

DIVINE AGGRESSION IN PSALMS AND INSCRIPTIONS

The aggression of the biblical God named Yhwh is notorious. Students of theology, the Bible, and the ancient Near East know that the Hebrew Bible describes Yhwh acting destructively against his client country, Israel, and against its kings. But is Yhwh uniquely vengeful, or was he just one among other, similarly ferocious patron gods? To answer this question, Collin Cornell compares royal biblical psalms with memorial inscriptions. He finds that the Bible shares deep theological and literary commonalities with comparable texts from Israel's ancient neighbours. The centrepiece of both traditions is the intense mutual loyalty of gods and kings. In the event that the king's monument and legacy comes to harm, gods avenge their individual royal protégé. In the face of political inexpedience, kings honour their individual divine benefactor.

Collin Cornell is Visiting Assistant Professor of Biblical Studies for the School of Theology at the University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee, and editor of *Divine Doppelgängers: YHWH's Ancient Look-Alikes* (2020).



SOCIETY FOR OLD TESTAMENT STUDY

MONOGRAPH SERIES

Series Editor: Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer

The SOTS monograph series seeks to showcase the best of modern biblical studies. All published books will have the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament as their focal point. There will also be scope for volumes that take an interdisciplinary approach, such as studies which look at the biblical texts from a comparative perspective, in dialogue with ancient Near Eastern studies or modern literary theory. Similarly, volumes which explore the reception history of a particular text or set of texts will be encouraged.

Editorial Board:

John Goldingay, Fuller Theological Seminary

Anselm Hagedorn, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Charlotte Hempel, University of Birmingham

William Tooman, University of St Andrews

Rebecca Watson, Faraday Institute for Science and Religion in Cambridge

Peter Williams, Warden at Tyndale House

Recent title in the series:

Marriage by Capture in the Book of Judges: An Anthropological Approach
Katherine E. Southwood

YHWH and Israel in the Book of Judges: An Object-Relations Analysis

Deryn Guest

Sennacherib's Campaign against Judah: A Source Analysis of Isaiah 36–37 Dan'el Kahn

Cognitive Science and Ancient Israelite Religion: New Perspectives on Texts, Artifacts, and Culture Brett E. Maiden

Royal Illness and Kingship Ideology in the Hebrew Bible Isabel Cranz



Divine Aggression in Psalms and Inscriptions

Vengeful Gods and Loyal Kings

COLLIN CORNELL

The University of the South (Sewanee)





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108842679

DOI: 10.1017/9781108903936

© Cambridge University Press 2021

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2021

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Cornell, Collin, 1988- author.

Title: Divine aggression in Psalms and inscriptions: vengeful gods and loyal kings / Collin Cornell, Sewanee, The University of the South.

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2020. | Series: Society for Old Testament study monographs | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2020024243 (print) | LCCN 2020024244 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108842679 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108903936 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: God – Wrath. | Bible. Psalms – Criticism, interpretation, etc. | Inscriptions, Semitic.

Classification: LCC BS1430.6.A53 C67 2020 (print) | LCC BS1430.6.A53 (ebook) | DDC 223/.206–dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020024243

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020024244

ISBN 978-1-108-84267-9 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



CONTENTS

	List of Figures and Tables	page vi
	List of Translations	vii
	Acknowledgments	viii
	Author's Note on the Translations	xii
1	Divine Aggression in Comparative Perspective	1
2	Divine Aggression in Royal Inscriptions	38
3	Divine Aggression in Select Royal Psalms	93
4	Divine Aggression in Royal Psalms of Defeat	150
5	Divine Aggression in Prophetic Texts of Defeat	181
6	Conclusions and Implications	200
	Bibliography	215
	Bible Index	238
	Subject Index	242



FIGURES AND TABLES

Figures

1.	Before and after in the Mesha Inscription.	16
Tab	les	
1.	Future conditional divine aggression in royal psalms.	34
2.	Verbs with divine subject in the Mesha Inscription.	50
3.	Verbs with Kemosh as indirect object in the Mesha Inscription.	50
4.	Verbs with divine subject in the Zakkur Inscription.	61
5.	Blessings and curses in the Hadad Inscription.	73
6.	Verbs with divine subject in the Hadad Inscription.	74
	Verbs with divine subject in the Azatiwada Inscription.	84
8.	Verbs with divine subject in Psalm 2.	109
9.	Verbs with divine subject in Psalm 110.	124
	Verbs with divine subject in Psalm 20.	137
	Verbs with divine subject in Psalm 21.	143
	Verbs with divine subject in Psalm 89.	164
	Choral voice and Davidic voice in Psalm 132.	171
14.	Verbs with divine subject in Psalm 132.	175

vi



TRANSLATIONS

Ι.	The Mesha Inscription (KAI 181)	43
2.	The Zakkur Inscription (KAI 202)	57
3.	The Tel Dan Inscription (KAI 310)	64
4.	The Hadad Inscription (KAI 214)	68
5.	The Azatiwada Inscription (KAI 26)	78
6.	The Amman Citadel Inscription (KAI 307)	85
7.	Psalm 2	100
8.	Psalm 110	115
9.	Psalm 20	129
10.	Psalm 21	138
11.	Psalm 89	153
12.	Psalm 132	169
13.	Hosea 1:4–5	185
14.	Hosea 3:4	186
15.	Hosea 5:1–2	186
16.	Hosea 5:10	187
17.	Hosea 6:11b-7:7	187
18.	Hosea 8:4	188
19.	Hosea 10:7–8a	189
20.	Hosea 10:13b–15	189
21.	Hosea 13:9–11	190
22.	Micah 3:1–4	192
23.	Micah 3:9–12	193
24.	Micah 4:9, 14	194

vii



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book is a revised version of the dissertation I defended at Emory University in spring 2018. I thank Cambridge University Press's anonymous peer reviewers for their helpful feedback, and the editor of the Society of Old Testament monograph series, Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, for her careful read-through of the manuscript and her input. It is a tidier and more cogent volume for their interventions. I also thank the copy-editor, Mary Starkey, for her sharpeyed work.

At least four intellectual tributaries have led into this project – and each tributary itself drew momentum from several intellectual and spiritual conversation partners and supporting communities.

The first stream that runs into the present project is Walter Brueggemann. My brother Arley gave me Brueggemann's Old Testament Theology as a Christmas gift in 2009, and I read it devotionally. What excited me most about this book was its searching and intensive preoccupation with God, and the presentations of God in the Old Testament. Brueggemann took each biblical text and pushed and probed it as if it were – for the moment and heuristically – the only source of knowledge about God. I loved this exercise, and the surprising results it yielded to serious and open-ended exploration. I would myself reprise this same procedure for almost every paper I wrote in seminary, asking as a thought experiment: what if I treat this biblical text, or this theological author, as the sole witness to God's character? In a real way, this book is more of the same - a sustained and provisional answer, anchored in specific texts, to this God-question. I have my undergraduate Greek professor Joel Williams to thank for first setting me on a theological trajectory that would even consider Brueggemann as a viable resource, and my seminary professors for treating my repeated attempts to think about God with and from various biblical texts as a worthwhile enterprise.

viii



Acknowledgments

ix

The second stream begins with Choon-Leong Seow, my esteemed seminary professor. He permitted me to join an informal, extracurricular seminar on West Semitic inscriptions. I was hopelessly out of my depth, but the experience was electrifying. I especially remember the moment of first translating through the Mesha Inscription – and the kind of theological vertigo it induced! What could it mean that this other god named Kemosh looked so similar to the biblical God, Yhwh? I knew that whatever the answer was, the process of finding it would be theologically interesting and productive. I was at that time an avid and regular blogger, and I wrote a piece shortly after completing this seminar entitled "God's Anger on the Surface, God's Love Beneath." In it I reflected on the practice – shared by the Hebrew Bible and the Mesha Inscription – of reading the divine pleasure or anger off the surface of the nation's history. King and temple and land operated as metrics of the national god's will. But once all of these were destroyed in Israel, the disposition of Yhwh floated radically free; God's love had to be discerned "beneath" the vicissitudes of national life. This book doesn't get very far into the second part of these observations, but it does go some way toward filling out the first: the theological characteristics, that is, shared between Yhwh and his counterpart Kemosh (among others!). I thank Jacob Wright for leading a crucial independent study on patron deities of the Iron Age Levant, which layered real knowhow onto these interests, and I thank Brent Strawn for allowing me to write one of my comprehensive exams on the god Kemosh. Josey Bridges Snyder also deserves recognition for her role in founding the "Emory Kemosh School," to which I can only hope this work makes a contribution.³ (My friend Philip Ryan rightly calls Kemosh my "second-favorite god.")

The third stream finds its font in (once more) Jacob Wright, who introduced me to Wellhausen: or rather to the current-day European revival of Wellhausianism. He it was who first recommended that I should read Reinhard Kratz, whose writings now pepper the footnotes of my own publications, and whose article on "Chemosh's

¹ I wrote at greater length about that vertigo in Collin Cornell, "Theological Approaches to God's Ancient Look-Alikes," in *Divine Doppelgängers: YHWH's Ancient Look-Alikes*, ed. Collin Cornell (University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns/Penn State University Press, 2020), 101–114.

² An early exploration of these ideas appeared as Collin Cornell, "Holy Mutability: *Religionsgeschichte* and Theological Ontology," *HBT* 38 (2016): 200–220.

³ For more on that "school," see the "Editor's Preface" in *Divine Doppelgängers*, vii–xii, esp. ix–x.



x Acknowledgments

Wrath and Yahweh's No" inspired the main questions of the present book. Jacob's own pioneering work on the catalytic role of defeat on ancient Judah's heritage forms an important subtext of the present work.

The last stream originates with Brent Strawn, a man of boundless intellectual energy and roving academic interests. I came to Emory University, in a nutshell, because I wanted to study with an Old Testament scholar who could write an article on Ernst Käsemann and also on Ugaritic poetry; on Herodotus and on the genre of Jonah. There aren't many like that out there! Some of Brent's own foremost preoccupations seeped into the present project: his own work on rhetoric, his attention to comparison and the hermeneutics thereof, and his commitment to reading ancient texts as witnesses to powerful, real, religious energies in the lives of ancient people. Indeed, in an important conversation around Christmastime of 2016, Brent complimented the nimbleness of my Psalms exegesis – but also urged me to make sure I was just as nimble in my interpretation of the memorial inscriptions. I hope the present work lives up to that charge. Brent has been far more than a *Doktorvater* to me: at various times he has been my teacher, my editor, my independent study leader, my employer, my reference, my collaborator, my editorial mentor, and my publishing guide, among other roles.

Alongside these tributaries, the present work has also benefited from the friendship and collegiality of my cohort-mates, The Justins (Pannkuk and Walker). It was a rare gift and joy to progress together through our time at Emory, and I could not have asked for a more personable, encouraging, or brilliant pair of colleagues. Many others at Emory exercised generosity toward me that made the journey lighter: Myron McGhee, the Pitts librarian, deserves special thanks, as does the interlibrary loan staff at Woodruff, to whom I was a constant pest for several years. Joel LeMon gave me the chance to workshop some ideas from the dissertation in his Psalms seminar in Fall 2016, and Brent's invitation to be a special guest instructor for his seminar on ancient Near Eastern religions in Fall 2017 offered the ideal "finishing school" for the dissertation project. Mike Suh has been a stimulating conversation partner and friend. Ted Smith and Kendall Soulen showed me the best of Emory collegiality, going above and beyond to offer me opportunities to teach and write and discuss. I also thank the Candler summer Hebrew class of 2017, on whom I tested a few of the dissertation ideas, and whose collaboration in learning refreshed me at a slow and low point in its progress.



Acknowledgments

xi

Continuing in friendship and Hebrew translation (and theology-talk) with Julian Reid has been vitalizing. I thank in advance the spring 2020 psalms seminar at Sewanee's School of Theology, who will, perforce, entertain some of the arguments proposed here.

An acknowledgments page would not be complete without mentioning three friends who have really helped to shape my life, and so also my scholarship: Claudia Kern, a wise and holy soul, inspired me to study Old Testament in the first place, and has mentored me more than she knows; I hope indeed I can receive a double portion of her spirit. Charles Treichler has been a friend and fellow traveler since boyhood, and our talks are oil running down Aaron's beard (so to speak). Alex Smith and I switched off hosting dinner and praying together for almost the whole time I was in Atlanta, and I cherish his good company and love for God.

I thank my parents for their unrelenting support and love. (As my dad said after reading the first fifteen pages of the dissertation, "Well, I'm learning just how pissed off God can get – so thanks for that.") I thank my wife Vienna – the *maḥmad 'ênay* ("desire of my eyes," Ezek 24:16). Our marriage has been a place of safety, peace, and fruitfulness, a pool of water in the desert; her companionship and steadfast love are priceless to me. She has sacrificed much for my academic pursuits. And she has become something of a minor expert herself on Elephantine and Kemosh and Brevard Childs (etc.!) for no other reason than to show love to her eelectic husband. I love her.

Finally, I have petitioned from the start that this work would be somehow an act of "subterranean praise." It is not mine to decide whether I have succeeded, and though this stage of the writing and preparation has come to an end, I have not rested my case.



AUTHOR'S NOTE ON THE TRANSLATIONS

The presentation of the translations on the pages that follow seeks graphically to represent some judgments about their structure, signaling relationships of subordination, parallelism, and addendum. Lines that belong to a common unit of thought or to a single stanza have been grouped together, oftentimes under the same heading. Smaller units or episodes that support the same more general claim have been arranged in like fashion to reflect their shared purpose. Superscriptions or postscripts sit "outside" the regular unit formatting. At the same time, the visual configuration of lines in the translations that follow (and the references to half-lines in the discussion, e.g. "21b") also follows the line-divisions of the inscriptions themselves.

xii