PRAYING LEGALLY



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by Shalom E. Holtz

PRAYING LEGALLY

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Brown Judaic Studies Providence, Rhode Island

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לאבא ולאמא, שיחי' שותפיו של שומע תפילה החונן לאדם דעת



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Preface

All translations are my own, made in consultation with published translations. Citations of the Hebrew Bible are based on the Masoretic Text of the Aleppo Codex and related manuscripts, available from the electronic corpus of Mechon Mamre (www.mechon-mamre.org). Citations of Hebrew High Holiday liturgy come from Daniel Goldschmidt, ed., (במרג אשכנז לכל ענפיהם כולל מנהג אשכנז (בי אשכנז לכל ענפיהם כולל מנהג צרפת לשעבר מחזור לימים הנוראים: לפי מנהגי בני אשכנז לכל ענפיהם כולל מנהג צרפת לשעבר sh commentaries are cited from Menachem Cohen, ed., Mikra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer': A Revised and Augmented Scientific Edition of 'Mikra'ot Gedolot' Based on the Aleppo Codex and Early Medieval MSS (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1992–).

Citation conventions and abbreviations follow those published in *The SBL Handbook of Style*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014) and *CAD*.



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Acknowledgments

אָבָרֶדְ אֶת-ה' אֲשֶׁר יְעָצְנִי (תה' טז:ז)

The begin by formally discharging my duty to acknowledge two sources of financial support for my research on this book. In 2014–2015, I received the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture's International Fellowship in Jewish Studies. A grant from the Chelst, Schreiber, and Zwas Yeshiva College Book Fund aided my work in 2016–2018. It is an honor to be included among the recipients of both of these grants.

For some fifteen years now, one main focus of my research has been ancient Mesopotamian trial procedure, primarily as it is attested in the Neo-Babylonian cuneiform corpus. During this time, I served as a consultant to the Neo-Babylonian Trial Procedure project, funded by a Collaborative Research Grant from the U.S. National Endowment for the Humanities and led by Bruce Wells, Cornelia Wunsch, and Rachel Magdalene. While the project itself has ended, and my research interests have migrated toward divine, rather than earthly, courtrooms, my scholarly relationships with Bruce, Cornelia, and Rachel remain. All three have, in one way or another, contributed something to the present work.

Bruce and Rachel welcomed me to the Biblical Law section of the Society of Biblical Literature's Annual Meeting. Over the years, I have presented most of the research for this book at this section's sessions, first as a newcomer, then as a steering committee member, and now as a co-chair (with Hannah Harrington). Among the other scholarly venues in which I have shared the work published here, I should single out the Columbia Bible Seminar, whose stimulating meetings are always a monthly highlight for me. At all of these forums, audience responses to my presentations have definitely improved this publication in ways impossible to enumerate.

Similarly, conversations with teachers and colleagues have contributed to this work. Many thanks to Tzvi Abusch, Shawn Zelig Aster, Marc Brettler, Simeon Chavel, Tova Ganzel, Edward Greenstein, Peter Machinist, Moshe Shoshan, Benjamin Sommer, Jeffrey Stackert, David Vanderhooft, and Avi Winitzer, all of whom took an interest in this project and offered criticism and encouragement, as needed. Saul Olyan and the anonymous referees of Brown Judaic Studies made valuable suggestions that have improved the book in its present form. My sincere apologies and thanks to those whose names I neglected to mention.

For someone of my research interests, few intellectual environments rival Yeshiva University, my academic home since 2006, where I am a member of the faculty of the Bernard Revel Graduate School of Jewish Studies and of the Robert M. Beren Department of Jewish Studies at Yeshiva College. Among my colleagues there, I wish to single out Moshe Bernstein, Barry Eichler, Aaron Koller, and Ari Mermelstein, on whom I can always rely to serve as sounding boards for my ideas. This work owes a special debt to Ari and his involvement with the Yeshiva University Center for Jewish Law and Contemporary Civilization, where I was a fellow during the 2009–2010 academic year and where my first thoughts on prayer and the courtroom took shape. Lauren Fitzgerald, Professor of English and Director of the Wilf Campus Writing Center at Yeshiva University, read drafts and provided other welcome support for my writing. Alongside the names of the living, I record the memory of Yaakov Elman, with whom I shared many powerful conversations on my research. His passing is a loss to the entire world of Jewish Studies, most keenly felt at YU.

As this book took shape, the ideas it contains became a unit in my graduate-level course on prayer in the Hebrew Bible. Classroom discussions have certainly impacted what now appears in print, and I am grateful to the students who have shared their thoughts with me. Special thanks to the following students who worked as my research assistants when they were undergraduates: Jacob Yisrael Ben Pesach, Yakov Ellenbogen, Eliav Grossman, and Shlomo Wadler. Their undergraduate careers are well in their pasts, but this work remains a testament to their abilities. I am especially grateful to Yael Landman for reading and commenting on most of the manuscript, chapter by chapter, and contributing her expertise as a scholar of the ancient Near East and as a writer.

From this book's very inception, my wife, Leebie Mallin, has provided consistent interest and encouragement. Our three children, Zev (Billy), Avigayil, and Tal have grown up knowing that "Abba is writing a book called *Praying Legally.*" They are always sources of delight and reminders that the second (or third) millennium c.e. is at least as interesting as the second (or first) millennium B.C.E. To all of them go my deep appreciation for tolerating my ultimately offbeat interests and for welcoming me into their worlds.

Finally, my parents, Avraham and Toby Berger Holtz, have been at my side throughout my life. The phrase "at my side" can be understood both idiomatically, as it usually is, and quite literally, for we have, in fact, occupied adjacent seats in library reading rooms. My parents are models of devotion to Jewish scholarship who nurtured and supported me every step of the way. I dedicate this book to them. May they continue to enrich the lives of our family and of all who know them.

בשמחה רבה, עש"ק פ' שקלים כד באדר א' התשע"ט

Bibliographical Abbreviations

A. Tablet Signature of Texts from Mari

AB Anchor Bible

ABAW Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissen-

schaften

ABL Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the K. Collection

of the British Museum. Edited by Robert Francis Harper. 14 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1892–1914.

AfO Archiv für Orientforschung
AMD Ancient Magic and Divination

ANEM Ancient Near East Monographs/Monografías sobre el

Antiguo Cercano Oriente

AnOr Analecta Orientalia

AOAT Alter Orient und Altes Testament

ArOr Archív Orientální

ASAW Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissen-

schaften

AYB Anchor Yale Bible

BASOR Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research

BaF Baghdader Forschungen
BaghM Baghdader Mitteilungen

BCOTWP Baker Commentary on the Old Testament Wisdom and

Psalms

BE The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylva-

nia, Series A: Cuneiform Texts. Edited by H. V. Hilprecht. 31 vols. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press,

1893–1914.

BEATAJ Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des

antiken Judentums

BETL Bibliotheca Ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium

BibInt Biblical Interpretation

BIN Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies. 10

vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918–1987.

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BJS **Brown Judaic Studies**

BM Tablets in the collection of the British Museum

BMes Bibliotheca Mesopotamica

BMSLeonard W. King, Babylonian Magic and Sorcery. London:

Luzac, 1896.

Boyer, Georges Boyer, Contribution à l'histoire juridique de la 1^{re}

Contribution dynastie babylonienne. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1928.

BTS Biblical Tools and Studies

BWI. Wilfred G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*. Oxford:

Clarendon, 1960.

BZBiblische Zeitschrift

BZABR Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische

Rechtsgeschichte

BZAW Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissen-

schaft

CAD The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the Uni-

versity of Chicago. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the Uni-

versity of Chicago, 1956–2006.

CBQCatholic Biblical Quarterly CM Cuneiform Monographs

The Context of Scripture. Edited by William W. Hallo. 3 COS

vols. Leiden: Brill, 1997–2002.

CTCuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British

Museum. London: The Trustees of the British Museum,

1896-.

CTHEmmanuel Laroche, Catalogue des textes hittites. Etudes et

commentaires 75. Paris: Klincksieck, 1971.

J. N. Strassmaier, Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon Cyr.

> (538-529 v. Chr.) von den Thontafeln des Britischen Museums. Babylonische Texte 7. Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1890.

Denkschriften Österreichische Akademie der Wissen-

DÖAW.PH

schaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse

EANEC Explorations in Ancient Near Eastern Civilizations

EIL Early Judaism and Its Literature FAOS Freiburger altorientalische Studien FAT Forschungen zum Alten Testament

GKC Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar. Edited by Emil Kautzsch.

Translated by Arthur E. Cowley. 2nd ed. Oxford: Claren-

don, 1910.

HAT Handbuch zum Alten Testament HBS History of Biblical Studies HSM Harvard Semitic Monographs HTRHarvard Theological Review HUCA Hebrew Union College Annual

JANER Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions

JANESCU Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia Uni-

versity

JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society

JBL Journal of Biblical Literature

JEOL Jaarbericht von het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex

oriente lux

JJS Journal of Jewish Studies JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies

JNSL Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages JSOT Journal for the Study of the Old Testament

JSOTSup Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement

Series

JSS Journal of Semitic Studies
JOURNAL OF Theological Studies

KAR Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts. Edited by Erich

Ebeling. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1919–1923.

Köcher BAM Franz Köcher, Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten

und Untersuchungen. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1963–.

Kültepe Tablets from Kültepe

LHBOTS Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies

MRS Mission de Ras Shamra

Nbn. J. N. Strassmaier, Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von

Babylon (555–538 v. Chr.) von den Thontafeln des Britischen Museums. Babylonische Texte 1–4. Leipzig: Eduard

Pfeiffer, 1889.

NJPS Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures; The New JPS Translation accord-

ing to the Traditional Hebrew Text

OECT Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts

OPBIAA Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archae-

ology in Ankara

ORA Orientalische Religionen in der Antike

OTE Old Testament Essays
OTL Old Testament Library

RA Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale

RB Revue biblique

RIDA Revue international des droits dans l'antiquité
RS Texts excavated at Ras Shamra (Ugarit)

SAAB State Archives of Assyria Bulletin

SBLDS Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series SBLSymS Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series

StBoT Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten

StPohl Studia Pohl

TCL Textes cunéiformes. Musée du Louvre

xvi Bibliographical Abbreviations

UET Ur Excavations, Texts VT Vetus Testamentum

VTSup Supplements to Vetus Testamentum WAW Writings from the Ancient World WARC World Riblical Commentary

WBC Word Biblical Commentary

Wiseman, D. J. Wiseman, The Alalakh Tablets. OPBIAA 2. London:

Alalakh British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara, 1953.

WMANT Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen

Testament

WO Die Welt des Orients

WUNT Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

YOS Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts

ZAW Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

