"He Said, He Said": Repetition of the Quotation Formula in the Joseph Story and Other Biblical Narratives

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For my dear wife, Sara, fifty years after she said and he said, "I do"

Repetition of the quotation formula (יאמר and the like) is a common literary device used in biblical narrative to signal discontinuity. The discontinuity often involves a pause in the discourse. Instead of—or in addition to—a pause, the discontinuity may involve a change in the discourse parameters. Most of this was noted by Jewish exegetes of the Middle Ages and later, but their work appears to have been unknown to early critics. The writings of the latter assume that the repetition of ויאמר in Gen 37:21–22 and elsewhere is an anomaly that requires a diachronic explanation. It took roughly a century for the old synchronic approach to such repetition to regain its dominant position. Adherents of the synchronic approach, both medieval and modern, have viewed the repetition of ויאמר in Gen 37:21–22 as an indication that Reuben paused to wait for a positive response that never came. The facts are best explained, however, by taking the repetition of in Gen 37:21-22 as signaling a change in the discourse parameters, with regard to both *type* (from internal to external) and *addressee* (from self to other). In verse 21, Reuben speaks to himself in his mind, revealing his true feelings. In verse 22, by contrast, Reuben addresses his brothers, trying to persuade them that he, too, wants Joseph dead, as long as that result is achieved without their spilling blood. This solution is supported by texts in other biblical narratives.

Every place in Scripture where it says ויאמר ויאמר, two times, needs to be interpreted. (Lev. Rab. 26:8)

ַנִיּשְׁמַע רְאוּבֵן וַיַּצֵלֵהוּ מִיָּדֶם וַ<u>וּיֹאמֶר</u> לֹא נַבֶּנוּ נָבְּשׁ: וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם רְאוּבֵן אֵל־תִּשְׁפְּכוּ־דְם הַשְּׁלִיכוּ אֹתוֹ אֵל־הַבּוֹר הַזֵּה אֲשֶׁר בַּמִּדְבָּר וְיָד אַל־תִּשְׁלְחוּ־בוֹ לְמַעֵן הַצִּיל אֹתוֹ מִיָּדֶם לַהַשְׁיבוֹ אֵל־אָבִיוּ:

In Gen 37:21–22 (above), we find two occurrences of the quotation formula. The second occurrence seems superfluous, since Reuben is still the speaker

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and there is no intervening narration. Commentators have interpreted such repetition in biblical narratives in many different ways—some treating the repetition as a meaningful or functional narrative device originating with a skilled author (henceforth: the *synchronic* approach), others assuming that the repetition is the anomalous result of development through time, devoid of any meaning or function (henceforth: the *diachronic* approach).

In this study, I propose a synchronic interpretation of Gen 37:21–22 that accounts for (1) the repetition of the quotation formula in verse 22; (2) the addition of "to them" to the *second* occurrence of the formula (in v. 22) instead of the first occurrence (in v. 21) or both occurrences; (3) the similarities and differences between the two quotations themselves; and (4) similarities between verse 21b and previously noted examples of internal speech in the Bible. The following translation can serve as an introduction to my proposal:

Reuben heard (this, i.e., the plot to kill Joseph) and saved him from (being killed at) their hand(s). He thought, "We will not take his life." And so Reuben said to them, "Do not shed blood. Throw him into that pit (over there) in the wilderness, but do not lay a hand on him (to kill him)"—(saying that) in order to save him from (being killed at) their hand(s), that he might (or: and to) restore him to his father.

In addition, I will trace the history of the synchronic approach and its competition with the diachronic approach. This history, virtually unknown today, is well worth exploring because it is a microcosm of the history of our field and a fascinating chapter in the history of scholarship in general.

I. DIACHRONIC VIEWS

The diachronic approach to the repetition of אמר arose in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It was then that Julius Wellhausen suggested emending "Reuben" in Gen 37:21 to "Judah," thereby making it possible to assign the two occurrences of אמר in verses 21 and 22 to different sources. In later years, redaction critics rejected both the emendation and the source division, while continuing to view the repetition of אין in these verses through a diachronic lens. And some of them, like some of the source critics, compared the *content* of the two quotations, finding either duplication or contradiction. We may profitably begin our investigation with a brief survey of the literature—a sample of comments, in chronological order, representing various diachronic views to which I will refer later in the article.¹

¹Among those excluded from this sample are scholars who reject the emendation of "Reuben" to "Judah" in verse 21 without attempting to explain the repetition of "Reuben", e.g., E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*, AB 1 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964), 291 ("an emendation for which there

Wellhausen: "The main source for the last section of Genesis is also JE. One surmises that this work, here as elsewhere, is assembled out of J and E; our earlier results force us to this and would be shattered were it not demonstrable.... The end of v. 21 has no place next to the beginning of v. 22, and the language is different (אות v. 22).... I think ... that v. 21 is an incomplete J analogue to v. 22, and Reuben is possibly a correction for Judah."

August Dillmann: "The text is composite ...; otherwise, there is no reason for the double "וְיֹאמֵר 3 ".

S. R. Driver: "With 'Reuben,' v. 21^b and v. 22^a are tautologous." ⁴

Donald B. Redford: "Vs. 21 remains redundant whether the emendation to Judah is made or not." 5

George W. Coats: "Vss. 21–22 contain two distinct speeches, each with its own narrated introduction, each attributed to Reuben, each designed to forestall the plot to kill Joseph.... To recognize two sources here would clarify the structure of the scene.... The only substantial evidence for compound sources in the chapter ... lies in the double speech."

Hans-Christoph Schmitt: "Between v. 21 and v. 22 there is a contradiction. In his speech of v. 22, Reuben does not categorically reject the killing of Joseph, as he does in v. 21, but rather merely suggests a type of death other than the

is no encouragement from any of the ancient versions"); Gerhard von Rad, Genesis: A Commentary, rev. ed., trans. John H. Marks, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972), 349; Herbert Donner, Die literarische Gestalt der alttestamentliche Josephsgeschichte, SHAW.PH 1976.2 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1976), 38 n. 74; Walter Dietrich, Die Josephserzählung als Novelle und Geschichtsschreibung: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Pentateuchfrage, BThSt 14 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1989), 21 n. 43; Horst Seebass, Genesis, 3 vols. (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000), 3:17, 25; see also Seebass, "Zur Quellenscheidung in der Josephsgeschichte," in Joseph: Bibel und Literatur; Symposion Helsinki / Lathi 1999, ed. Friedemann W. Golka and Wolfgang Weiß (Oldenburg: Bibliotheks- und Informationssystems der Universität Oldenburg, 2000), 25–36, here 33; Lothar Ruppert, Genesis: Ein kritischer und theologischer Kommentar, 4 vols., FB 70, 98, 106, 118 (Würzburg: Echter, 2008), 4:86, 97, 111–12; Baruch J. Schwartz, "How the Compiler of the Pentateuch Worked: The Composition of Genesis 37," in The Book of Genesis: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation, ed. Craig A. Evans, Joel N. Lohr, and David L. Petersen, VTSup 152 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 263–78, here 267, 271.

 $^{^2}$ Julius Wellhausen, "Die Composition des Hexateuchs," JDTh 21 (1876): 392–450, 531–602; 22 (1877): 407–79, here 21:442–43.

³ August Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, 4th ed., KEH 11 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1882), 375.

⁴S. R. Driver, *The Book of Genesis*, WC (London: Methuen, 1904), 324.

⁵Donald B. Redford, A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph (Genesis 37–50), VTSup 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 142.

⁶George W. Coats, *From Canaan to Egypt: Structural and Theological Context for the Joseph Story*, CBQMS 4 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1976), 63. This statement does not represent the conclusion of the book, for which see 482 below.

planned bloodshed.... The simplest explanation of v. 21 is that a later redactor attempted to put Reuben in a better light."⁷

Claus Westermann: "The repeated ויאמר in vv. 21b and 22 is difficult; the first three words of v. 22 are probably an addition." 8

Ludwig Schmidt: "... in v. 21f. a doublet is present. This is clear already from the fact that v. 22 has a complete new introduction.... The demand in v. 22, 'Do not spill blood,' corresponds in substance to v. 21b, 'We do not want to kill him.' As a result, it is actually superfluous."

Antony F. Campbell and Mark A. O'Brien: "In vv. 21-22 there are two statements that Reuben delivered Joseph out of the brothers' hands and two verbal interventions by Reuben to spare Joseph's life." 10

David M. Carr: "The following are among the clearer indicators of growth: The double speech introduction for Reuben's speech in Gen. 37:21 and 22...."11

Implicit in most of these statements, which span a period of 120 years, is the idea that the repetition of ויאמר, with no intervening narration or change of speaker, is an anomaly in biblical narrative. Hermann Gunkel makes the idea explicit—at least for Genesis—in commenting on Gen 19:9: "It is a stylistic rule that the narrators of the legend followed almost without exception never to allow a person to speak twice in a row.... Consequently, the dual ויאמרו is very remarkable." As we will see in the next section, this assertion flies in the face of the evidence, evidence

⁷Hans-Christoph Schmitt, *Die nichtpriesterliche Josephsgeschichte: Ein Beitrag zur neuesten Pentateuchkritik*, BZAW 154 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980), 23–24 n. 76.

⁸Claus Westermann, *Genesis: A Commentary*, trans. John J. Scullion, 3 vols. (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984–1986), 3:41. So already Harold M. Wiener, *Pentateuchal Studies* (Oberlin, OH: Bibliotheca Sacra, 1912), 45; and Johannes Dahse, *Textkritische Materialen zur Hexateuchfrage* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1912), 133. But see n. 12 below.

 $^9{\rm Ludwig}$ Schmidt, Literarische Studien zur Josephsgeschichte, BZAW 167 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986), 146.

¹⁰ Antony F. Campbell and Mark A. O'Brien, *Sources of the Pentateuch: Texts, Introductions, Annotations* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 228–29; see also 231–32.

¹¹David M. Carr, *Reading the Fractures of Genesis: Historical and Literary Approaches* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 284; see also 287.

¹² According to Redford (*Study of the Biblical Story*, 142), this assumption goes back to the Greek translators: "The LXX circumvented the difficulty at least partly by omitting *wayōmer* '*ĕlēhem* [*sic*, for *wayyōmer* '*ălēhem*] *Rĕ*'ūbēn in vs. 22, thus making the direct speech of that verse the continuation of vs. 21." But this assertion is not entirely accurate. The omission is an inner-Greek development; see John William Wevers, *Genesis*, SVTG 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 357. See also Schmidt, *Literarische Studien*, 146.

¹³Hermann Gunkel, *Genesis*, trans. Mark E. Biddle from the 3rd ed., 1910, Mercer Library of Biblical Studies (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997), 208; see also xxxvi: "The rule of style is to avoid two speeches in sequence by the same person."

that was discussed by many before Gunkel's time. In fact, this stylistic feature is quite common in the Hebrew Bible.

II. SYNCHRONIC VIEWS

The synchronic approach to the repetition of אמר is known to critical scholars almost exclusively from research on biblical narrative style published during the past fifty-five years. ¹⁴ Few are aware of the earlier work in this area by traditional Jewish exegetes. Scattered throughout the commentaries of these early exegetes are many important insights concerning the use of this narrative device. Space considerations make it impossible to include them all. ¹⁵

The earliest discussions of the repetition of אמר offer midrashic interpretations of 1 Kgs 20:28, Ezek 10:2, and Esth 7:5, where the repeated formula introduces only a *single* utterance. A new approach to these verses was adopted in the tenth century by Saadia Gaon (882–942 CE; on Esth 7:5) and later by Jonah Ibn Janah (ca. 990–ca. 1055; on Ezek 10:2) and Abraham Ibn Ezra (1089–ca. 1167; on Esth

 14 Meir Shiloah (Shiloach), "ואמר ... ויאמר," in כתבי בישראל בישראל המקרא החברה כתבי ד"ר י. פ. קורנגרין ז"ל, ed. Asher Weiser (Tel-Aviv: Niv, 1964), 251–67; Charles Conroy, Absalom Absalom! Narrative and Language in 2Sam., 13-20, AnBib 81 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978), 130; Adele Berlin, Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative, BLS 9 (Sheffield: Almond, 1983), 118; Shimon Bar-Efrat, Narrative Art in the Bible, BLS 17 (Sheffield: Almond, 1989), 43-44; Georg Fischer, Jahwe unser Gott: Sprache, Aufbau und Erzähltechnik in der Berufung des Mose (Ex 3-4), OBO 91 (Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 41-45; Samuel A. Meier, Speaking of Speaking: Marking Direct Discourse in the Hebrew Bible, VTSup 46 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 73-81; Jean-Louis Ska, "Sommaires proleptiques en Gn 27 et dans l'histoire de Joseph," Bib 73 (1992): 518-27, here 525; Cynthia L. Miller, The Representation of Speech in Biblical Hebrew Narrative: A Linguistic Analysis, HSM 55 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 239-43; E. J. Revell, "The Repetition of Introductions to Speech as a Feature of Biblical Hebrew," VT 47 (1997): 91–110; Nechama Leibowitz, "ואמר ... ויאמר ... ויאמר "," in פרקי נחמה: ספר זכרון לנחמה ליבוביץ, ed. Moshe Arend et al. (Jerusalem: Jewish Agency, 2001), 495-502; Jerome T. Walsh, Style and Structure in Biblical Hebrew Narrative (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2001), 152-53; Bernard Septimus, "Iterated Quotation Formulae in Talmudic Narrative and Exegesis," in The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel, ed. Hindy Najman and Judith H. Newman, JSJSup 83 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 371-98; Steven E. Runge, "A Discourse-Functional Description of Participant Reference in Biblical Hebrew Narrative" (PhD diss., University of Stellenbosch, 2007), 72.

¹⁵For additional comments by traditional exegetes, see Yehudah Shaviv, "אמירה כפולה",

*Megadim 50 (2009): 163–70, which cites Nissim Elyakim, העמק דבר" לנצי"ב: מידות וכלים

*CRehovot: Moreshet Yaakov, 2003), 357–62. I am indebted to Hillel Novetsky for calling Shaviv's survey to my attention after the present article was accepted for publication.

¹⁶See מדרש ויקרא, ed. M. Margulies (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1993), 608–11, and Appendix, 81; see also b. Meg. 16a and y. Sanh. 11.5.30c.

7:5). The this approach, the repetition of אמר is a kind of resumptive repetition (Wiederaufnahme), having a function but no meaning. Subsequently, in the commentaries of Joseph Bekhor Shor (twelfth century; on Gen 30:27–28) and Hizkuni (Hezekiah ben Manoah; thirteenth century; on Gen 30:27–28 and Exod 16:6–8), this approach was extended to examples where each occurrence of יואמר introduces a separate utterance. Only examples of this type will be discussed below.

For such examples, Saadia had a different approach. In his commentary on Gen 16:9–11, he views "the dividing of the angel's speech" into three parts—presumably by the iterations of the quotation formula—as being based on content. ¹⁹ By the end of the twelfth century, we find a new idea: the repetition of אמר signals that the speaker paused to allow something to happen. In commenting on the extra in Jer 37:17, Menahem b. Simeon of Posquières (twelfth century) suggests that Jeremiah, after answering Zedekiah's plaintive question with only a "yēš" (= yes), waited for the king to ask the obvious follow-up question. ²⁰

Some Tosafist commentaries deduce from the repetition of the quotation formula that the addressee failed to respond. Two of them (MSS Oxford 268 = Bodleian Oppenheim 27, and Oxford 284 = Bodleian Marsh 225) do that in commenting on Gen 15:3, the former doing it also at Gen 20:9.²¹ At Gen 19:9, the Tosafists explain that the men of Sodom first ordered Lot to move away from them; after he complied, they consulted with one another and then addressed Lot again.²² Such interpretations assume that the speaker(s) paused to wait for something.

Joshua Ibn Shuʻaib (early fourteenth century) comments on the repetition of the quotation formula in two places. At Gen 15:2–3, he speaks of "two utterances [אמירות] with no reply [ענייה] in between"; at Gen 37:21–22, "two utterances, one after the other, with no reply: ויאמר ויאמר."²⁴ The two formulations of the problem

¹⁷Richard C. Steiner, A Biblical Translation in the Making: The Evolution and Impact of Saadia Gaon's Tafsir (Cambridge: Harvard University Center for Jewish Studies, 2010), 37, 40; Jonah Ibn Janah, Le livre des parterres fleuris, ed. Joseph Derenbourg (Paris: Vieweg, 1886), 281, lines 27–28.

¹⁸Joseph Bekhor Shor, פירושי רבי יוסף בכור שור על התורה, ed. Yehoshafat Nevo (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1994), 51; Hezekiah b. Manoah, אוקה ב"ר, פירושי התורה לרבינו חזקיה ב"ר, ed. C. Chavel (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1981), 60, 118. My understanding of Hizkuni's approach owes much to Hillel Novetsky.

¹⁹ Steiner, Biblical Translation, 38–39. See also 481 below.

²⁰מקראות גדולות הכתר: ירמיהו ed. Menachem Cohen (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2012), 199.

²¹ תוספות השלם, ed. J. Gellis (Jerusalem: Mifal Tosafot Hashalem, 1982–), 2:58, 177.

²²Ibid., 154-55.

²³ This is a technical term used in Tannaitic exegesis to refer to utterances introduced by the verb אמר, as opposed to דבר.

 $^{^{24}}$ Joshua Ibn Shuʻaib, אבן שועיב לר' יהושע על התורה (Jerusalem: Makor, 1969), 6b and 15b.

are very similar, but the explanations are not. At 15:2–3, he writes, "R. Hananel explained that the first (of them) is a thought—as in 'Esau said in his heart' (Gen 27:41) and 'I said in my heart' (Eccl 2:1)—that is to say, he thought in his heart [בלבו] 'What will the reward be, seeing I go childless.'"²⁵ At 37:21–22, by contrast, he writes that Reuben spoke a second time (v. 22), presumably after a pause, because "they did not listen to" what he said the first time (v. 21).²⁶

Isaac Abarbanel (fifteenth century) deals often with this device in the Torah and Former Prophets; indeed, he discusses it more frequently than any other premodern scholar. In some places, he asks explicitly why there is a superfluous quotation formula and/or points out that the formula interrupts what would otherwise have been a single cohesive utterance (תובקת מדובק or אמירה מדובק Although Abarbanel does not aim for complete consistency, he frequently explains that the speaker was compelled (הוצרך) to speak again after perceiving (typically, from a lack of response) that the first utterance did not succeed in achieving its objective (typically, to influence the addressee or to elicit information). In two places, Abarbanel suggests that the addressee who failed to respond was overcome by emotion—fear in Gen 20:9–10, shame in Exod 32:7–10.29

Also worthy of mention is a Bible commentary attributed to the thirteenth-century Spanish talmudist Jonah Gerondi. This work cites a midrash that inserts a reply from Isaac to Esau's first utterance in Gen 27:36, and it concludes, "They added this midrash because it says אמר twice in the verse ... indicating that Isaac spoke in between." This comment parallels a comment of R. Jonah on a legal passage in the Talmud, a comment that has been explained by Bernard Septimus. In

²⁵Ibid., 6b. See פירושי רבינו חנגאל על התורה, ed. Charles B. Chavel (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1972), 7. See also 486 below.

²⁶Ibn Shuʻaib, דרשות על התורה, 15b.

²⁷Isaac Abarbanel [Abravanel], פירוש על התורה, 3 vols. (Jerusalem: Benei Arbel, 1964), 1:201a (question 3), 216a (question 6), 220a (question 11), 254b, 322a (question 10), 421a (question 4), 2:313b (question 5), 3:156b (question 3); and Abarbanel, פירוש על נביאים ראשונים (Jerusalem: Torah Vadaat, 1955), 26a line 1.

²⁸ Abarbanel, פירוש על התורה, 1:206a-b (Gen 15:2-3 and Num 32:2-5), 217b-218a (Gen 16:9-11), 255a (Gen 20:9-10), 367a (Gen 37:21-22), 422b (Gen 47:3-4); 2:314a (Exod 32:7-10); 3:141a (Num 28:2-3), 158a (Num 32:2-5); also Abarbanel, פירוש על נביאים ראשונים, 26a (Josh 3:9-10), 50a (Josh 9:20-21), 289a (1 Sam 26:9), 365b (2 Sam 16:10). Abarbanel's biblical exegesis is sometimes inspired by his experiences at the Spanish court, and his discussion of Gen 15:2-3 and Num 32:2-5 is a good illustration of that: "It frequently happens that a humble man is embarrassed to request something from his lord explicitly, so he makes the request through hints. And if the lord does not understand his hints or will not respond to them, then the petitioner is forced to speak a second time, making the same request explicitly" (פירוש על התורה, 1:206a; see also 1:422b and 4:158a). See also Leibowitz, "יואמר" 500-501.

²⁹ Abarbanel, פירוש על התורה, 1:255a (Gen 20:9–10); 2:314a (Exod 32:7–10).

³⁰Jonah Gerondi, דרשות ופירושי רבנו יונה גירונדי לחמשה חומשי תורה, ed. S. Yerushalmi (Jerusalem: Wagshall, 1980), 55. This work appears to have been compiled by a student of both R. Jonah and Ramban (e-mail communication from Hillel Novetsky).

one version of the talmudic passage, the plaintiff's speech is broken up by the repetition of "he said to him" (אמר ליה), with no intervening reply recorded. R. Jonah deduces from the repetition that the defendant must have either remained silent or replied with a concession to the plaintiff.³¹

Moses Mendelssohn's *Biur*, first published in 1780–1783, has a brief discussion by Solomon Dubno at Gen 37:21–22: "And when he saw that they did not listen to him, he then said, 'Don't shed blood. Throw him, etc.' That is why Scripture divides them [his words] into two speeches." In other words, Reuben needed to wait to see if his brothers would accept his first admonition.

Judah L. Shapiro deals with the problem several times in his commentary, published in 1815.³³ His view, adopted by Jakob Z. Meklenburg in 1839 and Umberto Cassuto in 1942, is that, when זיאמר is repeated with a single speaker (במדבר אחד), the second יאמר usually introduces a clarification (פירוש) of the words that follow the first יואמר This rule works for a few examples, but it is not sufficiently general. It is just a special case of Abarbanel's approach and, indeed, is reminiscent of a few of Abarbanel's comments.³⁵

Samson R. Hirsch, whose commentary was published in 1867–1878, interprets the repetition of אממר in several ways. ³⁶ In his fullest discussion of this phenomenon, at Exod 32:9, he writes, "Here, too, a pause leaves room for the expected reply or for the immediate carrying out of the command to descend [from the mountain]. Moses's consternation no doubt prevented the former as well as the latter." This interpretation of the verse resembles Abarbanel's reading. ³⁸ The same goes for Hirsch's comments on Gen 37:22 and Num 32:5. ³⁹ In two of these three comments, Hirsch speaks of a pause (*eine Pause*) signaled by the repetition. ⁴⁰ In

³¹ Septimus, "Iterated Quotation Formulae," 386.

³² Moses Mendelssohn, ed., ספר נתיבות שלום והוא חבור כולל חמשת חמשי תורה, 2nd ed.; 5 vols. (Vienna: A. Schmid, 1795), vol. 1 (Solomon Dubno), s.v. אל תשפכו דם.

³³ Judah L. Shapiro, הרכסים לבקעה (Altona, 1815).

³⁴ Ibid., 2b (Gen 15:2–3), 42a (Exod 3:14), 48a (Exod 16:6–8); Jakob Z. Meklenburg, הכתב, ed. M. Tsuriel (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 2015), 128 (Gen 19:9), 329 (Exod 3:14); Umberto (M. D.) Cassuto, פירוש על ספר שמות (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1983), 38 (Exod 3:14).

³⁵ Abarbanel, פירוש על התורה, 1:206a–b (Gen 15:2–3 and Num 32:2–5), 422b (Gen 47:3–4); 3:158a (Num 32:2–5). See n. 28 above.

³⁶See Jonathan Jacobs, "Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch as a *Peshat* Commentator: Literary Aspects of His Commentary on the Pentateuch," *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 15 (2012): 190–200, here 196–97.

 $^{^{37} \}mathrm{Samson}$ R. Hirsch, Der Pentateuch, übersetzt and erläutert, 5 vols.; Frankfurt am Main: Kauffmann, 1867–1878), 2:466.

³⁸See 479 above.

³⁹ Hirsch, Der Pentateuch, 1:509, 4:411–12; Jacobs, "Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch," 196.

⁴⁰ Hirsch, Der Pentateuch, 2:466, 4:411-12.

other comments, Hirsch attributes the repetition of אמר to a change of content or addressee. $^{41}\,$

The synchronic approach to the repetition of the quotation formula had no serious competitor until 1876, when Wellhausen published the first diachronic analysis of Gen 37:21–22.⁴² Dillmann, an editor of the journal where Wellhausen's analysis initially appeared, quickly incorporated it into the fourth edition of his own commentary on Genesis, published in 1882.⁴³ The new approach gained further acceptance when W. E. Addis and S. R. Driver brought it to the United States and England.⁴⁴ Hermann Strack was less impressed. In 1894 he wrote, "For the double היאמר 16:9–11. Thus, the repetition is no proof that vv. 21 and 22 are taken from different sources, much less for the assertion (Wellhausen, Dillmann) that v. 21 originally began 'And Judah heard it." Strack, identified by the *Jewish Encyclopedia* in 1907 as "the foremost Christian authority in Germany on Talmudic and rabbinic literature," was undoubtedly familiar with some of the earlier discussions of repeated "Was undoubtedly familiar with some of the earlier discussions of repeated". Unlike his Jewish predecessors, however, he did not attempt to explain the repetition.

⁴¹ Jacobs, "Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch," 196–97. See also 478 above.

⁴²See 475 above.

 $^{^{43}}$ See 475 above. The third edition, published in 1875, knows nothing of the analysis; see there 409.

 $^{^{44}}$ W. E. Addis, *The Documents of the Hexateuch* (New York: Putnam, 1893), 73 n. 3; and Driver (475 above).

⁴⁵Hermann L. Strack, *Die Bücher Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus und Numeri*, KK 1 (Munich: Beck, 1894), 118.

⁴⁶ JE 11:559, s.v. "Strack, Hermann Leberecht."

⁴⁷ David Z. Hoffmann, ספר בראשית, 2 vols. (Bnei Brak: Nezach, 1969–1971), 1:238. This commentary on Genesis is based on notes for lectures delivered by Hoffmann at the Hildesheimer Rabbinical Seminary in Berlin during the period 1878–1910. It was first published six decades later, in Hebrew, by his grandson. Unfortunately, the German original of this commentary (unlike the ones on Leviticus and Deuteronomy) has never been published.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 2:459.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 2:571–72. For the analysis of 27:36, see 486 below.

several times, thereby creating potent pauses: 37:21–22; 41:38, 39, 41, 44; 42:1, 2; 43:29, 30; 45:3, 4. Thus Pharaoh in 41:38ff begins four times as he makes a royal decree." Jakob Horovitz (1917), whose study is a supplement to Jacob's, focuses on the meaning of the repetition in 37:21–22. Like many of his predecessors, he takes it to mean that Reuben, after speaking in verse 21, did not continue immediately. Instead, he waited to see their reaction, and it was only after he was convinced that the brothers would not listen to him that he resumed speaking, urging them to at least avoid bloodshed. ⁵¹

In 1933, Paul Volz and Wilhelm Rudolph published a book-length critique of Wellhausen's theory, with a brief discussion of Gen 37:21–22.⁵² They, too, argue that the repetition of the quotation formula has no diachronic significance, and they provide their own list of prooftexts: Gen 19:9, 47:3–4, 2 Sam 16:10–11, 17:7–8, 2 Kgs 6:27–28, and "perhaps also Esth 7:5." Like Strack, they do not feel the need to explain the repetition.

The most comprehensive and influential study of this question was published by Meir Shiloah in 1964. ⁵³ In it, Shiloah analyzes over one hundred examples of the repetition of the quotation formula in the Bible, the great majority of which are relevant to our problem. According to Shiloah, the use of a second יואמר (with no intervening narration or change of speaker) indicates that the speaker has paused and then resumed speaking. Shiloah divides the examples into seven categories based on the *reason* for the pause. Most of his categories can be reduced to two and can be described in more general terms. The speaker may have paused (1) to wait for a response, whether (a) verbal or (b) physical (especially, compliance with an order); or (2) to signal a change in (a) discourse type, (b) topic, or (c) addressee. Almost all of this was noted earlier by traditional Jewish commentators. ⁵⁴

As influential as it was, Shiloah's study did not end the search for meaning in the repeated quotation formula. In 1976, Coats theorized that "a stylistic device" of biblical narrators "is to double speeches at the crucial turning points in the story's plot." Two years later, Charles Conroy published a similar theory, according to which "the use of two quotation-formulas in two successive uninterrupted discourses by the same speaker" has the function of "sharpening the reader's attention; signaling a new point of major importance within the discourse." 56

⁵⁰Benno Jacob, *Quellenscheidung und Exegese im Pentateuch* (Leipzig: Kaufmann, 1916), 53. A couple of the examples cited by Jacob show that he defined the phenomenon more loosely than his predecessors and successors.

⁵¹ Jakob Horovitz, "Die Josephserzählung," Jeschurun 4 (1917): 658–78, here 677.

⁵² Paul Volz and Wilhelm Rudolph, Der Elohist als Erzähler: Ein Irrweg der Pentateuchkritik? An der Genesis erläutert, BZAW 63 (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1933), 153.

⁵³ Shiloah, "ויאמר", 251–67 (Gen 37:21–22 appears on 258).

⁵⁴Shiloah cites only a few of them; see also Jacobs, "Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch," 196–97.

⁵⁵Coats, From Canaan to Egypt, 63.

⁵⁶Conroy, Absalom Absalom!, 130.

In 1989, Georg Fischer published an excursus on "repeated speech introductions" (*Wiederholte Redeeinleitungen*) in the Pentateuch in which he argued that, in all of the examples with human speakers, the latter, "and sometimes also their interlocutors, are strongly affected emotionally." ⁵⁷

Samuel A. Meier's discussion of "אמר אמר resumptive within direct discourse," published in 1992, is mainly a critique of Shiloah's study. From the only conclusion of that study that he accepts without reservation is that אמר is repeated when there is a change of addressee. Second results a change of addressee.

For E. J. Revell, writing in 1997, "a repeated introduction to speech" provides "highlighting," serving to "draw attention to the following speech." It can also mark a change of topic. Steven E. Runge, in 2007, asserts, "Use of a mid-speech quotative frame characteristically highlights the speech that follows, and separates it as a new development." The term *highlight*, used by both of these scholars, is reminiscent of the expression "sharpen the reader's attention" used by Conroy.

Two recent books, by Joel S. Baden and Matthew C. Genung, respectively, are evidence that such discussions have begun to make their way from works on narrative style to books on the composition of Gen 37 and the Pentateuch as a whole. ⁶³ Unlike many of his predecessors, Genung does not attempt to find a common denominator (core meaning, *Gemeinbedeutung*) that unites the disparate uses of the device: "There are multiple uses for the repeated quotation formula in consecutive utterances with the same speaker and addressee. Context is the guide for determining its purpose in each individual instance."

My own view, based on the aforementioned comments and studies, is that the repetition of יאמר signals discontinuity. The discontinuity often involves a pause in the discourse (to wait for a response, be it verbal or physical, or to highlight a dramatic conclusion). Instead of—or in addition to—a pause, the discontinuity may involve a change in the discourse parameters (type, topic, or addressee). Stated in Saussurean terms, the discontinuity signaled by the repetition of the quotation formula is syntagmatic (along the horizontal axis), paradigmatic (along the vertical axis), or both.

⁵⁷ Fischer, *Jahwe unser Gott*, 43. See also 479 above.

⁵⁸Meier, *Speaking of Speaking*, 73–81.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 74-75 and 78 n. 1.

⁶⁰Revell, "Repetition of Introductions," 108–9; see also 105.

⁶¹ Ibid., 105

⁶²Runge, "Discourse-Functional Description," 72.

⁶³ Joel S. Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis*, AYBRL (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 262 n. 11; Matthew C. Genung, *The Composition of Genesis 37: Incoherence and Meaning in the Exposition of the Joseph Story*, FAT 2/95 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 56.

⁶⁴Genung, Composition of Genesis 37, 56; see also Shaviy, "אמירה בפולה," 170.

A. Biblical Evidence for the Synchronic Approach

Synchronic interpretations of repeated איז can often be viewed as making the assumption that, when ויאמר is repeated with no *explicit* intervening narration (and no change of speaker), there is an *understood* intervening narration that the ancient Israelite audience was capable of recovering. This view of the synchronic approach as a form of gap filling is heuristically valuable, making it possible to find supporting evidence.

Take, for example, Gen 45:3-4:

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וַיֹאמֶר יוֹסֵף אֶל־אֶחָיו אֲנִי יוֹסַף הַעוֹד אָבִי חִי וְלְא־יְכְלוּ אֶחְיו לַעֲנוֹת אֹתוֹ כִּי נִבְהֲלוּ מִפְּנְיוֹ:
וַיֹאמֶר יוֹסֵף אֶל־אֶחָיו גְשׁוּ־נָא אֵלַי וַיִּגָּשׁוּ וַיֹּאמֶר אֲנִי יוֹסֵף אֲחִיכֶם אֲשֶׁר־מְכַרְתֶּם אֹתִי מִצְרְיִקְהּ:
וַיֹּאמֶר יוֹסֵף אֶל־אֶחָיו גְשׁוּ־נָא אֵלַי וַיִּגָּשׁוּ וַיֹּאמֶר אָנִי יוֹסֵף אָחִיכָם אֲשֶׁר־מְכַרְתֶּם אֹתִי מִצְרְיִקְהּ:
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Joseph <u>said</u> to his brothers, "I am Joseph. Is my father still alive?" <u>But his brothers</u> were unable to answer him, for they were terrified of him. 65 And Joseph <u>said</u> to his brothers, "Come closer to me." <u>And they came closer</u>. And he <u>said</u>, "I am Joseph, your brother, whom you sold into Egypt."

In this passage, מאמר appears three times with no change of speaker or addressee. Before the second ואמר, Joseph pauses, waiting for the brothers to answer his question; when he sees that they are too frightened to respond, he resumes speaking. This supports comments elsewhere by the Tosafists, Abarbanel, and Hirsch. Before the third און, Joseph pauses once again, waiting for the brothers to obey his command to come closer; once they do so, he again resumes speaking. This supports comments by the Tosafists, Hirsch, 67 and Shiloah.

Genesis 45:4 is particularly relevant to Josh 3:9–10:

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ַנִיאמֶר יְהוֹשָׁעַ אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל גֹּשׁוּ הֵנָּה וְשִׁמְעוּ אֶת-דִּבְרֵי ה' אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשָׁעַ
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Joshua Said to the Israelites, "Come closer to here, and hear the words of the Lord, your God." And Joshua said \dots " 68

The similarity between the two texts suggests that the verb ויגשו should be understood at the end of verse 9.

Consider also Josh 5:15:

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וַיּאמֶר שַּׁר־צְבָא ה׳ אֶל־יְהוֹשָׁעַ שַׁל־נַעַלְדְּ מֵעַל רַגְלֶדְ כִּי הַמְּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר אַתְּה עֹמֵד עָלָיו לְדֶשׁ
הוּא וַיַּעַשׁ יָהוֹשַׁעַ כַּן:
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The captain of the Lord's host said to Joshua, "Remove your sandals from your feet, for the place on which you are standing is holy," and Joshua did so. ⁶⁹

⁶⁵The importance of this sentence is pointed out by Carr; see 491 below.

⁶⁶ See 478, 479, and 480 above.

⁶⁷See 478 and 480 above.

⁶⁸ Shiloah, "ואמר", 254; and see n. 28 above. See also Gen 19:9, discussed by Septimus, "Iterated Quotation Formulae," 394–95.

⁶⁹ In this example, there is no following utterance and, thus, no repeated ייאמר.

This verse suggests that a clause like איעש כן משה, "and Moses did so" (Exod 17:6), should be understood at the end of verse 5 in Exod 3:5–6:

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וַיֹּאמֶר אַל־תִּקְרַב הֲלֹם שַׁל־נְעָלֶידְּ מֵעַל רַגְּלֶידְּ כִּי הַמְּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה עוֹמֵד עָלְיו אַדְמַת־לְדֶשׁ
הוּא: וַיֹּאמֶר אַנֹבִי ...
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He <u>said</u>, "Do not come closer. Remove your sandals from your feet, for the place on which you are standing is holy ground." And He said, 'I am ...'"

Such parallel pairs supply further evidence for the validity of the synchronic approach.

B. Extrabiblical Evidence for the Synchronic Approach

The repetition of quotation formulas is known also from extrabiblical sources. Septimus discusses examples of this device from rabbinic literature, showing that it has some of the same uses there that it has in the Bible.⁷⁰ Fischer and Septimus give examples from the Gilgamesh Epic.⁷¹ Meier cites parallels from Ugaritic literature.⁷²

Another parallel can be adduced from Papyrus Amherst 63. In XX, 15, 17–18, the words מלכא ענה וימלל לתורתנא, "the king spoke up and said, addressing the general," occur twice at a key juncture in the "Tale of Two Brothers in Two Cities." The repetition—with no intervening narration and no change of speaker or addressee—seems to signal a *dramatic pause* intended to highlight the king's instructions to his general: "Let Babylon be smitten, but keep my brother alive." These words, which appear once again at the very end of the "Tale," are crucially important because they absolve the king of responsibility for his brother's death.

III. THINKING BEFORE SPEAKING IN THE BIBLE

The meaning "think" for אמר is very well attested. In the second half of the eleventh century, Rashi calls attention to it by adding בלבי, בלבי, etc. to אמר in his

⁷⁰ Septimus, "Iterated Quotation Formulae," 371–98.

 $^{^{71}}$ Fischer, *Jahwe unser Gott*, 41 with n. 15; Septimus, "Iterated Quotation Formulae," 375 n. 9 (citing a personal communication from Paul-Alain Beaulieu).

⁷²Meier, Speaking of Speaking, 75 n. 2, 78 n. 1.

⁷³Richard C. Steiner and Charles F. Nims, "The Aramaic Text in Demotic Script: Text, Translation, and Notes" (published online, 2017), 84–85. See https://repository.yu.edu/RichardSteiner/Amherst63; or https://www.academia.edu/31662776/The_Aramaic_Text_in_Demotic_Script_Text_Translation_and_Notes. The transcription given here ignores minor details.

 $^{^{74}}$ Ibid., 85 (discussion). Note also the dramatic pause in Jer 37:17, discussed on 478 above and by Leibowitz, "וְיאמר", 499.

⁷⁵Steiner and Nims, "Aramaic Text," 89 (discussion).

⁷⁶For a substantial (but partial) list of examples, see BDB, s.v. "אמר," §2.

commentaries. He does that, for instance, at 1 Sam 16:6: וַיְהָא אֶּת־אֱלִיאָב וֹיְהְי בְּבוֹאָם וַיַּרְא אֶּת־אֱלִיאָב. Modern scholars agree with him, offering such translations as "When they arrived and he saw Eliab, he thought: 'Surely the Lord's anointed stands before Him'" (NJPS).⁷⁷

A more relevant example is Ruth 3:14–15:

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וַתָּקָם בְּטֶרֶם יַבָּיר אִישׁ אֶת־רַעַהוּ וַיֹּאמֶרַ אַל־יִנְּדַע כִּי־בָאָה הָאִשְּׁה הַגֹּרֶן: וַיֹּאמֶר הָבִי
הָמָטְפַּחַת אֲשֶׁר־עָלִיִדְּ וְאֶחֱזִי־בָּה ...
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She rose before one person could distinguish another, for he thought, "Let it not be known that the woman came to the threshing floor." And he said, "Hold out the shawl you are wearing." (NJPS)

Rashi comments, "He urged her to get up (and leave), because he thought [בלבו אמר], 'It is unbecoming my dignity to have it be known that the woman came to the threshing floor." So, too, in the latest scholarly translation, by Jeremy Schipper: "Then she arose before a man could recognize another. For he thought, 'May it not be known that the woman came to the threshing floor.' He said, 'Give me the garment that is on you and hold it." According to this view, ויאמר ... ויאמר ... ויאמר in this passage means "he thought ... he said," the repetition being triggered by two kinds of discontinuity: a change in discourse type (from internal speech to external speech) and a change in addressee (from self = Boaz to other = Ruth).

The earliest *explicit* claim that X האמר \dots X said" is the one attributed to Hananel b. Hushiel (first half of the eleventh century) by Ibn Shuʻaib in his commentary on Gen 15:2–3.80 A comment by Hoffmann concerning Gen 27:36 appears to exhibit a similar claim.81

For the purposes of this study, the most relevant examples of the repeated quotation formula are the infrequent ones in which X ויאמר X ויאמר X ויאמר X (as in Gen 37:21–22), with the addressee specified in the second occurrence of the formula instead of the first occurrence or both occurrences. It appears that most examples of this expanded formula have the

⁷⁷ For the rendering of יאמר here with "he thought," see also GWT (God's Word Translation), RSV, NRSV; and P. Kyle McCarter, *II Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary*, AB 9 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984), 273. See also Rashi's commentary on 1 Sam 18:17 (below), 25:21, Ruth 2:7, etc.

⁷⁸Jeremy Schipper, *Ruth: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AYB 7D (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 74, 152. See also GWT.

 $^{^{79}}$ This kind of change in discourse type is not mentioned by Shiloah, who speaks only of changes from reply to independent statement.

⁸⁰ See 478–79 above. Note that the formulation "two utterances with no reply in between" does not necessarily belong to R. Hananel; Ibn Shuʻaib uses it again in a comment that he does not attribute to R. Hananel. Thus, it is not clear whether R. Hananel's lost original comment proposed a general rule or pertained only to Gen 15:2–3.

⁸¹ See Hoffmann, ספר בראשית, 2:571–72.

meaning "X thought ... X said to Y." In other words, they are equivalent to an even fuller formula, Y בלבו ... ויאמר X בלבו , which occurs twice in the Bible: Gen 17:17–18:

וַיִּפֹּל אַבְרָהָם עַל־פָּנְיו וַיִּצְחָק וַיִּאֹמֶר בְּלְבּוֹ הַלְּבֶן מֵאָה־שָׁנָה יַוָּלַד וְאִם־שְּׁרָה הַבַּת־תּשְׁעֵים שָׁנָה תַּלָד: וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָהָם אֶל־הָאֱלֹהִים לוֹ יִשְׁמָעֵאל יִחָיֶה לְפָנֶיךְּ:

Abraham fell on his face and laughed. He <u>thought</u>, "Can a child be born to a hundred-year-old man? Can Sarah, a ninety-year-old woman, give birth?" And so Abraham <u>said to</u> God, "Oh that Ishmael might live on before You (through a great multitude of descendants)!"

and Esth 6:6-7:

וַיּאֹמֶר הָמֶן בְּלָבוֹ לְמִי יַחְפִּץ הַמֶּלֶךְ לִעֲשׁוֹת יְקָר יוֹתֵר מִמֶּנִּי: וַיּאֹמֶר הָמֶן אַל־הַמֶּלֶדְ אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר הַמֶּלֶדְ חָפֵץ בִּיקָרוֹ יָבִיאוּ לְבוּשׁ מַלְכוּת ...

Haman <u>thought</u>, "To whom would the king desire to give honor more than me?" And so Haman <u>said to</u> the king, "For the man whom the king desires to honor let royal garb be brought ..."

In both examples, there is a clear contrast between the two occurrences of זיאמר, the first modified by בלבו and the second by Y^- . My claim is that בלבו is not needed to establish the contrast, that a narrator can omit it from this formula without changing the meaning. Put differently, the internal speech component of the formula may be left $unmarked.^{83}$

There are several examples of Y אמר X וואמר ... וואמר (without בלבו) that have the meaning "X thought ... X said to Y." Almost all of them have been recognized by one traditional Jewish exegete or another. Two types can be distinguished, based on whether the addressee of X's internal speech is (1) X himself/herself or (2) Y, the person(s) standing before X.84 In type 1, X speaks silently to himself/herself before speaking aloud to Y. The internal component contains no second-person verbs or pronouns; its unspecified addressee is X (self) by default. Y may also appear in the internal component, but only in the third person (cf. Ruth 3:14–15 above). In type 2, X uses second-person morphemes to address Y twice—first

\$2 The only exception I have found is Gen 15:5: הַּשְּׁמֵיקָה, הַּבְּּט־יָגָא הַשְּׁמֵיקָה, וּיִאָּמֶר וֹיִאָּמֶר הַּבְּטִּיּנָא אַתוֹ הַחוּצָּה וַיִּאַמֶּר הַבּּיִם הָּשִּׁמִיקָּה, "He brought him outside and said, "Look toward heaven and count the stars, if you are able to count them." Then he said to him, "So shall your descendants be." (NRSV). As noted by Shiloah ("וְיִאמר"), "254) and Bar-Efrat (Narrative Art in the Bible, 44), the repetition there seems to signal a pause to allow Abraham to try to obey God's command; see 478, 480, and 484 above.

⁸³ For the term, see Cynthia L. Miller, "Discourse Functions of Quotative Frames in Biblical Hebrew Narrative," in *Discourse Analysis of Biblical Literature: What It Is and What It Offers*, ed. Walter R. Bodine, SemeiaSt (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 158–82, here 160–61.

⁸⁴I owe this distinction to a comment by Sara Steiner.

silently and then aloud. Unfortunately, the internal speech component of type 2 is difficult to distinguish from ordinary, external speech.

A likely example of type 1 is 1 Sam 18:21:

וַיֹּאמֶר שָׁאוּל אֶתְנֶנָה לוֹ וּתְהִי־לוֹ לְמוֹקֵשׁ וּתְהִי־בוֹ יַד־פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיִּאמֶר שָׁאוּל <u>אֶל־דְּ</u>וִד בִּשְׁתִּים, וְיֹאמֶר שָׁאוּל אֶלְדַדְּוִד בִּשְׁתִּים, תּתחתן בּי היוֹם:

Saul <u>thought</u>, "I will give her to him that she may be a snare for him; let the *Philistines*' hand be upon him (to kill him)." And so Saul <u>said to</u> David, "Now it is through *two* (women) that you will (have) become engaged to be my son-in-law!" 85

85 This is my own interpretation of the last eight words, which are not reflected in the Septuagint. The latter has a shorter text throughout chapters 17–18; see Stephen Pisano, *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel: The Significant Pluses and Minuses in the Massoretic, LXX and Qumran Texts*, OBO 57 (Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 78–86. According to Pisano (79–80): "The question remains ... as to the original form of these chapters, for the problem here is that one is caught between two text-critical principles—one must choose between the *lectio difficilior*, represented by MT with its numerous contradictions, and the *lectio brevior*, which is found in LXX.... Barthélemy has based his defense of MT on the fact that it is precisely at those points in the text which are problematic that LXX registers a 'minus' ..., thus indicating an attempt at harmonization and coherence in the narrative on the part of LXX." In my view, Barthélemy's argument fits this case perfectly.

 86 See Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, 2nd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2011), 145, 148.

⁸⁷ Cf. Isa 39:8: וַיָּאמֶר הַוֹּ יָשְׁלוֹם וָאֱמֶת מֹנ דְּבָרְה׳ אֲשֶׁר דְּבַרְה׳ הַ שְׁלוֹם וָאֲמֶת בִּי יִהְיָה שְׁלוֹם וְאֵּמֶת הוֹ (With the parallel in 2 Kgs 20:19) is often taken as an example of "X said to Y ... X thought," e.g., NRSV: "Then Hezekiah <u>said to</u> Isaiah, 'The word of the Lord that you have spoken is good.' For he <u>thought</u>, "There will be <u>peace</u> and security in my days.'" See also ESV, ISV, NASB, NIV, NJPS, RSV; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39: A New Translation with Introduction and*

A plausible example of type 2 is 2 Kgs 6:26–28:

ַוּיָהִי מֶלֶדְּ יִשְׂרָאֵל עֹבֵר עַל־הַחֹמֶה וְאִשָּׁה צָעֲקָה אֵלְיו לֵאמֹר הוֹשִׁיעָה אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶדְ: וַיֹּא<u>מֶר</u> אַל־ יוֹשָעֶדָּ ה׳ מֵאָיִן אוֹשִׁיעָדְ הַמִּן־הַגְּרָן אוֹ מִן־הַיָּקָב: וַיֹּאמֶר־לָה הַמֵּלֵדְ מַה־לָּדְּ ...

The NJPS renders thus:

Once, when the king of Israel was walking on the city wall, a woman cried out to him: "Help me, Your Majesty!" "Don't [ask me]," he replied. "Let the Lord help you! Where could I get help for you, from the threshing floor or the winepress? But what troubles you?" the king asked her.

This rendering is problematic. The response מה־לך hardly makes sense as a continuation of verse 27. The NJPS tacitly acknowledges the difficulty by inserting the adversative conjunction "but."

Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor view the verses somewhat differently: "27 ... the words are the initial, emotional reaction to the anguished cry of the woman. After calming down, the king begins again in v. 28 with the customary response." In other words, the repetition of יאמר וואמר indicates a new beginning, following a pause. The reference to the "customary response" is presumably based on 2 Sam 14:4–5: הַמֶּלֶךְ מַה־ לְּהַ הַמֶּלֶךְ מַה־ לִּהְ הַמֶּלֶךְ מַה־ לִּךְ "זֹר woman of Tekoa said to the king ... 'Help (me), Your Majesty!' The king said to her, 'What's troubling you?' In other words, the phrase מה־לֹך seems to be the conventional response to the petition formula

It is important to note that מה־לך is an *initial* response in 2 Sam 14:5, and one would expect it to function the same way in 2 Kgs 6:28. Cogan and Tadmor seem to take that into account when they write that "the king *begins again* in v. 28 with the customary response." But it is still a bit odd for the king to ask "What's troubling you?" after sounding, in his initial response, as though he knows what the problem is.

Commentary, AB 19 (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 486; and Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor, II Kings: A New Translation, AB 11 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1988), 258.

⁸⁸ Alternatively, it may indicate contrast: "But Saul thought."

s⁸⁹If so, בי אמר/אמרתי is functionally similar to the formula בי אמראמרתי, which often introduces internal speech that motivates a previously described action or failure to act (e.g., Gen 20:11, 26:9, 31:31, 32:21, 42:4, Exod 13:17, 1 Sam 20:26, 2 Sam 12:22, 18:18, Job 1:5, etc.), including previously cited external speech (e.g., Gen 38:11). See Nikolaus Bratsiotis, "Der Monolog im Alten Testament," ZAW 73 (1961): 30–70, here 47.

⁹⁰Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 80; see also Leibowitz, "ויאמר ... ויאמר," 499.

In my view, the explanation of Abarbanel is more plausible. According to his paraphrase of verse 27, אמר בלבו אל יושעך הי, ⁹¹ the king is addressing the petitioner in his mind. The king's *internal* speech reflects desperation, while his *external* speech, a conventional response, is designed to project normalcy and calm. This interpretation is bolstered by verse 30. There we learn that under his regal *outer* garments, the king was wearing *inner* garments made of sackcloth. There, as in verses 27–28, we find normalcy on the outside concealing desperation on the inside.

Another example of type 2 seems to be found in 2 Sam 16:10-11:

וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶדְ מַה־לִּי וְלָכֶם בְּנֵי צֶרְיָה בֹּה יְקְלֵּל בִּי ה׳ אָמֵר לוֹ קַלֶּל אֶת־דְּוִד וּמִי יֹאמֵר מִדּוּע עָשִׁיתָה בֵּו: וַיִּאמֶר דְּוִד אֶל־צֵּבִישִׁי וְאֶל־כָּל־עֲבָדִיו הִנֵּה בְנִי אֲשֶׁר־יָצָא מִמֵּעִי מְבַקּשׁ אֶת־נַפְשִׁי ואף כּי־עתה בּו־הימיני הנּהוּ לוֹ וִיקלל ...

I suggest that this means:

The king thought, "What have I to do with you, you sons of Zeruiah? He is cursing that way because the Lord said to him, 'Curse David,' so who can say, 'Why have you done that?'" Then David said to Abishai and to all his servants, "My own son, the issue of my body, seeks (to take) my life, how much more so now the Benjaminite. Leave him in peace that he may curse ..."

McCarter, by contrast, takes the first ויאמר to mean "he said," and he is, therefore, bothered by the amount of repetition in these verses.

10–11. This passage is highly repetitious. We may have here an elaborate repository of variants and blended corrections arising from attempts to repair an accident in the text of a single long speech. If this is the case, the primitive text may be irrecoverable. It is also possible, however, that David spoke twice in the primitive text and the repetition, therefore, is authentic and must be interpreted as such ⁹²

If my suggestion is correct, the text does not exhibit any problematic repetition, because the first אממר means "he thought."93 David has an ambivalent relationship with the "sons of Zeruiah."94 As recognized by most Bible translations, the rhetorical question מה־לי נולכם seems to mean "What have I to do with you?" (cf. Judg 11:12, 1 Kgs 17:18, 2 Kgs 3:13, 2 Chr 35:21). The same annoyed question is asked of Joab and Abishai by David in 2 Sam 19:23, but, even if we assume that it is asked aloud there, the context here favors a different assumption. In our passage, David is fleeing from Absalom, and he desperately needs the help of Joab and Abishai. Thus, it seems likely that the first אומר (which, unlike the second, is not modified by Y-שמר (which, unlike the second, is no longer in

⁹¹ Abarbanel, פירוש על נביאים ראשונים, 623a.

⁹² McCarter, II Samuel, 368.

⁹³ See 492 below.

 $^{^{94}}$ For this appellation, used by David in 2 Sam 3:39, 19:23, as well, see the note on 1 Sam 10:11 in NJPS: "to refer to a person merely as the 'son (*ben*) of ...' is slighting."

danger, he will be free to rebuke Joab and Abishai aloud, if he wishes, but for now, at least, David needs to keep his feelings to himself.

IV. THINKING BEFORE SPEAKING IN GENESIS 37:21-22

How are we to interpret the repetition of אמר in Gen 37:21–22? According to many commentators, some of whom we have discussed above, Reuben paused 95 to wait for a positive response, and, when none was forthcoming, he was forced to try again, 96 offering a second proposal 97 or elaborating on the first. 98

This interpretation finds some support later in the Joseph story. In Gen 42:1–2, we read:

וַיֹאמֶר יַעֲלֶב לְבָנִיו לְמָּה תִּתְרָאוּ: וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה שְׁמַעְתִּי כִּי יֶשׁ־שֶׁבֶּר בְּמִצְרְיִם רְדוּ־שְׁמָה וִשְׁבִרוּ־לֵנוּ מִשָּׁם וִנְחַיֵּה וִלֹא נָמוּת:

Jacob <u>said</u> to his sons, "Why do you keep looking at each other?" And he <u>said</u>, "I have heard that there is grain in Egypt. Go down there and procure grain for us from there, that we may live and not die."

According to Carr, "the doubled speech introduction at the outset of Genesis 42 ... actually helps stress the silence of the brothers in response to Jacob's question." Carr supports this claim by comparing 42:1–2 with 45:3–4, where the repeated quotation formula is interrupted by an explicit statement that the brothers did not respond to Joseph's question. Surprisingly, Carr does not apply any of these insights to Gen 37:21–22, perhaps because verse 21, unlike 45:3, contains no question.

The "he-said-he-said" interpretation of verses 21–22 is seductive, but there is a more compelling interpretation—namely, that ויאמר in verse 21 is equivalent to ניאמר בלבו If so, we may translate: "He thought, 'We will not take his life.' And

⁹⁵ Jacob (481–82 above). See also Berlin, *Poetics and Interpretation*, 118.

⁹⁶Ibn Shuʻaib (479 above); Dubno and Mendelssohn (480 above).

⁹⁷ Abarbanel, פירוש על התורה, 1:367a; Hirsch, *Der Pentateuch*, 1:256 (discussed by Jacobs, "Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch," 196); Meir L. Malbim, ... פירוש המלבי״ם ... פירושים ... פירושים המלבי״ם המלבי״ם המורה והמצוה (Jerusalem: Pardes, 1956), 1:63a, b; Horovitz (482 above); Genung, *Composition of Genesis 37*, 56.

⁹⁸ Ska, "Sommaires proleptiques," 525.

⁹⁹Carr, Reading the Fractures, 285.

¹⁰⁰ See 484 above.

¹⁰¹ For antecedents of this suggestion (with "speaking to himself" ≠ "thinking"), see Naphtali Z. J. Berlin (בבר) העמק דבר. עם פירוש ... עם פירוש ... (נעמ' א קלח] [5 vols.; Vilna: Rom, 1879], 1:275 [קעמ' א קלח]): "It doesn't say 'he said to them' as in the adjacent verse; rather, Reuben first approached speaking to himself in a thunderous voice: "This shall not be ..."; and Wolf Pahrille's commentary בראשית ... עם פירוש שארית יהודה הו חומת אנך (Lemberg: Balaban, 1880), 287a. On verse 21, Pahrille comments, "He said this as one speaking to himself." Concerning verse 22, he writes, "Afterwards, he spoke to his brothers, as well." In other respects, these two interpretations are quite

so Reuben said to them, 'Do not shed blood. Throw him into that pit (over there) in the wilderness, but do not lay a hand upon him (to kill him)." 102

This interpretation clarifies the relationship between verse 21 and verse 22. It makes perfect sense, under the circumstances, that there would be some disparity (as well as some similarity) between what Reuben thinks and what he says aloud. In his external speech, Reuben tries to persuade his brothers that he, too, wants Joseph dead, as long as that result is achieved without their spilling blood. His internal monologue, by contrast, contains no hint of that. It lacks the formula אל/לא תהי(ה) בו/בך ידנו/ידי used to urge or promise someone to avoid direct bloodshed (Gen 37:27; 1 Sam 18:17; 24:12, 13). Taking ויאמר to mean "he thought" in verse 21 provides a remarkably simple explanation for both the duplication found by Driver and Schmidt in verses 21–22 and the contradiction found there by Schmitt, just as it does for the duplication found by McCarter in 2 Sam 16:10–11. 104

different from each other and from mine. See also Ron Pirson, *The Lord of the Dreams: A Semantic and Literary Analysis of Genesis 37–50*, JSOTSup 355 (London: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 67: "It is even possible that Reuben is talking to himself in v. 21.... Only in v. 22 ... [is] the addressee ... mentioned explicitly." I am indebted to S. Z. Leiman for calling Pahrille's comment to my attention and sending me scans of this rare volume. Thanks also to Shmuel Klein (YIVO library) for providing photographs of the first edition of Berlin's commentary.

ושמע, where X is a free human being, is used of killing. For וישמע, "Reuben heard (this, i.e., the plot to kill Joseph) and saved him from (being killed at) their hand(s)," at the beginning of verse 21 and ראובן ויצלהו מידם, "fin order to save him from (being killed at) their hand(s), that he might (or: and to) restore him to his father," at the end of verse 22, see Richard C. Steiner, "ויצלהו מידם": Proleptic Summaries, Conative Imperfects, and Harmonization in the Joseph Story and Other Biblical Narratives," in Ve-Ted Ya aleh (Gen 2:6): Essays in Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Edward L. Greenstein, WAWSup (Atlanta: SBL Press, forthcoming).

¹⁰³The example in 1 Sam 18:17 exhibits different word order.

¹⁰⁴See 475, 475–76, 476, and 490.

him)" (Gen 37:27); אל־תהי ידי בו, "let not my hand be upon him (to kill him)" (1 Sam 18:17); and אנחנה אל נקטלנהי, "we, let's not kill him" (Ahiqar 61). "

In all likelihood, ויאמר לא נכנו נפש is an internal expression of firm resolve: "He thought, 'We will not take his life." It resembles internal first-person monologues elsewhere in the Bible that express a decision or resolution to inflict harm or refrain from doing so. In some of these, the internal speech is God's, for example, Gen 8:21: יְּאֶמֶר הֹ' אֶּל־לְבּוֹ לֹא־אֹסְף לְקַלֵּל עוֹד אֶת־הְאָדְמָה ... וְלֹא־אֹסְף עוֹד לְהַבּוֹת אֶת־ בְּאֲשֶׁר עְשִׂיתִי יַּיְאֶשֶׁר עְשִׂיתִי "מֹשְׁלֵל חִל אַל הַלְבּוֹ לֹא־אֹסְף (lit., said to his heart), 'I will never again curse the ground ... nor will I ever again destroy every living being, as I have done"; and Deut 32:26: יַבְּאֲנוֹשׁ זִבְרָם מֹאֲנוֹשׁ זִבְרָם , אָמַרְתִּי אַפְאֵיהֶם אַשְׁבִּיתָה מֵאֲנוֹשׁ זִבְרָם ... ווֹ thought, 'I will make an end of them, eradicate their memory from humankind." In others, it is Israel's enemies who are doing the thinking, for example, Ps 74:8: אָמְר אוֹיֵב , "They thought, 'We will extirpate them altogether"; and Exod 15:9: אָמָר אוֹיֵב , "frey thought, 'Ye will extirpate them altogether", "The enemy thought, 'The enemy the enemy thought, 'The enemy the enemy

¹⁰⁶For "thought" in this verse, see already מבילתא דרבי ישמעאל, ed. H. S. Horovitz and I. A. Rabin (Frankfurt am Main: Kauffmann, 1931), 139 line 15: "אמר אויב ... From where did Israel come to know what Pharaoh, (back) in Egypt, was thinking [חשב] about them?" See also Martin Luther, Biblia, das ist, die gantze heilige Schrifft Deudsch auffs new zugericht (Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1544), 40b: "Der Feind gedacht"; Emil Kautzsch, Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments, 2 vols. (Freiburg: Mohr, 1894), 1:71; Cassuto, פירוש על ספר שמות, 121; Cornelis Houtman, Exodus, 4 vols. (Kampen: Kok, 1993-2002), 2:223, 283-84; William H. C. Propp, Exodus 1-18: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary, AB 2 (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 524; Helmut Utzschneider and Wolfgang Oswald, Exodus 1-15, Internationaler exegetischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament 2.1 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2013), 328; etc. There are several reasons to doubt that the words "I shall pursue ..." were uttered aloud by the enemy, for example, as a war cry: (1) the closest parallel is in Ps 74:8, where בלבם appears; (2) since Israel is the referent of third-person pronouns (in תמלאמו and תורישמו), it cannot be the addressee; (3) for exhorting one's fellows, the ideal mood is not the indicative used here (ארדף אשיג אחלק ... אריק) but the cohortative used in 14:25 (אנוסה) and 15:1 (אשירה); (4) verse 9 differs in content, form, and length from the war cries in Judg 7:18, 20; CAD 1.1:329 (alāla compared with Greek ἀλαλά); ibid., 331 ("Ishtar have mercy!"); Xenophon, Cyr. 3.3.58-59; etc.

'I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil, my desire shall have its fill of them, I will draw my sword, my hand shall destroy them."

Perhaps the closest parallels to ויאמר לא נכנו נפש are two cases of internal speech discussed above. In 1 Sam 18:11, ויאמר אכה בדוד ובקיר, "he thought, 'I will pin David to the wall," we find the same two verbs. And in 1 Sam 18:21, ויאמר שאול אַל־דוד בשתים תתחתן בי היום אתננה לו ותהי־לו למוקש ותהי־בו יד־פלשתים ויאמר שאול אַל־דוד בשתים תתחתן בי היום ("Saul thought, 'I will give her to him that she may be a snare for him; let the Philistines' hand be upon him (to kill him).' And so Saul said to David, 'Now it is through two (women) that you will (have) become engaged to be my son-in-law!," the internal utterance expressing a decision about killing someone is immediately followed by an external utterance that begins to carry it out.

It emerges from this analysis that Reuben is in Gen 37:29–30 mostly, if not entirely, speaking to himself. Although he is depicted as expressing himself before his brothers, he does not at all expect any reaction to his words. Moreover, it is obvious that he would hardly have wanted them to grasp the full implications of his speech because he mistrusted them in any case and generally did not share his plans with them. Reuben's inner conflict, too painful to be kept entirely private, is nevertheless phrased in concealed fashion so as to preclude its exposure. ¹⁰⁷

If this analysis is correct, it provides strong support for my proposal, because it means that Reuben is once again refraining from fully sharing his thoughts with his brothers. Reuben appears here as the polar opposite of the indiscreet Joseph, whose immature insistence on relating his dreams to his brothers tore his family apart.

V. Conclusions

The repetition of the quotation formula (אמר) and the like) is common in biblical narrative; it is a literary device used to signal discontinuity. The discontinuity often involves a pause in the discourse (to wait for a verbal or physical response, or to highlight a dramatic conclusion). Instead of—or in addition to—a pause, the discontinuity may involve a change in the discourse parameters (type, topic, or addressee). Stated in Saussurean terms, the discontinuity signaled by the repetition

¹⁰⁷ M. Niehoff, "Do Biblical Characters Talk to Themselves? Narrative Modes of Representing Inner Speech in Early Biblical Fiction," *JBL* 111 (1992): 577–95, here 588, https://doi.org/10.2307/3267433.

of the quotation formula is syntagmatic (along the horizontal axis), paradigmatic (along the vertical axis), or both.

Jewish exegetes of the Middle Ages and later noted most of this, thereby anticipating a topic discussed frequently today in creative writing blogs, namely, how to indicate that a speaker has paused. The work of these traditional commentators, however, appears to have been unknown to early modern critics. The writings of the latter assume that the repetition of אומר in Gen 37:21–22 and elsewhere is an anomaly that requires a diachronic explanation. It took roughly a century for the old synchronic approach to such repetition to regain its dominant position. This history is a perfect illustration of a problem famously described by George Santayana: "Progress, far from consisting in change, depends on retentiveness.... Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." 108

Adherents of the synchronic approach, both medieval and modern, have viewed the repetition of איז in Gen 37:21–22 as an indication that Reuben paused to wait for a positive response that never came. This view is seductive, but it does not provide a compelling, unified explanation of the differences between איז מר לא מבו (v. 21) and ויאמר אלהם ראובן אל־תשפטו־דם (v. 22)—differences in (1) the quotation formulas; (2) the verbs in the speeches; and (3) the negators in the speeches. Nor does it take into account the similarity between א בנו נפש internal first-person monologues elsewhere in the Bible that express a decision or resolution to inflict harm or refrain from doing so.

The facts are best explained by taking the repetition of מיאמר in Gen 37:21–22 as signaling a change in the discourse parameters, with regard to both type (from internal to external) and addressee (from self to other). In verse 21, Reuben speaks to himself in his mind, revealing his true feelings. In verse 22, by contrast, Reuben addresses his brothers, trying to persuade them that he, too, wants Joseph dead, as long as that result is achieved without their spilling blood. This solution to the problems of Gen 37:21–22 is supported by prooftexts in other biblical narratives.

¹⁰⁸ George Santayana, *The Life of Reason*, 5 vols. (New York: Scribner, 1905–1906), 1:284. It is obvious that the invention of the footnote citation has not solved this problem. The compilation of academic databases, accessible to web search engines, has the potential to contribute more to its solution.