

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

THE LITERARY HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH IN LIGHT OF ITS TEXTUAL HISTORY

1. *The two editions of Jeremiah*

The LXX of Jeremiah often differs from MT of that book in major details. It is shorter than MT by one-seventh and it differs from MT in its arrangement of the material.¹ Since the LXX's translation technique in Jeremiah is relatively literal where the two texts overlap,² it is unlikely that the translator would have abridged his Hebrew *Vorlage*. This implies that the brevity of the LXX reflects a short Hebrew text.

The existence of a short Hebrew text of Jeremiah has been confirmed by 4QJer^{b,d} containing parts of chapters 9–10, 43, and 50 (see *DJD* XV). These manuscripts, dated to the first half of the second century BCE, resemble the LXX of Jeremiah in the two major features in which the reconstructed *Vorlage* of that translation differs from MT, namely, the arrangement of the text and its shortness. 4QJer^{b,d} share seven minuses with the LXX, two of which are long (10:6–8, 10), and five short (mainly names).³ In addition, two minuses of the LXX are not shared with 4QJer^{b,d},⁴ while ten short minuses cannot be compared with 4QJer^{b,d} because of their fragmentary nature. The reconstructed text of 4QJer^b also agrees with the LXX (against MT) in the sequence of the verses in chapter 10, where the verses appear in the order 1–5a, 9, 5b, 11–12.

At the same time, 4QJer^{b,d} are not identical to the reconstructed *Vorlage* of the LXX. In addition to the three minuses of LXX which are not shared with 4QJer^{b,d}, the scrolls agree with MT against the LXX in five

¹ This situation is most clearly visible in the different location of the oracles against the foreign nations. In MT they constitute chapters 46–51, but in the LXX they follow 25:13 and are arranged in a different order.

² For a description, see Min, *Minuses and Pluses*, and, more briefly, A. Scholz, *Der Masorethische Text und die LXX Übersetzung des Buches Jeremias* (Regensburg 1875) and F. Giesebrecht, *Das Buch Jeremia* (HAT III 2.1; Göttingen 1894) xix–xxxiv. See also p. 348 above.

³ 43:4, 5, 'Son of Kareah'; 43:5, 'from all the countries to which they had been scattered'; 43:6, 'chief of the guards' (רֹבֵב טַבָּחִים); 43:6, 'son of 'Shaphan.'

⁴ 43:7, 'land'; 43:9, 'in mortar in the brick structure which' (בַּמִּלֵּט בַּמִּלְבֵּן אֲשֶׁר).

details, and they also contain some unique readings found in neither the LXX nor MT. While 4QJer^{b,d} are thus not identical to the *Vorlage* of the LXX, the existence of such a short and differently ordered Hebrew version of Jeremiah, coupled with the fact that the translator of Jeremiah was relatively literal and not likely to have made such changes himself, confirms the assumption that the LXX of Jeremiah was based on a short Hebrew *Vorlage*, similar to 4QJer^{b,d}.

The question of whether the short or the long version of Jeremiah is the earlier of the two has been discussed by Janzen, *Jeremiah*; Min, *Minuses and Pluses*; and Tov, "Exegetical Notes." Each of these studies suggested that the short version is earlier than the long one. It has been suggested further, especially by the present writer and by P.-M. Bogaert,⁵ that the common text of the LXX and 4QJer^{b,d}, that is, the short version, does not reflect a different text of Jeremiah but an earlier *edition* of that book (*edition I*; by the same token, MT is called *edition II*).⁶ The two editions differed from each other not only in length but also in the arrangement of the material. The first, short edition was expanded to the form now found in ed. II during one of the stages of the literary growth of the book. Edition II contains many pluses over against ed. I, not only in words, phrases, and sentences, but also in complete sections, the largest of which are 33:14–26 and 39:4–13. The date of the textual *witnesses* of the first edition does not bear on the date of the edition itself, because presumably ed. I was written long before the time of the LXX, and it was not destroyed even when ed. II was created on the basis of ed. I. It was still known in the second century BCE in Egypt, when it served as the *Vorlage* for the LXX translation, and was present (along with manuscripts close to ed. II) at Qumran in the first half of the second century BCE.

The description of ed. II that follows is based on the premise that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX and 4QJer^{b,d} represent an early edition of Jeremiah, which was expanded by the editor of MT into ed. II.

⁵ Tov, "L'incidence" and "Exegetical Notes"; Bogaert, "De Baruch à Jérémie" and "Mécanismes."

⁶ The terms *edition*/*editor* and *text*/*scribe* describe different stages in the development of the book as well as the persons involved. *Editions* belong to the stages of the growth of the book, up to and including its final formulation, and they involve major changes, additions, and transpositions; the writers who produced them are termed *editors*. The *textual* transmission, performed by *scribes* for each edition, starts *after* that edition was completed. Scribes involved in this process did insert changes into the text, but to a much smaller degree than editors did.

2. *The nature of the added layer of edition II (MT)*

When inserting his own words and thoughts in a book that was transmitted under the name of the prophet Jeremiah, editor II took considerable liberty. Indeed, pseudepigraphal authorship and revision were common practice in antiquity.⁷ Editor II did not distort significantly the message of the prophet as handed down to him. True, he added a great deal and inserted significant changes, but these changes were not radical. Furthermore, editor II did not rewrite a scroll that contained only authentic Jeremianic utterances, but he found the deuteronomic edition of Jeremiah's sayings and biography so that much of what he added was based on an already edited book (see below, a iii).

The main aspects of the additions and changes of ed. II are reviewed next. Edition II is sometimes shorter than ed. I,⁸ but these relatively few instances may be disregarded in the overall evaluation of ed. II. It is assumed that both 4QJer^{b,d} and the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX developed from an earlier form of ed. I and that editor II rewrote a text, which was very similar to ed. I, but not identical with it.

Editor II rewrote, reedited, and revised a text almost identical with ed. I, even though ed. II does not reflect a consistent rewriting of the previous edition. Revisional activity in literary compositions bears a very personal and subjective character, and this should be borne in mind when the additions of ed. II are analyzed.

The anonymous editor II was not a scribe, but he produced one of the stages of the literary work now called MT. He had access to genuine Jeremianic material not included in ed. I, he rearranged sections, and he also added new material (for all these, see section a). Editor II revised an edition that was known to him in a written form as he often inserted elements neatly between the words found in ed. I.

The inconsistency of his rewriting cannot be taken as an argument against our working hypothesis since very few revisions are consistent—in the biblical realm only 'inconsistent' revisers are known, such as the deuteronomic reviser of Joshua through 2 Kings, the 'Elohist' in the Psalms, the Lucianic reviser of the LXX, and, on a different level, SP.⁹

⁷ Cf. M. Smith, "Pseudepigraphy in the Israelite Literary Tradition," in: *Pseudepigrapha I* (Geneva 1972) 191-215, esp. 200 ff.

⁸ For the data, see Janzen, *Jeremiah*, 63-65 and Min, *Minuses and Pluses*. It is not likely that editor II omitted these details, as they resemble typologically similar details that were added in ed. II.

⁹ The inconsistency of the deuteronomic reviser of Joshua through 2 Kings and Jeremiah reveals itself in the discrepancies between the proto-deuteronomic composition and the deuteronomic layer, and further in the amount of intervention differing from one

a. *Editorial aspects*

Editor II took the liberty of adding and changing many minor details and a few major ones:

i. *Addition of headings to prophecies*

Editor II added several headings to prophecies which in ed. I had no heading at all; he also expanded existing short headings:¹⁰

2:1–2 The word of the Lord came to me, saying, Go proclaim to Jerusalem.

7:1–2 (The word which came to Jeremiah from the Lord: Stand at the gate of the house of the Lord, and there proclaim this word:) Hear the word of the Lord, all you of Judah (who enter these gates to worship the Lord).

The added information in this last heading derives from v. 10 and the parallel passage in chapter 26.

16:1 The word of the Lord came to me.

27:1 At the beginning of the reign of King Jehoiakim son of Josiah son of Judah, this word came to Jeremiah from the Lord.

This heading is added wrongly, for the chapter itself speaks of Zedekiah; cf. vv. 3, 12, and 28:1ff. The added heading erroneously repeats that of the previous chapter, 26:1.

47:1 (The word of the Lord that came to the prophet Jeremiah) concerning the Philistines, (before Pharaoh conquered Gaza).¹¹

ii. *Repetition of sections*

In ed. I, several sections of two or more verses occur twice, for example, 6:22–24 = 50:41–43; 10:12–16 = 51:15–19; 23:19–20 = 30:23–24; 49:18–21 = 50:44–46. This repetition may have originated with the prophet himself, who applied certain prophecies to more than one situation or it may

section to the other. Similarly, the ‘Elohists’ in the Psalms did not replace all occurrences of יהוה. The Lucianic reviser was not consistent in his vocabulary, linguistic changes, and the degree of intervention. In SP, harmonizing editing is applied only to some stories.

¹⁰ When the additions are quoted along with their larger contexts, parentheses are used for the added matter. When the additions supplement pronouns which were implicit in verbs, the pronouns are placed in brackets. For additions that are presented without any context, no parentheses are used. The Hebrew text (reconstructed from the LXX where necessary) of passages quoted here can be found in Tov, “Some Aspects.” The English translations follow NJV as much as possible.

¹¹ The addition of headings in the prophecies against the nations is inconsistent. Indeed, some ‘historical’ headings are found in editions I and II in the prophecies against Egypt (46:1, 13), Kedar (49:28–33), and Elam (49:34–39), while other prophecies have no heading at all in editions I and II: Moab (48), Ammon (49:1–6), Edom (49:7–27), Babel (50–51).

have derived from editor I. Against this background editor II felt at liberty to continue this practice. The following sections are duplicated in ed. II: 6:13–15 (duplicated in 8:10b–12); 15:13–14 (duplicated in 17:3–4); 46:27–28 (duplicated in 30:10–11); 49:22 (duplicated in 48:40b, 41b).

iii. *Addition of new verses and sections*

Editor II added a substantial number of new verses, both in prose and in poetry, which derive from the three major strata recognized in the book. Some of these are presumably authentic utterances of the prophet (stratum A), others belong to the historical-biographical stratum (B, by Baruch?), and still others, written in deuteronomic diction (stratum C), were probably composed by editor II himself.

We first turn to stratum A in which editor II added some original Jeremianic verses and passages. We do not know why this Jeremianic material had not previously entered ed. I and why or how it was preserved. One should not doubt the originality of these verses (see below on 33:14–26) just because they were lacking in ed. I. Authentic material probably continued to circulate among the prophet's followers even after ed. I was completed. For a possible parallel, see the authentic traditions relating to 1–2 Kings contained in Chronicles.

The most remarkable addition of this kind is the prophecy in 33:14–26 on the *צִמְחָה צְדִיקָה* ('true branch') and the durability of the covenant. Although this section has often been denied to Jeremiah because it is absent from the LXX and may have been added secondarily on the basis of 23:5–6 and 31:35–37,¹² there is no sound reason for this skepticism. On the contrary, in addition to 33:14–16, 25–26, which resemble the aforementioned passages, there are several Jeremianic expressions in this section reminiscent of other passages in the book,¹³ and the argument that these elements reflect a glossator's imitation is artificial. The burden of proof is on those who deny the section to the prophet in whose name it has been transmitted.

Other sections added in poetry are 17:1–2; 30:15 (cf. vv. 12b, 14b₂); and 51:44b–49a.¹⁴

¹² See W. Rudolph, *Jeremiah* (HAT; 2d ed.; Tübingen 1958) 199–201; J. Skinner, *Prophecy and Religion* (Cambridge 1963) 310. For a discussion of the whole issue, see esp. Janzen, *Jeremiah*, 122–23.

¹³ 'The good thing' (v. 14), cf. 29:10, 'the house of Israel ... and the house of Judah' (v. 14), cf. 3:18; 13:11; 31:27; 31:31; 'in those days and at that time' (v. 15), cf. 50:4, 20.

¹⁴ 10:6–8, 10 (lacking in the LXX and 4QJer^b), on the other hand, may be secondary. The main topic of the chapter is a derogation of the idols, and therefore verses 6–8, 10, are contextually out of place as they extol the God of Israel (if these verses were added

The largest addition in the stratum B material is 39:4–13. Vv. 4–10 add data derived from 2 Kgs 25:4–7, 9–12 (= Jer 52:7–11, 13–16) before that section was added as an appendix to Jeremiah (chapter 52). At the same time, it provides new data in vv. 11–13, in which Nebuchadnezzar commands Nebuzaradan about Jeremiah.

Of special interest are the deuteronomic additions in ed. II. Edition I already contained a deuteronomic layer, which probably derived from editor I himself. This deuteronomic rewriting was rather extensive, especially in chapters 7, 11, 19, and 21, but it changed the basic message of the prophet only slightly. The assumption of a deuteronomic stratum in Jeremiah (stratum C) is widespread among scholars, but normally it is not realized that this stratum in Jeremiah is composed of two layers. The larger part of the deuteronomic stratum is found in ed. I, but editor II added many deuteronomic phrases (see section b iv) and also complete sections that abound with deuteronomic phraseology such as 11:7–8; 29:16–20, and sections of chapter 27 (vv. 7, 13–14a, 17). Editor II may have been one of the last members of that ill-defined ‘deuteronomic school,’ or else he simply imitated its style.

iv. *Addition of new details*

When analyzing the nature of the added elements, one must pay attention to the amount of ‘new information’ contained in them. Many of the added elements somehow derive from the context, but others contain such data as cannot have derived from the context. It is the latter that we term *new details*. These show that editor II must have had access to Jeremianic material that had not entered ed. I, as demonstrated by the data mentioned in the previous section with reference to stratum A. In this section further examples are given, consisting of a few words only. First, some examples from the prose sections of the book.

25:1 The word which came to Jeremiah concerning all the people of Judah, in the fourth year of king Jehoiakim son of Josiah of Judah, (which was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon).

Ed. II added a synchronism such as is found often in the historical books.

25:20 ... all the mixed peoples; (all the kings of the land of Uz.)

25:25 ... (all the kings of Zimri) and all the kings of Elam.

25:26 ... all the royal lands which are on the earth. (And last of all, the king of Sheshach shall drink.)

secondarily, they resemble the ‘doxologies’ which have also been added elsewhere in the Bible). See further Bogaert, “Mécanismes.”

This last addition remedies the absence of the king of Babylon in the list of kings and nations that are to drink from the 'cup of wrath' (vv. 15–17). He is added here in ed. II, though in the 'atbash' code of secret writing (ששך = בבל).¹⁵ Likewise, זרר lacking in ed. I, if corrected to זכר, may be an 'atbash' form for Elam (עילם). The phrase mentioning Uz in v. 20 is lacking in ed. I.

27:19–22. ¹⁹For thus said the Lord (of Hosts concerning the columns, the tank, the stands and) concerning the rest of the vessels (which remain in this city), ²⁰which (Nebuchadnezzar) the king of Babylon did not take when he exiled Jeconiah (son of Jehoiakim, king of Judah) from Jerusalem (to Babylon, with all the nobles of Judah and Jerusalem—²¹thus said the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, concerning the vessels remaining in the House of the Lord, in the royal palace of Judah and in Jerusalem): ²²They shall be brought to Babylon (and there they shall remain until I take note of them)—declares the Lord—(and bring them up and restore them to this place).

The additions in 27:19–22 stress that the temple vessels which will be carried off to Babylon will subsequently be returned to Jerusalem. This idea is not consistent with the spirit of the surrounding verses, which deal with false prophets and not with the fate of the temple vessels. Even if this were not the case, it is nevertheless anticlimactic to mention immediately after the threat to the vessels that ultimately they will be returned to Jerusalem. Nevertheless, from his point of view, editor II felt that he could not leave the words of Jeremiah without correction. For the realization of both the threat and the promise, see Dan 5:2–3 and Ezra 1:7, 11; 6:5.

In this section ed. II speaks of two groups of vessels, which were left in Jerusalem after Jeconiah's exile and which were to be carried away to Babylon. Of these vessels, 'the vessels left in the house of the Lord' are also mentioned in ed. I, in 52:17, but the 'vessels in the house of the king' are not mentioned there. On the other hand, in 52:13 Nebuzaradan is said to have burnt 'the house of the king,' and as it is known that Nebuchadnezzar took vessels from 'the house of the Lord' before it was burnt, he probably acted similarly with regard to the vessels found in 'the house of the king.'

29:21 Thus said the Lord (of Hosts, the God of Israel) concerning Ahab (son of Kolaiah) and Zedekiah (son of Maaseiah, who prophesy falsely in my name).

The patronymics of the two false prophets are not mentioned elsewhere.

36:22 The king was sitting in the winter house (in the ninth month).

¹⁵ In the 'atbash' system of secret writing, an *aleph* represents a *tav* and vice versa, a *beth* represents a *s(h)in* and vice versa, etc. See J.M. Sasson, "Wordplay in the OT," *IDBS*, 968–970, esp. 969.

36:26 ... to arrest Baruch (the scribe) and Jeremiah (the prophet).

36:32 So Jeremiah got another scroll, (and gave it to Baruch son of Neriah the scribe).

Only in ed. II is Baruch explicitly called 'the scribe.'¹⁶

37:17 Zedekiah (the king) sent for him and took him and questioned him (in his palace) secretly.

It is not stated elsewhere in the context that the meeting took place 'in his palace.'

38:1 Shephatiah son of Mattan, Gedaliah son of Pashhur, Jucal son of Shelemiah (and Pashhur son of Malchiah) heard.

Pashhur the son of Malchiah is known from 21:1, but here he is not mentioned in ed. I.

38:7 Ebed-melech the Ethiopian, (a eunuch), heard.

Only here is Ebed-melech called 'eunuch.'

38:12 And [he] said, (Eved-melech the Ethiopian to Jeremiah), 'Put [them] (the worn cloths and rags under your armpits), inside the ropes.'

The word for armpits, אַצְלִיָּה, does not occur in this form elsewhere in the Bible (cf., however, אַצְלִי in Ezek 13:18 and possibly also אַצְלִיָּה in Ezek 41:8, the word is further known from rabbinic Hebrew, [אַצְלִי, elbow] and Syriac [אַצְלִיָּה, elbow]).

There are similar additions in the poetry sections, but the notion of 'new details' in poetry differs from such additions in prose. For the prose, examples were given of details that provide new factual information, but little such information is contained in the additions in poetry. For these, other criteria must be applied. It seems that a 'new detail' in the poetry sections is the addition of any detail that conceivably could have derived from the prophet himself. It must be remembered that the poetry sections in the book (stratum A), as opposed to the biographical stratum (B) and the deuteronomistic stratum (C), are ascribed by all scholars to the prophet himself; therefore any detail added in stratum A may ultimately go back to an authentic tradition, but there can be no certainty in these matters. Some examples follow:

1:18 I make you this day a fortified city, (and an iron pillar), and bronze walls.

¹⁶ Since Baruch is not known from other books of the Bible, it is of interest to mention a bulla with the inscription לְבִרְכִיָּהוּ בֶן נְרִיָּהוּ הַכֹּהֵן, 'belonging to Berechياهو son of Neriyahu the scribe.' The title 'scribe' is applied to Baruch only in ed. II of Jeremiah (36:26, 32), not in ed. I. The bulla confirms that Baruch actually bore the title. Although editor II could have simply inferred this from Jeremiah 36, it is equally possible that he learned this from authentic traditions about Jeremiah's life. For the bulla, see N. Avigad, "Baruch the Scribe and Jerahmeel the King's Son," *IEJ* 28 (1978) 52-56.

- 2:2 I accounted to your favor the devotion of your youth, your love as a bride—how you followed me (in the wilderness, in a land not sown).
- 5:15 Lo, I am bringing against you, O House of Israel, a nation from afar—declares the Lord; (an enduring nation, an ancient nation).
- 13:17 For if you will not give heed, my inmost self must weep because of your arrogance (and copiously shed tears), and my eye must stream with tears.
- 14:3 They found no water; they returned, their vessels empty (they are shamed and humiliated, they cover their heads).
- 31:30 But everyone shall die for his own sins; (every person) who[ever] eats sour grapes, his teeth shall be blunted.
- 31:35 Thus said the Lord, who established the sun for light by day, (the laws of) the moon and stars for light by night.
- 31:40 (And the entire Valley of Corpses and Ashes), and all the fields.
- 46:5 Why (have I seen) they are dismayed, yielding ground.
- 46:18 As I live—declares (the King), the Lord (of Hosts is his name).

v. *Free rewriting*

The recensional differences between the MT and LXX pertain to length and sequence. But rarely ed. II also rewrote the text

LXX	MT
<p>29:25</p> <p>I did not send you in my name to</p> <p>Zephaniah son of Maaseiah the priest saying ...</p>	<p>Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel:</p> <p>Because you sent letters in your own name to all the people in Jerusalem, to the priest Zephaniah son of Maaseiah the priest and to the rest of the priest saying ...</p>
<p>35:18</p> <p>Therefore, thus said the Lord:</p> <p>Because the sons of Jonadab the son of Rechab have have obeyed the charge of their father to do as</p>	<p>And to the family of the Rechabites Jeremiah said:</p> <p>Thus said the Lord of Hosts, the the God of Israel:</p> <p>Because you</p> <p>obeyed the charge of Jonadab your father and have kept all his commandments and done</p>

	them.	all their father enjoined that he enjoined you.
36:32	So Baruch got another scroll and wrote in it.	So Jeremiah got another scroll and gave it to the scribe Baruch son of Neriah, and he wrote in it.
38:9	You have acted wickedly in what you have done to kill this man by starvation.	O Lord, king, those men have acted wickedly in all they did to the prophet Jeremiah; they have put him down in the pit, to die there of starvation.
Ed. II probably altered the wording of the previous edition because it blamed Zedekiah for killing Jeremiah.		
44:11-12	I am going to set my face to cut off all the remnant in Egypt.	I am going to set my face against you for punishment, to cut off all of Judah. I will take the remnant of Judah who turned their faces toward the land to Egypt.

b. *Exegetical aspects*

i. *Clarification*

An important aspect of ed. II was the attempt to clarify passages which apparently struck him as insufficiently clear. The editor read the book as an exegete and then revised the text, clarifying details in the context, making explicit what was implicit, and stressing ideas already found in the book, either in the immediate context or in remote contexts. In any event, this editor added but few new ideas.

When inserting the new elements between the existing words of ed. I, editor II often created syntactic difficulties disturbing the flow of the Hebrew sentence, as in the following examples.

36:6 And read the scroll (that you wrote at my dictation—the words of the Lord—) to the people.

41:1 And they ate together there (at Mizpah).

- 41:2 ... struck down Gedaliah (son of Ahikam son of Shaphan with the sword and killed him) whom the king of Babylon had put in charge of the land.
- 41:3 ... and all the Judeans who were with him (with Gedaliah) in Mizpah.
- 41:7 He slaughtered them (Ishmael son of Nethaniah) [and threw their bodies] (in)to a cistern, (he and the men who were with him).

In other instances, the additions actually contradict the immediate or remote context:¹⁷

- 1:3 ... and in the days of King Jehoiakim son of Josiah of Judah, until the (end of the) eleventh year of King Zedekiah son of Josiah of Judah, until Jerusalem went into exile in the fifth month.

In this addition, the added word סוף (end), referring to the lower limit of the prophet's ministry at the 'end' of the eleventh year of Zedekiah, contradicts the mention of 'the fifth month' of that year, also mentioned in 52:5 ff. = 2 Kgs 25:2 ff.

- 27:1 The title of this chapter contradicts the content of the chapter itself (see Tov, "Exegetical Notes"*).
- 27:7 See below, section 3.
- 28:1 And it occurred (in that year, early in the reign of) Zedekiah [was] King of Judah in the fourth year in the fifth month (LXX: And it occurred in the fourth year of Zedekiah King of Judah in the fifth month).

The sequence of the elements is different in ed. I, but it is clear which elements are lacking. The added words contradict the chronological indication found in the continuation of the verse.

- 29:16–20 A large addition in ed. II.

The greatest contextual difficulty caused by this insertion is that the verse before the insert (v. 15) has its direct continuation in v. 21 and that vv. 16–20 have no connection at all with that verse. The added section was inserted in a section that deals with other matters, although the connecting link can still be recognized. The verses before and after the addition turn to the exiles, while the added section itself speaks of the people in Jerusalem, even though it is addressed to the exiles. In vv. 1–24, the prophet asks the exiles to acquiesce in their situation and to start a new life. At the same time, in the added section he informs the exiles that the people left behind in Jerusalem shall perish. The added section and the surrounding verses thus speak of different matters, but yet are connected: The exiles are urged to obey the Lord, since their brothers in Jerusalem, who did not

¹⁷ For further inconsistencies, see 27:19–22 (section a iv); 10:6–8, 10 (p. 363), 28:16 (section b iii); 29:32 (section b iv).

obey, will be punished (v. 20). A further connection between the old and new material is the mentioning of prophets in both.

ii. *Homogenizing additions*

The most conspicuous feature of ed. II is its homogenizing filling in of details that are mentioned elsewhere in the context. Editor II probably wanted to make the book of Jeremiah as *explicit* as possible, and he therefore filled in details that were *implicit* in ed. I.

a. *Personal names*

Among the homogenizing additions, the filling in of personal names in ed. II is the most manifest. Editor II was in the habit of mentioning personal names in their full form, mainly in the prose sections, including the name of the father, sometimes also the grandfather, the title ('king' or 'prophet'), and so on. E.g.,

21:2, etc. (Nebuchadrezzar) the king of Babylon.

28:4, etc. Jeconiah (son of Jehoiakim king of Judah).

28:5, etc. Jeremiah (the prophet) answered Hananiah (the prophet).

36:8, etc. Baruch (son of Neriah) did just as Jeremiah (the prophet) had instructed him.

40:9, etc. Gedaliah (son of Ahikam son of Shaphan) = 2 Kgs 25:24 MT and LXX.

52:16, etc. (Nebuzaradan) the chief of the guards = 2 Kgs 25:12 MT and LXX.

The full evidence for the filling in and addition of names in ed. II is provided in Janzen, *Jeremiah*, Appendix A and Min, *Minuses and Pluses*. The data must be analyzed not only for the book as a whole but also for individual literary units. For example, editor I mentioned the full name or title of the person when he was introduced for the first time in a given unit, but in all or most subsequent references he referred to him in a shortened form. In this manner editor I follows the practice of biblical narrative.¹⁸ Ed. II filled in the details of the full formula in many (sometimes: most or all) occurrences of the name.

A good example of this procedure is 'Ishmael son of Nethaniah son of Elishama,' thus introduced in its full form in ed. I in 41:1, but shortened in that edition to 'Ishmael' in vv. 2, 6, 7, 8, 9 bis, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18. Editor II left the short name in some verses, but expanded it to 'Ishmael

¹⁸ See Cross, "Ammonite Oppression," 111.

son of Nethaniah' in vv. 2, 6, 7, 9, 11, 15, 16, 18. Furthermore, he added the short name in vv. 3, 10, and 14 and the expanded name in v. 12.

Likewise, in ed. I Johanan is introduced in chapter 41 as 'Johanan son of Kareah' (41:11), but the next verses refer to him as 'Johanan' only (13, 14, 16). In ed. II he is presented in all four verses with the long form.

Similar filling is visible for Gedaliah, whose name is often expanded to 'Gedaliah son of Ahikam (son of Shaphan)' (40:6, 7, 9, 11, 14, 16; 41:1, 2, 6, 18), and for Jeconiah, expanded to 'Jeconiah son of Jehoiakim king of Judah' (27:20; 28:4).

When the names in editions I and II are compared, some interesting details come to light. In ed. I, Jeremiah is usually referred to by his name only; the fuller description, 'Jeremiah the prophet,' occurs but four times in this edition (42:2; 43:6; 45:1; 51:59). In ed. II this title is frequently added to Jeremiah's name (twenty-seven times in all), but the filling in is systematic only in chapters 28–29. In these two chapters the prophet is called 'Jeremiah the prophet' consistently in ed. II (eight times) and also once 'Jeremiah the Anathotite' (29:27).¹⁹

Edition I of chapter 38 speaks often of 'the king,' who according to the context of chapter 37 can only be Zedekiah. Edition II added this name in several verses (38:5, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 24).

'The king of Babylon' is mentioned often in ed. I in this general fashion, but his identity is made explicit in ed. II through the addition of 'Nebuchadrezzar.' The name Nebuchadrezzar occurs but rarely in ed. I, mainly in editorial introductions to chapters, so that the prophet himself probably mentioned this name seldom, if at all.

β. *Contextual additions*

With his formalistic approach, editor II often did not leave much to the imagination when he added details in one verse in order to make it

¹⁹ In their present form chapters 27–29 manifest some unique features summarized by N. Sarna, "The Abortive Insurrection in Zedekiah's Day (Jer. 27–29)," *ErIsr* 14 (1978) 89–96, esp. 92. Sarna expresses the view, which had been suggested earlier, that this section 'must once have circulated separately' (*ibid.*). This suggestion may be somewhat farfetched, but the evidence (mainly relating to the form of names) displays a scribal tradition that sets the section off against the remainder of the book. The status of these chapters does not bear on the issue under investigation, because the special features of these chapters were inserted before or during the completion of ed. I and they were left intact in ed. II. On the other hand, the disproportionately large number of additions of the phrase 'the prophet' in ed. II could point to a separate circulation of chapters 27–29 in ed. II. On the other hand, these chapters provide more occasion than the remainder of the book for the addition of this phrase as they speak of Jeremiah's encounter with the false prophets. Accordingly, if chapters 27–29 circulated separately, this occurred before ed. II, and the frequent addition of the phrase 'the prophet' occurred as part of ed. II.

identical with another verse in the immediate context. This homogenizing approach, visible especially in the prose sections, is known from SP and from some of its antecedents among the Qumran manuscripts.²⁰

13:5 (I went) and buried it at Perath.

Cf. 13:4 ... and go at once to Perath and bury it there.

13:7b ... and found (the loincloth) [it] ruined.

Cf. 13:7a ... and took the loincloth.

18:6b Just like clay in the hands of the potter, so are you in my hands, (O House of Israel).

Cf. 18:6a O House of Israel, can I not deal with you like this potter.

36:15b And Baruch read it (to them).

Cf. 36:15a ... and read it to us.

40:6 and stayed (with him) among the people.

Cf. 40:5 ... stay with him among the people.

46:6 In the north by (the river) Euphrates.

Cf. 46:2 ... which was at the river Euphrates near Carchemish.

27:16 The vessels of the House of the Lord shall be brought back from Babylon (shortly).

Cf. 28:3 (see below).

28:11 So will I break the yoke of (Nebuchadnezzar) the king of Babylon (in two years).

Cf. 28:3 In two years, I will restore this place all the vessels of the House of the Lord which Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon took from this place and brought to Babylon.

28:14 ... that they may serve (Nebuchadnezzar) the king of Babylon—(and serve him they shall! I have even given the wild beasts to him).

Cf. 27:6 I have given ... to my servant Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, I even give him the wild beasts to serve him.

44:1 ... living in Migdol, Tahpanhes, (and Noph), and in the land of Pathros.

Cf. 46:14 Declare (in Egypt, proclaim) in Migdol, proclaim in Noph and Tahpanhes.

Cf. also 2:16 Those, too, in Noph and Tahpanhes will lay bare your head.

iii. *Contextual clarifications*

Editor II often added clarifying words or phrases explaining a matter that, in his view, was not clear. For example, the original text of 28:16–17

²⁰ Cf. E. Tov, "The Nature and Background of Harmonizations in Biblical MSS," *JTOT* 31 (1985) 3–29.

(ed. I) was very short and therefore impressive: 'You shall die this year; and he died in the seventh month.' Editor II, however, added the reason for the verdict and furthermore made it clear that the phrase 'in the seventh month' refers to 'the same year.' Ed. II thus reads: "You shall die this year (for you have urged disloyalty to the Lord)"; and (the prophet Hananiah) [he] died (that year), in the seventh month.

Similarly:

- 27:5 It is I who made the earth, (and the men and beasts who are on the earth).
- 27:8 The nation or kingdom that (does not serve him—Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon—and that) does not put its neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon.
- 27:16–17 ... Give no heed to the words of your prophets who prophesy to you ... for they prophesy falsely to you. (Give them no heed. Serve the king of Babylon, and live! Otherwise this city shall become a ruin).
- 28:3 In two years, I will restore to this place (all) the vessels of the House of the Lord (which Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon took from this place and brought to Babylon).
- 28:15 And Jeremiah (the prophet) said to Hananiah (the prophet, 'Listen, Hananiah!), The Lord did not send you ...'
- 29:6 Take wives and beget sons and daughters; and take wives for your sons, and give your daughters to husbands, (that they may bear sons and daughters). Multiply (there), do not decrease.
- 41:1 In the eleventh month Ishmael ... came to Gedaliah (son of Ahikam) at Mizpah; and they ate there together (at Mizpah).
- 41:6 Ishmael (son of Nethaniah) went out (from Mizpah) to meet them, weeping as he walked. (As he met them), he said (to them), 'Come to Gedaliah (son of Ahikam).'
- 41:7 When they came inside the town, (Ishmael son of Nethaniah) [he] slaughtered them [and threw their bodies] in(to) a cistern, (he and the men with him).
- 41:13–14 When all the people held by Ishmael saw Johanan (son of Kareah) and (all) the army officers with him (they were glad; all the people whom Ishmael had carried off from Mizpah turned back), and [they] went over to Johanan (son of Kareah).
- 42:9 ... and said to them: 'Thus said the Lord, (the God of Israel, to whom you sent me to present your supplication before him).'
- Cf. v. 2 Grant our plea, and pray for us to the Lord your God ...

Among these clarifying additions, one meets many added names (cf. the amplified names in section ii a [p. 373]):

- 1:11 The word of the Lord came to me: ‘What do you see, (Jeremiah)?’ I replied: ‘A branch of an almond tree (I see).’
 36:4 So Jeremiah called Baruch son of Neriah; and (Baruch) [he] wrote down at Jeremiah’s dictation all the words which the Lord has spoken.

Other names are amplified from pronouns in ed. I:

- 35:12 The word of the Lord came to Jeremiah (LXX: to me).
 37:21 ... gave instructions to lodge Jeremiah (LXX: him).
 52:8 ... and they overtook Zedekiah (LXX: him = 2 Kgs 25:5).

Clarifying amplifications like these are found especially in the prose sections. A few similar elements are found in the poetry sections, but these cannot be evaluated well because they may also have derived from an authentic Jeremianic tradition (see section a iii).

iv. Amplified formulas

Ed. I contained several formulaic expressions, especially at the beginning and end of prophetic utterances (נאם יהוה, declares the Lord; כה אמר יהוה, thus said the Lord, etc.). These formulas were often added in ed. II, which presents a fuller use of these formulas than ed. I. For example, נאם יהוה, which occurs 109 times in both editions I and II, occurs an additional 65 times in ed. II only. The same applies to כה אמר יהוה.

- 18:11 And now, say (I pray) to men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem (saying: Thus said the Lord:) I am devising disaster for you.
 27:11 But the nation which puts its neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon, and serves him, will be left by me on its own soil (—declares the Lord—) to till it and dwell on it.
 29:9 For they prophesy falsely to you in my name; I did not send them (—declares the Lord).
 29:11 (For I am mindful of the plans) I have made concerning you (declares the Lord)—plans for your welfare.
 31:37 (Thus said the Lord) If the heavens above could be measured
 The same is true of לאמר (saying), אלי (to me), etc. after verbs of speaking, and of צבאות (Hosts) in various combinations:
 1:4 The word of the Lord came to me (saying) ...
 3:1 (Saying): If a man divorces his wife ...
 5:20 Proclaim this to the House of Jacob (saying) ...
 1:17 Arise and speak (to them) ...
 13:1 Thus the Lord said (to me): Go buy yourself a loincloth.

17:19 Thus said the Lord (to me): Go and stand in the People's Gate.

6:6 For thus said the Lord (of Hosts) ...

7:3 Thus said the Lord (of Hosts), God of Israel ...

The latter formula is of particular interest because the full formula occurs thirty-two times in ed. II, but never in ed. I.

Of special interest are some formulaic deuteronomic expressions added in ed. II (section a iii).²¹ For example:

7:13 and though I spoke to you (persistently), you would not listen. 35:15 is similar; cf. Bright, "Date," no. 1.

13:10 This wicked people who refuse to heed my bidding (who follow the willfulness of their own hearts).

Cf. Bright, "Date," no. 6.

19:9 because of the desperate straits to which they will be reduced by their enemies (who seek their life).

Similarly 34:20; 38:16; cf. Bright, "Date," no. 11.

21:12 Else my wrath will break forth like fire and burn, with none to quench it (because of your wicked acts). Cf. Bright, "Date," no. 14.

23:16 Do not listen to the words of the prophets (who prophesy to you). Cf. Bright, "Date," no. 15.

25:3 From the thirteenth year ... I have spoken to you persistently, (but you would not listen). Cf. Bright, "Date," no. 46.

25:7 But you would not listen to me (declares the Lord; you vexed me with what your hands made, to your own hurt).

Cf. Bright, "Date," no. 2.

32:19 to repay every man according to his ways, (and with the proper fruit of his deeds). Cf. Bright, "Date," no. 14.

43:5 the entire remnant of Judah who had returned (from all the countries to which they had been scattered).

Cf. Bright, "Date," no. 31.

Note further 28:16: 'You shall die this year (for you have urged disloyalty [דברה סרה] to the Lord).' The phrase דבר סרה occurs in ed. II in 29:32 and elsewhere only in Deut 13:6. While the phrase in Deuteronomy refers to a prophet who incites to the worship of 'other Gods' (Deut 13:3, 'let us follow other Gods'), the prophets mentioned in Jeremiah prophesy in the name of the God of Israel.

²¹ For a descriptive list of the vocabulary of the deuteronomic stratum (the C stratum) in the book, see Bright, "Date," 30-35.

c. *Further characteristics of Edition II*

i. *Peculiar words and expressions*

Ed. II contains some words and expressions that within Jeremiah are characteristic of that edition only. For example:

1. Nebuchadnezzar is known as 'God's servant' only in ed. II:²²

25:9 I am going to send for (all) the peoples of the north (declares the Lord—and for my servant Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon), and bring them against this land.

27:6 I herewith deliver (all these) lands to king Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, to serve him [לְעַבְדוֹ] (MT: עַבְדִּי my servant); I even give him the wild beasts.

43:10 I am sending for (my servant) king Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon ...

2. The idea that he who serves Nebuchadnezzar will enjoy a long life is not found in ed. I. The reward of long life is known elsewhere, though in different contexts, from the sixth commandment, from deuteronomic phraseology, and from Amos 5:4, 6.²³

27:12 LXX: put your necks and serve the king of Babylon.

MT: put your necks under the yoke of the king of Babylon; serve him and his people and live.

27:17 ... give them no heed. Serve the king of Babylon and live ...

3. דֶּשֶׁן, 'fatness, fat ashes,' occurs within Jeremiah only in ed. II:

31:14 I will give the priests their fill (of fatness).

31:40 (And the entire Valley of Corpses and Ashes [דֶּשֶׁן]) and all the fields ...

4. The phrase עַם הָאָרֶץ occurs only in ed. II in 34:19 (52:25 may be disregarded, because that chapter has been transferred from 2 Kings 24–25 as an appendix to Jeremiah [note Jer 51:64]).

34:19 and (all) the people (of the land) ([עַם הָאָרֶץ]).

5. Within the Bible the term רַבֵּי (הַ)מְלָךְ, 'the king's commanders,' occurs only in ed. II of Jeremiah:

39:13 ... and Nergal-sarezer the Rab-mag, and all the commanders of the king of Babylon (רַבֵּי מְלָךְ בָּבֶל).

²² See Tov, "Exegetical Notes,"* and Bogaert, "Mécanismes."

²³ For the idea of longevity in the Bible and the ancient Near East, see Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 257, 308–9; A. Malamat, *Israel in Biblical Times* (Hebr.; Jerusalem 1983) 295–306.

41:1 Ismael son of Nethaniah son of Elishama, who was of royal descent (and one of the king's commanders [יְרֵבִי הַמֶּלֶךְ])²⁴ came with ten men ...

The component רב used in this phrase is probably parallel to the other terms compounded with רב that are mentioned in 39:13. Note that the phrase is absent from 2 Kgs 25:25, which is otherwise identical with Jer 41:1.

ii. *Resumptive repetition* ('Wiederaufnahme')

When editor II inserted several new elements, and when the idea of the original text might be lost because of the insertion, he occasionally repeated the lead phrase or its approximate contents. A similar technique termed *Wiederaufnahme* or 'resumptive repetition' has been recognized in the redaction of biblical books.²⁵ Note, for example, Jer 27:21 (see section a iv): After the long additions in vv. 19 and 20, ed. II felt the need to repeat the introductory formula of the prophecy as well as the object of the prophecy:

¹⁹For thus said the Lord (of Hosts ... ²¹Thus said the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, concerning the vessels ...)

Another example of resumptive repetition:

28:3–4 ³In two years, I will restore to this place (all) the vessels of the House of the Lord (which Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon took from this place and brought to Babylon). ⁴And Jeconiah (son of Jehoiakim king of Judah) and (all) the Judean exiles (who went to Babylon, I will bring back to this place—declares the Lord).

In this verse, the repetition of 'I will bring back to this place' (cf. v. 3a) was needed after the long additions in vv. 3b–4a.

41:2–3 ²Then Ishmael (son of Nethaniah) and the ten men who (were) with him arose and struck down Gedaliah (son of Ahikam son of Shaphan with the sword and killed him), whom the king of Babylon had put in charge of the land, ³and all the Judeans who were with him (with Gedaliah) in Mizpah and the Chaldeans who were stationed there (the soldiers, Ishmael struck down).

Since the object of ירבו, 'they struck down' (v. 2) was greatly expanded, ed. II repeated the subject and the verb at the end of the sentence in v. 3.

²⁴ This reconstruction is based on the assumption that ἀπὸ γένου τοῦ βασιλέως ('from the offspring of the king') represents הַמֶּלֶךְ הַבְּרִיָּה, 'from the offspring of the kingship' (cf. the LXX of 26[33]:1).

²⁵ Cf. C. Kuhl, "Die 'Wiederaufnahme'—Ein literarkritisches Prinzip?" ZAW 64 (1952) 1–11; I.L. Seeligmann, "Hebräische Erzählung und biblische Geschichtsschreibung," TLZ 18 (1962) 305–325, esp. 314–324; Talmon, "Textual Study," 395, n. 174.

41:10 Ishmael carried off (all the rest of the people who were in Mizpah), the daughters of the king, all the people left in Mizpah over whom (Nebuzaradan) the chief of the guards, had appointed Gedaliah son of Ahikam (and Ishmael son of Nethaniah carried them off) and set out to cross over to the Ammonites.

After the object was expanded, ed. II repeated the verb and its subject.

c. *The tendencies of edition II*

Some of the tendencies of ed. II are visible throughout the book, especially in chapters 10, 25, 27–29, 33, 39, 52:²⁶

i. Many of the additions emphasize the guilt of the nation, deriving from its frequent rebellion against the Lord, and for which it will be punished. E.g., 11:7–8; 29:16–20; 32:30.

ii. The centrality of God, referred to everywhere in the Bible, but even more so in ed. II. Ed. I of chapter 10 derides the idols of the heathen, while vv. 6–8, 10 of the LXX and 4QJer^b extol the Lord of Israel. Ed. II stresses the central role of God in the history of Israel. Everything happens according to his command, and even Nebuchad-nezzar is ‘his servant’ (see Tov, “Exegetical Notes”^{*} on Jer 27:6). See further the task of Babylon in God’s plan for the world (25:14).

iii. Ed. II added many actualizing details. The punishment of Babylon after seventy years is mentioned in 25:14 and 27:7. Ed. I mentions the exile of the temple vessels, but ed. II also mentions their return to Jerusalem (27:21–22). The postexilic date of ed. II is evident in various late additions (see section 3 below). See further Goldman, *Prophétie*, 65–105 on Jer 29:16–20.

iv. Ed. II seems to be interested in priestly subjects. The temple vessels are mentioned briefly in ed. I in chapters 27 (e.g., v. 19) and 52, but very extensively in ed. II. See further 33:14–26.

v. Ed. II is interested to show that the prophet’s utterances are fulfilled: 25:14; 27:7, 19–22.

²⁶ See P.-M. Bogaert, “Urtext, texte court et relecture: Jérémie xxxiii 14-26 TM et ses préparations,” in: J.A. Emerton, (ed.), *Congress Volume, Leuven 1989* (VTSup 43; Leiden 1991) 236-247; id., “Le livre de Jérémie en perspective: Les deux rédactions antiques selon les travaux en cours,” *RB* 101 (1994) 363-406; Goldman, *Prophétie*; H.-J. Stipp, *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiabuches—Textgeschichtlicher Rang, Eigenarten, Triebkräfte* (OBO 136; Freiburg/Göttingen 1994); L. Stulman, *The Prose Sermons of the Book of Jeremiah—A Redescription of the Correspondences with Deuteronomistic Literature in the Light of Recent Text-critical Research* (SBL Dissertation Series 83; Atlanta, GA 1986); R.D. Wells, “Indications of Late Reinterpretation of the Jeremianic Tradition from the LXX of Jer 21 1—23 8,” *ZAW* 96 (1984) 405-420.

3. *The postexilic date of edition II*

The exilic date of some passages in ed. I is evident (e.g., 8:3; 9:15; 16:13; 16:15; 30:10–11). Other passages may be postexilic (esp. 25:11; 29:10). At the same time, there are indications of the postexilic date of ed. II:

25:14 For they too shall be enslaved by many nations and great kings; and I will requite them according to their acts and according to their conduct.

27:7 All nations shall serve him, his son and his grandson—until the turn of his own land comes, when many nations and great kings shall subjugate him.

Both the above verses, added in ed. II, foreshadow the fall of the Babylonian empire and were probably added as *vaticinia ex eventu*.²⁷

27:19–22 See section a iv.²⁸

29:6 Take wives and beget sons and daughters; and take wives for your sons, and give your daughters to husbands, (that they may bear sons and daughters). Multiply (there), do not decrease.

Through the addition the prophet refers to an exile that would last for three generations, but it is not certain that this was indeed intended by the addition.

Bogaert and Lust²⁹ refer to the appearance in ed. II of details that show that some time had lapsed between the composition of editions I and II.

The above description shows that ed. II inserted many minor and major changes in Jeremiah, both in the editing and rearranging of the material and in its clarification. Editor II rearranged the text, added headings to prophecies, repeated sections, added new material, and inserted some changes in content. In the clarification of the text, he added homogenizing details (especially in personal names) and clarified details in the context. The sources for his additions are the context, his imagination, but also genuine Jeremianic material that somehow found its way into ed. II. The additions were inserted neatly in between the elements of ed. I, and sometimes the editor added so many elements that after them he had to repeat the last words that had preceded them (resumptive repetition). In other cases, however, the secondary character

²⁷ See Tov, "Exegetical Notes."*

²⁸ The addition mentions, among other things, the return from the exile and thus betrays its late origin. For a similar addition, see 29:14, and on a different level, 40:12. On these additions, see the discussion of J. Lust, "'Gathering and Return' in Jeremiah and Ezekiel," in Bogaert, *Le livre de Jérémie*, 119–142.

²⁹ Bogaert, "Mécanismes," 236–37, referring to the postexilic emphasis on the priests in ed. II in 33:14–26; 27:16, 19. For Lust, see the previous note.

of the insertion is still visible from its formulation or content. All these changes were inserted during the final stage of the growth of the book, thus shedding light not only on textual criticism, but also on literary criticism.