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## SOMMAIRE

	Pages
É. Puech. – Inscriptions d'un hypogée de Sha'fât et du Tombeau des rois.....	321
B.U. Schipper. – Gen 41:42 and the Egyptian background to the Investiture of Joseph	331
D. Grant. – Human Anger in Biblical Literature .....	339
É. Nodet. – Chronologies de la Passion. Leur sens .....	362
M.W. Bates. – Why do the seven Sons of Sceva fail?: Exorcism, Magic, and Oath enforcement in Acts 19,13-17 .....	408
M. Gourgues. – «Tout a été créé par lui et pour lui» (Col 1,16): Sens et portée d'une proclamation christologique .....	422
Recensions : O. SKARSAUNE, R. HVALVIK eds., <i>Jewish Believers in Jesus. The Early Centuries</i> .....	(É. Nodet) 443
S. BØE, <i>Cross-Bearing in Luke</i> .....	(J. Taylor) 455
Bulletin .....	457
Livres reçus .....	477

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Keskustakampuksen  
kirjasto  
Teologia

pas rare, en effet, qu'un même personnage porte deux noms, un sémitique et un grec, par exemple la reine Alexandra – Shelomsion / Salomé, Alexandre Jannée, Jean Hyrkan, Hérode Agrippa, Hérode Philippe, etc.<sup>32</sup>. Ici on aurait deux variantes sémitiques du même nom, et la forme grecque dans l'inscription peinte de l'hypogée de Sha'fât. On en voudrait pour confirmation l'allusion de Pausanias en quête d'analogies pour un certain fameux tombeau d'Arcadie qui retint « parmi beaucoup de sépulcres dignes d'admiration, celui de Mausole d'Halicarnasse, et un autre au pays des Hébreux.... Les Hébreux ont dans la ville de Solyme le tombeau d'une femme Hélène... », *Descriptio Graeciae* VIII 16,4-5. De même, Flavius Josèphe situe le tombeau en face du troisième mur, *Guerre* V §147, précisément la région en question.

Il est clair maintenant, grâce à la lecture plus précise de ces témoignages écrits, que des inscriptions de l'hypogée de Sha'fât et celles du tombeau des rois sont en relation étroite par la graphie et le contenu : on a affaire à des araméens orientaux de part et d'autre, des émigrés de la mention de la maison royale d'Adiabène, la maison des Izatès qui ne peut être une famille quelconque inconnue, venus avec la maison royale de la reine Hélène – Šaddan / Šaddah. La relecture de ces maigres restes épigraphiques n'est donc pas sans quelque intérêt pour l'histoire et l'archéologie locales, venant appuyer les données des historiens anciens et confirmer les résultats des recherches archéologiques des XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> siècles.

Jérusalem, le 5 mai 2010

notre enquête topographique et archéologique. » Mais KLEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 26, no 57, avait déjà rejeté cette identification et pensé plutôt à un membre de la famille royale, une dénommée Sadda, parce que le textes rabbiniques, *Tosephta*, *Sukka* I,1 par exemple, connaissent la forme sémitique ה(י)לני, mais cet argument n'est pas recevable.

<sup>32</sup> Voir Ch. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, I, Paris 1888, p. 107 s, où l'auteur donne des exemples de doubles noms. Pour des finales variables, voir יהודה, יהודא, יודן, Ιουδας, Ιουδα, Ιουδαν, Ιουδου, שלמה, Σολομων, etc., ou encore les formes araméennes תמה et תנה, תמן, et תגן en syriaque avec une prédilection pour la nunnation.

## GEN 41:42 AND THE EGYPTIAN BACKGROUND TO THE INVESTITURE OF JOSEPH

BY

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### SUMMARY

The article discusses an Egyptian cube-statue from Priene / Asia Minor which illustrates the possible Egyptian background of Gen 41:42 and supports its dating in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The object from the 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty includes an Ionian inscription which mentions a foreigner being awarded a position by the Egyptian pharaoh, along with the bestowal of a necklace (the so-called 'Gold of Honour').

### SOMMAIRE

L'article discute le texte d'une statue égyptienne de Priène (Asie Mineure) qui peut fournir un éventuel arrière-plan égyptien pour Gn 41, 42, et conforte sa datation au 7<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. L'objet, de la 26<sup>e</sup> dynastie, comporte une inscription ionienne qui mentionne un étranger promu par le pharaon, et auquel est offert un collier (« L'or d'honneur »).

When discussing the Egyptian Background of the Joseph story, the investiture of Joseph in Gen 41:42 is of special interest. Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg already noted the dependence of the description on Egyptian parallels in his 1841 work „Die Bücher Mose's und Ägypten,“ and he draw special attention to the bestowal of a necklace to Joseph.<sup>1</sup> In a

<sup>1</sup> See E.W. HENGSTENBERG, *Die Bücher Mose's und Ägypten nebst einer Beilage: Manetho und die Hyksos* (Berlin: L. Oehmigke, 1841), 29-30, with reference to the tombs of Beni Hassan.

recently published volume by Michael Fieger and Sigrid Hodel-Hoernes with the striking title „Der Einzug in Ägypten“ (The Entry into Egypt) the honouring and investiture of Joseph in Gen 41:39-43 is analysed elaborately with regard to its possible Egyptian background.<sup>2</sup>

Every examination of the historical background has to begin with the Hebrew text itself. The story of Joseph in Gen 37-50 indicates that an Asiatic slave could reach a high position in the Egyptian royal court.<sup>3</sup> In this it is reminiscent of other Old Testament texts like the Esther novel and the Daniel narrative: the motif of the Israelite dream interpreter at a foreign royal court who is superior to the local sages appears in Daniel 1,<sup>4</sup> while the honouring of Joseph is similar to passages of Esther and Daniel. In Esther, Haman and Mordechai were presented with a golden ring as a symbol of their promotion, in 3:10,12 and in 8:2,8,10 respectively. In Dan 5:29 the dream interpreter is honoured with a special robe and a golden necklace.<sup>5</sup> Recent scholarship is in agreement that different ideas are combined in Gen 41:37-46. Verse 40a, for example, goes back to a Judean duty at the royal court.<sup>6</sup>

This means that on the question of a possible Egyptian Background, it would miss the point to ask for a specific Egyptian parallel for every single motif in the Joseph story. This would ignore the elaborate composition of the narrative. It is not surprising, therefore, that there is no historical evidence for an Asiatic in Egypt who advanced from slavery to become the second most powerful man in the state.<sup>7</sup> A better question would be whether there exists an Egyptian parallel for the main motif of the narrative, the appointment of a foreigner as a high official or to any other individual features found in the story. This is connected with the question of whether these elements can be assigned to a specific Egyptian era. Dating the biblical story of Joseph to the time of the Saitic kings of the 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty, Donald B. Redford has drawn attention to the investiture of Necho I by the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal.<sup>8</sup>

A prince of Sais, Necho was first imprisoned by the Assyrians after a rebellion of some princes of the delta and deported to Assur, but was finally appointed an Assyrian vassal in Sais.<sup>9</sup> In Prism C and A one can read:<sup>10</sup>

(II,8) But from among them, I had mercy toward Necho and pardoned him. (9) I composed an oath beyond the previous one and established it (10) I dressed him in colorful raiment and furnished him with a golden ureus, (11) the symbol of his kingship. I hung golden rings around (12) his wrists. I gave him an iron dagger with a scabbard, (13) on the upper side of which I wrote my name in golden inlay. (14) I presented him with chariots, horses and mules for his stately travel. (15) I sent my eunuchs and governors with him to help him. (16) I commissioned him to return to his place, to Sais, the place where the father, my creator, (17) delegated the kingship to him. I installed his son, *Nabu-šezibanni* (18) in Athribis.

A comparison of this with the appointment of Joseph in Gen 41:41-43 shows both similarities and differences. The robe, the ring, and the horses are consistent, but the main characteristics are quite different. One obvious difference is that in Necho's situation it is not an investiture of an Asiatic by an Egyptian pharaoh but the installation of an Egyptian ruler by an Asiatic king as a vassal. Interestingly, however, in this Assyrian royal inscription there is a mix of both Assyrian and Egyptian elements. In Assyrian texts colourfully hemmed robes and golden rings were the traditional gifts for vassals who showed themselves respectful.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand the dagger and the presentation of the golden *allu* (the Uraeus), which is described as a *simat šarrūtišu*, "his kings symbol", are royal elements from the Egyptian tradition.<sup>12</sup> Such specific knowledge of the Egyptian affairs can also be seen in the appointment of Necho's son, the later pharaoh Psammetichus I, in Athribis. During the 22<sup>nd</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty the city of Athribis was the traditional home of the future heir to the throne, meaning that the Assyrian king exploited an Egyptian tradition when he appointed Psammeti-

<sup>2</sup> See M. FIEGER & S. HODEL-HOERNES, *Der Einzug in Ägypten. Ein Beitrag zur alttestamentlichen Josefsgeschichte* (ATID 1; Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2007), 171-179.

<sup>3</sup> J. EBACH, *Genesis 37-50* (HthKAT 3; Freiburg et al.: Herder, 2007), 250, with particular reference to the story of Joseph, and H. SEEBASS, *Genesis III. Josephsgeschichte (37,1-50,26)* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2000), 70-71.

<sup>4</sup> See K. KOCH, *Daniel 1* (BKAT XXII/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2005), 23 and 121 (for Dan 2).

<sup>5</sup> A. MEINHOLD, "Die Gattung der Josephsgeschichte und des Estherbuches. Diasporanovelle II," *ZAW* 88 (1976): 72-93, on this 83-84 and Ebach, op. cit., 249-250.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Seebass, op. cit., 69-70.

<sup>7</sup> See M. Fieger / S. Hoedel-Hoernes, op. cit., 358, and for a classical view J. VERGOTE, *Joseph en Égypte. Genèse chap 37-50 à la lumière des études égyptologiques récentes* (OBL 3; Leuven: Publication Universitaires, 1959), 102-114.

<sup>8</sup> D.B. REDFORD, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph* (VTSup 20; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970), 225-226.

<sup>9</sup> On the historical context see K.A. KITCHEN, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt. 1100-650 B.C.* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1987), 400-403.

<sup>10</sup> Translation based on H.-U. ONASCH, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens* (ÄAT 27/1; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 121.

<sup>11</sup> Onasch, op. cit., 153, with reference to BM 91026 col. II l. 93-94.

<sup>12</sup> See the formulation on the Piye-stela where an Uraeus is mentioned for Namlot king of Hermopolis Namlot (Piye-stela, l. 33), cf. N.-C. GRIMAL, *La Stèle triomphale de Pi(ankhy) au Musée du Caire. JE 48862 et 47086-47089* (MIFAO 105; Cairo: IFAO, 1981), 52-53.

chus I ruler of this city.<sup>13</sup> Without discussing in detail the episode on Necho in the annals of Ashurbanipal — this has already been done numerous times — two points are useful when comparing it with Gen 41:41-43. In both texts a combination of different traditions of separate origin can be found, whether indigenous (Hebrew / Assyrian) or Egyptian. These similarities touch only a few individual motifs, though, not the main characteristics of the empowerment, or, rather, the investiture of a foreigner by an Egyptian pharaoh.

In the annals of Ashurbanipal there is no mention of the bestowal of a golden necklace as is described for Joseph in Gen 41:42. Since the Hebrew *רַבֵּד הַזָּהָב* is hapax legomena, the bestowal of the necklace could be not explained through traditions found in the Hebrew Bible or in Assyrian traditions.<sup>14</sup> The combination of words is similar to that of the so-called “Gold of Honour” (*nbw n[.y] hsw.t*) in Egyptian texts. Donald B. Redford has listed thirty-two references to the Gold of Honour from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty, and Kenneth A. Kitchen has supplemented this with further evidence of the New Kingdom.<sup>15</sup> There is one bit of evidence which has been overlooked by scholars, but which lends additional support for dating the Egyptian background of the Joseph story to the historical period from the 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

The following Ionian inscription was preserved on an Egyptian cube-statue from Priene / Asia Minor:<sup>16</sup>

Pedon the son of Amphinneus, bringing me from Egypt, dedicated me; to him the Egyptian king, Psammetichus, gave a golden collar and [command over] a city for his heroic deeds.

<sup>13</sup> Onasch, op. cit., 154.

<sup>14</sup> The word *רַבֵּד* is also mentioned in Ez 16:11, but without *הַזָּהָב*, cf. Gesenius (Fasc. 5, 18th ed. Berlin et al.: Springer, 2009), 1214. In Dan 5:29 the golden necklace appears but presumably the verse is dependent on Gen 41:42, cf. Ebach, op. cit., 250.

<sup>15</sup> See Redford, op. cit., 209-213 and K.A. KITCHEN, Review of D.B. Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph. Oriens Antiquus 12* (1973): 233-242, on this: 240-241. For further evidence (also not later than the New Kingdom) see J. VERGOTE, op. cit., 121-135 and “Joseph en Égypte: 25 ans après”, in *Pharaonic Egypt. The Bible and Christianity* (ed. S. Israelit-Groll; Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1985), 289-306, on this: 298-299.

<sup>16</sup> The object was found in Priene / Asia Minor. First edition by M. Çetin ŞAHİN, “Zwei Inschriften aus dem südwestlichen Kleinasien,” *Epigraphica Anatolica 10* (1987): 1-2 (quote: 1). New edition with elaborated discussion by O. MASSON & J. YOYOTTE, “Une inscription ionienne mentionnant Psammétique I<sup>er</sup>,” *Epigraphica Anatolica 11* (1988): 171-179. Up-to-date translation in P. HAIDER, “Epigraphische Quellen zur Integration von Griechen in die ägyptische Gesellschaft der Saïtenzeit.” in *Naukratis. Akten der Table Ronde in Mainz, 25.-27. November 1999* (ed. U. Höckmann / D. Kreikenbom, Mönnesee: Bibliopolis, 2001), 197-215 (translation: 200-201; illustration: 211).

Based on stylistic factors the cube-statue has been dated to the time of Psammetichus I, referred in the annals of Ashurbanipal as *Nabuzezibanni*.<sup>17</sup> Having succeeded his father Necho I as ruler of Sais, Psammetichus I was able to expand his power, with the help of Greek mercenaries. This took until his 9<sup>th</sup> year, and culminated in the reunion of Egypt in 656 BC.<sup>18</sup> In the following years Psammetichus I filled the vacuum left by the Assyrians by expanding into the Southern Levant and gradually penetrating into formerly Assyrian-controlled territory. The inscription on the cube-statue mentions a Greek soldier being honoured by Psammetichus with a “golden collar” (*ψιλων τε χρυσεον*) and command of a city. The phrase *ψιλων τε χρυσεον* refers to the Gold of Honour awarded to deserving officials and soldiers. In broader studies on this issue Kirsten Butterweck-AbdelRahim and Susanne Binder have shown that the *nbw n[.y] hsw.t* is to be divided into various individual elements including the *šbjw*-necklace, which was placed on the neck of the honoured, the *ꜥwꜥw*-upperarm-collar, the *msktw*-arm-collar, the *mnfr.t*-bracelet and the *mnhb.t*, the specifics of which are still unknown, though it is probably also some kind of bracelet.<sup>19</sup> The evidence discussed by Butterweck-AbdelRahim also includes the honouring of soldiers. The commander of the troop *Jmn-m-ḥb*, from the time of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, received the Gold of Honour four times for notable military performance. Alongside the award of the Gold of Honour he also received robes, demonstrating that the awarding of robes was also known in Egypt.<sup>20</sup> The Gold of Honour was given also to officials like the vezir *Rḥ-mj-Rꜥ*, the mayor of Thebes, or the keeper of the treasury and administrator of the palace *Hwy3*.<sup>21</sup> Binder has argued that the Gold of Honour should be seen mainly as a symbol of a special status.<sup>22</sup> The combination of the reward of the Gold of Honour along with an allotment of territory is rarely attested to, however. Out of a total of fifty-two instances from the New Kingdom, only six mention the

<sup>17</sup> Yoyotte, op. cit., 176-177.

<sup>18</sup> A. SPALINGER, “Psammetichus, King of Egypt,” *JARCE 13* (1976): 133-147.

<sup>19</sup> K. BUTTERWECK-ABDELRAHIM, *Untersuchung zur Ehrung verdienter Beamter (Aegyptiaca Monasteriensia 3; Münster: Shaker, 2002), 56-66 and S. BINDER, The Gold of Honour in New Kingdom Egypt* (Australian Centre for Egyptology; Oxford: Aris and Phillips, 2008), 38-58.

<sup>20</sup> See Butterweck-AbdelRahim, op. cit., 105-107 (evidence No. 75).

<sup>21</sup> See Butterweck-AbdelRahim, op. cit., 108-109 (evidence No. 77) and 146-147 (evidence No. 134).

<sup>22</sup> See Binder, op. cit., 256-257. Cf. also 261, where Binder pointed out that the Gold of Honour could be seen as a “visible symbol of royal appreciation”.

transfer of territory.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, in none of the instances did it involve a city or the command of it, but rather only territory in the sense of land. Even though evidence for the practice decreases in the time after the New Kingdom the praxis itself is documented until the Ptolemaic age. An inscription on the statue of the governor of Tanis (Cairo CG 689) states that the king presented him with a "golden collar" and an allotment of land.<sup>24</sup> This means for the inscription of Pediese two elements were combined that were not initially related with one each other: the awarding of the Gold of Honour and the transfer of the commandership on a city. In his interpretation of the inscription Jean Yoyotte has pointed out that the text uses phraseology similar to Egyptian inscriptions of the 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty, in which the transfer of the command of a city is also attested to.<sup>25</sup> The practice was therefore documented particularly in the Saitic period.<sup>26</sup> In his analysis of epigraphic sources on the Greeks in Saitic Egypt Peter Haider presumes that the command of a city — the text itself uses the word *polis* — implied a city inhabited mainly by Greeks, probably "some sort of military colony".<sup>27</sup>

In light of the Joseph story, most notable is the fact that the inscription of Pedon demonstrates a foreigner being awarded a position — specifically the command of a city — by the Egyptian pharaoh, alongside the Gold of Honour. This is striking insofar as it is highly likely that this practice was known in the kingdom of Judah.

During his conquest of the southern Levant Psammetichus I mobilized his Greek mercenaries. According to the archaeological evidence in the late 7th century B.C. a number of Egyptian bases were founded in the coast under either Egyptian or Greek control. Command of these bases functioned like a division of tasks: there was an Egyptian enclave in the Philistine city of Ashdod, for instance, while the fortress of Mezad

<sup>23</sup> See Butterweck-AbdelRahim, op. cit., 192 and table IV.1 including 172 pieces of evidence for the awards to deserving officials including fifty-two pieces of the Gold of Honour. See also Binder, loc cit.

<sup>24</sup> See Butterweck-AbdelRahim, 215 (evidence SpZ/21) and E. OTTO, *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit* (PdÄ 2; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954), 184-186 (Nr. 48).

<sup>25</sup> Yoyotte, op. cit., 178.

<sup>26</sup> There also evidence from the Persian period for the Gold of Honour. This evidence, however, does not include rewards to foreigners. In the two sources, discussed by Butterweck-AbdelRahim (op. cit., 212-213, SpZ/17 and SpZ/18), Cambyses and Darius I gave Egyptian officials of high standing the traditional Egyptian rewards, a bracelet or necklace.

<sup>27</sup> Haider, op. cit., 200-201.

Hashavyahu was inhabited by Greek mercenaries.<sup>28</sup> The fortress was founded under Psammetich I and existed until the end of the 7th century. Interestingly in this site a number of Hebrew ostraca was found that indicate the presence of Judeans in Mezad Hashavyahu. These are attested to by three personal names that included the element JH for JHWH.<sup>29</sup> The famous "Juridical Plea from Mezad Hashavyahu" (ostrakon No. 1) suggests that Judaeans had to cultivate wheat and grain for provisions for the Greek mercenaries.<sup>30</sup> Nearly the same is indicated by the Arad ostraca: in these texts "Kittim," Greek mercenaries,<sup>31</sup> are mentioned, a group also found in the Hebrew Bible (cf. Is. 23:1; Ez 27:6).<sup>32</sup> The "Juridical Plea" presents the address of a Judean workman to the town major,<sup>33</sup> seeking a decision in a case.<sup>34</sup> Despite the Hebrew language, the ostrakon does not include a blessing formula of JHWH, as is found in a contemporary ostrakon from the Moussaïeff collection. It can therefore be assumed that the addressee of the letter, the town major, was not Judean.<sup>35</sup> This brings us back to the main discussion. As an Egyptian military garrison with Greek mercenaries, the commander of the fortress of Mezad Hashavyahu would most likely have been a Greek, probably one who was honoured by Psammetichus I and who received the Gold of Honour as well as the command of a city. As the "Juridical Plea" of Mezad Hashavyahu implies the existence of

<sup>28</sup> On Ashkelon see L. STAGER, "Ashkelon and the Archaeology of Destruction. Kislev 604 BCE," *EI* 25 (1996): 61\*-74\*, on this: 69\* and for Mezad Hashavyahu A. FANTALKIN, "Mezad Hashavyahu. Its Material Culture and Historical Background," *TA* 28 (2001), 1-165, on this: 142-143.

<sup>29</sup> One ostraca mentions the name Anibaal which points to a non-Judean person because of the theophoric element.

<sup>30</sup> For the broader context see B.U. SCHIPPER, "Egypt and the Kingdom of Judah under Josiah and Jehoiakim," *TA* 37 (2010) 200-226.

<sup>31</sup> For the identification of the „Kittim“ as Greeks see Gen 10:4; 1 Chr 1:7 and J. RENZ, *Die althebräischen Inschriften Teil 1. Text und Kommentar* (HAE I; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995), 354, with reference to the positions of A. Lemaire, D. Pardee and other scholars.

<sup>32</sup> See R. WENNING, „Griechische Söldner in Palästina“ in Höckmann & Kreikenborn (Eds.), op. cit., 257-268, on this 263.

<sup>33</sup> For the reasoning behind the identification of the *šr* in the ostrakon with a town major see Renz, op. cit., 323-324, n. 2.

<sup>34</sup> On the legal issue, which is apparently based on the right of distraint and not on legal texts from the Hebrew Bible (e.g. Ex 22,25-27 and Deut 24,10-13) U. RÜTERSWORDEN, "Das Deuteronomium im Lichte epigraphischer Zeugnisse," in: *Sprachen – Bilder – Klänge. Dimensionen der Theologie im Alten Testament und in seinem Umfeld. Festschrift für R. Bartelmus zu seinem 65. Geburtstag* (ed. C. Karrer-Grube et al.; AOAT 359; Münster: Ugarit, 2009), 241-256.

<sup>35</sup> On this cf. Rütterswörden, op. cit., 251 and on the ostrakon from the Moussaïeff collection see 242-243.

silos, the command over a city like this would also include the control over the provisions and silos, another motif in Gen 37-50. Even if one can hardly use a Greek mercenary installed as town major by Psammetichus I as a historical ideal for the figure of Joseph — this would be too speculative — the evidence discussed in this article shows that the Egyptian background of Genesis 41 does not perforce point to the New Kingdom, but to the historical situation of the 7th century B.C., a period with close cultural contacts between biblical Israel and Egypt.

## HUMAN ANGER IN BIBLICAL LITERATURE

BY

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### SUMMARY

Anger is a pervasive theme throughout biblical literature compelling both God and humans to lash out destructively. We survey a wide range of biblical passages in order to identify the characteristics of human anger. We observe that anger is, almost exclusively, the response of an authority figure to disregarded authority whose expression is aimed at reasserting compromised or threatened authority. We observe also that the outcomes of human anger are predictable, depending, primarily, on the relationship between the angered party and his provoker.

### SOMMAIRE

La colère est un thème répandu tout au long du texte biblique, forçant aussi bien Dieu que les hommes à s'agresser. Nous parcourons un vaste éventail de textes afin d'identifier les caractéristiques de la colère humaine. Elle est presque toujours la réponse d'une personne ayant autorité à un manquement à l'autorité; elle vise à rétablir cette autorité menacée ou compromise. Nous voyons aussi que les résultats de la colère humaine sont prévisibles, dépendant essentiellement de la relation entre le provoqué et le provocateur.

### INTRODUCTION

Anger is a pervasive theme throughout biblical literature compelling both God and humans to lash out destructively. However, since anger is ascribed to God, by far more frequently than it is attributed to man, scholars and theologians have tended to limit their explorations of the Bible's anger motif to *divine* anger. Work on anger has focused on positively distinguishing God's just anger from self-serving human anger or on reconciling God's anger with His presumed righteousness. In