israel "turns" to YHWH while in exile, implicitly forsaking allegiance to other gods (see Deut 28.14; 29.18 [MT 29.17]). Ironically, where Israel's turn to YHWH in Deut 30.1-10 brings the nation out of exile and back to the homeland, Ruth abandons her gods to undergo a self-

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381.   Nielsen, *Ruth*, 46 note 74.

imposed "exile" from her native land to the land of her adopted people and their god in Judah. Perhaps the most poignant use of שׁוב in Ruth occurs at the end of the chapter in v. 21. Upon arriving in Judah Naomi complains: "I departed full, but Yнwн has brought me back (הֱשִׁיבַנִי) empty." In marked contrast to Moses' vision of Israel's return from exile, which includes the reacquisition of the homeland and the siring of abundant progeny, Naomi comes back to Judah having lost both her land[382] and her children.

The association between Ruth 1 and Deut 30.1-10 gains force from thematic elements the two texts share in common. The theme of reversal governs Deut 30.1-10 as Israel moves from divine curse in exile to the restoration of Yнwн's blessing in the homeland. This theme features prominently in the book of Ruth as well, especially in conjunction with the figure of Naomi.[383] As noted above, when Naomi returns to Judah from Moab she complains in v. 21 that, although she had left Judah "full" (מְלֵאָה), Yнwн has brought her back "empty" (רֵיקָם), bereft of her husband and sons. Like Israel in Deut 30.1-10, Naomi's story, then, is one of exile and return to the homeland. For Naomi, however, the effects of her exilic experience endure after she arrives in Bethlehem. Once in Judah she indicts Yнwн in 1.20-21, blaming the deity for her misfortunes: "the

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382. Naomi's loss of land may be implied in chapter 2, where Ruth gleans in another's field, but it is not made explicit until 4.3, where Boaz informs the unnamed relative of Elimelech that Naomi had to sell, or perhaps is about to sell, her family's land.

383. See Cristian Frevel, *Das Buch Rut* (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1992), 34, who argues that the story of Naomi's return to Judah functions collectively as a paradigm for Israel's return from exile: "Das ganze Buch ist von den Themen *Rückkehr* und *Neuanfang* bestimmt. Damit hat die Rutnovelle eine kollektive Sinn-Dimension, die die Rückkehr der mittellosen Witwe Noomi zum Paradigma für das zurückkehrende Israel macht" (author's emphasis).

Almighty has caused me excessive bitterness (כִּי־הֵמַר שַׁדַּי לִי מְאֹד)...and the Almighty has done evil to me (הֵרַע לִי)." Her assessment comports with the interpretation of exile as divine curse rendered in Deut 30.1. In marked contrast to the schema in Deut 30.1-10, however, Naomi perceives herself to be under Yʜᴡʜ's curse even after returning to Judah. The balance of the narrative in Ruth resolves this problem by recounting the refilling or restoration of Naomi's emptiness, accomplished through the agency and impetus of her Moabite daughter-in-law. Ruth, too, it should be noted, undergoes a reversal as well. She moves from Moab to Judah and from being a widowed and childless outsider to a being a celebrated wife, mother, and restorer of life. Athalya Brenner has drawn attention to this theme in the book. She argues that the stories of Naomi and Ruth share "a common main theme," namely, "the reversal of feminine fortune (a destitute/barren woman becomes the mother of a hero/important person)."[384] Put in the terms of Deut 30.3, both women, then, undergo a divine reversal or restoration (שׁוּב שְׁבוּת) during the course of the narrative.

The final chapter of the book completes the arc of reversal for both women with the birth of Ruth's son, Obed. Significantly, the text makes explicit that Yʜᴡʜ enables Ruth to conceive: וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה לָהּ הֵרָיוֹן וַתֵּלֶד בֵּן ("And Yʜᴡʜ gave her conception, and she bore a son"). Not only does this function as a device for further associating Ruth with the "matriarchs" of Israel and Judah (see 4.11-12), it also signals that Yʜᴡʜ, whom the narrative scarcely mentions, has

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384.   Athalya Brenner, "Naomi and Ruth" in *A Feminist Companion to Ruth* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd, 1993, reprinted 2001), 77. Brenner posits that the book of Ruth is composed of two independent folkloric sources, a Naomi story and a Ruth story, that nevertheless share the same theme.

been superintending the process of restoration all along. After Obed's birth the Judean women confirm as much in the benediction spoken to Naomi: "Blessed be Yʜᴡʜ, who has not left you without next-of-kin this day; and may his name be proclaimed in Israel! For he shall be to you a restorer of life (וְהָיָה לָךְ לְמֵשִׁיב נֶפֶשׁ) and a sustainer of your old age" (4.15). The antecedent of the pronoun "he" in the last line can be construed as either Yʜᴡʜ or Boaz, Naomi's next-of-kin. This ambiguity underscores the function both have as Naomi's restorer, the former through the agency of the latter. The Judean women also laud Ruth, validating her place within the community: "for your daughter-in-law who loves you has borne him, she who is better to you than seven sons." The restoration experienced by Naomi and Ruth thus brings their stories into thematic alignment with that of exiled Israel in Deut 30.1-10.

The two texts also evince a shared narrative pattern. In Deut 30.1-10 Israel's turn to Yʜᴡʜ while in exile results in return to the land, renewed fertility, a heart enabled to love Yʜᴡʜ, and vindication over enemies. In the first chapter of Ruth several of these elements play out. As mentioned above, Ruth acts the part of penitent Israel in Deut 30.1-2 when she refuses to turn back to her native gods and instead identifies herself with Naomi's god, Yʜᴡʜ. Naomi and Ruth then return together to Judah, a move Naomi implicitly credits to Yʜᴡʜ in v. 21: "Yʜᴡʜ has brought me back empty." Read in conjunction with Deut 30.1-10, Naomi's indictment of Yʜᴡʜ for returning her "empty" draws attention to the absence of two remaining elements in the Deuteronomic sequence: the renewal of fertility and a heart of love for Yʜᴡʜ. By the close of the narrative she will have acquired

both through the agency of Ruth, whose worth to Naomi's family the Judean women extol at the end of the book (4.15). As for the final element in the Deuteronomic schema, the transfer of the divine curse from Israel to its enemies, the narrative playfully inverts the trope by having the Judean elders and people speak a benediction on Ruth's behalf even as the women laud her for the superlative love she has shown to Naomi. These words effectively remove the stigma of Ruth's foreignness and signal her full inclusion within the Judean community; instead of transferring the divine curse, they mediate the deity's blessing. The narrative pattern the two texts share thus constitutes a further marker that facilitates an allusive reading.

Finally, echoes of other texts in the book of Deuteronomy elsewhere in Ruth lead me to consider Deut 30.1-10 as an intertext for reading Ruth even if the markers I have discussed above may have been "intended" to point elsewhere or, perhaps, nowhere. Among scholars who argue for allusions to various Deuteronomic texts in Ruth, Georg Braulik offers the most extensive treatment.[385] Braulik enumerates several texts from Deuteronomy whose diction and themes, he argues, are taken up and artfully transposed in the book of Ruth.[386]

Several of the allusions to Deuteronomy that Braulik discerns in Ruth evoke legal texts. These include: Deuteronomy's prohibition against Moabites entering the assembly of YHWH (Deut 23.4 [MT 23.5] in Ruth 1.7); a law that

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385. Braulik, "Das Deuteronomium," 61-138. See also Goulder, "Homily," 307-19; Fischer, "'Feminist' Commentary," 34-41; and Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, xxiii-xxiv, xxxii-xxxviii.
386. Braulik, *Das Deuteronomium*, 114-15, catalogues the following verbal echoes of Deuteronomy in Ruth: Deut 10.18 in Ruth 1.6; Deut 23.4 [MT 23.5] in Ruth 1.7; Deut 26.6 in Ruth 1.21; Deut 24.19 in Ruth 2.7, 9, 15, 23; Deut 22.30 [MT 23.1] in Ruth 3.4, 7, 9; and Deut 25.5-10 in Ruth 4.1, 2, 5, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14.

allows the alien, widow, or orphan (all of which, arguably, describe Ruth) to glean

sheaves of grain neglected after a harvest (Deut 24.19 in Ruth 2.7, 9, 15, 23); the

prohibition against a man uncovering his father's skirt (i.e. nakedness or

genitals) by taking for himself his father's wife (Deut 22.30 [MT 23.1] in Ruth 3.4,

7, 9); and the law of levirate marriage, a legal fiction that allows a man to marry

his brother's childless widow in order to sire a son that will perpetuate the name

of the deceased (Deut 25.5-10 in Ruth 4.1, 2, 5, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14). The other

major legal tradition to which the book alludes is the law in Lev. 25.25 that

authorizes a poor man's next-of-kin or "redeemer" (גֹּאֵל) to "redeem" (גאל), i.e.

reclaim or buy back, property forfeit due to poverty in order to keep it within the

family, presumably until the year of Jubilee when it would revert to its original

owner.

It should be noted that, even as Ruth echoes the language of these

Deuteronomic legal texts, their application in the book often differs markedly

from their context in Deuteronomy. The levirate law from Deut 25.5-10 offers an

instructive case in point.[387] According to Deut 25.5 the duty of levirate marriage

pertains only to brothers who reside together. But Boaz is not the brother of

Mahlon, Ruth's deceased husband, nor have the two resided together. Further,

contrary to the argument Boaz allusively makes in chapter 4, there is nothing in

the extant legal tradition that obligates a family's next-of-kin (גֹּאֵל) to perform

the duty of levirate marriage.[388] Finally, the point of the levirate law is to sire a

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387.   See the discussion of allusions to the levirate law in Ruth in Goulder, "Homily," 308-14;
Braulik, *Das Deuteronomium*, 120-25; Fischer, "A 'Feminist' Commentary," 37-41; Eskenazi and
Frymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, xxxii-xxxviii.
388.   Bush, *Ruth, Esther*, 167.

male child who will bear the name of the deceased brother. When Boaz

addresses the elders in 4.5, however, he tells them that his marriage to Ruth will

preserve Mahlon's name "on his inheritance" (עַל־נַחֲלָתוֹ) not on his firstborn son

(בְּכוֹר), as in Deut 25.5-6. The shift may be a way of subtly aligning the levirate

law with the responsibilities of the next-of-kin (גֹּאֵל) to reclaim family property

(אֲחֻזָּה in Lev 25.25, a semantic equivalent of נַחֲלָה when referring to property in

general).[389] Curiously, from that point on the narrative never speaks of Obed, the

son born to Boaz and Ruth, with reference to Mahlon, which would be the case

had his birth fulfilled the levirate law. Rather, in 4.17 the Judean women acclaim

him as Naomi's son, while the genealogy in 4.21 identifies him as the son of Boaz.

These differences notwithstanding, Michael D. Goulder is correct to point

out: "The paradox is that although the story is in such dissonace with the law,

especially the law in Deut 25.5-10, the wording is extremely close."[390] For

Goulder, the number of verbal parallels and the degree of similarity are too

compelling to be dismissed as an allusive red herring.[391] Instead, he proposes

that Ruth draws on "a small concentration of laws in Deut. 22.30-25.10" in order

to form "from them the plot of its story."[392] Opinions vary concerning why the

book seems to evoke though distort the levirate law of Deut 25.5-10. Goulder, for

example, thinks Ruth's author has "misunderstood" the "force" of the text from

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389.   L. Köhler, W. Baumgartner, M. E. J. Richardson, and J. J. Stamm, *The Hebrew and Aramaic lexicon of the Old Testament*, electronic ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 32.
390.   Goulder, "Homily," 311.
391.   Goulder, "Homily," 313: "So many verbal contacts with Deut 25.5-10 cannot be accidental.".
392.   Goulder, "Homily," 318.

Deuteronomy.[393]   Alternatively, Fischer, ventures that Ruth's author, likely a woman, has developed her own innovative *halakhah*, which combines the Levirate law of Deut 25 with the redemption law of Lev 25 and "interprets both laws for the benefit of *women*."[394]   More probable is the assessment of Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky that, although Boaz's marriage to Ruth does not technically qualify as a levirate marriage, in 4.5, 10 "Boaz is alluding to levirate marriage even though it does not quite apply, in order to justify his marriage with Ruth."[395] The marriage requires such justification in order to "circumvent" the "obstacle" posed by "the directive to exclude Moabites from the congregation of Israel" in Deut 23.3 (MT 23.4).[396]   Echoes such as these of other passages in Deuteronomy thus provide a context of plausibility for reading allusive markers of Deut 30.1-10 in Ruth 1 regardless of whether the book's author intended to evoke this text, or some other text, or perhaps no text at all.

I hasten to add that reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in Ruth 1 does not preclude exploring the influence of other intertexts.   Several scholars have argued that allusions to texts in Genesis contribute to the book's plot and themes.[397]   Consider, for example, Ruth chapter 1.   The movement of a family into

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393.   Goulder, "Homily," 311.

394.   Fischer, "'Feminist' Commentary," 41.

395.   Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, 76.

396.   Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, xxxviii; see also their comment on 4.10, that, even though Mahlon's name is absent from the concluding genealogy in 4.18-22, "[a]ppealing to the venerable goal of perpetuating the name of the deceased nonetheless enables Boaz to overcome a possible prohibition concerning marriage to Moabites (Deut. 23:4-7) or simply to render such a ban irrelevant" (82). Although Rabbinic sages attempted to solve the problem posed by Deut 23 by asserting that it refers only to men (Ruth R 2.9), Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky, xlvii, point out that this "is a problematic solution given that the singular 'Moabite' often serves as a collective noun referring to an entire people, as does Israel."

397.   For a recent survey of allusions to Genesis in the book of Ruth see Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, xxi-xxiii; see also Fischer, "'Feminist' Commentary," 42-45; Hubbard, *Ruth*, 40; see also Mieke Bal, *Lethal Love: Feminist Literary Readings of Biblical Love Stories* (Bloomington:

a foreign land, precipitated by a famine, recalls the introduction to the "wife-sister" episodes in Gen 12.10 and 26.1. In both Genesis and Ruth misfortune befalls the family as men undergo the threat of death. While in Genesis the threat is only imagined for Abram and Isaac, in Ruth it is realized in the deaths of Elimelech and his two sons. In all three cases a sojourn outside the land jeopardizes the continuity of the family. These evocations of Genesis in Ruth 1 are only the beginning of a sustained dialogue with the book of Genesis that comes to include pointed allusions to the stories of the first man's marriage to his female counterpart in Gen 2, Abram's call in Gen 12, Rebekah's marriage to Isaac in Gen 24, the story of Lot and his daughters in Gen 19, and the tale of Judah and Tamar in Gen 38. The activation of these allusions to Genesis complements rather than inhibits reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in Ruth 1. That is, the two intertexts ought not be construed as mutually exclusive, as though the presence of the one necessarily mutes or overrides the voice of the other. Below I explore some ways of reading allusions to Deut 30.1-10 and Genesis in conjunction with one another.

In summary, the case for discerning allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in Ruth 1 is a cumulative one. Verbal parallels, thematic correspondences, a shared narrative pattern, and allusions to other texts in the final chapters of Deuteronomy together persuade me to hear echoes of Deut 30.1-10 in Ruth's first chapter. Even if the book's author may not have "intended" these evocations, this does not prevent its readers from discerning and activating echoes to Deut 30.1-10 and

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Indiana University Press, 1987), 72, who mentions the parallel between Ruth 1.14 and Gen 2.24, both of which use the verb דבק ("cleave to, cling").

considering how they might affect the book's meaning. I argue that the various possible markers of Deut 30.1-10 in Ruth's first chapter offer sufficient textual grounds for identifying an allusion and considering the range of its semantic effects. In what follows, I explore how reading the allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in Ruth 1 shapes an understanding of the rest of the book.

ACTIVATING ALLUSION TO DEUTERONOMY 30.1-10 IN THE BOOK OF RUTH

Reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in the book of Ruth yields a figuration of Israel's restoration that is striking for its unexpected and unconventional quality. When read allusively, the book of Ruth casts a Moabite woman in the role scripted for restored Israel. Ruth's turn to YHWH and subsequent "return" to Judah in chapter 1 enact both stages of the nation's restoration depicted in Deut 30.1-10. In Deuteronomy, however, it is exiled Israelites who repent and return to their ancestors' land. The only role foreigners play in the text is as recipients of YHWH's curse in verse 7. The allusion thus allows the book to imagine an alternate profile and place for foreigners. Read allusively, the book commends the inclusion of a foreign woman in the Judean community by portraying her as an embodiment and agent of the restoration Deut 30.1-10 offers to Israel.

The book of Ruth is not blind to the difficulty posed by Ruth's status as a foreigner. Indeed, despite her decision to embrace YHWH and Judah in chapter 1, Ruth's standing amongst the native Judeans remains ambiguous. As Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky recognize, "whatever transformation takes place at this moment [1.16-17], it is not perceived within the narrative as an altered ethnic or

communal identity."[398] That is, Ruth's personal choice to affiliate with the god and people of Judah has not overridden the "outsider" status she has as a foreigner. It remains for the community as a whole to ratify or, perhaps, to repudiate her decision.

The book underscores Ruth's liminal status by means of repeated references to her foreignness.[399] The epithet "the Moabite," which occurs six times in the book (1.22; 2.2, 6, 21; 4.5, 10), "clings to Ruth precisely upon her arrival in Bethlehem" and indicates that she is not yet integrated into the community.[400] This is nowhere clearer than in 2.6, where Boaz' foreman describes Ruth (unnamed) as "the Moabite girl who returned with Naomi from the land of Moab." The chiastic structure of his remark, apparent in the Hebrew as well as the English, literally frames Ruth's identity in terms of her Moabite origins. Further, Ruth herself draws attention to her status as an outsider in her first address to Boaz in 2.10. There, she marvels that Boaz should notice and favor her as she is a foreigner (נָכְרִיָּה). In fact, it may be that Ruth's status as a Moabite plays a role in dissuading Elimelech's unnamed relative from fulfilling his obligation as "next-of-kin" in chapter 4. When Boaz informs him that Naomi must sell her husband's land, he promptly agrees to purchase it. However, as soon as Boaz tells him that the redemption of Naomi's land obliges him to marry "Ruth the Moabite," he demurs and renounces his right as the family's "next-of-kin" (4.5-6). Even if his precise motives for refusing remain somewhat opaque,[401]

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398.   Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, 21.
399.   Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, 22.
400.   Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, 26.
401.   The obscurity is due in part to a textual problem in Ruth 4.5. The written form (*ketiv*) of

Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky are correct to affirm: "This is one of several places where it is evident that despite her commitment to Israel and its God, Ruth remains a Moabite in the eyes of the community."[402] The narrative's handling of Ruth's Moabite status suggests that it provides a potential obstacle to her full integration within the Judean community. With this in mind, much of the book's narrative energy goes toward validating Ruth's membership in Judah. Read allusively, one of the strategies the book undertakes to this end is the portrayal of Ruth as both the embodiment and agent of Judah's restoration. In the narrative Ruth not only acts the part of Deuteronomy's restored Israel, she also mediates restoration to the Judean people.

A. Embodiment of Restored Israel

Ruth embodies restored Israel in her solidarity with Naomi and Yhwh and in her conformity to the pattern of Israel's ancestors. Deut 30.1-10 characterizes restored Israel as possessing a heart that turns toward Yhwh in renewed love and obedience to the deity's commandments (30.6, 8, 9, 10). Elsewhere in the book, not least the Decalogue of chapter 5, these commandments obligate Israel both to Yhwh and to fellow members of the community. This suggests that the obedience envisioned for Israel in chapter 30 encompasses this dual commitment. The text also portrays the experience of restored Israel as conforming to, or even exceeding, that of its ancestors (30.5, 9). Although the references in vv. 5 and 9

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the verb קנה ("acquire, buy") is in the first person, while the recited tradition (*kerey*) is in the second person. According to the *ketiv*, Boaz acquires Ruth; but in the *kerey*, the unnamed next-of-kin must acquire her. See the discussion in Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, 76-77; Goulder, Homily," 309-10; Campbell, *Ruth*, 146-47.

402. Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, 75.

remain general, Deut 30.20 explicitly identifies the ancestors as the "patriarchs"

of Genesis: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.[403] This suggests that one of the marks of

restored Israel is conformity to the experience of the ancestors, not least those

whose stories are recounted in the book of Genesis. Read allusively, the book of

Ruth portrays the young Moabite as embodying both the obedience and the

pattern that characterizes restored Israel in Deut 30.1-10.

The narrative uses the word חֶסֶד ("loyalty, loyal love") to depict both

Ruth's commitment to Naomi and Yʜᴡʜ as well as her conformity to the pattern

of Israel's ancestors. The term denotes acts of beneficence and solidarity toward

another that are unmotivated by obligation; that is, חֶסֶד refers to expressions of

loyalty, "kindness and generosity beyond the call of duty."[404] Often an expectation

of reciprocity underlies relationships characterized by חֶסֶד. As Eskenazi and

Frymer-Kensky note, a demonstration of חֶסֶד "often sets up an expectation of

reciprocation...[or] the benevolent payback for past favors."[405] Thus one act of

חֶסֶד often begets another, or so it should. For example, in Deut 7.9 Israel's

response of loving obedience to Yʜᴡʜ's commandments engenders ongoing

divine חֶסֶד for the nation: "Know therefore that Yʜᴡʜ your God, he is God, the

God who is trustworthy, observing the covenant and remaining loyal (שֹׁמֵר

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403.   Although the reference to ancestors (אָבוֹת) in Deut 30.5, 9 likely refers to the exodus
generation, the specific mention in v. 20 of the same term (אָבוֹת) invites construing vv. 5, 9 as a
reference to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. For more on the motif of the ancestors in Deuteronomy
and Deuteronomistic literature see Thomas Römer, *Israels Väter: Untersuchungen zur
Väterthematik im Deuteronomium und in der deuteronomistischen Tradition* (Freiburg:
Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990).

404.   Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, l. For an extensive analysis of the biblical uses of the
term, see Katharine Doob Sakenfeld, *The Meaning of Ḥesed in the Hebrew Bible: A New Inquiry*
(Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978).

405.   Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, xlviii.

הַבְּרִית וְהַחֶ֫סֶד) to those who love him and keep his commandments to a thousand generations." Conversely, because Y<small>HWH</small> has shown חֶ֫סֶד to Israel's ancestors, Israel implicitly owes Y<small>HWH</small> a debt of loyalty in return (Deut 7.12).

Ruth's demonstration of חֶ֫סֶד toward Naomi and Y<small>HWH</small> demonstrates that she possess the heart of loving obedience that Deuteronomy predicates of restored Israel. Boaz acknowledges as much in 3.10 when he summons Y<small>HWH</small> to bless her for two remarkable deeds of חֶ֫סֶד: "May you be blessed by Y<small>HWH</small>, my daughter; you have made your last act of loyalty (חַסְדֵּךְ) better than your first…" The first of these acts is Ruth's expression of solidarity with Naomi, her people, and her god in chapter 1. In fact, by the time Ruth voices her decision to accompany Naomi to Judah, Naomi herself has already used the word חֶ֫סֶד in 1.8 to describe the loyalty Ruth and Orpah have shown her family throughout their misfortunes: "May Y<small>HWH</small> show loyalty (יַעֲשֶׂה…חֶ֫סֶד) to you as you have shown to those who have died and to me." Important here is the use of the word חֶ֫סֶד to describe the actions of both Y<small>HWH</small> and the two Moabite women. This conveys the sense of reciprocity described above and suggests that in the book of Ruth human and divine acts of חֶ֫סֶד mirror each other.[406]

When Naomi urges the two young women not to accompany her to Judah, Orpah complies, but Ruth binds herself to Naomi, Y<small>HWH</small>, and Judah. So strong is Ruth's bond with Naomi that the book depicts her choice not to leave (עזב)

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406.   See Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, l: "Although *ḥesed* in Ruth is explicitly ascribed to human beings, the text suggests that those who act with *ḥessed* mirror the ways of God, serving as agents of God's *ḥesed* through their deeds of kindness."

Naomi but to cling (דבק) to her in 1.14, 16 by evoking the marriage of the first

man and woman from Gen 2.24: "Therefore a man shall leave (יַעֲזָב) his father

(אָבִיו) and his mother (אִמּוֹ) and shall cling (וְדָבַק) to his wife; and the two shall

become one flesh."[407] Later, echoes of Gen 2.24 appear again in 2.11, where Boaz

lauds Ruth for her superlative devotion to Naomi: "You left (וַתַּעַזְבִי) your father

(אָבִיךְ) and your mother (וְאִמֵּךְ) and the land of your relatives and came to a

people that you did not previously know."[408] Boaz acknowledges Ruth's

"marriage" to Naomi and petitions the deity to compensate her accordingly.

Significantly, he associates Ruth's beneficence toward Naomi's family with her

commitment to YHWH: "May YHWH repay your deed, and may your reward be full

from YHWH, the God of Israel, under whose wings you have come for refuge"

(2.12). This suggests that Ruth's allegiance to YHWH is measured in part by her

acts of solidarity toward Naomi. Boaz's benediction also recalls Naomi's words

from 1.8 and intimates that Ruth's demonstration of חֶסֶד warrants a reciprocal

response of חֶסֶד from YHWH. The notion that YHWH owes Ruth a debt of חֶסֶד for

her treatment of Naomi indicates that in committing herself to Naomi (4.15,

אהב) Ruth has shown loving obedience to YHWH.

The book illustrates Ruth's commitment to YHWH and Naomi in chapter 2,

where she volunteers to glean sheaves of grain in an effort to secure ongoing

sustenance. According to Deut 24.19, Israelites harvesting in fields are not to

collect every sheaf of grain but are to leave some behind for the alien, the orphan,

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407.   The allusion is noted by Bal, *Lethal Love,* 72 and Fischer, "'Feminist' Commentary," 42.
408.   Fischer, "'Feminist' Commentary," 43, notes the allusion to Gen 2.24 and 12.1 (discussed below) in Ruth 2.11.

and the widow.[409] Although Deuteronomy presents the law of gleaning as a right owed to the community's most vulnerable members, Ruth seems to construe it as a responsibility she has toward Naomi. She signals this in 2.2 both by asking Naomi's permission to glean, presumably in her stead, and by explaining that she intends to look for a "benefactor,"[410] a landowner who will show her "favor" (חֵן). This latter point seems to indicate that Ruth has Naomi's long-term interests in mind. Finding a potential benefactor would not only reduce the risks to Ruth's safety in the fields (2.9, 22), but it would also ensure a more stable and constant supply of grain for both women (2.15-16, 23).   In any case, Boaz construes Ruth's actions in the field as an expression of her loyalty both to Naomi and to Yʜwʜ (2.11-12; 3.10). He summons the deity to recompense Ruth for all that she has done to care for her mother-in-law. As far as Boaz is concerned, Ruth's deeds qualify her to receive Yʜwʜ's blessing.

The same is true of the act that Boaz refers to as her second demonstration of חֶסֶד in 3.10. In the beginning of the chapter Naomi dispatches Ruth to solicit Boaz secretly at night with the intent that she secure a more permanent "resting place" (מָנוֹחַ) for herself, presumably to provide ongoing benefaction for them both now that the harvest season has ended (3.1-2).[411] The word מָנוֹחַ also appears in Deut 28.65, where Yʜwʜ threatens Israel that, once

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409.   Braulik, "Das Deuteronomium," 114, catalogues verbal markers of Deut 24.19 in Ruth 2.7, 9, 15, and 23; see also Lev. 19.9-19; 23.22.
410.   Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, 29.
411.   The word מָנוֹחַ also appears in Deut 28.65, where Yʜwʜ threatens Israel that, once exiled among the nations, it will find no resting place (מָנוֹחַ) for the sole of its foot. Read allusively, Naomi's positive use of the word may suggest that she sees an opportunity to reverse her plight, which she likened to living under Yʜwʜ's curse in 1.20-21, and secure a future under divine blessing.

exiled among the nations, it will find no resting place (מָנוֹחַ) for the sole of its foot. Read allusively, Naomi's positive use of the word suggests that she sees an opportunity to reverse her plight and secure a future under Yʜwʜ's blessing. Naomi proceeds to instruct her daughter-in-law to bathe, anoint, and dress herself, probably in the hope that her appearance will charm Boaz and entice him to extend her further favor (3.3). It is hard to deny the presence of an erotic subtext to Naomi's instructions, especially her directive that Ruth uncover Boaz's legs (מַרְגְּלוֹת)[412] and lie down (שׁכב)[413] after he has fallen asleep (3.4). But exactly what Naomi envisions remains ambiguous, and she ends by assuring Ruth that Boaz will take the initiative and tell her what to do (3.5). When Boaz does wake up to find Ruth beside him, the latter departs from her mother-in-law's script in 3.9 and solicits Boaz to act as the family's גֹּאֵל ("next-of-kin, redeemer"). In Israel's legal corpus a גֹּאֵל is one who "is charged with protecting vulnerable relatives." For example, Lev 25.25-34 grants a גֹּאֵל the legal right to redeem or buy back land sold by a poor relative to keep it within the family. Lev 25.35-50 extends the גֹּאֵל a similar prerogative to help a relative forced into servitude. Num 35.16-21 goes so far as to allow the גֹּאֵל the right to avenge the murder of a slain family member. In such instances the obligation to serve as גֹּאֵל

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412.   The only place the word מַרְגְּלוֹת appears outside of Ruth 3.4,7, 8, and 14 is Dan 10.6, where it occurs together with וּזְרֹעֹתָיו, "his arms." The word is related, however, to the term, רֶגֶל, "feet," which often functions as a euphemism for genitalia (e.g. in Exod 4.25). The use of מַרְגְּלוֹת in Ruth 3 thus contributes both to the ambiguity and the erotic undertones that characterize Naomi's instructions and Ruth's subsequent actions.

413.   The verb שׁכב, "lie down," is the verb of choice in the Hebrew Bible for sexual intercourse, especially when paired with a preposition ("lie with"). That the verb appears here and elsewhere in the chapter without the preposition keeps the eroticism in the connotative rather than the denotative register.

in behalf of the poor and vulnerable seems to apply to any relative with the means to do so,[414] and it is this notion that likely forms the basis of Ruth's appeal to Boaz.

Although Boaz does come to serve both as Naomi's גֹּאֵל and as Ruth's husband by the end of chapter 4, it is not clear that his role as the latter lies in the foreground of Ruth's request in chapter 3. Nowhere in the legal corpus is the role of a גֹּאֵל connected to marriage. It is unlikely, then, that Ruth's proposal has the institution of levirate marriage already in view.[415] Eskenazi and Freymer-Kensky are closer to the mark when they point out that Ruth only explicitly petitions Boaz to act as the family's גֹּאֵל, effectively asking him for his "protection or patronage."[416] In asking him to cover her with his "wing" or garment's edge (כָּנָף) in 3.9,[417] Ruth in effect asks Boaz to play the role he has already credited to Yнwн, under whose protective "wings" (כָּנָף, plural) she has taken refuge (2.12).

What is important to note here is that Ruth goes beyond Naomi's explicit instructions and takes the initiative in seeking the greatest possible welfare for her Judean mother-in-law, that of Boaz's ongoing protective patronage as the family's (3.9) גֹּאֵל. Having formally solicited Boaz to fulfill the role, Ruth seems content to leave it for Boaz to decide how best to undertake this responsibility. What compels Boaz to invoke Yнwн's blessing upon Ruth in 3.10 is her

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414.   Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, 60.
415.   Fischer, "'Feminist' Commentary," 40-41.
416.   Eskenazi and Freymer-Kenski, *Ruth*, xxxv-xxxviii, 59.
417.   In Ezek 16.8 this gesture betokens an offer of marriage. This is one of the reasons some scholars believe that Ruth is asking Boaz to marry her as part of his responsibility as the family's גֹּאֵל.

superlative demonstration of חֶסֶד in not pursuing younger men, presumably out

of self-interest, but in soliciting Boaz to serve as גֹּאֵל in Naomi's behalf.[418] At

least twice, then, the young Moabite woman has demonstrated both a familiarity

with Yʜᴡʜ's commandments and a willingness to implement them for Naomi's

good.   Read allusively, Ruth's חֶסֶד toward Naomi in accompanying her to

Bethlehem, gleaning in the fields to secure her welfare, and soliciting Boaz to act

as the family's גֹּאֵל thus attests to her possession of the loyal and obedient heart

characteristic of restored Israel in Deut 30.1-10.

Ruth's acts of חֶסֶד not only express her solidarity with Naomi and Yʜᴡʜ,

they also conform her experience to the pattern of Israel's ancestors, a pattern

that also distinguishes restored Israel in Deut 30.1-10. The book portrays Ruth's

first act of חֶסֶד, her decision to accompany Naomi to Judah, as a recapitulation of

Abraham's experience as recounted in the book of Genesis. According to Gen

12.1, Yʜᴡʜ commands Abraham (then still Abram): "Go (לֶךְ־לְךָ) from your land

(מֵאַרְצְךָ), and your relatives (וּמִמּוֹלַדְתְּךָ), and your father's house (וּמִבֵּית אָבִיךָ)

to the land that I will show you." In 2.11 Boaz expresses his admiration for Ruth's

solidarity with Naomi in words that recall Abraham's paradigmatic journey: "you

left your father and your mother and the land of your relatives (וְאֶרֶץ מוֹלַדְתֵּךְ)

and came (וַתֵּלְכִי) to a people that you did not previously know." Boaz's

assessment of Ruth also echoes Gen 24.7, where Abraham rehearses his

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418.   Fischer, "'Feminist' Commentary," 40, though she goes too far in crediting Ruth with
incorporating the duty of levirate marriage into the responsibilities incumbent on a גֹּאֵל, a move
which Boaz makes allusively only in chapter 4.

experience from chapter 12: "Yʜᴡʜ, the God of heaven, who took me from my father's house (מִבֵּית אָבִי֙) and from the land of my relatives (וּמֵאֶ֣רֶץ מֽוֹלַדְתִּ֔י)..."[419] This statement occurs in the context of a commission Abraham gives his servant to find a wife for his son Isaac from among his kinsfolk. When the servant discovers Rebekah and proposes that she marry his master's son, she, like Abraham, leaves her family to go (הלך: Gen 12.1; 24.58; see Ruth 2.11)[420] to a new land and a new people under the auspices of Yʜᴡʜ's providential guidance. By evoking these texts from Genesis, the book of Ruth suggests that the young Moabite woman has made a journey similar to that undertaken by Abraham and Rebekah. However, whereas Abraham and Rebekah obey Yʜᴡʜ's summons, Ruth departs for Judah "on her own initiative" without a divine call and against Naomi's protestations.[421] Moreover, Ruth travels to Judah as a foreigner from a people expressly forbidden to join Yʜᴡʜ's cultic community in Deut 23. This makes her decision to abandon her family and ally with Naomi and Yʜᴡʜ all the more noteworthy. As Adele Berlin recognizes, "it is crucial that the heroine be a foreigner, for that is what makes the theme of *hessed*, family loyalty, work. Had Ruth been a Judahite, there would have been nothing remarkable in her actions."[422] In a way, then, Ruth not only parallels Abraham and Rebekah, she surpasses them as well.

The book also associates Ruth's second act of חֶסֶד, her solicitation of Boaz

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419.   Noted by Fischer, "'Feminist' Commentary," 43.
420.   Fischer, "'Feminist' Commentary," 43.
421.   Fischer, "'Feminist' Commentary," 43.
422.   Adele Berlin, *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative* (Sheffield: The Almond Press, 1983), 103.

in chapter 3, with Israel's ancestors. Ruth's encounter with Boaz resembles the story of Judah and Tamar told in Genesis 38, a point the Judean elders themselves seem to recognize when they liken Ruth to Tamar in 4.12.[423] In Genesis 38 Judah's firstborn son dies, leaving his widow, Tamar, childless. In compliance with the law of levirate marriage, Judah then appeals to his next son, Onan, to have sexual intercourse with Tamar to produce a child that will bear the name of his deceased elder brother. Onan refuses and he, too, dies. Rather than enlist the services of his youngest son, Judah sends Tamar into a life of perpetual widowhood under her father's care. At this point Tamar takes matters into her own hands. She disguises herself as a prostitute and sexually entices Judah. After the two have intercourse, she conceives. In time, Judah learns of the pregnancy and responds by ordering Tamar's execution. But when she produces evidence implicating him in her pregnancy, he relents and concedes that her deeds were more righteous than his. At the end of the chapter Tamar gives birth to twin boys, one of whom, Perez, appears in a genealogy at the end of Ruth that links him to Boaz and to David.

The stories of Ruth and Tamar share several motifs in common that serve to associate Ruth with another of Israel's ancestors.[424] Both women are foreigners, Tamar (presumably) a Canaanite and Ruth a Moabite, and both soon become childless widows. Both are ordered to return to their families, though

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423.   For an insightful intertextual reading of the stories of Ruth and Tamar, see Ellen van Wolde, "Texts in Dialogue with Texts: Intertextuality in the Ruth and Tamar Narratives," *BI* 5 (1997): 1-28. See also Nielsen, *Ruth,* 13-17.

424.   For a list of parallels between the two, see Harold Fisch, "Ruth and the Structure of Covenant History," *VT* 32 (1982): 425-37 (436). See also Eskenazi and Freymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, xxii.

Ruth demurs. In both stories there are allusions to levirate marriage, though in each case there are complications that render it technically inapplicable. In Judah's case the the levirate law cannot apply as it extends the right only to a brother, not the father, of the deceased. Finally, both women rely on erotic appeal and both resort to unconventional, though ultimately sanctioned, methods in order to promote the welfare of a Judean family. Judah's union with Tamar is tantamount to an act of incest, but he vindicates her otherwise illicit actions when he realizes his own failings and declares her to be in the right. The significance of Tamar's story to the book of Ruth is in part that it provides a kind of precedent for the community to consider in evaluating Ruth's situation and status in the community. To this end, the comparison the Judean elders and people draw between Ruth and Tamar in 4.12 seems to serve a double function. On the one hand, it tacitly acknowledges that her marriage to Boaz is unconventional, probably in view of her Moabite origins. On the other hand, their invocation of divine blessing on Ruth sanctions her actions on the threshing floor as well as her union with Boaz and emblematizes her full inclusion within the Judean community. As Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky observe: "The blessings offered by the people of Bethlehem signal acceptance and enact Ruth's integration into the community. In the remainder of the narrative, Ruth is no longer identified as a Moabite." By conforming to the pattern of Israel's ancestors, then, Ruth embodies Deuteronomy's restored Israel and earns a place in Judah despite her status as a Moabite.

B. Agent of Restoration

Not only does Ruth embody the restored Israel envisaged in Deut 30.1-10, she also functions as an agent of restoration for Naomi and for Judah. In the case of Naomi, Ruth brings restoration to her mother-in-law by mediating the return of food, land, and progeny, and by facilitating a changed disposition in Naomi toward Yʜwʜ. According to Deut 30.1-10, Yʜwʜ promises that restored Israel will reacquire its ancestral land, receive a heart of love for Yʜwʜ that acknowledges the deity's goodness (see Deut 29.2-6 [MT 29.1-5]), and enjoy prolific harvests and numerous descendants. This, however is not what Naomi experiences when she "returns" to Bethlehem at the end of chapter 1.

Although Naomi grants in 1.21 that Yʜwʜ has brought her back to Judah from her exile in Moab, she remains embittered at the loss of her husband and sons and haunted by a feeling of divine abandonment. When Naomi arrives in Bethlehem she charges Yʜwʜ with having brought about her misfortunes: כִּי־הֵמַר שַׁדַּי לִי מְאֹד ("for the Almighty has caused me excessive bitterness" [1.20]). She continues her compliant in v. 21: "why do you call me Naomi [pleasant], for Yʜwʜ has testified against me (עָנָה בִּי), and the Almighty has done evil to me (הֵרַע לִי)." The evil to which Naomi refers is the reversal of fortune she underwent while in Moab: "I departed full, but Yʜwʜ has brought me back empty" (1.21), bereft of husband, sons, and land. Naomi's bitter experience in Moab has provoked a theological crisis that effectively poses what one scholar terms a "theodicy problem."[425]

The book's concern with theodicy appears as early as 1.3 with the death

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425.   Korpel, *Structure*, 228

of Elimelech, Naomi's husband, in the land of Moab. As many commentators recognize, names in the book of Ruth often have symbolic import. Naomi herself makes this explicit at the end of chapter 1, when she adjures the women of Bethlehem to call her no longer Naomi ("Pleasant") but Mara, ("Bitter"). Elimelech's name means, "My god is king." Kirsten Nielsen rightly observes: "The name sets out the king theme,"[426] though not with respect to David's kingship, as she supposes, but in regard to Yhwh's. Elimelech's death in Moab implicitly raises the question of whether Yhwh's kingship can survive the experience of exile.

Read in light of Deut 30.1-10, Naomi's sojourn in Moab in search of food becomes freighted with the connotations of exile; it has become for her a manifestation of divine curse. Naomi, in fact, acknowledges as much earlier when she tells Orpah and Ruth, "it has been far more bitter for me than for you, because Yhwh's hand has gone forth against me" (1.13). As Hillel I. Millgram points out, Naomi's comment implies "that she is hexed – cursed," as if she were saying: "God's hand has gone forth against me, striking down my nearest and dearest. You may be next in line. Contact with me can be contagious. Save yourselves while you can."[427] This sense that she abides under the deity's curse continues to haunt Naomi even after she returns home.

Reading Naomi's "return" from exile in Moab as an allusion to Deut 30.1-10 draws attention to at least two ways in which Naomi's restoration remains incomplete. First, in Deut 30.1-5 Israel turns back to Yhwh while in exile and then acquires a circumcised heart once in the homeland. But in the book of

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426.   Nielsen, *Ruth*, 42.
427.   Millgram, *Four Biblical Heroines*, 38.

Ruth repentance does not accompany Naomi's return to Judah, nor does she seem to possess a heart "circumcised" to love YHWH or acknowledge his goodness. Instead, Naomi arrives in Judah embittered and disillusioned, accusing YHWH of doing her harm. In contrast, it is Ruth who enacts the repentance scripted for exiled Israel in Deut 30.1-2 when she forsakes her native gods for the god of Naomi and Judah. And it is Ruth who, in the balance of the narrative, embodies the loving and obedient heart toward the deity under whose wings she has sought protection. As far as Naomi is concerned, she remains under the divine curse, a victim of evils she ascribes to YHWH's hand.

Further, Moses promises in Deut 30.1-10 that restored Israel will acquire possession of its ancestors' land and experience abundant fertility. But when Naomi comes back to Judah she has lost not only her family's land but also her husband and two sons. She remains "empty," as she herself declares in 1.21, of any visible tokens of divine restoration. By the standards of Deut 30.1-10, then, Naomi's experience of restoration has been only partial at best. But Naomi has not, in fact, come back to Judah entirely empty; she returns accompanied by her Moabite daughter-in-law, Ruth. In chapters 2-4 Ruth brings resolution to Naomi's ongoing experience of exile and answers her "theodicy problem" by serving as an agent of divine restoration.

Although YHWH's presence in the book of Ruth is more remote,[428] the deity has not so utterly forsaken Naomi as she supposes. YHWH takes the stage on only

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428. See the discussion of the book's theology in Eskenazi and Freymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, l-liii; comparing Ruth to Ezra-Nehemiah, they conclude: "Ruth goes one step further than Ezra-Nehemiah in hiding God's face in the text. Whereas in the latter, God operates behind the scenes, such explicit confirmation is absent in Ruth until the very end" (liii).

two occasions in the narrative; the first is indirect and the second direct, yet both signal a reversal in Naomi's plight. First, while still in Moab Naomi learns that the famine plaguing Judah has ended because "Y<small>HWH</small> had taken thought for his people and given them food" (1.6). Indeed, by the time she arrives back in Bethlehem at the end of chapter 1 the barley harvest has already begun. Apart from Ruth, however, Naomi would not have had access to this source of food. It is Ruth's offer to glean in the fields in chapter 2 that allows Naomi to benefit from the land's renewed fecundity.

In the process of providing her mother-in-law with food, Ruth also helps facilitate a change in Naomi's disposition toward Y<small>HWH</small>. When Naomi learns that Boaz has extended favor to Ruth, she utters a spontaneous benediction: "Blessed be he by Y<small>HWH</small>, who has not forsaken his loyalty (לֹא־עָזַב חַסְדּוֹ) to the living or the dead" (2.20). Although it remains ambiguous whose חֶסֶד Naomi acclaims, Y<small>HWH</small> is the nearest antecedent. Further, as Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky argue, Naomi's words echo the praise Abraham's servant offers to Y<small>HWH</small> upon encountering Rebekah.[429] His prayer in Gen 24.27 makes it clear that Y<small>HWH</small> is the one "who has not forsaken his loyalty" (לֹא־עָזַב חַסְדּוֹ) to Abraham. Even if Naomi has Boaz in mind, the ambiguity suggests that he acts as Y<small>HWH</small>'s proxy or agent. Significantly, Naomi's praise betokens a changed disposition toward the deity. Whereas in chapter 1 she had accused Y<small>HWH</small> of committing evils against her, here she blesses Y<small>HWH</small> for his acts of חֶסֶד in her behalf. Although Naomi does not see it, the narrative makes clear that it is Ruth's selfless acts of חֶסֶד that have

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429.   Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, 43.

provoked Boaz to extend the favor that precipitates Naomi's change of heart toward Yₕwₕ. Put in the language of Deut 30.6, Ruth's act of חֶסֶד brings Naomi to acknowledge Yₕwₕ's חֶסֶד and so facilitates the "circumcision" of Naomi's heart.

The second time the book mentions Yₕwₕ's agency the deity acts more directly than in chapter 1, where Naomi learned secondhand that Yₕwₕ had ended the famine in Judah. In chapter 4 Yₕwₕ sanctions Ruth's marriage to Boaz by providing her a son: "Yₕwₕ granted her conception, and she bore a son" (4.13). Significantly, in 4.14-17 the women of Judah regard the child as Naomi's and celebrate his role as a restorer of life to her. Concerning the restoration of Naomi's land and progeny, it is Ruth who summons Boaz in chapter 3 to fulfill his obligation as the family's גֹּאֵל. It is true that Boaz construes this responsibility as entailing the redemption of Elimelech's land and marriage to Ruth, but Ruth's daring request in chapter 3 and her exemplary conduct throughout the narrative are what prompt him to do so. Boaz affirms as much when he assures Ruth in 3.11: "And now my daughter, do not fear; all that you propose I will do for you, for all my people who gather in the gateway know that you are a worthy woman (אֵשֶׁת חַיִל)." Although Naomi does refer to Boaz as a גֹּאֵל in 2.20, she does not direct Ruth to solicit his aid as such when she sends her to the threshing floor in the beginning of chapter 3. Rather, it is Ruth's initiative that sets in motion the series of events that ensues in the recovery of Naomi's land and in the birth of Obed in chapter 4. The book closes with Naomi in possession once more of food, land, and progeny, as well as a changed heart toward Yₕwₕ, the very marks of divine restoration imagined in Deut 30.1-10. Although Naomi only ever explicitly

acknowledges Boaz's role as Yʜwʜ's agent, it is actually Ruth's agency that has mediated her reversal.[430] As Naomi cradles her grandson, Obed, at the close of the book, the Judean women remind her of Ruth's role in securing her restoration: "He [Obed] will be for you a restorer of life (לְמֵשִׁיב נֶפֶשׁ) and a sustainer of your old age, for your daughter-in-law, who loves you, has borne him, she who is better to you than seven sons" (4.15).

Ruth's role as an agent of restoration is not limited to Naomi and her family. Ruth's actions also rehabilitate the story of Lot and his daughters in Gen 19. Several scholars have noted parallels between Ruth 3 and the story told in Gen 19 of Lot's sexual union with his daughters, from whom the Moabites are descended.[431] The two episodes take place at night (לַיְלָה) after the men have drunk. The women in each story lie down (שכב)[432] with the men, who are initially unaware. The result of the assignation leads to the perpetuation of the family's otherwise aborted line of descent. What rehabilitates Lot's story in Ruth is the Moabite woman's request that Boaz serve as the family's גֹּאֵל. This displaces the erotic energy of the encounter, reframes the interaction between the two in terms of חֶסֶד, and delays the conception of a child until after a communally sanctioned marriage. Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky argue that Ruth's actions in chapter 3 similarly rehabilitate Tamar's story from Gen 38.

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430.   Dana Nolan Fewell and David Miller Gunn, *Compromising Redemption: Relating Characters in the Book of Ruth* (Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990), 105, who offer what they refer to as a "less sanguine" reading of Naomi's character (109 note 3), offer the following reflection on the book's ending: "Perhaps she [Ruth] was recognized by Naomi as the real redeemer in this story. Perhaps not."
431.   See, e.g., Fisch, "Covenant History," 430-31, who provides a table of comparisons. See also the discussion of Fisch in Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, xxii-xxiii.
432.   The verb שכב frequently connotes sexual intercourse, as it does in Gen 19.

Whereas Tamar appeals to Judah's sense of duty only after an illicit sexual liaison, Ruth, interrupts an erotically charged encounter with Boaz to request that he take up his responsibility as a גֹּאֵל."[433] As Nielsen concludes, Ruth's story thus becomes a "new and better" version of Tamar's.[434] Finally, Harold Fisch argues that Ruth's marriage to Boaz also poetically heals the fractured rift between their respective ancestors, Lot and Abraham (Gen 13).[435] The rehabilitating effect of Ruth's deeds of חֶסֶד thus speaks to her function as an agent of restoration not only for Naomi's family but for those of Lot and Judah as well.

Ruth's restorative agency takes on a national dimension in at least two ways.   First, her devotion to Naomi provides a narrative counter to the inhospitable behavior of the Moabites toward the Israelites who were fleeing Egypt after the exodus. Deut 23.3-6 (MT 23.4-7) excludes Moabites from the cultic assembly of Israel on the grounds that they refused to offer bread and water to the Israelites fleeing from Egypt and because they hired Balaam to curse the Israelites in the wilderness. Although the book of Ruth does not explicitly refer to Deut 23, as Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky contend, Ruth nevertheless evinces "an intertextual tension over the issue of Moabite status within the Israelite community."[436] In the book Ruth compensates for the opprobrium of the Moabites by gleaning in the field to provide grain for her Judean mother-in-law. In addition, Ruth's acts of חֶסֶד help restore Naomi to a life under YHWH's blessing

433.   Eskenazi and Freymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, xxii; see also Fisch, "Covenant History," 436.

434.   Nielsen, *Ruth,* 17; see her comments in full on pp. 13-17.

435.   Fisch, "Covenant History," 435. See also Eskenazi and Frymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, xxi, who point out that whereas Lot separates (פרד) from Abram in Gen 13.9, 11, 14, Ruth vows never to separate (פרד) from Naomi in 1.17.

436.   Eskenazi and Freymer-Kensky, *Ruth*, xxiii.

by facilitating the reclamation of her husband's land and by providing her with an heir. Ruth's conduct thus overrides the pejorative depiction of the Moabites in Deut 23 and makes a compelling argument for her acceptance in Judah despite Deuteronomy's proscription. As Fischer points out, the book of Ruth reframes the Deuteronomic injunction against the Moabites by arguing "if the reason [for their exclusion] no longer applies, the prohibition is no longer justified."[437]

The narrative also underscores Ruth's function as an agent of national restoration by connecting her to King David at the end of chapter 4. Some scholars regard the book's link to David as an attempt, early in Judah's monarchy, to sanitize the king's Moabite lineage by associating him with an exemplary Moabite ancestor.[438] But as André LaCocque points out, the "center of gravity" in the genealogies "is not propaganda favoring David" because "David is here unquestionably the great king of an earlier era."[439] When the book is read against a post-exilic setting, this suggests instead that Ruth's contribution to David's genealogy further legitimates her incorporation into the Judean community. Although several scholars argue that the genealogies, especially the second, are late androcentric additions to the book, both seem to pay tacit homage to Ruth's role in producing David. The first genealogy in 4.17 contains only three names (Obed, Jesse, and David), while the second in 4.18-22 lists ten. Fischer ventures

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437.   Fischer, "'Feminist' Commentary," 36.

438.   See, e.g. Nielsen, *Ruth*, 21-29 for an argument and review of scholarship. Her conclusion on p. 29 that "much current scholarship regards the defense of the Davidic dynasty as the key to understanding the book's purpose, and thus as a means to dating it" does not account for André LaCocque, "Date et milieu du livre de Ruth," *RHPR* 59 (1979): 583-93 and André LaCocque, *The Feminine Unconventional: Four Subversive Figures in Israel's Tradition* (OBT; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990).

439.   André LaCocque, *Ruth* (CC; trans. K. C. Hanson; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 12.

that the two genealogies are actually parallel and that Ruth herself counts for the

missing seven in the first list on the grounds that her worth to Naomi exceeds

that of seven sons (4.15).[440]   Further, even though the second genealogy

foregrounds Boaz's connection to David by placing him in the seventh position,[441]

Nielsen points out that the ten generations from Perez to David suggest a poetic

compensation for the decade of infertility Ruth endures prior to Obed's

conception (see 1.4).[442]   Finally, just before the genealogies the elders and people

of Judah invoke YHWH's blessing on Ruth and presciently announce that she is

destined to build up the house of Israel as did Rachel and Leah, the two wives of

the patriarch Jacob, who conceived many of the eponymous ancestors of the

Israelite tribes.   The twin genealogies of David that conclude the book intimate

that Ruth's contribution to Judah's legacy is none other than David himself.   This

provides a powerful argument for her inclusion in the Judean community despite

her Moabite origins.   Without Ruth, Judah would not have produced a monarchy,

and the nation would not have had its most renowned and celebrated king.[443]

Reading the book's allusion to Deut 30.1-10 thus suggests that, as both an

embodiment and agent of restoration, Ruth the Moabite merits a place in Judah.

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440.   Fischer, "'Feminist' Commentary," 45, who likens Ruth to David, "who is better qualified for the kingship than the *seven* older sons of Jesse, Ruth's grandson (see 1 Sam. 16.1-13)" (author's emphasis).

441.   On the importance of the seventh position in the genealogy, see Sasson, *Ruth*, 182, 184; Nielsen, *Ruth*, 97, and Katharine Doob Sakenfeld, *Ruth* (Interpretation; Louisville: John Knox Press, 1999), 85.

442.   Nielsen, *Ruth*, 44 note 72.

443.   See LaCocque, *Ruth*, 12: "If one condemns Judah for his relations with Canaanites; Tamar's foreign origin and her recourse to incest; Perez as a mongrel; Rahab, ancestor of Boaz, for her 'professional' activities; and Ruth for reasons similar to those concerning Tamar – then one also rejects David."

Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that allusive markers of Deut 30.1-10 are discernible in the first chapter of Ruth, and I have illustrated how reading the allusion in the balance of the book allows for construing Ruth as both an unlikely embodiment of restored Israel and an agent of divine restoration. Activating allusion to Deut 30.1-10 underscores certain disjunctions between the Deuteronomic "script" for Israel's restoration and its narrative performance in the book of Ruth. Although Naomi acknowledges that Yhwh has returned her to Judah after a self-imposed exile in Moab, she arrives in Bethlehem without food, land, or progeny, and with a heart embittered toward Yhwh, who she blames for her misfortunes. Ruth, on the other hand, chooses to return with Naomi to Judah, having adopted Yhwh as her god and the Judeans as her people. In so doing, Ruth acts out the role scripted in Deut 30.1-10 for restored Israel, which turns to Yhwh while in exile and then returns to the ancestral homeland under the auspices of divine blessing. The problem, however, is that Ruth is not a Judean or even an Israelite. She is a Moabite. Her inclusion as such within the Judean community is by no means a foregone conclusion, especially in view of an injunction in Deut 23 that explicit forbids Moabites from joining Yhwh's cultic assembly.

Read allusively, the book's remaining chapters resolve these tensions by depicting Ruth as the embodiment of Deuteronomy's restored Israel and as an agent of restoration for Naomi, Moab, and Judah. Ruth becomes an emblem of Yhwh's abiding loyalty in the face of suffering and loss through her solidarity with Naomi. By the end of the book Naomi has reacquired her ancestral land and gained both an heir and a renewed capacity to acknowledge Yhwh's חֶסֶד. All of

these tokens of divine restoration are mediated through Ruth's loyal and loving acts accomplished in Naomi's behalf. By the end of the book Ruth gains the esteem of Boaz and the commendation of the Judean elders and people, who sanction her marriage and invoke Yʜwʜ's blessing to signal her full acceptance into Judah despite her Moabite origins. By allusively casting Ruth the Moabite in the role of Deuteronomy's restored Israel, the book projects an alternate vision of reality in which worthy foreigners are needed and valued members of a post-exilic Judean community.

The book of Ruth's allusive transposition of Deut 30.1-10 is particularly striking when set alongside that of Nehemiah. The book of Nehemiah imagines restored Israel exclusively in terms of repatriated Judean exiles sequestered from foreigners by the protective walls of Jerusalem and the Mosaic *torah*. To preserve the community's ethnic boundary, Nehemiah explicitly forbids Judeans to marry Moabite women and laments the deleterious effects of exogamy on the children born of ethnically heterogeneous marriages (Neh 13.1-3, 23-27). Had Nehemiah encountered Boaz on the street, at the very least he would have cursed him, beaten him, and pulled out his hair. It is also possible that, like his literary counterpart Ezra, Nehemiah may have compelled Boaz under oath to divorce Ruth and banish both his Moabite wife and their son Obed (and distant son David!) from the community.[444]

The figurations of restored Israel that emerge from an allusive reading of the two books are striking for their contrasts. The book of Nehemiah marks the

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444.   See David J. A. Clines, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* (NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1984), 246, who finds hints in 13.25, 27 that indicate Nehemiah, like Ezra, may also have compelled Judean men to divorce their foreign wives.

foreign woman as a dangerous "other," a destabilizing threat to the community's ethno-religious boundary. In the book of Ruth, however, a foreign woman devotes herself to YHWH and Judah and becomes a conduit of divine restoration for her Judean mother-in-law and for the nation as a whole. Reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in both books thus draws attention to various and diverse possibilities for literarily figuring the ethnic composition of a restored Israel. For all their differences, however, Nehemiah and Ruth both imagine restoration as occurring within the land of Judah. The book of Tobit, however, allusively enacts the Deuteronomic script to address a concern not taken up in either Nehemiah or Ruth, namely the role that a protracted diapora plays in the figuration of national restoration.

CHAPTER 5

READING ALLUSION TO DEUTERONOMY 30.1-10 IN THE BOOK OF TOBIT

INTRODUCTION

The book of Tobit tells the story of an Israelite exile in Nineveh who becomes blind while performing an act of piety but who later recovers his sight when God sends the angel Raphael to superintend his healing. As several scholars point out, Tobit comes to regard his own experience of divine healing as a kind of parable for the fate of the nation as a whole. Jill Hicks-Keeton, for example, has recently argued that by the end of the book "Tobit's own healing has become evidence for him that God will deal likewise with the people of Israel."[445] After regaining his sight, Tobit comes to discern in his own story a pattern of affliction followed by restorative divine mercy.[446] In the book's final chapters he applies this pattern to the national story to reaffirm the prophetic hope that Israel's god will act to restore the exiles to their homeland. In doing so Tobit evokes Deut 30.1-10. There, Moses discloses that, after enduring a punitive exile dispersed among the nations, the Israelites will turn back to the Lord, who will then return them to their ancestral land and prosper them there as of old.

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445.   Jill, Hicks-Keeton, "Already/Not Yet: Eschatological Tension in the Book of Tobit," *JBL* 132 (2013): 97-117, here 102. In her insightful narrative-critical study, Hicks-Keeton argues that the book of Tobit develops an already/not yet "eschatological tension" that affirms: "the prophet's hopes are already being realized, even though they are not fulfilled" (114). For example, the destruction of Nineveh in chapter 14 provides an instance of partial prophetic fulfillment that anticipates the full realization of national restoration (102-103). Although she mentions Deut 28-30 as a source of Tobit's eschatological expectations (99-100), she does not consider the effects of reading the allusion on the narrative as a whole and how this contributes to an already/ not yet figuration of national restoration.

446.   See Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 32.

Tobit's evocation of this text, however, is more than a "conservative" re-inscription[447] that simply "reflects, in a fully deliberate way, genuine Deuteronomic doctrine" concerning the nation's restoration.[448] Such an assessment overlooks how the book allusively transposes Deut 30.1-10 even as it reiterates its diction and themes.

In this chapter I argue that activating the book's allusion to Deut 30.1-10 yields an unexpected and innovative figuration of national restoration oriented around the phenomenon of a protracted diaspora experience. Tobit allusively adapts the Deuteronomic "script" in at least two ways. First, whereas Deut 30.1-10 envisions Israel's restoration proceeding apace once the exiles repent, Tobit projects the nation's restoration onto the eschaton. He acknowledges that, in time, a group of exiles will return to Jerusalem and rebuild the temple. But this event does not yet realize all that the prophets had envisaged for restored Israel. Full restoration still lies ahead and will arrive "when the period [ὁ χρόνος] of the fixed times [τῶν καιρῶν] is completed" (14.5). As Beate Ego recognizes, this phrase suggests that the book effectively "extends the time perspective of the Exile enormously."[449] In making this move, however, the book of Tobit further alters Moses' vision by allowing for a partial experience of restoration for the righteous while still in diaspora. Activating the book's

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447. David A. deSilva, *Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context, and Significance* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004), 80, advances such a claim: "Tobit's theological contributions are thus mainly conservative, reinscribing the theology found in Deuteronomy and the eschatology announced by the prophets."

448. Alexander A. Di Lella, O.F.M., "The Deuteronomic Background of the Farewell Discourse in Tob 14:3-11," *CBQ* 41 (1979): 380-89, here 387.

449. Beate Ego, "The Book of Tobit and the Diaspora," in *The Book of Tobit: Text, Tradition, Theology. Papers of the First International Conference of the Deutercanonical Books, Pápa, Hungary, 20-21 May 2004* (eds. Geza G. Xeravits and Joszef Zsengeller; JSJSup 98; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 44.

allusion to Deut 30.1-10 underscores the point as Tobit comes to embody the experience of restored Israel as imagined in the Deuteronomic intertext. The book's allusive refiguring of Deut 30.1-10 thus accommodates a delay in prophetic fulfillment[450] first by projecting restoration onto the eschaton and second by allowing for a partial and proleptic experience of restorative divine mercy for those who practice piety in diaspora. Below I provide a brief orientation to the book of Tobit before discussing its allusion to Deut 30.1-10.

The book of Tobit concerns the plight of a northern Israelite named Tobit, whom the Assyrians exile to Nineveh after the fall of Samaria in the eighth century BCE. According to most scholars the book was composed in the Hellenistic period sometime in the late third or early second century BCE prior to the Seleucid persecution in Judea (175-164 BCE) and the outbreak of the Maccabean Revolt (165 BCE).[451] The earliest complete forms of Tobit are two Greek recensions, a long version preserved in Codex Sinaiticus designated G^{II} and its shorter counterpart G^{I}, preserved in Codices Vaticanus and Alexandrinus. Most scholars think that G^{II} is the earlier of the two and regard G^{I} as a later digest of G^{II}.[452] Other important witnesses include two Latin recensions found in the Old Latin (OL) and Latin Vulgate (Vg) as well as two Syriac editions of the book.

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450.   See Hicks-Keeton, "Eschatological Tension," 114.

451.   See the discussion of the book's date in Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit* (CEJL; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 50-52; see also Carey A. Moore, *Tobit: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 40A; New York: Doubleday, 1996), 40-43. There is less consensus concerning the book's geographical origins. Some argue that Tobit was composed in the Jewish diaspora, whether Egypt or Mesopotamia, as befits its literary setting. Others contend for Judea given the emphasis on a return to the homeland and the prominence of Jerusalem in the book's literary frame. Fitzmyer, 54, narrows the possibilities to the eastern diaspora or Palestine and prefers the latter. Moore, 43, also acknowledges the difficulties but inclines toward the eastern diaspora.

452.   See Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 3-6.

In the mid 1950s fragments of Tobit in Hebrew and Aramaic were found at Qumran among the Dead Sea Scrolls. For this reason scholars now generally agree that the book was composed originally in a Semitic language, probably Aramaic.[453] Despite some variances, the fragments typically align with the longer Greek recension, G^{II}, over the shorter G^{I}, thus supporting the literary priority of the former over the latter.[454]

Admittedly, the book's manuscript history makes discussing biblical allusion somewhat complicated. That said, for the text of Tobit I principally use G^{II}, though in places I discuss variant readings in G^{I} and evidence from the Semitic fragments.[455] I coordinate allusive readings of Deut 30.1-10 with the LXX and consider the MT when it aligns more closely with Tobit's diction and/or thought or when considering the fragments from Qumran.

Hebrew Bible scholar John Collins has argued that the book of Tobit is a composite work made up of two basic structural units: a core story that includes chapters 2-12 and a frame consisting of chapters 1, 13-14.[456] In the core story

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453. See the discussion on the manuscript evidence for the book in Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 3-17; see also Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit from Cave 4," *CBQ* 57 (1995): 655-75.

454. See Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 9-10, who also notes that in places the fragments are "even fuller than the so-called long [Greek] recension" (10).

455. For a critical edition of the Greek recensions, I use Robert Hanhart, *Tobit* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum 8. 5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983). For the Hebrew and Aramaic fragments I use Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, who reproduces them in his commentary. I also consult Christian J. Wagner, *Polyglotte Tobit-Synopse: Griechisch, Lateinisch, Syrisch, Hebräisch, Aramäisch; mit einem Index zu den Tobit-Fragmenten vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), which includes, in addition to the Greek recensions and the Hebrew and Aramaic fragments, the OL and Vg as well as the Peschitta.

456. John J. Collins, "The Judaism of the Book of Tobit," in *The Book of Tobit: Text, Tradition, Theology. Papers of the First International Conference of the Deutercanonical Books, Pápa, Hungary, 20-21 May 2004* (eds. Geza G. Xeravits and Joszef Zsengeller; JSJSup 98; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 23-40, here 24-25. More complex theories of composite redaction have been proposed, most notably by Paul Deselaers, *Das Buch Tobit: Studien zu seiner Entstehung, Komposition und Theologie* (OBO 43; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982) and Merten Rabenau, *Studien zum Buch Tobit* (BZAW 220; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994).

Tobit suffers blindness in the course of recovering and burying the body of a slain kinsman. Alongside Tobit's story runs a parallel narrative that features a young woman named Sarah, who is plagued with a resident demon that slays any prospective husband. The two storylines converge when Tobit sends his son Tobias to recover a cache of funds held in trust in Media. Accompanied by the angel Raphael, disguised as a guide named Azariah, Tobias recovers the money, acquires the means to heal his father's blindness, and defeats Sarah's demon to become her husband. The core narrative ends with a joyous reunion. Upon his return Tobias heals Tobit, who, after learning Raphael's true identity, offers praise for the good things the Lord has done.

As for the outer frame of the book, chapter 1 uses mostly first-person narration[457] to present Tobit as an Israelite of superlative religious piety who eschews Jeroboam's shrine at Dan and instead celebrates cultic festivals at the Jerusalem temple in compliance with divine decree. After Israel falls to Assyria, Tobit, now an exile in Nineveh, serves for a time at the imperial court, where his fortunes rise, fall, and then rise again. In the latter part of the frame, narrated in the third person, chapter 13 takes the form of a prayer Tobit offers to the god who both afflicts and shows mercy. In this prayer Tobit urges his fellow exiles to turn back to the Lord so that the afflicted nation may be shown mercy. From there the prayer goes on to include the city of Jerusalem within the affliction-mercy schema. Chapter 14 follows this with a farewell discourse in which Tobit

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457. The book shifts from third-person narration in 1.1-2 to first-person narration from Tobit's point of view in 1.3-3.6 then back to third-person narration for the rest of the story in 3.7-14.5. For a review of various scholarly explanations for these shifts, as well as an original proposal that draws on the narrative-critical distinction between story and discourse, see Hicks-Keeton, "Eschatological Tension," 108-111.

urges his son Tobias to move out of Nineveh, as God has marked the city for destruction, and tells him of the nation's eventual restoration from exile.

As Collins recognizes, the frame places the core narrative about Tobit's family "in the broader context of the history of Israel."[458] Collins goes further, however, and argues that the frame is a later redaction of the core story that places the latter "in a broader perspective, and imposes a Judean, Deuteronomistic theology upon it."[459] For Collins, such theology is alien to the core story, which develops from two folkloric motifs, "the grateful dead" and "the bride of the monster,"[460] and whose central problem concerns "the arbitrary suffering of innocent people."[461] The burden of Collins' essay is an analysis of the Judaism that characterizes the "original" core story of Tobit apart from the later imposition of the Deuteronomistic frame. Not all scholars, however, are convinced that Tobit is a composite work. Irene Nowell, for example, has argued extensively on the basis of rhetorical analysis that the entire book was produced by a single author.[462]

This said, it is not necessary to subscribe to Collins' theory of redaction in order to affirm the literary division he proposes for the book. Richard

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458.　Collins, "Judaism," 25.

459.　Collins, "Judaism," 29. For a discussion of the relationship of the book of Tobit to Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic thought, consult Will Soll, "Misfortune and Exile in Tobit: The Juncture of a Fairy Tale Source and Deuteronomic Theology," *CBQ* 59 (1981): 209-231; Di Lella, "Deuteronomic Background;" and Steven Weitzman, "Allusion, Artifice, and Exile in the Hymn of Tobit," *JBL* 115 (1996): 49-61.

460.　Collins, "Judaism," 24. For a fuller treatment, see the classic study: Gordon Hall Gerould, *The Grateful Dead: The History of a Folk Story* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000; repr., London: David Nutt for the Folklore Society, 1908).

461.　Collins, "Judaism," 29.

462.　Irene Nowell, "The Book of Tobit: Narrative Technique and Theology" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1983).

Bauckham, for example, who upholds the book's literary integrity,[463] also recognizes this basic structural division as well as the relationship between the two parts: "The national story of misfortune and its reversal thus forms a kind of broad *inclusio* around Tobit's individual story of misfortune and its reversal."[464] My discussion of the book adopts the basic structural divisions Collins proposes, namely an outer frame in chapters 1, 13-14 and a core story in chapters 2-12, without necessarily endorsing his redactional hypothesis. Whereas Collins isolates the core story for analysis, my argument examines how allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in the book's frame affects a reading of the core narrative.

I begin by examining allusions to Deut 30.1-10 in the book's outer frame. Suggestive allusions in chapter 1 give way to more audible and substantive allusive echoes in chapters 13 and 14, where Tobit draws on Deut 30.1-10 to envision a future restoration for Israel projected into the eschaton. Then, I discuss how the activation of these allusions aligns the core story of the innocent sufferer with the Deuteronomic ideology of the frame; this conforms Tobit's personal story of affliction followed by mercy to the pattern of national exile and restoration. I conclude that, although the latter chapters of the frame emphasize that God will return all the exiles to the homeland at the eschaton, when read allusively the core narrative affirms that a measure of divine restoration is possible for those still living in diaspora in advance of that day.

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463. Richard Bauckham, "Tobit as a Parable for the Exiles of Northern Israel" in *The Jewish World around the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010), 433-459, here 433; repr. from *Studies in the Book of Tobit: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (ed. Mark Bredin; LSTS 55; London: T&T Clark, 2006), 140-164.

464. Bauckham, "Tobit as a Parable," 435.

Allusive markers to Deut 30.1-10 are discernible in both parts of the book's frame, chapter 1 and chapters 13 and 14, which share a geographical and ideological focus on Jerusalem. Echoes of Deut 30.1-10 begin subtly in chapter 1 but grow more audible in chapters 13 and 14, which contain both verbal and thematic markers of allusion to the Deuteronomic intertext. The allusions in chapters 1 suggest Tobit enacts the role scripted for restored Israel in Deut 30.1-10. This is significant because it intimates that divine restoration is possible outside the homeland. The allusions in chapters 13 and 14 adapt the Deuteronomic "script" by projecting Israel's full restoration onto the eschaton. The eschatological fulfillment of the nation's restoration affirm Moses' prophetic vision of Israel's future even as it acknowledges a delay in its realization. Taken together, the allusions to Deut 30.1-10 in the book's opening and closing chapters allows for a partial experience of restoration in the midst of an ongoing experience of exile.[465]

Chapter 1 introduces Tobit as a Galilean exile whose piety and experience correspond to the depiction of restored Israel in Deut 30.1-10. In the first part of the chapter Tobit sets out the record of his scrupulous personal piety. For example, while still in Galilee Tobit refuses to worship at the shrine set up by King Jeroboam at Dan. In fact, he alone of his tribe (Naphtali) undertakes the long journey south to Jerusalem to celebrate the annual festivals at Solomon's temple. Once the Assyrians conquer the northern kingdom of Israel and deport

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465. Although I reached my conclusions independently, the discussion that follows confirms Hicks-Keeton's characterization of Tobit's eschatology as a tension between an already/not yet fulfillment of prophetic hopes (Hicks-Keeton, "Eschatological Tension").

Tobit and his family to Nineveh, Tobit distinguishes himself there by abstaining from gentile food and by performing acts of charity for his tribal kinsmen. These include providing food and clothing for those in want and proper burial for those killed by the Assyrian king. By his own account in 1.3, Tobit characterizes his life by a triad of virtues: truth (ἀλήθεια), righteousness (δικαιοσύνη), and charity or almsgiving (ἐλεημοσύνη), the latter of which he offers exclusively to his tribal kinsmen. In 1.12-13 Tobit attributes his success in the court of Shalmaneser (Gk *Enemessaros*) to his piety: "And when I was mindful of my God in my whole soul (ἐν ὅλῃ ψυχῇ μου), the Most High gave me favor and a good form before Shalmaneser." The phrase ἐν ὅλῃ ψυχῇ μου μου ("in my whole soul") recalls LXX Deut 6.5: "And you shall love the Lord your God from the whole of your heart, and from the whole of your soul (καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου), and from the whole of your might." The phrase "from the whole of your heart, and from the whole of your soul" recurs in Deut 30.2, 6, where Moses describes how Israel will turn back to the Lord and love him after enduring a punitive exile from its homeland. Although the language may be more of a conventional idiom rather than an intentional allusion, when read allusively it allows for associating Tobit with Deuteronomy's restored Israel. By echoing Deut 30.2, 6 just after recounting his deportation to Ninevah, Tobit depicts himself as embodying the piety characteristic of restored Israel. Not only does this reading further distinguish Tobit from his contemporaries, it also introduces a tension that underlies later chapters in the book: although Tobit acts the part of a restored Israel, he suffers the fate of a punitive exile with the rest of his kin.

In addition to Tobit's piety, his experience in chapter 1 also resonates with Deut 30.1-10. In the book of Deuteronomy Israel's turn to Yʜwʜ in 30.1-2 precipitates a reversal in the nation's fortune that ensues in repatriation to the homeland. Although Tobit does not return to his home in Upper Galilee by the end of chapter 1, his experience in diaspora conforms to the pattern of exile and return. When the Assyrian king learns of Tobit's acts of charity toward his slain kinsmen, he issues an order for Tobit's execution. The order forces Tobit into exile in 1.19. In consequence, the Assyrian king confiscates all of Tobit's property. When the king dies and his son Esar-haddon (Gk *Sacherdonos*) succeeds him, Tobit's fortunes change for the better. Tobit's "nephew" Ahiqar (Gk *Achiacharos*),[466] recently given charge over all the royal accounts, advocates before the king in Tobit's behalf. As a result, the king permits Tobit to come out of hiding and return to his home in Nineveh. Not only does the episode follow the pattern of exile and return adumbrated in Deut 30.1-10, it also anticipates how the allusion reframes Deuteronomy's promise of restoration. Tobit experiences the restoration promised to obedient Israel in Deut 30.1-10 while still living as an exile in diaspora. This suggests that it is possible for exiles to experience some measure of restoration outside the homeland.

The second part of the book's frame in chapters 13 and 14 expands on the theme of restoration from exile with additional and more audible allusions to Deut 30.1-10. After Tobit recovers his sight, he offers a prayer in chapter 13 that is both doxological and hortatory. He begins in 13.2 by blessing God for his

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466.   For a discussion of the incorporation of the Ahiqar story into the book of Tobit, see Irene Nowel O.S.B., "The Book of Tobit: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections" in *NIB* 3 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999).

enduring kingship or rule, "for he afflicts, and he shows mercy (ὅτι αὐτὸς μαστιγοῖ καὶ ἐλεᾷ)." In verse 3 Tobit's praise turns to instruction as he calls on his fellow exiles to turn to Yʜᴡʜ: "Acknowledge him, O children of Israel, before the nations, for he scattered (διέσπειρεν) you among them." In vv. 5-6 Tobit alludes to Deut 30.2-3 to place the affliction-mercy schema within a restoration framework. Both texts appear below with the verbal parallels given in Greek and variant readings noted in brackets.

> Tobit 13.5-6: ⁵He will afflict you [G¹ *us*] for your [G¹ *our*] unjust deeds [Aram *[for] your [si]ns* (על חט[איכון])]⁴⁶⁷ and he will [G¹ *again* (πάλιν)] show mercy (ἐλεήσει) on all of you [G¹ *and he will gather us* (καὶ συνάξει ἡμᾶς)] from all the nations (ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν), among which you have been scattered (διασκορπισθῆτε [G¹ σκορπισθῆτε]). ⁶When [G¹ *If*] you turn back (ἐπιστρέψητε) to him in your whole heart and in your whole soul (ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ) to do truthful deeds before him, then he will turn back (ἐπιστρέψει) to you and will no longer hide his face from you.
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> LXX Deut 30.2-3: ¹And it shall be, when...²you return (ἐπιστραφήσῃ) to the Lord your God and obey his voice concerning all that I command you today, from the whole of your heart and from the whole of your soul (ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου), ³that the Lord will heal your sins and show mercy (ἐλεήσει) to you and gather (συνάξει) you again from all the nations (ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν) into which the Lord scattered (διεσκόρπισέν) you.

Tobit 13.5-6 appears to contain several markers of allusion to Deut 30.2-3. First, there are a number of close verbal parallels between the text of G¹¹ and LXX Deut 30.2-3. These include: "he will have mercy" (ἐλεήσει); "from all the nations"

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467.   The translation follows Fitzmyer's reconstruction of the Aramaic fragment (4Q196 17 i 15) in *Tobit*, 309.

(ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν); "you have been scattered"/"he scattered" (διασκορπισθῆτε/διεσκόρπισέν); "you turn back"/"you return" (ἐπιστρέψει/ ἐπιστραφήσῃ); "in your whole heart and in your whole soul"/"from the whole of your heart and from the whole of your soul" (ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν/ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου).

Second, the sequence in Tobit 13.6, in which Israel turns back to the Lord, who then turns back to Israel, echoes a similar movement in LXX Deut 30.2-3. Both Tobit 13.6 and LXX Deut 30.2 use the verb ἐπιστρέφω to denote Israel's return to the Lord. Although Tobit 13.6 uses this same verb of the Lord's corresponding return to Israel, LXX Deut 30.3 has the phrase, "the Lord will heal your sins." The MT, though, uses the Hebrew verb שׁוב ("turn, return") to denote the turning of both Israel and Yнwн. The LXX has rendered the Hebrew idiom, "Yнwн your God will reverse your fortune" (lit "turn back your turning") with the phrase, "the Lord will heal your sins." The diction of Tobit evokes the literal double turning characteristic of MT Deut 30.2-3. Confirming the point, Joseph A. Fitzmyer concludes of Tobit 13.6, "The double turning is undoubtedly the author's way of echoing Deut 30.2-3."[468]

Third, in 13.5 the text of G^I augments G^{II} with two additions that appear to render the allusion to Deut 30.3 more audible. The verse in G^{II} reads: "he will show mercy to all of you from all the nations among which you have been scattered." In contrast, G^I inserts the word "again" (πάλιν) and the phrase, "and

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468.　Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 310.

he will gather us" (καὶ συνάξει ἡμᾶς), into the midst of the statement: "he will again show mercy and he will gather us from all the nations among which you have been scattered." The additions in G^{I} bring the sentence into closer alignment with LXX Deut 30.3: "and the Lord will heal your sins and show mercy on you *and gather you again* (καὶ πάλιν συνάξει σε) from all the nations into which the Lord scattered you there" (my emphasis). This is significant for several reasons. First, most scholars now consider G^{I} to be an abbreviated version of the longer G^{II}. Here, however, G^{I} expands G^{II} by adding the word "again" (πάλιν) and the phrase, "and he will gather us" (καὶ συνάξει ἡμᾶς). At one level, this may indicate that G^{I} has attempted to render the allusion to Deut 30.3 in G^{II} more audible. On another level, the additions suggest that G^{I} foregrounds the notion of a geographical return to the homeland by adding a phrase omitted from the allusion in G^{II}. Conversely, when contrasted with G^{I} the absence of the phrase in G^{II} could be construed as making further allowance for repentant exiles in diaspora to experience restoration.

Tobit's farewell discourse in chapter 14 also alludes to Deut 30.2-3.[469] There are similarities of form, content, and diction between the two texts. As to form, in chapter 14 Tobit offers his son Tobias a forward-looking farewell discourse prior to his death. This is similar to the form of the book of Deuteronomy as a whole and to Deut 30.1-10 specifically, where, in the context of a farewell address, Moses presciently surveys the nation's future exile and restoration shortly before his death in chapter 34. In content and diction, the

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469.   See Alexander Di Lella, "Deuteronomic Background," 381.

future that Tobit imagines includes the exile and return of both northern Israelites and southern Judeans. Tobit tells his son, "and our kindred, who dwell in the land of Israel, all will be scattered and taken captive from the good land, and all the land of Israel will be desolate, and Samaria and Jerusalem will be desolate…And again God will have mercy on them, and God will return them to the land of Israel" (14.4-5). Many of the same verbal parallels with LXX Deut 30.2-3 noted above in 13.5-6 appear also in 14.4-5. These include: διασκορπισθήσονται ("they will be scattered"), ἐλεήσει ("he will show mercy"), and ἐπιστρέψει αὐτοὺς ("he will return them").

For all its ostensible kinship with Deut 30.1-10, however, chapter 14 significantly alters the sequence of restoration in the evoked text by projecting the nation's return to the homeland onto an eschatological future. This allusive adaptation allows the book to posit a two-stage restoration.[470] In the first stage a group of (Judean) exiles return to Jerusalem and rebuild the Lord's temple, though, as Tobit concedes, the structure will be inferior to its Solomonic predecessor (14.5). This period lasts "until the time (τοῦ χρόνου), when the period (ὁ χρόνος) of the fixed times (τῶν καιρῶν) will be completed" (14.5). Here G[I] reads, similarly: "until the fixed times of the age will be completed" (ἕως πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος). The text thus acknowledges that an initial stage of national restoration occurred with the resettlement of Jerusalem and the

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470. See Ego, 44, who observes: "the author does not regard the Exile as being ended with the return to Jerusalem and the rebuilding of the temple." Ego goes on the explain: "According to the book of Tobit, the Exile finds its end only then, when all the days allotted to the world are completed, all the Jews dispersed in the Diaspora return home and when all the nations turn to and recognise [sic.] the God of Israel."

rebuilding of the Lord's temple. It suggests, however, that the full reversal of exilic conditions awaits a future time, the completion of the fixed times. The OL renders the theme of an enduring exile even more explicit. Instead of, "until…the fixed times," the OL reads, "until the time of curses be complete [quoadusque repleatur tempus maledictionum]."[471] The OL thus underscores the notion that the period of divine curse associated with exile in Deut 30.1 persists during the initial stage of restoration.

Returning to the Greek text, the depiction of a second stage of national restoration commences with the notice: "And after these things (καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα) they all will return from their captivity, and they will build Jerusalem honorably [Aram "with splen[dor]"],[472] and the house of God will be built in it, just as the prophets of Israel spoke concerning it" (14.5). Tobit goes on to envision the turning of the nations to the Lord in exclusive allegiance and the final gathering of all Israel to live perpetually and securely in Jerusalem. Tobit's two-stage schema intimates that only with the second stage of restoration do the exiles, whether Judeans or Israelites, return to Jerusalem and the city and the temple conform to prophetic expectations of the restoration era. According to Fitzmyer, in 14.5 "Tobit plays on the motif of God's mercy after sin and judgment, as in Deut 30:1-4."[473] Tobit's allusive adaptation of Deut 30.1-4 thus refigures the Deuteronomic sequence by displacing the completion of Israel's restoration onto the eschaton. The intervening period, Tobit's first stage, allows for a partial

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471.   Noted by Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 329.
472.   The translation follows the reconstruction of the Aramaic fragment (4Q198 1:11) in Fitzmyer, 329.
473.   Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 329.

experience of restoration for those who return to Jerusalem and initially rebuild the temple, albeit amidst the conditions of an ongoing exile. The connection between Tobit's story and that of the nation also suggests that a measure of divine restoration is available for the pious in diaspora.

Not only do the allusions to Deut 30.1-10 in Tobit 1, 13, and 14 construct a two-stage restoration, they also function to associate Tobit's personal story with the national story.[474] This appears most clearly in the repetition of the affliction-mercy schema in chapters 11 and 13. As I mentioned above, in 13.2, 5, and 9 Tobit depicts the nation's restoration from exile in terms of a pattern according to which divine mercy follows a period of affliction. In chapter 11 this same schema describes Tobit's personal healing from blindness. After Tobit regains his sight, he utters a spontaneous doxology in 11.14-15. In 11.15 Tobit invokes the affliction-mercy pattern to render a theological interpretation of his healing from blindness. Uncharacteristically, G^{I} gives a longer reading than does G^{II}. In G^{II} Tobit blesses the Lord, "for he afflicted me, and look – I see Tobias my son" (ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐμαστίγωσέν με, καὶ ἰδοὺ βλέπω Τωβίαν τὸν υἱόν μου). Here, the text makes explicit the theme of reversal, but the affliction-mercy pattern remains implicit and inchoate. In G^{I}, however, Tobit addresses the deity directly and gives full expression to the pattern: "for you afflicted me and had mercy on me, look – I see Tobias my son" (ὅτι ἐμαστίγωσας καὶ ἠλέησάς με, ἰδοὺ βλέπω Τωβίαν τὸν υἱόν μου). G^{I} thus explicitly conforms Tobit's exclamation of praise to the pattern

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474.   Associating Tobit's personal story in the book's core with the Deuteronomic-themed frame also lends a measure of scriptural authority to the book. I am grateful to Martien Halvorson-Taylor for this observation.

of affliction-mercy that appears in 13.2, 5, and 9 with respect to Israel and Jerusalem. As Bauckham recognizes, the repetition of the affliction-mercy pattern, whether inchoate or complete, "creates a strong parallel between Tobit's story and that of the nation."[475]

Reading the chapters in their narrative sequence, the repetition of the pattern from chapter 11 in chapter 13 gives the impression that Tobit has had a kind of epiphany: his own experience anticipates the fate of the nation.[476] This connection, however, also invites reading the narrative in reverse and exploring how the Deuteronomic ideology of the book's outer frame affects the core story of Tobit's affliction and healing. George Nickelsburg, in fact, argues that the application of the affliction-mercy formula to "Tobit's own suffering may be secondary," for it "occurs in parallel literature most frequently in connection with the nation."[477] In what follows, I explore how the allusions to Deut 30.1-10 in the frame affect Tobit's personal story in chapters 2-12. I argue that activating the allusion in the frame allows for approaching Tobit's story as a narrative performance of the Deuteronomic "script." What results is a paradoxical enactment of Deut 30.1-10 in which Tobit plays the role of restored Israel even though he still lives outside the homeland in diaspora.

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475.   Bauckham, "Tobit as a Parable,"437.

476.   See Hicks-Keeton, "Eschatological Tension," 102, who makes a similar point: "The experiences of his own life are the lens through which Tobit now expects Israel's impending restoration."

477.   George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Stories of Biblical and Early Post-biblical Times" in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. Michael E. Stone; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 43; in note 56 he cites the following parallel texts: Ps 89(88).32-24; *Ps. Sol.* 7.8-10; 10.1-4; 18.4-7; Wis 12.22; see also Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 32.

Activating the frame's allusions to Deut 30.1-10 in the book's core story not only confirms the availability of God's restorative mercy for those in diaspora, it also provides a Deuteronomic resolution to the problem of innocent suffering by conforming Tobit's story to Deut 30's schema of national restoration.[478] According to Collins the central concern of the core narrative in chapters 2-12 is "the arbitrary suffering of innocent people."[479] For many scholars the reproof of Tobit's wife at the end of chapter 2 gives eloquent voice to this problem. By this point in the narrative Tobit has become blind in the course of trying to bury a slain kinsman. His predicament has forced his wife Anna to work outside the home to support the family. Anna returns one day with a goat given as a bonus by her employers. Tobit, who has become acutely conscientious, accuses her of stealing the goat and demands that she return it at once. In response to her husband's pious anger, Anna retorts: "Where are your charitable acts (ἐλεημοσύναι)? Where are your righteous deeds (δικαιοσύναι)? Look – these things are known about you" (2.14). There are a couple ways to understand Anna's retort. On one level, Anna may be pointing out the disjunction between Tobit's reputation for charity and justice and his rather

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478. Tobit's engagement with the theme of innocent suffering invites reading the book in dialogue with the book of Job. Indeed, several allusions to Job are discernible throughout. For example, in both books God tests a faithful Israelite and authorizes a member of the heavenly court to superintend the trial. Both Job and Tobit are derided by their wives and pray for death. And at the end of each book God restores the health and prosperity of the afflicted protagonist. For an insightful discussion of these and other connections between the two books, see Anathea Portier-Young, "'Eyes to the Blind': A Dialogue Between Tobit and Job" in *Intertextual Studies in Ben Sira and Tobit* (CBQMS 38; eds. Jeremy Corley and Vincent Skemp; Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2005), 14-27.

479. Collins, "Judaism," 29.

uncharitable and unjust treatment of her in assuming the worst about her character. On another level, Anna's comment could be construed as indicting the efficacy of Tobit's piety: "You have a reputation for almsgiving and righteous deeds, but where have these gotten you."[480] This is how most commentators construe her remark. Fitzmyer, for example, argues that her "retort poses the real question in this book: Does God reward those who are righteous?"[481] Read this way, Anna's reproof constitutes an implicit critique of Deuteronomy's ideology of retribution, according to which the nation prospers when righteous and suffers divine punishment when disobedient. Anna's retort appears to challenge this notion by questioning, on the basis of Tobit's experience, whether God does, in fact, protect and prosper the righteous.

Other characters in the book echo Anna's sentiments. For example, when Tobias introduces himself as Tobit's son to Sarah's father, Raguel, in chapter 7, Raguel laments: "O most miserable of evils (κακῶν), that a righteous man (ἀνὴρ δίκαιος) who also performs acts of charity (ποιῶν ἐλεημοσύνας) was made blind!" (7.7). Here, Raguel emphasizes the incongruity between Tobit's upright character and his fate. His assumption is that Tobit's blindness is undeserved. By using the same words that Anna deployed in her retort (δικαιοσύνη/δίκαιος; ἐλεημοσύνη), he unwittingly reinforces her claim. There are also two aphoristic sayings, one spoken by Tobit and the other by the angel Raphael, which reiterate

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480.   See Soll, "Misfortune and Exile," 227.

481.   Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 141. For a discussion of Anna's reproach as one of several allusions to the book of Job, see Anathea Portier-Young, "'Eyes to the Blind': A Dialogue Between Tobit and Job" in *Intertextual Studies in Ben Sira and Tobit: Essays in Honor of Alexander A. Di Lella, O.F.M.*, (eds. Jeremy Corley and Vincent Skemp; Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2005), 14-27; see also Bauckham, "Tobit as a Parable," 439-440.

this outlook. In 4.6 Tobit instructs his son: "for those who practice truthfulness will prosper in their works." Later, Raphael affirms in 12.7: "Do what is good, and evil (κακὸν) will not find you." Even if Tobit's healing functions in part to confirm these sayings, the earlier part of the story would seem to call them into question: Does doing good actually protect one from evil? As Raguel intimates, evils have overtaken Tobit in the course of doing good. Taken together with Anna's retort, then, these comments suggest that Tobit's personal story in chapters 2-12 addresses the problem of the righteous sufferer.

Activating the book's allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in the frame provides a way of resolving the problem taken up in the core narrative. To begin with, the allusion facilitates the coordination of innocent suffering with exile. On its own terms, Tobit's experience of blindness does not necessarily relate to his predicament as an exile. Chapter 2, where the core story begins, tells of Tobit's acts of solidarity toward less fortunate Israelites. Rather than celebrate the feast of Pentecost in seclusion, Tobit longs to share the festival meal with any of his fellow exiles who remain mindful of God (2.2). Instead, Tobit finds the corpse of a murdered Israelite lying unburied in the open marketplace.   After recovering and burying the body, Tobit loses his sight when droppings from a passing sparrow fall into his eyes.

Collins rightly emphasizes that Tobit's fate is not *sui generis* with life in exile. Remarking on the cause of Tobit's blindness, Collins wryly observes: "Presumably, sparrow droppings were no more of a hazard in the Diaspora than

they were in the land of Israel."[482] Further, the dangers Tobit faces from burying a

murdered kinsman are not peculiar to the exile. According to 2 Macc 9.15, for

example, Antiochus IV banned the burial of Jews slain in Jerusalem.[483] The same

holds true in the parallel story of Sarah's plight. Demons pose a threat to young

women both in diaspora and in the homeland. There is nothing, then, endemic to

the experience of exile that necessarily precipitates Tobit's misfortunes.

Confirming Collins' point, William Loader astutely concludes: "The stories of

Tobit and Sarah seem depicted less as an instance of living in the diaspora and

more as instances of facing adversity in general."[484]

Reading the allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in the book's frame, however,

repositions the account of Tobit's affliction by tacitly associating his misfortune

with the experience of exile. The repetition of the affliction-mercy pattern in

chapters 11 and 13 invites coordinating Tobit's blindness with the nation's

affliction in exile. Indeed, many modern scholars who approach the book as a

literary unity understand Tobit's sufferings as emblematic of exilic woes. For

example, Rainer Albertz argues that Tobit's "individual affliction reflect[s] the

fate of all Israel in exile."[485] Striking a similar note, Amy-Jill Levine evocatively

concludes: "In exile dead bodies lie in the streets and those who bury them are

punished...and righteous action is rewarded with blindness and depression."[486]

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482. Collins, "Judaism," 28.

483. William Loader, *The Pseudepigrapha on Sexuality: Attitudes towards Sexuality in Apocalypses, Testaments, Legends, Wisdom, and Related Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 148; see also Frank Zimmermann, *The Book of Tobit* (JAL; New York: Harper, 1958), whom Loader cites (148 note 26).

484. Loader, *Pseudepigrapha*, 148-49; see the full discussion in pp. 148-150.

485. Rainer Albertz, *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E.* (trans. David Green; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003) 33.

486. Amy-Jill Levine, "Diaspora as Metaphor: Bodies and Boundaries in the Book of Tobit," in

Further, Richard Bauckham draws attention to the way Tobit's plight corresponds to the depiction of the Lord's curse in Deut 28.[487] In Deut 28. 26 and 28-29 the Lord threatens that, should Israel betray the covenant, the land will be strewn with unburied corpses and the people will suffer blindness, groping about at midday as though it were night. This suggests that Tobit suffers in exile the fate prescribed for Israel under the Lord's curse. But the book consistently portrays Tobit as an exile of superlative piety. According to Deuternomic ideology, then, Tobit should not have suffered blindness. It is this sense that things are not the way they are supposed to be that precipitates Anna's acerbic retort. Her comment suggests that Tobit's piety has been of no avail – or worse, that it has only increased his misery. Allusively coordinating Tobit's suffering with the nation's exile only exacerbates the problem of innocent suffering.

Activating the frame's allusion to Deut 30.1-10, however, offers a way of resolving this problem by conforming Tobit's story to Deuteronomy's schema of national restoration. As the story in chapters 2-12 progresses, Tobit's experience enacts the reversal of fortune prescribed for restored Israel in Deut 30.1-10.[488] The elements of the Deuteronomic "script" that play out in Tobit's story include: Israel's repentance in exile, healing of sins, and capacity to acknowledge the Lord's beneficent rule.

Diaspora Jews and Judaism: Essays in Honor of, and in Dialogue with, A. Thomas Kraabel (eds. J. A. Overman and R. S. MacLennan; SFSHJ 41, Atlanta: Scholars, 1992) 105-17, here 105.

487.   Bauckham, "Tobit as a Parable," 441, who cites Deut 28.29, 65.

488.   See Nowell, "Tobit," 1061, who observes that "Tobit's life exhibits the principles of deuteronomic theology in narrative form." Tobit's experience as a righteous sufferer would seem to tell against this notion. An allusive reading, however, offers to realign his story with that of Deuteronomy's restored Israel.

A. Repentance in Exile

First, Tobit's prayer in chapter 3 allusively enacts the exiles' repentant turn to the Lord envisaged in Deut 30.1-2. In response to Anna's vituperative retort at the end of chapter 2, Tobit turns to the Lord in prayer and implores the deity to take his life. He explains why in 3.6: "Therefore it is better for me to die than to live, because I heard false reproaches (ὀνειδισμοὺς ψευδεῖς), and there is much sorrow in me."[489] Earlier in the prayer Tobit acknowledges his sins and oversights, together with those of his ancestors (3.3). In 3.4 he identifies his ancestors' sins as the cause of the nation's exile and its attendant woes. He concludes the confession by including himself within his indictment of the nation: "And now your many judgments are true in dealing with me according to my sins, for we did not do your commandments and did not walk truthfully before you." (3.5).

Scholars have responded in various ways to Tobit's confession of personal sin. Richard Bauckham, for example, links Tobit's self-acknowledgment to his wife's reproof: "Perhaps the realisation that he has acted wrongly and that Anna's reproach was at least partly justified is what leads to his grief and his voicing of the lament."[490] The problem with this, as Bauckham himself concedes, is that Tobit characterizes Anna's comments as "false reproaches" in 3.6. For his own part, then, Tobit is reticent to admit any wrongdoing in his altercation with Anna. Instead, he styles himself a victim of insults that he believes are

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489. For reproaches in addition to Anna's comment in 2.14, see 2.8, where Tobit's neighbors ridicule him for burying his slain kinsman.
490. Bauckham, "Tobit as a Parable," 440.

unwarranted. In fact, there is nothing in the preceding chapters to suggest that Tobit suffers because he has sinned against God. Rather, the opposite appears to be the case. The book consistently portrays Tobit's piety as superlative. The disjunction between Tobit's confession of sin and the narrative of his exemplary piety appears acutely in the juxtaposition of 1.3 with 3.5. In 3.5 Tobit admits: "we did not walk (ἐπορεύθημεν) truthfully (ἀληθινῶς) before you;" yet in 1.3 he affirms: "I Tobit walked (ἐπορευόμην) in the ways of truth (ἀληθείας) and in righteous deeds all the days of my life." Even if 1.3 refers to Tobit's conduct prior the events of chapter 2, there is nothing in chapters 1-2 that Tobit thinks merits a confession of sin, nor does the book elsewhere indicate that Tobit's blindness is a form of divine punishment. This assessment of Tobit's piety remains consistent in both the first and third-person sections of the book. In the third-person section, for example, Raguel confirms in 7.7 that Tobit was righteous at the time when he became blind. In the first-person section, Tobit himself tells of his altercation with Anna at the end of chapter 2. Although he concedes both that Anna's employers gave her the goat and that he did not believe her claim that it was a gift, he never admits that he was wrong or presumptuous to do so. Instead, the sorrow, anguish, and tears that accompany his prayer are framed as the response of a victim of unjust accusations rather than of one plagued by a sudden and overwhelming sense of guilt. Tobit thus remains an innocent sufferer – even while offering a prayer of confession.

Other scholars respond to the disjunction by pointing out that Tobit embeds his admission of personal misdeeds within a confession of national sin.

Sensitive to the paradoxical implications of Tobit's confession, George Nickelsburg observes: "Tobit, the righteous exception…acknowledges his solidarity with the sinful nation."[491]   Likewise, Irene Nowell emphasizes Tobit's identification with Israel: Tobit "regards himself not as an individual before God, but as a member of God's people. Since the people have been sinful, he shares in their guilt and in their punishment."[492] On its own terms, then, Tobit's confession is perhaps best understood as a token of his identification with Israel's plight. Literarily, his admission of personal guilt functions as a poetic extension of the solidarity he expressed earlier in recovering the body of a fallen Israelite at cost to himself.

The frame's allusions to Deut 30.1-10 allow for reading Tobit's prayer in conjunction with Deuteronomy's schema for Israel's restoration. That is, Tobit's prayer of confession enacts the penitent return to the Lord prescribed for Israel in exile. In this sense, Tobit stands in company with other notable exiles, namely Nehemiah and Daniel.[493]   Significantly, though both Nehemiah and Daniel acknowledge personal sin in the context of confessing national guilt (Neh 1.6; Dan 9.4-6), both are portrayed as scrupulously pious and without fault. This suggests that the conflation of personal and national sin may be part of a

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491.   Nickelsburg, "Tobit" in *The HarperCollins Study Bible*, rev. ed. (ed. Harold W. Attridge; New York: HarperCollins, 2006), 1298 note on Tobit 3.5.
492.   Nowell, "Tobit," 1003.
493.   Although the book of Daniel achieved its final form after Tobit was likely written, the prayer in Daniel 9 is probably an earlier independent composition that was subsequently incorporated into the book. See the discussion in John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 347-348, who concludes that "the author of Daniel 9 incorporated a traditional prayer in the course of composition" (347). In any case, I am not making an argument for literary dependency, only literary affinity and similarity of form.

conventional constellation of motifs. In fact, in the portion of the prayer that concerns the nation's exile, it looks more like Tobit is reading from a script than responding to a sudden awareness of personal transgression. For example, there is language within his confession that resonates with Deut 28 and 30. In his prayer Tobit acknowledges: "And you gave us over to plunder and exile and death and for a parable (παραβολὴν), and a byword, and a reproach among all the nations in which you have scattered (διεσκόρπισας) us" (3.4). Tobit's statement freely evokes language from LXX Deut 28.37 and 30.1. Part of the litany of divine comminations contains the following in LXX Deut 28.37: "and in that place you will become an enigma, a parable (παραβολῇ), and a tale among all the nations into which the Lord may lead you there." Tobit's lament loosely combines diction in the first part of Deut 28.37 with the final portion of Deut 30.1: "...among all the nations where the Lord may scatter [διασκορπίσῃ] you there."[494] The context in Deut 30.1 is significant: Israel turns back to the Lord while in exile after reflecting on the experience of divine blessing and curse. Tobit's prayer conforms to this pattern. In language that evokes Deut 28.37 and 30.1, Tobit recalls the experience of divine curse and acknowledges personal and national sin. Tobit's penitent lament thus acts out the part scripted for exiled Israel in Deut 30.1-2.

B. Healing of Sins

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494. LXX Deut 28.64 has a similar expression: καὶ διασπερεῖ σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη; but there the verb "to scatter" is διασπείρω rather than διασκορπίζω as in Tobit 3.4 (G^{II}) and LXX Deut 30.1.

Tobit's story continues to enact episodes in the Deuteronomic "script" for Israel's restoration, not least the nation's healing from sins in LXX Deut 30.3. Because "Tobit sees himself in solidarity with his people, in their sin as well as in their misfortune,"[495] his healing resonates with Moses' claim in Deut 30.3 that the Lord will heal restored Israel of its sins. According to the sequence of restoration in LXX Deut 30.1-10, Israel's return to the Lord in exile prompts the deity to heal the nation's sins (LXX Deut 30.3) and resettle the repentant exiles in the ancestral homeland. The healing of Tobit's blindness, following the confession of sin in chapter 3, enacts the national healing of sin envisioned in LXX Deut 30.3. Building on the solidarity between Tobit and the nation expressed in the prayer and in chapters 11 and 13, the restoration of Tobit's sight functions as a metaphorical instantiation of the nation's return from exile. In the book's final chapters Tobit's personal restoration, his journey from affliction to mercy in 11.5, becomes a paradigm for Israel's return from exile to the national homeland in 13.2, 5, and 9. If the allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in the book's frame transforms Tobit's affliction with blindness into an emblem of exilic woes, then his recovery becomes a potent symbol of the nation's restoration from exile, an exile that Tobit attributes to the nation's iniquities and sins (13.5, 6). The reciprocal relationship between Tobit and Israel thus invites the identification of Tobit's recovery of sight with the healing of sins that LXX Deut 30.3 associates with Israel's restoration from exile.

Further, the sequence of repentance followed by healing in LXX Deut

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495.   Bauckham, "Tobit as a Parable," 437.

30.1-3 also plays out in the core story of the book of Tobit. After Tobit's prayer of confession in chapter 3, "at that very moment" (Ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ) according to 3.16, the Lord hears Tobit's petition, together with its counterpart in Sarah's prayer, and dispatches the angel Raphael to heal him. By introducing Raphael, whose name in Hebrew means, "God has healed," the book signals that Tobit's healing is at hand. As in Deut 30.1-3, the announcement that Yʜwʜ intends to heal Tobit follows immediately after his expression of repentance.

At this point, however, the book of Tobit seems to diverge from the Deuteronomic "script." Deut 30.1-10 gives the impression that, after Israel turns to the Lord in exile, the nation's restoration proceeds apace. In the book of Tobit, however, although the Lord dispatches Raphael to heal Tobit the moment his prayer is heard, Tobit does not regain his sight until the end of the story in chapter 11. That is, there is a significant delay between the promise and fulfillment of Tobit's restoration. The delay in Tobit's restoration resonates with a key element in the ideology of the book's frame.

In his farewell discourse in chapter 14 Tobit projects an eschatological scenario for his son Tobias. This scenario introduces the notion that Israel's exile continues long after some of the exiles (i.e. Judeans in Babylonia) return to the homeland to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem. According to Tobit, an extended exile endures "until the time [τοῦ χρόνου], when the period [ὁ χρόνος] of the fixed times [τῶν καιρῶν] is completed" (14.5). At that point "they will *all* return from their captivity and rebuild Jerusalem *with splendor*. God's house will be rebuilt in it, just as the prophets of Israel have said of it" (14.5, my emphasis).

The book's frame alters the Deuteronomic script, then, by displacing the completion of Israel's restoration onto the eschaton. As discussed above, the book of Tobit imagines the nation's restoration as occurring in two stages. A preliminary stage witnesses the return of Judean exiles to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem. The second stage, which occurs at the eschaton, involves the return of all the exiles, whether of northern Israel or Judah, and the transformation of Jerusalem to accord with the visionary depictions of the restored city and its temple in Israel's prophetic literature. The bifurcation of restoration into two stages has theological significance, for it enables the book to maintain Deut 30's schema of restoration while acknowledging the reality of an ongoing diaspora.

The notion of a protracted diaspora has a reflex in the core story in the delay of Tobit's healing. Although the narrative alerts readers as early as 3.16 that God dispatches Raphael to superintend Tobit's healing, the latter does not regain his sight until chapter 11. During the interval, Tobit's son Tobias embarks on a journey to recover a cache of funds accompanied by the angel Raphael, disguised as Azariah. On the way, Tobias acquires the means to heal his father's blindness and liberate Sarah from demonic oppression to become her husband. In the meantime, however, Tobit is left to wait and wonder what has befallen his son. On the eve of Tobias' departure, the book gives voice to the psychological effects of the delay on Tobit in 5.10, when he despondently compares himself to the living dead: "What joy still exists for me? I am a man without eyesight. I cannot see the light of heaven, but I lie in darkness like the dead who can no longer see the light. Although still alive, I am among the dead" (5.10). Ironically, after identifying with his slain and forgotten kinsmen, Tobit now perceives

himself as a sojourner in the realm of the dead and the ostensibly god-forsaken. Just as God hides his face from the exiles, as Tobit asserts in the book's concluding prayer (13.6), so Tobit abides in perpetual darkness, unable to see heaven's light as he waits for Tobias to return home.

C. Acknowledging the Lord's Beneficent Rule

Tobit does not merely suffer physically and psychologically, though. The text's rhetoric invests Tobit's blindness with theological import. Read allusively, this suggests that, in addition to healed eyes, Tobit also needs a renewed capacity to affirm the Lord's beneficent rule. For example, in 3.17 the narrator reports that the Lord dispatches Raphael to heal Tobit, "so that he might see with his eyes the light of God" (3.17). Beyond the physical and psychological trauma of his condition, then, Tobit also suffers from a theological disability. He cannot perceive God's goodness, already active through the agency of Raphael. The narrative underscores this point as Tobias and Azariah/Raphael set out to recover Tobit's cache of money. In a brief petition offered in his son's behalf, Tobit prays: "may his angel go with you both for safety, child" (5.17). Tobit does not yet see that the Lord has provided Raphael to guide his son on his quest. Shortly after Tobias departs with Azariah/Raphael, Tobit consoles Anna in 5.22 by telling her, "For a good angel will accompany him; his journey will be successful, and he will come back healthy." While the dialogue is surely laced with dramatic irony and humor, it also draws attention to Tobit's need for both

physical and theological (in)sight.[496]

In what follows I argue that it is possible to correlate Tobit's acquisition of theological perception with restored Israel's renewed capacity to acknowledge divine rule (LXX Deut 30.6, 8, and 10). Although the connections are not as strong as those elaborated in the previous two sections, activating the book's allusions to Deut 30.1-10 allows for coordinating the renewal of Israel's allegiance to the Lord in Deut 30.6, 8, and 10 with the theological (in)sight granted Tobit in conjunction with his healing from blindness. After Tobit's physical recovery he learns both that Azariah is actually the angel Raphael and that God had sent him both to test (πειράσαι) and to heal (12.14). The test apparently has to do with Tobit's ability to see or acknowledge the goodness of the god who heals. After the healing Raphael urges Tobit: "Bless God and acknowledge him before all the living for the good things (ἀγαθά) he has done for you (12.6)." The text seems to be playing here on the names Tobit and Tobias (Heb *Tobiah*), both of which contain the Hebrew word טוב ("good"), and mean, "Yʜᴡʜ is my good."[497] Moreover, when Tobit initially regains his sight, he blesses the Lord, saying: "for he afflicted me, and look – I see Tobias, my son" (11.15). Given the meaning of the name Tobias, it is possible, as J. Craghan and Will Soll propose, to construe Tobit's exclamation as follows: "for he afflicted me, and look – I see [that] Yʜᴡʜ is my good."[498] Tobit's healing thus grants him not only

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496. See David McCracken, "Narration and Comedy in the Book of Tobit," *JBL* 114 (1995): 401-419, here 410, who highlights the humorous import of Tobit's words. See also Hicks-Keeton, "Eschatological Tension," 106, who argues that Tobit's comments contribute to a tension between what will happen (the "not yet") and what is happening (the "already").

497. See Moore, *Tobit*, 25.

498. J. Craghan, *Esther, Judith, Tobit, Jonah, Ruth* (Old Testament Message 16; Wilmington:

physical sight but also theological insight into God's abiding goodness.

Read in light of Deut 30.1-10, Tobit's ability to perceive and acknowledge divine goodness aligns him with the obedient restored Israel Moses envisions in LXX Deut 30.6, 8, and 10, especially when these verses are read in conjunction with Deut 29. In LXX Deut 30.6 the cleansed heart (τὴν καρδίαν) enables Israel to love the Lord with a whole heart (ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας). The language of the heart appears earlier in Deut 29.4 (LXX Deut 29.3). There, Moses tells the Israelites that God has not yet given them "a heart to know, or eyes to see, or ears to hear until this day" (καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν καρδίαν εἰδέναι καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς βλέπειν καὶ ὦτα ἀκούειν ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης). This is why Israel cannot see or perceive the Lord's goodness, despite the deity's provision for the nation in the long trek through the wilderness (29.5 [LXX 29.4]). Significantly, in Deut 29 the faculty of physical sight functions as a metaphor for theological understanding.

Reading Deut 30 in sequence with chapter 29 suggests that the cleansed heart of Deut 30.6 has the capacity to perceive and acknowledge the goodness of the Lord's rule, "in order that you may know that he is the Lord your God" (29.6 [LXX 29.5]). Strengthening the connection between Deut 30.6, 8, and 10 and Deut 29 is Eckhart Otto's contention that Deut 30.6 resolves a theological problem implicit in chapter 29, namely that the Lord is at least partially responsible for preventing Israel from acquiring an understanding heart.[499] If

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Glazier, 1982) 156-157, cited in Soll, "Misfortune and Exile," 229; see also Bauckham, "Tobit as a Parable," 444-445, who also links the names to Nahum 1.7 and Jer 33.11.

499. Eckart Otto, "Old and New Covenant. A Post-exilic Discourse between the Pentateuch and the Book of Jeremiah. Also a Study of Quotations and Allusions in the Hebrew Bible," *OTE* 19,

Otto is correct, then the renewed heart in Deut 30.6 implicitly enables restored Israel to acknowledge what the nation failed to perceive in chapter 29: the goodness of the Lord's rule. Tobit's renewed capacity to see both physical and theological reality thus allusively casts him in the role scripted for restored Israel in Deut 30.

CONCLUSION

Reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in the book of Tobit yields effects that are both innovative and unexpected. The book's frame refigures Deuteronomy's schema of restoration by projecting the repatriation of all Israel onto the eschaton. The delay of restoration in Tobit adapts Deut 30.1-10 to accommodate the reality of a protracted diaspora. Collaterally, this move allows for those living in diaspora, such as Tobit and Sarah, to experience a measure of restorative divine healing in advance of a return to the national homeland. In addition, activating the book's allusion to Deut 30.1-10 also brings resolution to the problem of innocent suffering taken up in the core story, albeit in Deuteronomic terms, as Tobit acts out Israel's repentance in exile, healing from sins, and renewed capacity to acknowledge the Lord's rule. Read allusively, the book thus affirms the role of repentance, even for the pious sufferer, as a necessary prelude to a restoration that, though delayed, will arrive when the period of the fixed times has run its course. The notion that God will not fully restore Israel until the eschaton also features in the Gospel of Mark. In Mark, however, eschatological

no. 3 (2006): 939-49, here 943.

restoration looms imminent with the arrival of God's messianic agent and his announcement that the Lord will act to reclaim and implement his rule within a generation's time.

CHAPTER 6

READING ALLUSION TO DEUTERONOMY 30.1-10 IN THE GOSPEL OF MARK

INTRODUCTION

The Gospel of Mark frames the story of Jesus' meteoric career as an apocalyptic event that signals the end of the present age and the beginning of another, the kingdom or rule of God. The culmination of this career, the vindication of the crucified Jesus, does not occur in the story itself but is imagined as an event in the near future associated with the fate of the Jerusalem temple. In chapter 13 Jesus prophetically announces the temple's destruction, which he interprets as an eschatological act of divine vindication that brings relief to his suffering followers.[500] In the course of doing so, Jesus draws on several biblical intertexts, Deut 30.1-10 among them. There, Moses foretells what will befall Israel in the distant future. He discloses that, after Israel endures a punitive exile, banished by God from its land, the Lord will gather the repentant nation and return it to the ancestral homeland, where he will prosper it there as of old. Although some scholars note the evocation of Deut 30.3-4 in Mark 13.27, they often do so in passing either in the context of cataloguing the chapter's many biblical allusions[501] or in an effort to illustrate the extent to which Mark's eschatology draws on prophetic motifs such as "the promised regathering of

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500.   Noted by M. Eugene Boring, *Mark: A Commentary* (NTL; Loiusville: Westminster/John Knox, 2006), 373: "Attention is focused only on the vindication of the Son of Man and his own, only here in Mark called 'the elect.'"

501.   See, e.g., Dale Miller and Patricia Miller, *The Gospel of Mark as Midrash on Earlier Jewish and New Testament Literature* (SBEC 21; Lewiston: Edwin Mellon, 1990), 306-08, who include Deut 30.3 in a list biblical parallels to Mark 13.24-27.

God's scattered people from throughout the earth."[502]   What often goes overlooked is how, when activated, the allusion to Deut 30.1-10 positions the Gospel's eschatology within the conceptual and ideological framework of Israel's restoration from exile.   Timothy Gray draws attention to the theme of Israel's restoration in the conclusion to his monograph, *The Temple in the Gospel of Mark: A Study of its Narrative Role*.   He points out that "the eschatological hope for restoration seems to be a controlling idea for Mark's story" and ventures that "a further study into the restoration motif" not just in chapter 13 but also "in the rest of the Gospel of Mark is certainly worth pursuing."[503]

In this chapter I take up Gray's proposal by exploring how reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in Mark 13.27 affects an understanding of both its local context in chapter 13 and the broader context of the Gospel as a whole. Consonant with my approach throughout this study, my interest in what follows is not in whether the allusion and its effects were "intended," either by Mark's author or by the writer of an earlier independent source.[504]   My concern is not to reconstruct an "original" or univocal meaning but to explore some of the possible

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502.   Boring, *Mark*, 373.   See also Adela Yarbro Collins, *Mark* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 615, who observes that Mark 13.27 "alludes to the motif of the gathering of all the exiles of Israel from the nations with the words 'from the four winds, from (one) end of the earth to the other' (ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ᾽ ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ)."

503.   Timothy C. Gray, *The Temple in the Gospel of Mark: A Study in its Narrative Role* (WUNT 242; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 200.

504.   For a discussion and review of scholarship on the question of whether Mark's author was dependent on oral traditions or written sources for Jesus' discourse in chapter 13, vv. 26-27 in particular, see Collins, *Mark*, 594-600.   She affirms that the Gospel's author used "a variety of materials" (598) but doubts that a substantial written source underlies the discourse and concludes that "for a variety of reasons, not least among them the use of oral techniques in the composition of Mark 13, it is not possible to reconstruct earlier oral or even written traditions used by the evangelist in this chapter with a reasonable degree of certainty" (600).   For a list of traditional materials used in Mark 13, see Egon Brandenburger, *Markus 13 und die Apokalyptik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 13, cited in Collins, *Mark*, 598 note 50.

meanings reading the allusion allows. I argue that activating the Gospel's allusion to Deut 30.1-10 refigures the destruction of the Second Temple as the paradoxical sign that Israel's restoration has arrived. For Mark, however, this is a restoration centered on the figure of Jesus and realized among the company of his loyal followers, whether Jewish or non-Jewish, who alone comprise Deuteronomy's restored Israel. Before discussing the allusion in chapter 13, I begin with a brief orientation both to Deut 30.1-10 and to the Gospel of Mark.

Deut 30.1-10 configures Israel's restoration into two primary stages or episodes. First, Israel turns to the Lord in a pledge of renewed allegiance from its exile among the nations. Second, the Lord sets out to restore Israel to the conditions of divine blessing not seen since the time of the ancestors. The MT signals this initiative with an idiomatic expression in v. 3: וְשָׁב יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֶת־שְׁבוּתְךָ וְרִחֲמֶךָ ("then Yʜᴡʜ your God will reverse your fortune [Heb *turn back your turning*] and have compassion on you"). The LXX interprets the Hebrew idiom in v. 3 and in the process introduces a new image to the text, that of a divine healing of national sin: καὶ ἰάσεται κύριος τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου καὶ ἐλεήσει σε ("Then the Lord will heal your sins and show mercy to you"). From there, Israel's restoration proceeds apace. The Lord gathers the scattered exiles, resettles them in their homeland, and undertakes measures to ensure their prosperity and perpetual retention of the land. First, the Lord brings abundant fecundity to the land, its people, and their livestock. Then, the Lord circumcises (MT: מול) or cleanses (LXX: περικαθαρίζω) Israel's collective heart to facilitate ongoing loyalty and obedience to divine commandments. Finally, the Lord

vindicates Israel by transferring divine imprecations from the nation to its enemies.

Echoes of Deut 30.1-10 are audible in Mark 13, where Jesus delivers a sustained discourse against the Jerusalem temple in which he predicts its imminent destruction. The chapter is significant for scholars because it provides some suggestive indications of when and why the Gospel was written. On the basis of Jesus' comments in Mark 13, most scholars conclude that the Gospel was composed shortly before or just after the Romans destroyed the temple in 70 CE at the height of suppressing a major Jewish revolt (66-73 CE). Eugene Boring, for example, contends: "In chapter 13 Jesus speaks past the disciples to the readers. The chaos brought about by the war is their problem."[505] He allows that the Gospel could have been written just before or shortly after 70 CE but prudently concludes: "More precise than this we cannot be."[506] As for the Gospel's purpose, the references in Mark 13 to the threat of arrest, trial, and execution as well as to the temptation to follow false messiahs provide some clues. For Adela Collins, these indicate that the author aims to "reassert the messiahship of Jesus and to redefine it over against the messianic pretenders during the Jewish war…[and] to interpret actual or expected persecution (or both) as discipleship in imitation

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505.   Boring, *Mark*, 17.

506.   Boring, *Mark*, 15. See also Joel Marcus, *Mark 1-8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, (AB 27; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 38-39, who concludes: "it does not seem possible to make a decision about whether Mark knows that the Temple has been demolished, or whether he merely is positive that it *will* be destroyed very soon. In either case, however, it seems safe to say that his Gospel was written in the shadow of its destruction" (author's emphasis). Cf. Collins, *Mark*, 11-15, who argues that Mark was composed shortly before the temple's destruction; and H. N. Roskam, *The Purpose of the Gospel of Mark in its Historical and Social Context* (SNT 114; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 81-94, who contends that the Gospel betrays awareness of the temple's destruction and so must have been written after the event.

of Christ."[507]   Gray also points to Jesus' summons to "understand" in Mark 13.14

and argues that the Gospel, chapter 13 in particular, offers a theological

interpretation of the temple's destruction, drawn largely from Israel's prophets,

that aims to show "how God's eschatological plan of judgment and restoration is

being fulfilled within the events of the reader's world."[508]

That said, I resonate with Carol Newsom's position that differing scholarly

accounts of a book's origins have value "not so much as historical

reconstructions [but] as suggestions for different ways of reading the book."[509]

Accordingly, Newsom qualifies such accounts as "heuristic fictions, invitations to

read the book 'as if' it had come into being in this or that fashion, with the intents

and purposes characteristic of such an origin."[510]   With this in mind, I adopt the

"heuristic fiction" that Mark was composed "in the shadow" of the temple's

destruction,[511] either shortly before or just after 70 CE, and that its purpose is

bound up with understanding the significance of this event and the challenges

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507.   Collins, *Mark*, 102; see 96-102 for a discussion of the Gospel's purpose and a review of pertinent scholarly literature. Arguments concerning the Gospel's purpose are often connected to the question of where it was written. Rome, Antioch (Syria), and Galilee are the leading contenders, though there is little agreement from there. Collins, *Mark*, 101, favors Antioch but allows for Rome as well; Boring, *Mark*, 19-20 narrows the choice to Syria or Galilee; W. Marxsen, *Mark the Evangelist: Studies on the Redaction History of the Gospel* (trans. T. A. Harrisville; Nashville: Abingdon, 1969), 111-16, contends for Galilee, as does Roskam, *Purpose*, 94-113; Martin Hengel, "Entstehungszeit und Situation des Markusevangeliums" in *Markus-Philologie: historische, literargeschichtliche und stilistische Untersuchungen zum zweiten Evangelium* (ed. Hubert Cancik; WUNT 33; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1984), 1-45, here 25-26, 43, 45, argues for Rome, as do Ben Witherington III, *The Gospel of Mark: A socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 20-31; Gray, *Temple*, 154-55, Brian J. Incigneri, *The Gospel to the Romans: The Setting and Rhetoric of Mark's Gospel* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 163-72, and Adam Winn, *The Purpose of Mark's Gospel: An Early Christian Response to Roman Imperial Propaganda* (WUNT 245; Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 76-91.

508.   Gray, *Temple*, 153.

509.   Carol A. Newsom, *The Book of Job as a Polyphonic Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 16.

510.   Newsom, *Job*, 16.

511.   Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 39.

and crises that attend it.

DISCERNING ALLUSION TO DEUTERONOMY 30.1-10 IN MARK 13.27

Allusive markers of Deut 30.4 are discernible in Mark 13.27 toward the end of a discourse in which Jesus prophetically announces the temple's imminent destruction.[512] Four sections structure the discourse in chapter 13 and are linked together by words of seeing and perceiving.[513] First, in vv. 1-4 Jesus tells his disciples that each of the temple's impressive stones will be toppled over in ruin. Then, in vv. 5-23 Jesus warns that a time of unprecedented suffering, associated with divine judgment on the temple, is close at hand. The disciples, for their part, must not be deceived by the signs of false prophets and would-be messiahs but should steel themselves for the days ahead, when they will be arrested and tried for their association with Jesus. In vv. 24-27 Jesus goes on to foretell a series of cosmic portents that herald the temple's end. These portents are the reality parodied in the signs of the false prophets and messiahs.[514] Then, he announces the arrival of the cosmic Son of Man in clouds with great power and glory, followed by the ingathering of the elect. Jesus ends the discourse in vv. 28-32 with parables that urge his hearers to remain vigilant in the grim days that lie ahead. Although the precise hour of the temple's destruction remains concealed, its doom is nevertheless certain, and those who hear should bear this in mind.

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512.   Several scholars note the allusion: e.g., Miller and Miller, *Mark as Midrash*, 307-08 (Deut 30.3); Boring, *Mark*, 373; Gray, *Temple*, 144 note 135; Marcus, *Mark 9-16*, 909.

513.   The literary division follows Gray, *Temple*, 103-105. Collins, *Mark*, 613-615, argues that the discourse imagines an imminent eschatological scenario that unfolds in three stages: 5b-13 (the "beginning of the birth-pains"), 14-23 (the "tribulation"), and 24-27 (the salvation of "the elect").

514.   Gray, *Temple*, 138; Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 906.

Admittedly, the markers of Deut 30.4 in Mark 13.27 I discuss below may seem a slight foundation on which to build an allusive reading. That said, markers of allusion are often subtle and may, in some cases, amount to a single word or image. Moreover, in what follows my aim is not to argue that the evocations of Deut 30.4 I discern are "genuine" or "intentional" allusions as opposed to conventional expressions, coincidental collocations, or traces of oral tradition or other non-literary patterns of thought. Instead, I wish to provide plausible grounds for reading the allusion, whether or not it is "really there," in order to explore the ways in which, when activated, the allusion repositions meaning both in chapter 13 and in the Gospel more broadly.

Verbal markers of Deut 30.4 are discernible in Jesus' announcement in v. 27: καὶ τότε ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐπισυνάξει τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς [αὐτοῦ] ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ᾽ ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ ("And then he [the Son of Man] will send forth the angels and gather the elect from the four winds, from the end of the earth to the end of the sky"). The key terms are the verb ἐπισυνάξει, "he will gather" (from the verb ἐπισυνάγω), and the phrase ἀπ᾽ ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ, "from the end of the earth to the end of the sky." The diction of the verse evokes a trope prevalent in oracles of restoration in prophetic literature. These texts envision the Lord gathering the scattered outcasts of Israel and Judah to show them divine compassion.[515]

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515. Gray, *Temple*, 144 note 135 identifies several texts in the Greek Bible that feature the verb συνάγω (gather) "as part of the eschatological restoration of Israel;" his list includes the following examples: Deut 30.4; Mic 2.12; 4.6; Zech 2.10; Isa 11.12; 40.11; 43.5; 49.5; and Jer 23.8. The gathering of the dispersed is a trope that also appears in Mesopotamian texts that promote royal ideology, not least the Cyrus Cylinder; these may have influenced the formulations in prophetic literature and in Deut 30.1-10. See the discussion above in chapter 1.

Many scholars identify Isaiah 11.12 as a source for some of the language in Mark 13.27.[516] In the OG Isaiah 11.12 reads: "And he will raise a signal in the nations, and he will gather (συνάξει) the lost of Israel, and the scattered of Judah he will gather from the four corners of the earth." Here, "he will gather" is the verb συνάξει from the verb συνάγω, a synonym of Mark's ἐπισυνάγω. The last phrase is peculiar in the Greek. Literally it reads, "and the scattered of Judah he will gather from the four *wings* (πτερύγων) of the earth." By choosing the word πτέρυξ, "wing," the OG has apparently opted for a literal translation of the Hebrew כָּנָף, meaning "wing" but figuratively "edge" or "extremity."

Closer to Mark's diction is Zech 2.6 (OG 2.10): ὦ ὦ φεύγετε ἀπὸ γῆς βορρᾶ, λέγει κύριος, διότι ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ συνάξω ὑμᾶς, λέγει κύριος ("Oh, oh, flee from the land of the north, says the Lord, for from the four winds of the sky I will gather you, says the Lord").[517] The parallels to Markan diction are only fully apparent in the Greek version of Zechariah. The Hebrew reads: ...כִּי כְּאַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם פֵּרַשְׂתִּי ("...for like the four winds of the sky I have scattered you" or "spread you abroad"). The Greek has rendered the Hebrew verb פרש, "to spread abroad" or "to scatter" with its verbal antonym, συνάγω, "to gather." The text in Greek thus affirms that the Lord will gather Judeans in Babylon from the four winds of the sky to return them to Zion.

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516.   See, e.g., Collins, *Mark*, 615 note 174, who identifies Isa 11.1-12 as well as Ezek 39.27-28; Hos 11.10-11; *1 Enoch* 57; 90.33; and 2 Esdr 13.12-13, 39-40.

517.   Boring, *Mark*, 373, identifies Zech 2.6 (OG 2.10) as well as Deut 30.4 and associates both texts with the motif of an eschatological gathering the dispersed. Witherington, *Gospel of Mark*, 348, mentions Deut 30.4-5 and Isa 60.4ff.

Neither this Isaiah 11 nor Zechariah 2 has the hyperbolic image of a comprehensive gathering from the end of the earth to the end of the sky, which appears at the end of Mark 13.27. The latter part of this image, however, does occur in LXX Deut 30.4: ἐὰν ᾖ ἡ διασπορά σου ἀπ' ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἕως ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐκεῖθεν συνάξει σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν λήμψεταί σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου ("If your dispersion should be from the [one] end of the sky to the [other] end of the sky, from there the Lord your God will gather you, from there the Lord your God will fetch you"). Deut 30.4 is one of only two texts that refer to a gathering of exiles ἀπ' ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, "from the end of the sky." The other is Neh 1.9, which alludes to Deut 30.4.[518] The hyperbolic rhetoric of Deut 30.4 playfully reverses language in LXX 28.64, where the Lord threatens Israel with a series of curses should the nation disobey the terms of the covenant: καὶ διασπερεῖ σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἀπ' ἄκρου τῆς γῆς ἕως ἄκρου τῆς γῆς ("and the Lord your God will scatter you to all the nations, from the [one] end of the earth to the [other] end of the earth"). The hyperbole in Deut 30.4 suggests that the Lord's compassion exceeds the reach of his imprecatory fury. It may be that Mark has combined Deut 28.64 and 30.4 to generate the image of a universal gathering ἀπ' ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ, "from the end of the earth to the end of the sky."

There is a parallel to Mark 13.27 in Matthew's version of Jesus' discourse against the temple; the diction of the parallel verse, Matt 24.31, suggests that Matthew's author may have adapted Mark's allusion to Deut 30.4 to render it

518.   See the discussion in chapter 3 above.

more audible. Matthew's version reads, literally: καὶ ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ μετὰ σάλπιγγος μεγάλης, καὶ ἐπισυνάξουσιν τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ' ἄκρων οὐρανῶν ἕως [τῶν] ἄκρων αὐτῶν ("And he will send out his angels with a great trumpet, and they will gather his elect from the four winds, from the ends of the skies to their ends"). In two places it seems that Matthew has adapted the end of Mark 13.27 to render the allusion to Deut 30.4 clearer. First, Matthew's version has dropped the Markan phrase: ἀπ' ἄκρου γῆς, "from the end of the earth." Second, Matt 24.31 reflects the double reference to "the end of the sky" characteristic of LXX Deut 30.4: ἀπ' ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἕως ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦto ("from the end of the sky to the end of the sky). This appears both in the plural "ends of the skies" (ἀπ' ἄκρων οὐρανῶν) and in the additional phrase, also plural, "to their ends" (ἕως τῶν ἄκρων αὐτῶν). These differences suggest that Matthew's Gospel has not only recognized Mark's allusion to Deut 30.4 but has endeavored to make it more audible. Returning to Mark 13, how does reading the Gospel's allusion affect an understanding of Jesus' discourse against the temple?

Mark's allusion to Deut 30.4 occurs at the end of a brief literary sub-section within chapter 13: vv. 24-27. In these verses Jesus speaks of the cosmic upheaval that surrounds the fall of the temple and the coming of the Son of Man.

[24]Ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις μετὰ τὴν θλῖψιν ἐκείνην ὁ ἥλιος σκοτισθήσεται, καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φέγγος αὐτῆς, [25]καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες ἔσονται ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πίπτοντες, καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς σαλευθήσονται. [26]καὶ τότε ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐν νεφέλαις μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς καὶ δόξης. [27]καὶ τότε ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐπισυνάξει τοὺς

ἐκλεκτοὺς [αὐτοῦ] ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ᾽ ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ.

²⁴But in those days, after that affliction, the sun will become dark, and the moon will not give its light, ²⁵and the stars will be falling from the sky, and the powers in the heavens will be shaken. ²⁶Then they will see the Son of Man coming in clouds with great power and glory. ²⁷And then he will send forth the angels and gather the elect from the four winds, from the end of the earth to the end of the sky.

The biblical imagery in vv. 24-26, drawn largely from Isaiah 13 and 34 and from Daniel 7, suggests a context of divine judgment and vindication.[519] In each of these texts the Lord rages against foreign nations known to oppress Judah. Isaiah 13 and 34 contain oracles of doom against Babylon and Edom respectively. Significantly, oracles of restoration follow in both texts. In Daniel 7 the coming of the Son of Man coincides with the slaying of the fourth beast, a pejorative symbol for the Hellenistic empire founded by Alexander the Great and perpetuated in the Seleucid king, Antiochus IV. After the beast has been killed, the Son of Man receives a kingdom whose dominion is at once comprehensive, inviolable, and eternal. The allusion to these texts in Mark is striking for its irony. The Gospel leverages Isaiah and Daniel not against a contemporary foreign power, such as Rome, but against the Jerusalem temple. Indeed, it may be that, when taken together with the collusion of the temple leaders with Roman authorities (15.1;

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519.   See Gray, *Temple*, 140-145, who discusses the allusions to each of these three texts. Rikki E. Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus and Mark* (WUNT 88; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 85 note 170, observes that Mark 13.24f combines allusions to Isa 34.4; Joel 2.10; Isa 13.10 (= Ezek 32.7f), and Dan 7.13-14. Marcus, *Mark 9-16*, 906, includes Isa 13.10 and 34.4 in a list alongside other texts that depict the darkening of the sun, moon, and stars. See also Peter R. Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration: A Study of Hebrew Thought of the Sixth Century B.C.* (OLT; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968), 221-225, who discusses several prophetic oracles of judgment against the nations, Isa 13 and 34 among them, as responses to exile.

see also 13.9), the cluster of allusions in 13.24-26 effectively refigures the temple as a foreign cultic center.[520]

What event do these verses depict? Although Gray argues that the cosmic convulsions imagined in vv. 24-25 refer not to the end of the world but to the end of the temple,[521] the Gospel seems to elide the two, suggesting that the end of the temple signals the end of the world.[522] The opening phrase in v. 24, "But in those days, after that affliction" (Ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις μετὰ τὴν θλῖψιν ἐκείνην) connects both the cosmic portents and the arrival of the Son of Man with the previous section of Jesus' discourse.[523] There, Jesus warns that "the abomination that causes desolation" or "emptying" (τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως; NRSV: "desolating sacrilege") will touch off a period of unprecedented suffering and distress. The reference to an "abomination that causes desolation" occurs three times in Daniel: 9.27; 11.31; 12.11. Gray

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520.   Lars Hartman, *Prophecy Interpreted: The Formation of Some Jewish Apocalyptic Texts and of the Eschatological Discourse Mark 13 Par.* (CBNTS 1; Lund: Gleerup, 1966), 151-54, argues that the flight from the doomed city mentioned in 13.14 evokes Lot's escape from Sodom shortly before its destruction by God. If so, this adds to the notion that Mark 13 portrays the temple's destruction as an act of divine judgment perpetrated against a city allusively figured as "foreign." See also the discussion in Collins, *Mark*, 611.

521.   Gray, *Temple*, 141: "What in the narrative leads one to believe that vv. 24-27 are about the judgement of the world? Everything else in the narrative, especially given the antitemple polemic that runs through Mark 11-12, points to the temple as the object of Jesus' judgment."

522.   See note 528 below.

523.   *Contra* Boring, 372, who denies a connection with the temple on the basis of the adversative and the temporal notice that begins v. 24: Ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις μετὰ τὴν θλῖψιν ἐκείνην ("But in those days, after that affliction"). Instead, he draws a contrast between the "historical terrors" related in the previous section, and the "eschatological signs" that follow in vv. 24-25. He argues that the temple's destruction belongs to the former not the latter.   As he concedes, though, he reads Mark 13 through the lens of Matthew 24-25 and "New Testament theology as a whole," and on this basis concludes that Mark 13.24-25 likely "portray[s] the Parousia and the coming of the Son of Man at the end of the age, as understood from Matthew onward (cf. Matt 24-25)." If, however, Mark has a more consistently imminent eschatological outlook, then it may be possible to understand the temple's destruction as an eschatological event that precedes, and sign that signals, the *parousia* and vindication of the Son of Man.

explains that each of these texts in Daniel tells the same story: "the 'desolating sacrilege' marks the imminent destruction of the temple, accompanied by a time of 'tribulation' that will last until the 'end.'"[524] Read allusively, then, Mark's "abomination that causes desolation," seems to indicate a desecration of the temple that betokens its desolation or divine emptying and abandonment to destruction.[525] The language of heavenly upheaval that follows in Mark suggests that the fall of the temple is an event freighted with cosmic significance. For Mark, this significance concerns the eschatological arrival of the Son of Man and the gathering of the elect.

As scholars widely acknowledge, Mark's reference to the Son of Man evokes Daniel 7.[526] There, Israel's god, styled as the Ancient of Days, vindicates the human-looking figure of the Son of Man over the fourth beast and grants him an everlasting and inviolable kingdom.[527] The text thus bears witness to a cosmic

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524. Gray, *Temple*, 130.

525. Scholars offer a variety of proposals for identifying a historical referent behind the Markan "abomination that causes desolation." For example, Hengel, "Entstehungszeit," 27, 29, ventures that the phrase refers to the Antichrist. Joel Marcus, "The Jewish War and the *Sitz im Leben* of Mark, *JBL* 111 (1992): 441-62, here 454-55, contends that it alludes to the Jewish revolutionary leader Eleazar son of Simon, who occupied the temple in the winter of 67-68 CE. Alternatively, Günther Zuntz, "Wann wurde das Evangelium Marci geschrieben?" in *Markus-Philologie: historische, literargeschichtliche und stilistische Untersuchungen zum zweiten Evangelium* (ed. Hubert Cancik; WUNT 33; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1984), 47-71, here 47-48, understands the phrase as a reference to the emperor Gaius Caligula's attempt to place a statue of his own image in the Jerusalem temple in the late 30s CE and concludes that the Gospel was written in 40 CE before Caligula's death; see also Gerd Theissen, *The Gospels in Context: Social and Political History in the Synoptic Tradition* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1992), 125-165, who argues that the phrase refers to Caligula's proposed statue and that the discourse in Mark 13 was composed around 39-40 CE. Collins, *Mark*, 610, argues instead that the phrase evokes the "living memory" of Caligula's aborted attempt and that the Gospel was written shortly before the temple's destruction; see her discussion in full for a discussion of the various scholarly views (608-611).

526. For an insightful discussion of allusions to Daniel 7 in the Gospel of Mark see Joel Marcus, *The Way of the Lord: Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1992), 164-171.

527. On the interpretation, ancient and modern, of Daniel's cryptic reference in 7.13 to "one like a son of man" see the "Excursus," in John J. Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 304-310; Collins himself argues that Daniel's "son of man" figure designates the archangel Michael. See also, more recently, Daniel Boyarin, "Daniel 7, Intertextuality, and the History of

transfer of power from the beasts, summed up in the arrogant horn of the fourth beast (i.e. Antiochus IV), to the humanlike Son of Man. This brings an end to the sufferings of the faithful and signals the reclamation of divine rule through the agency of the Son of Man. By joining allusions to Isaiah and Daniel, the Gospel correlates the fall of the temple with the vindication and royal investiture of the Son of Man. Up to this point, the narrative has consistently identified Daniel's Son of Man with the figure of Jesus (e.g. in 2.10; 8.31, 38; 9.9, 31; 10.33; 14.62, though in some places more clearly than in others). This suggests that for Mark the temple's ruin heralds the vindication and enthronement of the risen Jesus (see 8.31, 38). Taken together, it is this series of events that the Markan Jesus expects to occur during the lifetime of his contemporaries, as he says in 13.30 (see also 9.1).[528]

Mark's allusions to Zech 2.10 and Deut 30.4, which follow in v. 27, coordinate this complex of events with Israel's restoration from exile. The results, however, are surprising and paradoxical. In much of the biblical

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Israel's Cult," *HTR* 105 (2012): 139-162; Boyarin argues that the interpretation of Daniel's vision, which coordinates the Son of Man with Israel ("the people of the holy ones of the Most High" in 7.27), suppresses and refigures an earlier tradition, incorporated into the first part of chapter 7 in v. 13, in which the Son of Man is a younger second divine being akin to the figure of Baal in Canaanite religion.

528.   Although these verses describe the eschatological arrival, exaltation, and vindication of the Son of Man, in Mark this event is not projected onto a distant future. Rather, the eschatological expectation remains imminent throughout, within a generation's time, which offers consolation to those facing the sufferings and losses Jesus foresees earlier in the discourse. See the discussion of Mark 13.30, 31, and 32 in Collins, *Mark*, 616-17. See also Joel Marcus, *Mark 8-16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AYB 27A; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 912, 917, who, commenting on Mark 13.30, argues: "This temporal interpretation of 'this generation,' however, poses a hermeneutical difficulty, since it foresees the end of the world as occurring within forty years or so of Jesus' death. This is probably the way Mark saw things; he expected the end of the world to come soon…and since Jesus died in the early thirties C.E., our passage places the coming of the end squarely within the time frame of the Markan present (around 70). For Mark, therefore, the eschatological timer is ticking, and the explosion could come at any time."

imagination the destruction of the first temple in the early sixth century BCE initiated a period of punitive exile from the national homeland.[529] In Mark, however, the destruction of the second temple brings an end to the period of exile and signals the arrival of Israel's restoration. Mark accomplishes this move by alluding to Deut 30.4, where Israel's gathering from among the nations initiates a sequence of restoration that reverses the conditions of its exile. By the end of this sequence the Lord has resettled Israel in the national homeland and transferred the divine imprecations from Israel to its enemies. For Mark, then, the fall of the temple does not recapitulate or reinforce the exile. However counter-intuitive, the temple's destruction signifies that Israel's long awaited restoration has arrived.

ACTIVATING ALLUSION TO DEUTERONOMY 30.1-10 IN THE GOSPEL OF MARK

In what follows I offer a few observations on the significance of Mark's allusion to Deut 30.4 both in the local context in which it occurs in chapter 13 and in the wider context of the Gospel as a whole. Beginning with Jesus' discourse against the temple in chapter 13, activating the allusion to Deut 30.4 in 13.27 leads to a number of provocative conclusions. First, the end of Israel's exile coincides with the end of the Second Temple. Mark's allusion to Deut 30.4 suggests not only that Israel's exile is ongoing but also that the temple in Jerusalem has become both the symbol and the instrument of its perpetuation. According to the sequence set out in Deut 30.1-10, the period of exile lasts until

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529.   See, e.g., 2 Kings 21.10-15; 22.16-17; 24.1-4; Isa 40.1-2; Jer 7.1-15.

the Lord gathers Israel from its dispersion among the nations. For the Gospel of Mark, the gathering of the elect coincides with the temple's destruction. Implicit, then, in Mark's use of Deut 30.4 is the claim that Israel's exile will endure as long as the temple in Jerusalem remains standing.

Second and correlatively, Mark's allusion to Deut 30.4 coordinates the arrival of God's kingdom with the realization of Israel's restoration. Mark 13.26-27 associates the coming of the Son of Man with the gathering of the elect. According to Daniel 7 the Son of Man arrives in clouds before the Ancient of Days to be vindicated over the fourth beast and to receive an inviolable kingdom. In Mark, after the Son of Man arrives with great power and glory, his first action is to dispatch angels to gather the elect. A similar sequence, in fact, has already played out in the first chapter of the Gospel. In 1.14-15 Jesus begins to announce the imminent arrival of God's kingdom or rule (or empire).[530] At this point in the narrative Jesus has just emerged from an "exile" in the wilderness, where he has apparently prevailed in a contest with Satan.[531] After announcing the coming of God's rule, Jesus begins to gather a group of associates whose number – twelve – indicates a symbolic gathering of Israel. Returning to chapter 13, by associating the coming of the Son of Man in clouds from Daniel 7 with the gathering of the elect from Deut 30.4, Mark's Gospel implicitly correlates the inauguration of

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530.   For an argument in favor of construing ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ in Mark 1.15 as "the empire of God," see Stephen D. Moore, *Empire and Apocalypse: Postcolonialism and the New Testament* (BMW 12; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006), 37 note 29.

531.   Mark is the only Gospel to note that predatory animals, wild beasts, surround Jesus in the wilderness (καὶ ἦν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων). θηρίον, which in Mark 1.13 designates the "wild animals" with Jesus and Satan in the wilderness, also appears in Dan 7.3, where it identifies the four hybrid beasts that emerge from the sea.

God's kingdom or rule with the arrival of Israel's restoration.[532]

Third, the allusion identifies the followers of Jesus as the restored Israel envisioned in Deut 30.1-10. In 13.27 the Gospel uses the adjective "the elect" (τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς), earlier qualified as "whom he chose" (οὓς ἐξελέξατο, 13.20), to designate those whom the Son of Man gathers.[533] Throughout Mark 13 (vv. 20, 22, 27) "the elect" are those who remain loyal to Jesus in the face of unprecedented suffering and the deceptive counter-claims of messianic pretenders.[534] The gathering of the elect in v. 27 thus identifies those loyal to Jesus as the Israel whom the Lord restores from exile in Deut 30.4. Mark's allusion to Zech 2.6 (OG 2.10) augments this profile. It allows for refiguring the identity of restored Israel in Deut 30.4 so as to include foreign nations that seek shelter with Israel's god. Mark 13.27 thus grants those who remain loyal to Jesus, whether Jews or non-Jews, the privileged identity of restored Israel (see 13.10).

Finally, Mark's allusion to Deut 30.4 makes it possible to construe the figure of Jesus as both the agent and the locus of Israel's restoration. In Deut 30.4 it is the Lord who is the agent of Israel's gathering. In Mark 13.27, however, it is the Son of Man – that is, Jesus himself – who performs this function by sending

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532. See N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God: Christian Origins and the Question of God*, vol. 2 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 249-50: "Jesus, in announcing the kingdom, was declaring that Israel's fortunes were being restored." See Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration*, 253, who coordinates the deferment of the new age associated with Israel's restoration with the delay of the *parousia* in the New Testament.

533. The word ἐξελέξατο also occurs in LXX Deut 7.7, where the Lord elects or chooses Israel despite its small size relative to the nations.

534. Collins, *Mark*, 611-12, argues that Mark's author was familiar with the use of "the elect" to designate the eschatological community identified as the remnant of Israel as attested in the opening oracle, the Apocalypse of Weeks, and the Similitudes of Enoch of *1 Enoch*.

out his angels to gather the elect. Mark's association of the Son of Man with the gathering Lord comports with Jesus' characterization elsewhere in the Gospel as God's agent. For example, in the parable of the vineyard in chapter 12 Jesus casts himself as the son of the vineyard's owner. In the parable the son represents the owner/father's interests as his most authoritative agent (12.6). Jesus again functions as agent in Mark 13.27, this time under the guise of the Son of Man and as the divinely appointed agent of Israel's restoration.

The Gospel's allusion also suggests that Jesus serves as the locus of restoration. According to Deut 30.4 the Lord gathers the Israelite exiles from the nations and returns them to the national homeland. Reference to the land is conspicuously absent in Mark 13.27. Instead, the implication seems to be that the elect are being gathered not only by the Son of Man but to him as well.[535] This reading gains force from the use elsewhere in Mark of the verbs ἐπισυνάγω and συνάγω. Both of these verbs mean "to gather" and are used synonymously throughout the New Testament.[536] The verb ἐπισυνάγω, used in 13.27, also appears in 1.33, while συνάγω occurs six times in Mark: in 2.2, 3.20, 4.1, 5.21, 6.30, and 7.1.[537] In each place these two verbs describe a gathering of people to Jesus. All but one (3.20) of these texts makes this emphatic by means of a

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535. Cf. Collins, *Mark*, 600, for an alternative: "Granted, the Markan passage does not specify where the elect will be taken once they are gathered, but the involvement of angels suggests that they are taken to heaven." My reading is not necessarily incompatible with this idea.

536. W. Arndt, F. W. Danker, and W. Bauer, *A Greek-English lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature: Based on Walter Bauer's "Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch Zu Den Schriften Des Neuen Testaments Und Der Frühchristlichen Literatur,"* 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 382.

537. In the first five texts a crowd gathers to Jesus; in 6.30 it is the apostles; in 7.1 it is the Pharisees and scribes.

prepositional phrase, most often πρὸς αὐτὸν but also ἐπ' αὐτόν (5.21) or πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν (6.30). These uses of ἐπισυνάγω and συνάγω earlier in Mark facilitate understanding the gathering of the elect in 13.27 as a gathering πρὸς αὐτὸν, "to him." Formerly, the temple in Jerusalem had functioned as the symbolic center of the national homeland, the place to which the faithful gathered. Mark's allusion suggests that, with the temple's destruction, the figure of Jesus becomes the new locus, the new center, and the new "homeland" of a restored Israel.

Up to this point I have considered how Mark's allusion to Deut 30.4 affects its local context in chapter 13. Now I wish to explore how the allusion affects an understanding of other parts of the Gospel.   In keeping with Ben-Porat's model for reading literary allusion, discussed in the Introduction, at this stage I am concerned with discerning broader intertextual patterns between Deut 30.1-10 and the Gospel of Mark that do not depend on the presence of additional allusive markers of Deut 30.1-10 elsewhere in Mark. Indeed, in many cases I will discuss allusive markers to other biblical texts that complement and fill out the readings I propose. My goal is neither to argue that certain allusions or allusive effects were "intended" by Mark's author nor to contend that certain readings are more "correct" than others; rather, my aim is to explore the possibilities for construing meaning that reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 engenders. With this in mind, I argue that activating the allusion to Deut 30.4 in Mark 13.27 allows for correlating elements in Deut 30's schema of national restoration with certain episodes and tropes elsewhere in Mark's Gospel. This approach is consonant

with the observation of Rikki E. Watts: "Mark's categories for apprehending Jesus are to be located and understood within an ideologically schematized [sic] understanding of Israel's history."[538] Whereas Watts considers the schema of the prophetic New Exodus in the book of Isaiah,[539] I explore that of Israel's restoration from exile as figured in Deut 30.1-10. The result of correlating the Deuteronomic schema with the Markan narrative as a whole is striking. An allusive reading positions the Gospel, from first to last, as a story about Israel's restoration that centers on the activity and fate of Jesus and his followers.[540] In what follows I discuss three elements from the Deuteronomic "script" that are performed in Mark's narrative: repentance in exile, reversal of national misfortune, and possession of an understanding heart.

A. Repentance and Restoration

Once activated, Mark's allusion to Deut 30.1-10 allows for construing John's baptism in chapter 1 as the enactment of Israel's turn to the Lord in renewed allegiance while in exile (Deut 30.1-2). Additional allusions as well as geographical references provide an interpretive framework for understanding the significance of John's activity at the Jordan River in terms of Israel's

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538.   Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus*, 48.

539.   Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus*, 50, identifies the basic elements in the New Exodus schema as including: "deliverance, journey, and arrival at Yahweh's dwelling (whether Sinai or Jerusalem/Zion)."

540.   See E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), who argues that the historical Jesus fits believably into the world-view of Jewish restoration eschatology evinced in the New Testament, not least the Gospels. While the focus of Sanders' inquiry is the historical Jesus, my interest is in the literary and allusive figuration of Jesus in the Gospel of Mark.   This said, many of Sanders' insights corroborate reading the Gospel as a story about Israel's restoration that centers on the agency and career of Jesus.

restoration. Mark introduces John's baptism in 1.2-3 with a bundled quotation

that conflates Isaiah 40.3 with Exod 23.20 and Mal 3.1.[541]

> ²Καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἠσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ· ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου· ³φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ,

> ²As it is written in Isaiah the prophet, "Look, I am sending my messenger before your face, who will prepare your way, ³a voice of one calling out in the wilderness: 'Make ready the way of the Lord, make his paths straight,'"

The text from Isaiah correlates John's summons to repentance with 2 Isaiah's

message of consolation. At the heart of Isaiah's message is the announcement of

the Lord's imminent return to Zion, which signals the end of Israel's exile. Isaiah

40.2 likens the period of exile to a prison sentence in payment for sin whose term

has ended. Implementing Isaiah's prophecy, John makes ready the Lord's arrival

by sounding a prophetic call to national repentance that anticipates divine

forgiveness of sins and an end to the period of exile.

The allusion to Exod 23.20, embedded within Mark's reference to Isaiah,

correlates John's activity with that of the messenger the Lord sends to lead Israel

into the land of Canaan, which suggests that John's baptism enacts Israel's

(re)entrance into the national homeland. This supposition gains force from a

consideration of the geographical markers in the Gospel. The text locates John's

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541.   Many scholars have identified these allusive intertexts in Mark 1.2-3. See, e.g., Watts, *New Exodus*, 61-84; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 143-45 and Collins, *Mark*, 135-138. For an argument that the linking of the three intertexts predates Mark, whether in the form of a book of "testimonies" or in oral tradition, see respectively Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "4QTestimonia and the New Testament" in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (SBS 5; Missoula: Scholars, 1971), 59-89, here 62-63, repr. from *TS* 18 (1957): 513-37 and Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968), 51-52.

activity in the wilderness along the eastern border of Judea at the Jordan River. This locale recalls Joshua's entrance into Canaan to claim the land for Israel as represented in the book of Joshua. In her commentary on the Gospel of Mark, Adela Yarbro Collins explains that the "foundational significance" of Joshua's Jordan crossing "gave rise to eschatological expectations in the late Second Temple period...that God would restore the land to the people."[542] The report from Josephus concerning the movement led by a self-styled prophet named Theudas, which culminated at the Jordan River, offers a case in point (*Ant*. 20.5.1 §97-99).[543] Significantly, Mark's quotation of Isaiah 40 places the allusion to Exodus 23, together with the geographical markers in the text, in a restoration context. That is, Isaiah 40 frames the Gospel's references to Israel's first entry into the land at the Jordan River as a reentry or return to the land subsequent to a punitive exile.

The allusion to Mal 3.1, also embedded within the quotation of Isaiah 40, introduces the image of a purifying judgment that will occur when the Lord comes suddenly to the temple. The Gospel's allusion to Mal 3.1 anticipates the events of chapters 11 and 13, where Jesus arrives at the temple and pronounces its doom. OG Malachi 4.4-6 (MT 3.23-24) goes on to identify the messenger who announces the Lord's arrival as the prophet Elijah. According to Malachi, Elijah will reappear at the culmination of Israel's history to herald the day of the Lord.

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542. Collins, *Mark*, 142. See also N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, vol. 2 in *Christian Origins and the Question of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 430, who argues that John the Baptizer "like several other Jewish prophets of the time was gathering peple in the Jordan valley, re-enacting the exodus in which Israel had for the first time come in to possess the land."

543. Collins, *Mark*, 45; see also Richard A. Horsley and John S. Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets and Messiahs: Popular Movements in the Time of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Winston, 1985), 164-67.

Mark identifies John the Baptizer with Malachi's eschatological Elijah by describing John's clothing and diet in a way that recalls Elijah's depiction in 2 Kings 1.8.[544] Additional resonances with Malachi are discernable in the text's association of John's baptism with repentance. John's program actualizes the Lord's offer in Mal 3.7: ἐπιστρέψατε πρός με, καὶ ἐπιστραφήσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ("Return to me and I will return to you"). Indeed, as Richard Bauckham argues, this phrase in Malachi may itself be an echo of the double act of (re)turning expressed in Deut 30.1-3.[545] By embedding an allusion to Malachi within a quotation of Isaiah, the Gospel provides an eschatological orientation to Isaiah's oracle announcing the end of exile.

Taken together, the scriptural and geographical references in the text intimate that, although Jews have been living again in the land for some five centuries, the conditions of exile still endure and await resolution. The Gospel thus belongs on a hermeneutical trajectory in company with other Second Temple texts that view Israel's restoration as incomplete and awaiting future realization.   Already in the baptism of John, then, it is possible to perceive the contours of Deuteronomy's schema for Israel's restoration. John's activity at the Jordan enacts the first episode in the Deuteronomic script: Israel's return to the Lord while in exile. This association is not without ideological implications. It suggests that previous and alternative movements of restoration were

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544.   See Marcus, Mark 1-8, 156-57 for these and other connections between John the Baptizer and Elijah. Marcus also associates John's attire and diet with traditions about the Garden of Eden in the book of Genesis and *Joseph and Aseneth*.

545.   Richard Bauckham, "The Restoration of Israel in Luke-Acts" in *Restoration: Old Testament, Jewish and Christian Perspectives* (ed. James M. Scott; JSJSup 72; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 435-487, here 329.

penultimate at best. Participation in John's baptism at the Jordan is what signals identification with the Israel whom God will soon restore.

B. A Salutary Kingdom

According to Deut 30.3, the Lord responds to Israel's repentance in exile by vowing to reverse the nation's misfortune (MT: וְשָׁב יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֶת־שְׁבוּתְךָ) or heal its sins (LXX: καὶ ἰάσεται κύριος τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου). This statement is programmatic and functions to introduce the several elements that comprise Israel's restoration. In Mark 1.15 Jesus issues a summons that is equally programmatic: πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ· μετανοεῖτε καὶ πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ("The time is fulfilled, and the rule of God has drawn near; repent and believe in the good news"). By activating the Gospel's allusion to Deut 30.1-10, it is possible to coordinate the Lord's statement in Deut 30.3, concerning the end of Israel's exile, with Jesus' declaration in Mark 1.15, that God will soon act to (re)assert divine rule in Israel's behalf. I say this for two reasons. First, in Mark's Gospel the kingdom or rule of God is coextensive with the end of exile. Second, the Gospel coordinates the arrival of God's rule with the authority of Jesus to heal both physical afflictions and sins against the deity.

Just prior to the proclamation of the kingdom's arrival in 1.15, the Gospel introduces Jesus as the Lord's chosen agent, whose task is to bring about Israel's restoration from exile. Jesus appears for the first time in the waters of the Jordan River, presumably alongside others of his contemporaries who have chosen to

identify with John's movement. But Jesus' baptism underscores his uniqueness and superiority. John himself foretells in v. 8 that he will have a successor who will baptize not with water but with the holy spirit. The joint reference to water and the spirit resonates with Ezekiel 36.25-28, where the Lord vows to cleanse Israel with water and impart a new spirit within the national heart to enable loyalty to the covenant.[546] The context of this declaration is a promise of restoration from exile to the national homeland. What Ezekiel envisions as a single event, the Lord's provision of cleansing water and a new spirit, the Gospel reconfigures into a two-stage event, ascribing the former to John and the latter to Jesus.[547] This move renders John's baptism with water preparatory and Jesus' baptism with the Spirit efficacious. That is, Jesus' activity completes the program of restoration initiated by John.

The narrative confirms Jesus' unique role in the divine plan when he arrives from Galilee to be baptized in the Jordan River (1.9-11). Unlike the others whom John baptizes, Jesus emerges from the water endowed with the divine spirit and, in v. 11, acclaimed from heaven as God's beloved and favored son: καὶ φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν· σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα ("And a voice came from the heavens: You are my beloved son, in you I take delight"). Here, the mention of the spirit and the affirmation of divine favor or delight once more recalls 2 Isaiah. The heavenly declaration, "in you I take delight," evokes MT Isaiah 42.1: רָצְתָה נַפְשִׁי ("my soul takes delight [in him]"),

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546.   See the discussion in Collins, *Mark*, 139.
547.   Collins, *Mark*, 146.

which is closer to Mark 1.11 than the OG.[548] Both the MT and the OG go on to

affirm, "I bestowed my spirit on him" (ἔδωκα τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν). The

designation in Mark 1.11, ὁ ἀγαπητός ("the beloved"), is akin to ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου

("my chosen one") in OG Isa 42.1, which identifies the servant as Jacob/Israel.

The epithet may have been drawn from texts such as OG Isa 41.8-9 and 44.1-2,

where "chosen" and "beloved" are used synonymously.[549] The context in 2 Isaiah

concerns the figure of the Lord's servant, an emblem for Israel that underscores

the nation's prophetic vocation.[550] The servant's task is to testify among the

nations to the superlative quality of Israel's god, whose unrivaled power will

soon accomplish the release of the exiles from their captivity in Babylonia (Isa

42.6-9; 43.10-13). The reference to Jesus as ὁ υἱός μου ("my son"), is drawn from

Ps 2.7, where it functions as a title for the Lord's anointed (χριστός), a royal

figure whom God enthrones and vindicates over foreign adversaries. The

allusions to Ps 2.7 and Isaiah 42.1 contribute to the Gospel's profile of Jesus by

identifying him as the Lord's authoritative messianic agent,[551] the embodiment of

Israel's prophetic vocation, and suggesting that he is tasked with bringing about

Israel's restoration.

From there, Jesus emerges from an "exile" in the wilderness flanked by

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548.   As Collins, *Mark*, 150 points out, here the allusion more closely corresponds to MT Isaiah 42.1 as the OG reads: προσεδέξατο αὐτὸν ἡ ψυχή μου ("my soul receives him").

549.   See Marcus, *Way of the Lord*, 51. Cf. Watts, *New Exodus*, 113-114, who is more skeptical of an association with OG Isa 42.1.

550.   See Collins, *Mark*, 46 and note 20. Isaiah 42.1-4 assigns to the servant the role given in 11.1-5 to the king. That the heavenly voice also quotes the royal acclamation in Psalm 2.7, "You are my son," suggests that the Gospel also conflates the profiles of the king and the prophetic servant in its interpretation of Jesus.

551.   See Mark 12.6, where, in the parable of the vineyard, the "beloved son" (υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν) is the last and most authoritative of the vineyard owner's delegates.

wild animals and tested by Satan. Isaiah 13.20-22 and 34.11-15, oracles of doom

against Babylon and Edom respectively, each envision the Lord reducing the land

of Israel's enemies to an uninhabited wasteland populated only by wild animals

and demons.[552] Oracles that announce restoration for Israel follow after each text

in 14.1-2 and 35.1-10. That a similar cluster of motifs appears in Mark 1.12-13

suggests that Jesus has somehow triumphed over Satan in a way that enables him

to carry out the program of restoration he announces forthwith in 1.14-15.

Significantly, Jesus does not, as in Isaiah 13 and 34, vanquish a foreign nation,

such as Rome, to secure Israel's release from exile. Instead, the Gospel casts the

figure of Satan in the role of the imperial aggressor responsible for Israel's

subjugation. This suggests that Jesus confronts the cosmic forces that, working

through the agency of human opponents (i.e. Roman authorities and the temple

leaders), perpetuate Israel's exilic experience.[553]

This reading gains force from Jesus' claim in Mark 3.27 to have already

defeated Satan. Arguing in the form of a parable or coded story, Jesus claims that

he can liberate his contemporaries from demonic control because he has already

bound the "strong man," that is, Satan. The only previous mention of Satan in the

narrative is in 1.13. Although the Gospel does not directly indicate the result of

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552. See Collins, *Mark*, 153 and note 108. Cf. Watts, *New Exodus*, 118, who regards the "possible parallels with Isaiah," namely 11.6-9; 34.14; and 65.17-25, as "too vague for any convincing case [for allusion] to be made." The Gospel's self-glossing of 1.12-13 in 3.27, though, strengthens the connection to Isaiah 13 and 34, where the defeat of a foreign oppressor facilities the restoration of Israel to its national homeland. Cf. also Marcus, Mark 1-8, 169-171, who argues that the primary intertext for Mark 1.12-13 is the Adam story in its biblical, pseudepigraphical, and legendary iterations; see also Richard Bauckham, "Jesus and the Wild Animals (Mark 1:13): A Christological Image for an Ecological Age" in *Jesus of Nazareth: Lord and Christ: Essays on the Historical Jesus and New Testament Christology* (eds. Joel B. Green and Max Turner; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Paternoster: 1994), 3-21.

553. See Watts, *New Exodus*, 163-64.

Jesus' encounter with Satan in 1.13, as Collins recognizes, "the saying in [chapter 3] v. 27, however, suggests that the outcome was Jesus' victory over Satan and the subsequent waning of Satan's power."[554] According to the parable in 3.27, because Satan has already been dealt with, Jesus can plunder the strong man's property at will. The language and imagery in 3.27 evoke Isaiah 49.24-25, where the Lord vows to take back the captives of the mighty and rescue the prey of the tyrant.[555] Again, the context in Isaiah is Israel's release from exile. This suggests that Satan's defeat in the wilderness enables Jesus to secure Israel's restoration. Prior, then, to the programmatic declaration of 1.15, the Gospel has identified Jesus as the agent whom the Lord has chosen and empowered to restore Israel from exile.

Further, the Gospel frames Jesus' proclamation of God's coming rule in 1.15 as an announcement that Israel's restoration is at hand. The text accomplishes this by associating the proclamation of the kingdom's arrival with the summons to repent and believe in the "good news" (τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ). First, Jesus' summons to "repent" (μετανοεῖτε) asserts continuity with John's baptism of repentance. This suggests that Jesus' career implements the program for Israel's restoration John had initiated at the Jordan River. Second, encoded within Jesus' announcement is an allusion to Isaiah 52.7-8, where a messenger races on foot to Zion "bringing glad tidings" (εὐαγγελιζόμενος) to the beleaguered city: Βασιλεύσει σου ὁ θεός ("Your god will rule").[556] According to

554.   Collins, *Mark*, 234.
555.   See the discussion in Watts, *New Exodus*, 146-156.
556.   Watts, *New Exodus*, 98, mentions Isa 52.7 and 61.1f.

the text in Isaiah, the reassertion of divine rule is manifest in the defeat of Jerusalem's enemies and the release of its captive people to return and repopulate the city. The allusion thus correlates the inauguration of the kingdom or rule of God with the accomplishment of Israel's restoration from exile.

Also present in Jesus' proclamation are echoes of TH Dan 7.22, where the terms καιρός ("time") and βασιλεία ("kingdom") both appear.[557] For Jesus, the imminent arrival of "God's rule" (ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ) signals that "the time is fulfilled" (πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρὸς). The "time" spoken of in Dan 7.22 corresponds to the moment when the holy ones of the Most High acquire the kingdom.   In Daniel's vision, this occurs after the slaying of the fourth beast, the Macedonian empire of Alexander, whose preeminent horn, the Seleucid king Antiochus IV, had dared to wage war against the holy ones of the Most High. According to the historical schematization imagined in the vision, the fourth beast emerges as the last in a succession of oppressive foreign powers that begins with Babylon. The text's schematic implicitly extends the duration of Judah's subjugation and exile from the Babylonian conquest of Judah to the persecution in Judea instigated by Antiochus IV in the mid-second century BCE.

In chapter 9 the book of Daniel makes this connection explicit through an interpretation of Jeremiah's seventy years that extends their fulfillment into the period of Antiochus' persecution. As Peter R. Ackroyd explains, "The understanding of the exile is clearly enlarged far beyond the temporal considerations of seventy years and the precise period covered by the

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557.   Collins, *Mark*, 155 note 122.

Babylonian captivity in the stricter sense."[558] In Jeremiah 29.10 (see also 25.11) the prophet asserts that Judah's exile in Babylonia will endure for seventy years. Daniel 9 extends the exile into the period of Antiochus' persecution by construing Jeremiah's seventy years as a period of seventy weeks of years, or seven years for every year of Jeremiah's prophecy, for a total of four hundred and ninety years. By means of this device, observes Ackroyd, "The desecration of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes is here regarded as a continuation of that desecration which belongs to the exilic age."[559] Daniel 7 makes an analogous move by envisioning an unbroken succession of empires that begins with Babylon and ends with the Seleucid monarchy. The scheme implicitly extends the duration of the exile from its inception during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to its contemporary manifestation in the persecution of Antiochus IV. Dan 7.22 thus implicitly understands the "time" of the kingdom's recovery by the holy ones of the Most High as coextensive with the end of a protracted period of exile.

The allusions to Isaiah 52.7 and Dan 7.22 affect the construal of Jesus' proclamation in Mark 1.15 and the episodes that follow. Working in tandem, the two allusions conspire to conflate the kingdom's arrival with Israel's restoration from exile and to credit both to the agency of Jesus.   This frames Jesus' announcement about the kingdom's imminent arrival as an assertion that the "time" of Israel's exile is drawing to a close.

In the next several episodes Jesus goes on to perform a series of healings that offer people recovery from illness and disease as well as liberation from

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558.   Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration*, 243.
559.   Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration*, 243.

demonic influence. The healings function to advance the proclamation of the kingdom in the form of symbolic actions.[560] The correspondence outlined above suggests that the healings at once betoken the reclamation of divine rule and the arrival of Israel's restoration. Further, the episode in which Jesus heals the paralyzed man in 2.1-12 explicitly correlates physical healing and forgiveness of sin. Jesus vindicates his authority to forgive sins by granting the paralytic the ability to walk. A few lines after this episode Jesus utters a pronouncement that confirms a similar association: οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἰσχύοντες ἰατροῦ ἀλλ᾽ οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες· οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλούς ("'Those who are healthy have no need of a physician, but those who are bad off; I have come not to call the righteous but sinners'"). Read allusively, then, the conjunction between healing and forgiveness suggests that Jesus is acting out Deut 30.3, καὶ ἰάσεται κύριος τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου καὶ ἐλεήσει σε ("And the Lord will heal your sins and have mercy on you"), in the course of advancing a divine program for Israel's restoration.[561]

C. An Understanding Heart

Activating the Gospel's allusion to Deut 30.1-10 relates Jesus' activity to a further element in the Deuteronomic schema of restoration, namely the cleansing of the nation's heart spoken of in LXX Deut 30.6. There, Moses explains that,

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560. See Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 158, who, despite being reticent to draw many concrete inferences about the aims of the historical Jesus from the Gospels' healing narratives, acknowledges: "That Jesus thought that his own work was intimately connected with the arrival of the kingdom should not be contested."
561. On healing and forgiveness as metaphors for and tokens of national restoration, see also Isa 33.24; 35.1-10; see further the discussion in Watts, *New Exodus*, 169-177.

after the exiles return to the national homeland, the Lord will cleanse Israel's heart to facilitate abiding love for the deity:

> καὶ περικαθαριεῖ κύριος τὴν καρδίαν σου καὶ τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ σπέρματός σου ἀγαπᾶν κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου, ἵνα ζῇς σύ.

> And the Lord will cleanse your heart and the heart of your progeny to love the Lord your God from the whole of your heart and from the whole of your soul so that you may live.

The language of the heart recalls a caveat Moses issues in the previous chapter. In 29.4 (LXX 29.3) he cautions that the Lord has not yet given Israel καρδίαν εἰδέναι καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς βλέπειν καὶ ὦτα ἀκούειν ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ("a heart to know, or eyes to see, or ears to hear until this day"). This is why the Israelites were unwilling to acknowledge that the Lord had sustained them during the harrowing forty-year journey through the wilderness. Without an understanding heart, Israel will not admit "that he is the Lord your God" (29.6 [LXX 29.5]). Further, it is because the nation lacks this faculty of theological perception that the collective heart eventually turns away from the Lord to serve foreign deities (Deut 29.18 [LXX 29.17]). In what follows in chapter 29, this act of national betrayal precipitates the exile (Deut 29.26-28). Reading Deut 30.6 in sequence with chapter 29, it appears that the Lord grants to restored Israel the understanding heart withheld from its ancestors. With the cleansing of the collective heart, Israel can acknowledge and love the Lord as its god and so avoid recapitulating the evils that led to national defeat and exile.

The Gospel of Mark uses similar images and rhetoric to convey that Israel still does not possess the understanding heart. According to the Gospel, not only

Jesus' opponents but also his closest followers lack the faculty of perception necessary to comprehend the nature of God's kingdom or rule as well as the identity and mission of Jesus. The first hints of this problem are embedded within the collection of parables Jesus tells about the kingdom of God in chapter 4. In 4.11 Jesus contrasts his disciples, who have access to the secret (τὸ μυστήριον) of the kingdom of God, with those outside (τοῖς ἔξω), who are taught in parables (ἐν παραβολαῖς). Alluding to Isaiah 6.9-10,[562] Jesus then explains in 4.12 that he teaches the "outsiders" in parables, ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν, καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσιν καὶ μὴ συνιῶσιν, μήποτε ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς ("so that those who see might see but not perceive, and those who hear might hear but not comprehend, lest they turn and it be forgiven them"). Although the source of Jesus' language is Isaiah 6, the connection between physical and theological perception resonates with imagery in Deut 29.4 (LXX 29.3), where Moses cautions Israel that it does not yet possess a heart to know, eyes to see, and ears to hear. Yet given the contrast between the disciples and those outside in 4.11, it comes as a surprise when Jesus bemoans the disciples' failure to understand his parables: "'Do you not understand (οἴδατε) this parable? Then how will you come to understand (γνώσεσθε) all the parables?" (4.13). Ironically, the would-be insiders are behaving more like outsiders who lack the ability to understand. As Robert M. Fowler, notes: "The disciples, the insiders of 4.11, are now revealed to be outsiders, those for whom the parables

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562. See further the discussion in Watts, *New Exodus*, 184-210, who connects Mark 4.12 to the Beelzebul controversy in 3.22-30 and concludes that Jesus' warning in 4.12 is directed primarily, though not exclusively, against the Jerusalem leaders.

are riddles."[563] Put in the rhetoric of Deut 29.4 (LXX 29.3) and 30.6, without a cleansed heart, the disciples, like those outside, can neither perceive nor understand the Lord's rule enacted in Jesus' activity.

Later in chapter 7, in language that resonates with Deut 30.6, Jesus underscores the need for a properly cleansed heart.[564] It is no use, he says, to be cleansed only from external contagions by such actions as ritual washings. When the disciples ask Jesus about his parabolic teaching, Jesus upbraids them as he did in 4.13: "So you also are without understanding [ἀσύνετοί]? Do you not perceive [νοεῖτε] that whatever goes into a person from outside cannot defile..." (7.18). Jesus goes on to explain why this is so: "For it is from inside, from the human heart (ἐκ τῆς καρδίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων), that evil designs proceed" (7.21). Because the heart, in fact, produces contaminants, it is the heart that must be cleansed, not merely the body. As Daniel Boyarin has recently explained, "it is not what goes into the mouth that renders one impure but the impure intentions of a heart, as signified by the halakhic fact that things that go out of the body cause impurity."[565] Significantly, this episode tacitly associates the problem of a

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563.   Robert Fowler "Reader-Response Criticism: Figuring Mark's Reader" in *Mark and Method: New Approaches in Biblical Studies*, Second Edition (Minneapolis: Fortress Press: 2008), 82. For studies of the Markan disciples, see, e.g., Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, *In the Company of Jesus: Characters in Mark's Gospel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2000), 41-130; Joanna Dewey, "Point of View and Disciples in Mark," *SBLSP* 21 (1982): 97-106; David Rhoads and Donald Michie, *Mark As Story: An Introduction to the Narrative of a Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortres, 1982), 122-129; Ernest Best, *Following Jesus: Discipleship in the Gospel of Mark* (JSNTSup 4; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981; Ernest Best, "The Role of the Disciples in Mark," *NTS* 23 (1977): 377-401; Ernest Best, "Mark's Use of the Twelve," *ZNW* 69 (1978): 11-35; Werner H. Kelber, *Mark's Story of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979); Robert Tannehill, "The Disciples in Mark: The Function of a Narrative Role," *JR* 57 (1977): 386-405; Theodore J. Weeden, Sr., *Mark–Traditions in Conflict* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971); Theodore J. Weeden, Sr., "The Heresy That Necessitated Mark's Gospel," *ZNW* 59 (1968): 145-58.
564.   For a recent discussion of this episode in Mark 7, see Daniel Boyarin, *The Jewish Gospels: The Story of the Jewish Christ* (New York: The New Press, 2012), 102-128.
565.   Boyarin, *Jewish Gospels*, 124.

defiling heart with the disciples' chronic inability to understand. Read allusively, this suggests again that what they need is the cleansed heart offered in Deut 30.6.

An altercation that occurs after the second feeding miracle in chapter 8 acutely reinforces the accruing problem of the disciples' inability to perceive. When the Pharisees demand a sign from heaven in 8.11, Jesus bemoans that the current generation doubts the divine origin and endorsement of his recent actions. Back in the boat with his disciples, Jesus tries to caution them concerning the "yeast" or corrupting influence of his incredulous opponents. Picking up on the bread-making imagery, the disciples erroneously think Jesus is reproaching them for failing to bring an adequate supply of bread to sustain the company in their travels. Sensing this, Jesus censures them for not having learned anything from the two previous feeding episodes, in which thousands were fed from only a few loaves of bread. The language he uses is noteworthy: "Why are you discussing that you do not have bread? Do you not yet perceive (νοεῖτε) or comprehend (συνίετε)? Do you have a hardened heart (πεπωρωμένην…καρδίαν)? Having eyes do you not see (βλέπετε), and having ears do you not hear (ἀκούετε)? And do you not remember (μνημονεύετε)?" (8.17-18). The triadic image of heart-eyes-ears not only recalls in part Isaiah 6.9-10, alluded to above in chapter 4,[566] but also resonates with the imagery of Deut 29.4 (LXX 29.3) and Deut 30.6.

Following the episode in the boat, Jesus restores sight to a blind man outside the town of Bethsaida (8.22-26). Curiously, Jesus heals the man in two

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566. See also Jer 5.21, noted by Collins, *Mark*, 387.

stages. After a preliminary touch the man sees only partially; the distant crowd looks like a copse of swaying trees. With a second touch the man sees everything clearly. The two-stage healing probably functions as an enacted parable for the disciples' benefit.[567] At present, they see only partially at best.[568] This reading is confirmed in the next episode, in which Peter correctly identifies Jesus as Israel's messiah but refuses to acknowledge that his vocation conforms to a pattern of suffering followed by vindication (8.27-33).

By the end of the Gospel it remains unclear whether the disciples have received a "second touch" to enable an accurate understanding of Jesus' messianic vocation. They fail to keep watch while Jesus prays in the garden of Gethsemane; all of them abandon him and flee at his arrest; and Peter denies being acquainted with Jesus during the latter's trial before the high priest. Significantly, this is the last time the disciples take the stage in the narrative. In 16.7 the angel at the tomb instructs the arriving women to report back to the disciples in Galilee that Jesus has been raised from the dead. But the Gospel ends before telling how the disconsolate company in Galilee receives their message. Rhetorically, the Gospel's ambiguous ending has the effect of transferring the role of responding to the news of Jesus' resurrection from the disciples to the Gospel's readers. That notwithstanding, the narrative itself closes by leaving the disciples' story open.

The only indication that the disciples eventually acquire an understanding

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567. Cf. Heikki Räisänen, *The 'Messianic Secret' in Mark* (Studies of the New Testament and Its World; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1990), 204, who argues against a symbolic reading of the episode.
568. See Best, *Following Jesus*, 137, who contends that the disciples see fully only after Jesus' resurrection.

heart is the notice in 13.9 that in days to come they will testify about their association with Jesus before Jewish and Roman authorities.[569] In addition to recapitulating Jesus' own experience, 13.9 provides a literary counterpoint to Peter's denial of Jesus in chapter 14. There, in the courtyard outside the place of Jesus' trial before the high priest, one of the servant-girls interrogates Peter about his association with Jesus. When Peter responds, he claims: "I do not know [οἶδα] or understand [ἐπίσταμαι] what you are saying" (14.68). The phrase "I do not know [οἶδα]" in 14.68 recalls Jesus' question in 4.13, "Do you not understand [οἴδατε] this parable," and forms a verbal *inclusio* around the episodes featuring the trope of the disciples' misunderstanding. Apart from Mark 13, then, Peter's final appearance on the narrative stage suggests that he still does not possess the understanding heart.

In fact, by the end of the Gospel the only member of Jesus' company to show convincing proof of possessing a heart that acknowledges the Lord's coming rule is Jesus himself, who decisively surrenders to the divine plan at Gethsemane in 14.36.[570] In this respect the Gospel of Mark is close to the figuration of Deut 30.1-10 in the book of Nehemiah, where, at the close of the book, it remains unclear whether anyone but Nehemiah himself has acquired a heart obedient to the Lord's will. The same holds true for the Gospel of Mark as

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569.   Noted by Collins, *Mark*, 395, who takes this as evidence that the Gospel does envision the disciples as moving from partial to clear sight after Jesus' resurrection.

570.   Outside of Jesus and his disciples, the demons readily acknowledge Jesus and his mission, though do not subject themselves to divine rule, and several individual characters evince enough trust in Jesus' "gospel" to warrant their receiving divine aid (see 6.1-6, where unbelief limits the scope of Jesus' benefactions). See Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, *Mark's Jesus: Characterization as Narrative Christology* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2009), 80-92, for an analysis of what the demons and suppliants say about Jesus in Mark and Malbon, *Company*, 189-225, for an insightful study of the minor characters in the Gospel.

far as Jesus' inner circle is concerned. A notable exception from among "those outside" is the Roman centurion who acclaims the suffering and dying Jesus as (a) son of god in 15.39. While the designated insiders continue to act the part of (mostly) ignorant outsiders to the very end, the ultimate outsider, a Roman centurion likely responsible for crucifying Jesus, responds to the latter's death with the confession of an insider, whether sincere or not.[571] This dynamic distinguishes Jesus as unique and superlative among his contemporaries, even as it beckons other would-be "disciples" to manifest the understanding heart by joining Peter in acclaiming that Jesus is Israel's messiah and the centurion in acknowledging that the crucified Jesus is son of God. Read allusively, then, the motif of (mis)understanding intimates that those who acknowledge God's rule in the activity and death of his messianic agent possess the cleansed heart characteristic of restored Israel in Deut 30.6.

Conclusion

In conclusion, activating Mark's allusion to Deut 30.1-10 refigures the profile of Deuteronomy's restored Israel in several unexpected and provocative ways. To begin with, the allusion suggests that the conditions of Israel's exile have endured despite the rebuilding and repopulating of Jerusalem some five centuries earlier. The Gospel allusively identifies John's baptism at the Jordan

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571.   For a discussion of the centurion's affirmation, see Malbon, Mark's Jesus, 121-124; see also Whitney T. Shiner, "The Ambiguous Pronouncement of the Centurion and the Shrouding of Meaning in Mark," *JSNT* 22 (2000): 3-22 and Stephen D. Moore, "The SS Officer at the Foot of the Cross: A Tragedy in Three Acts," in *Between Author and Audience in Mark: Narration, Characterization, Interpretation* (ed. Elizabeth Struthers Malbon; NTM 23; Sheffield: Sheffield Pheonix, 2009), 44-61.

River as the instantiation of Israel's repentant turn to the Lord while in exile. Further, the allusion figures Jesus as the agent whom the Lord appoints to accomplish restoration, not least by healing the nation's sins. Membership in restored Israel, however, belongs exclusively to those who affirm that God's rule has arrived in the crucified and vindicated Jesus, who is Israel's messiah and God's son. Yet aside from Jesus himself and a small group of individual characters who receive his benefactions, neither the temple leaders, nor the Roman authorities, nor even the disciples themselves give convincing evidence of possessing a heart that evinces such an understanding.

In addition to beckoning readers to cultivate a perceiving heart, the motif also casts an ominous shadow over the nation. The refusal of the temple hierarchs and their confederates to acknowledge Jesus as the Lord's authoritative agent presages the ruination of the Jerusalem temple, an event that the Gospel construes as an act of divine retribution for the disrespect shown to God's son (12.9; see also 8.38; 13.24-26; 14.62). Correlatively, Mark's allusion to Deut 30.1-10 refigures the meaning of the temple's destruction. It suggests that the fall of the temple paradoxically signals the end of Israel's exile, the transfer of divine imprecations onto Israel's enemies, and the arrival of eschatological restoration for the elect. For Mark, however, restoration remains centered on the figure of Jesus and realized among the company of his loyal followers, whether Jewish or non-Jewish. These are the only actors qualified to play the role of Deuteronomy's restored Israel.

CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters I have argued that reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in Nehemiah, Ruth, Tobit, and the Gospel of Mark yields varied and often competing literary figurations of a restored Israel as the resolution to the problem of an ongoing exile. I have illustrated how activating the allusion positions these works as participants in a kind of literary theatre, with each rendering a unique interpretive performance of the Deuteronomic script. When compared with the depiction of restoration in Deut 30.1-10, these literary performances seem incongruous and unexpected insofar as they feature unlikely and in some cases unconventional actors playing the role scripted in Deuteronomy for restored Israel. These actors include the following: repatriated Judean exiles sequestered from foreign influence (Nehemiah), a Moabite widow who serves as an emblem and agent of Judean restoration (Ruth), a pious though afflicted Israelite exile who experiences a measure of divine restoration while living in diaspora (Tobit), and the followers of a Galilean prophet whom God acclaims as Israel's messiah and charges with the task of bringing about eschatological restoration (The Gospel of Mark). Read allusively, the four Second Temple narratives enact performances of Deut 30.1-10 that project different possible ways of refiguring national restoration under the shadow of an exile literarily depicted as unresolved and ongoing. The interpretive possibilities opened up by reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in Nehemiah, Ruth, Tobit, and Mark thus underscore the capacity

of these narratives to imagine diverse and innovative ways of realizing Moses' vision of a restored Israel.

To advance the argument, I have implemented an approach to reading biblical allusion oriented toward poststructuralist theories of intertextuality. This approach allows for exploring the interpretive possibilities reading an allusion offers irrespective of authorial intention. It respects the traditional diachronic relationship between alluding and evoked texts but accents the role of readers in activating an allusion to reposition meaning in potentially both texts. In my own allusive readings I have chosen to consider the four Second Temple narratives in their historical and cultural contexts as informed by scholarly accounts of their origins. Following Carol Newsom, though, I have appropriated such accounts less as normative historical reconstructions and more as "heuristic fictions,"[572] themselves intertexts, that facilitate certain ways of construing allusive meaning.

My study has primarily advanced claims about how reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in Nehemiah, Ruth, Tobit, and the Gospel of Mark contributes to literary representations of a restored Israel. That having been said, with English Renaissance scholar Jean E. Howard I affirm that "literature is *part* of history," such that "both social and literary texts are . . . open to mutual intertextual influences of one another."[573] This means that literature, not least the works of biblical literature I discuss in this study, exercises "real power" as "an agent in con-

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572. See Carol A. Newsom, *The Book of Job: A Contest of Moral Imaginations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 16.
573. Jean E. Howard, "The New Historicism in Renaissance Studies." *English Literary Renaissance* 16 (1986): 13-43, here 25, author's emphasis.

structing a culture's sense of reality."[574] With that in mind, in what follows I offer

a brief reflection on some possible historical implications of my study.

Rather than grounding a historical reading of allusion in claims about an

author's intention or an original audience's understanding,[575] I propose instead

to consider how Nehemiah, Ruth, Tobit, and Mark, when read allusively, relate to

the discursive context that shaped Judaic culture during the Second Temple peri-

od. To that end, I draw on the "new historicism" or "cultural poetics" elaborated

by Shakespearean scholar Stephen Greenblatt among others. Greenblatt's ap-

proach involves "understanding literature as part of the system of signs that con-

stitutes a given culture" in the service of developing "a *poetics of culture*."[576]

Greenblatt defines the "interpretive task" of cultural poetics as the investigation

of "both the social presence to the world of the literary text and the social pres-

ence of the world in the literary text."[577] As Howard explains, cultural poetics of-

fers to avoid the extremes of both an older historicism, which often views the lit-

erary text as a window, whether direct or indirect, onto "objective" historical

reality, and New Criticism, which tends to isolate the literary text from the histor-

ical and cultural context of its production in the interest of discerning "truth."[578]

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574.   Howard, "New Historicism," 25, author's emphasis.
575.   For a critique of such approaches to the hermeneutical problem of how readers appropriate a text, see Paul Ricoeur, "Appropriation" in *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences* (John B. Thompson, ed and trans; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 182-193, especially 183-84 and 190.
576.   Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 4-5, author's emphasis. For an application of this approach to the study of rabbinic literature and culture, see Daniel B. Boyarin, *Carnal Israel: Reading Sex in Talmudic Culture* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1995).
577.   Greenblatt, *Self-Fashioning*, 5.
578.   See Howard, "New Historicism," 13-46 for an explication of new historicism in relation to traditional historicism and New Criticism.

How, then, might cultural poetics facilitate an inquiry into the ways Nehemiah, Ruth, Tobit, and Mark relate to the discourses that characterized and shaped Second Temple Judaic culture?

According to Carol Newsom, the problem of national identity formation remained at the heart of the discursive matrix that sustained Judaic culture throughout the Second Temple period: "One can treat the diverse cultural phenomena of Second Temple Judaism as a protracted discussion of the question, 'What is it that really constitutes Israel?' Not every society is so preoccupied with a discourse of identity, but the peculiar historical circumstances of Second Temple Judaism brought that issue to the fore."[579] Among the specific cultural phenomena Newsom goes on to enumerate is the production of new literary works. These works would have included the books of Nehemiah, Ruth, and Tobit, as well as the Gospel of Mark. As summarized above, reading allusion to Deut 30.1-10 in these narratives draws attention to the different ways they address the question of what genuinely constitutes a restored Israel. This suggests that an allusive reading of these four works, considered as forms of social practice, offers to illumine the broader discourse of national identity in which they participated.

As literary productions of the Second Temple period, the four alluding narratives speak to the larger cultural project of refiguring national identity that developed in the wake of Judah's defeat by Babylon and its subsequent reconstitution under Persian (and later Hellenistic and Roman) hegemony.   Setting the

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579.   Carol Newsom, *The Self As Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2004), 4.

four works alongside each other illustrates that their respective figurations of re-
stored Israel are not only diverse but also markedly tendentious and, for the
most part, mutually incompatible. This in turn suggests that the discourse of
identity in which these works participated was neither benign nor, perhaps, even
civil but highly contested and potentially divisive. Howard is surely correct to
caution that "a culture's discourse…need not, and probably does not, correspond
exactly to how people live."[580] Her caveat notwithstanding, the discourse of na-
tional identity variously refracted in the four alluding narratives likely played a
role in certain Second Temple social phenomena: the rise and growth of sectari-
anism, the intra-Jewish factional fighting during the revolt against Rome in 66-73
CE, and the growing divergence – social as well as ideological and hermeneutical –
between Jews and early Christians on the one hand and Jewish and non-Jewish
early Christians on the other. For each of these social phenomena, the question
of what really constitutes a restored Israel bore considerable ideological freight.
For some Second Temple audiences, then, the allusive refiguring of restoration in
Nehemiah, Ruth, Tobit, and the Gospel of Mark may well have offered a creative
and compelling way forward toward the future Moses imagines for Israel in Deut
30.1-10.

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580.   Howard, "New Historicism," 26.

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