

Job, *Prometheus Bound* and the Embassy to Achilles



Philippe Wajdenbaum
Independent scholar

Fecha de recepción: 20 de septiembre de 2018. Fecha de aceptación: 12 de octubre de 2018.

Resumen

Este artículo examina los varios paralelismos entre el libro de Job y *Prometeo encadenado* de Esquilo, desde la perspectiva de una influencia griega directa sobre toda la Biblia hebrea, considerada como un proyecto literario de la era helenística originado en las prescripciones de Platón en las *Leyes* y en la *República*. El artículo también estudia alguna similitudes entre Job y la escena de la Embajada a Aquiles en la *Iliada* de Homero, la cual resulta ser el modelo de Esquilo para *Prometeo encadenado*. Por lo tanto, la noción de “alusión en dos niveles”, esto es, cuando un autor alude tanto a un autor previo como a la fuente de dicho autor, es presentada como un posible criterio para determinar dependencia literaria.

Palabras clave

Job
Prometeo
Aquiles
“alusión en dos niveles”

Abstract

This article examines the many parallels between the Book of Job and Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, from the perspective of a direct Greek influence over the whole Hebrew Bible, considered as a literary project of the Hellenistic era originated from Plato's prescriptions in the *Laws* and the *Republic*. The article also studies some similarities between Job and the scene of the Embassy to Achilles in Homer's *Iliad*, which happens to be Aeschylus' own model for *Prometheus Bound*. Therefore, the notion of “two-tier allusion”, that is, when an author alludes both to a previous author and to the latter's own source, is brought forward as a possible criterion for determining literary dependence.

Keywords

Job
Prometheus
Achilles
«two-tier allusion»

Introduction

Modern biblical scholars have attempted to date the Book of Job on the basis of now famous similarities with either Ancient Near Eastern texts on the one hand or Greek classical texts on the other hand. Job has been compared with ANE texts on the question of human suffering such as *Ludlul bel nemeqi*,¹ the *Legend of Aqhat* (Craig, 1985: 33)² or the *Babylonian Theodicy*. Accordingly, some scholars thought that the author of Job knew of such texts or tradition, and therefore probably wrote during or shortly after the Exile in Babylon. *Ludlul bel nemeqi* relates the complaints to Marduk of a suffering man and has sometimes been called “the Babylonian Job.” However, some have emphasized the differences between the texts: *Ludlul bel nemeqi* is not a dialogue, and the main character may have in fact committed some fault, unlike Job (Driver and Gray, 2015 [1916]: xxxi-xxxiv; Vicchio, 2006: 19-20; Oshima, 2014: 3-4).

On the other hand, Job has often been compared to Greek classical texts. In the fifth century CE, Bishop Theodore of Mopsuestia rejected Job’s authenticity and claimed that it was inspired by Greek tragedy.³ Reading the Book of Job in its Greek version, he considered that the name of Job’s third daughter after his restoration, Horn of Amaltheia (LXX Job 42:14), was evidence of the book’s pagan origin. H. M. Kallen has argued that the Book of Job presents the structure of a Euripidean drama, consisting of a prologue (Job 1-2), followed by the *agon* (the discussion between Job and his three friends), the unexpected intrusion of a “messenger” (in this case Elihu), the appearance of a *Deus ex machina* (God’s epiphany in the whirlwind), and an epilogue (Kallen, 1918: 37). According to J. Taylor, Job, as he curses the day he was born (Job 3:3-13), echoes Oedipus as he curses the man who rescued him as a baby (Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 1349-55) (Taylor, 2007: 37, 59). Job has also been compared to Plato’s dialogues (Hoare, 1875; Fries, 1904; Taylor, 2007: 58; Fokkelman, 2012: 3), and some scholars have tried to determine whether it conforms or not to Aristotle’s criteria for a good tragedy in the *Poetics* (Lowth, 1829: 486-487; Hoffman, 1996: 38-44; Shelton, 1999: 71; Vicchio, 2006: 23; Fokkelman, 2012: 4), or to his definition of happiness in the *Rhetoric* (Kuriakose, 2016). However, Job’s closest parallel in Greek literature is undoubtedly found in Aeschylus’ *Prometheus Bound*, which portrays the suffering Titan punished by Zeus and visited by sympathizing friends (Schmidt, 1911: 87-88; Terrien, 2005: 55 n. 2; Taylor, 2007: 60). J. J. Slotki argued that Job was indeed dependent upon *Prometheus Bound* (Slotki, 1927). While W. A. Irwin thought it a reasonable possibility, he deemed that the similarities were not definite evidence (Irwin, 1950: 92-93). The parallels brought forward by Slotki and Irwin were discussed more recently by K. J. Dell, who considers dependence unlikely (Dell, 1991: 98; 2017: 77). If the author of Job had been influenced by the Greek tragic playwrights and perhaps even by the Athenian philosophers, they would have probably worked during the Hellenistic period. However, Dell objects that this assumed Hellenistic dating based on comparisons with Greek sources is a form of circular reasoning (Dell, 2007: 12).

Hence, there is no current consensus in biblical scholarship about whether the Book of Job was written in either the pre-exilic, exilic, Persian or Hellenistic periods. According to most scholars, attempting to date the Book of Job on the basis of parallels with other literatures, whether Near Eastern or Greek, reveals to be inconclusive. This modern lack of conclusion somehow echoes

1. See the text at Lambert (1996 [1960]: 21-62). For a comparison with Job, see Jastrow (1906); Hooks (2006: 18). Dunham (2016: 172) compares Eliphaz’ vision in Job 4:15-16 to *Ludlul*’s description of a dream.
2. Thompson (2005: 24) considers Job’s direct borrowing from Babylonian proverbs unlikely.

3. For the text, see Migne (1864: 698). Hoffman (1996: 39 n. 13). Vicchio (2006: 22). Dell (2007: 11). Harkins (2016: 16).

the unsuccessful rabbinic attempts at dating Job at almost every period of the biblical chronology, as seen in *Baba Bathra* 15a-b. Indeed, the problem of Job's relative date in the biblical canon is one that is derived from the paradigm, inherited from the Judeo-Christian tradition, that the Hebrew Bible books were composed along the span of several centuries.

Greek Influence on the Hebrew Bible

T. L. Thompson and N. P. Lemche have opened scholarship to the possibility that the Hebrew Bible as a whole is a production from the Hellenistic era – which of course does not exclude that it might have transmitted elements from much earlier periods (Lemche, 2001 [1993]; Thompson, 1999). While the first tangible evidence for the existence of the Hebrew Bible are the late Hellenistic or Roman era Dead Sea Scrolls, the fifth and fourth century Aramaic papyri of Elephantine seem to indicate that the Hebrew Bible did not yet exist during the Persian period (Gmirkin, 2006: 28-33; Wajdenbaum, 2011: 39-40; 2016: 88). Some scholars have argued that there might be a direct influence of Greek literature on the redaction of major biblical works such as the Primary History. T. L. Brodie presented evidence that Genesis seems modelled after Homer's *Odyssey* (Brodie, 2001: 447-494). Y. S. Kupitz argues that the story of Abraham's servant finding a bride for Isaac is inspired by Odysseus' meeting with Nausicaa in *Odyssey* 6 (Kupitz, 2014; cf. Brodie, 2001: 458, 464-465; Loudon, 2011: 136-143). The story of Joseph in Gen. 37-50 appears in many respects as a rewriting of Odysseus' return to Ithaca in *Odyssey* 14-24 (Brodie, 2001: 472-481; Loudon, 2011: 57-104; Wajdenbaum, 2011: 136-142). The many battle scenes in Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings seem on the other hand largely dependent upon such scenes in the *Iliad* (Wajdenbaum, 2011: 207-288). J.-W. Wesselius has showed that the nine books from Genesis to Kings might be modelled on the nine books of Herodotus' *Histories* (Wesselius, 2002). However, both Brodie and Wesselius would place this emulation of respectively Homer and Herodotus during the Persian period.

Alternatively, R. E. Gmirkin suggested that the Pentateuch was written in the third century BCE, and that its authors took inspiration from Hellenized authors Berossus and Manetho (Gmirkin, 2006). According to Gmirkin, the legend of the Septuagint translation at Alexandria, known from the *Letter of Aristeas* (whom Gmirkin attributes to Aristobulus) (Gmirkin, 2006: 77-81) offers the plausible context for Judean and Samaritan scholars becoming acquainted with such texts in Greek language (Gmirkin, 2006: 248-256). Based on an idea from Yaakov Kupitz (1997), I have proposed the possibility that the Primary History presents an adaptation of Plato's concept of the ideal State as seen in the *Laws* (Wajdenbaum, 2010; 2011; 2013; 2014; 2016). The Pentateuch borrows some of its laws from Plato's *Laws*, such as the twelve-tribe division of the land (Wajdenbaum, 2011: 189-190; Gmirkin, 2017: 21-22), and books from Joshua to Kings present the gradual downfall of the State and its eventual destruction by the deity because successive generations of kings neglected the divine laws; a narrative canvas which seems borrowed from Plato's tale of Atlantis in *Critias* (Wajdenbaum, 2011: 55-56, 274-275; 2016: 82-83). I have tried to demonstrate that the author(s) of Genesis-Kings rewrote many stories found in Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, Euripides

and others, along the guidelines provided by Plato in both the *Republic* and the *Laws* (Wajdenbaum, 2011: 55, 89-90). R. E. Gmirkin has considerably deepened and strengthened the case for the Pentateuch's dependence upon Plato's *Laws*, by carefully weighing the Near Eastern and Greek parallels to biblical legislation (Gmirkin, 2017). Gmirkin convincingly demonstrates that Plato's project for an ideal State implied the creation of a national literature that would be censored by the State's authority (cf. *Laws*, 811c-e); a literature that would aim to elevate the souls of the inhabitants and teach them virtue. "There seems little doubt that the Hebrew Bible represents the construction of an approved literature according to the literary agenda laid out in Plato's *Laws*, the only other text in antiquity that envisioned the creation of such an all-encompassing approved national literature" (Gmirkin, 2017: 265). "The Hebrew Bible may thus be understood as a national literature created with the aims and by the procedures found in Plato's *Laws*" (Gmirkin, 2017: 267). In Gmirkin's hypothesis, the Hebrew Bible as a whole is the fulfilment of Plato's grandiose project, most probably achieved at Alexandria's Great Library in the third century BCE.⁴ Consequently, he argues that the redaction of the Hebrew Bible was probably not spread over many centuries but, since Plato's *Laws* provided clear guidelines, perhaps over a decade (Gmirkin, 2017: 266).

4. On Alexandria as the possible place of origin for the Hebrew Bible, see also Nodet (2011; 2014: 49-55).

Gmirkin demonstrates that the Hebrew Bible tends to imitate the various literary genres present at Alexandria's Library (Gmirkin, 2016; 2017: 265). This variety of genres is witnessed in the biblical Writings, upon which a Greek influence is considered by many scholars. Song of Songs appears as an imitation of Theocritus' *Idylls* (Burton, 2005; Hunter, 2005; Gmirkin, 2016: 97; Wajdenbaum, 2016: 87). Daniel may have relied on both Herodotus' *Histories* regarding historical data and may have borrowed from Hesiod's *Works and Days* the notion of successive ages symbolized by metal of declining values (Niskanen, 2004). Ecclesiastes seems a Hebrew paraphrase of Theognis' *Sentences* (Ranston, 1918). As I argue elsewhere, Proverbs may have borrowed some wisdom teachings from Hesiod's *Works and Days* (Wajdenbaum, forthcoming). In this context of a possible direct Greek influence, not only on the Writings, but on the whole Hebrew Bible, the Book of Job indeed can be seen as an imitation of tragic Greek plays, and specifically of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* (Gmirkin, 2016: 97).

Job also presents interesting echoes of philosophical subjects treated in Plato's *Republic*, such as the praise of a man who should be able to stand the death of his relatives, whether a son or a brother, or the loss of his wealth (*Rep.* 387d-e). This resembles Job's attitude at the news of the loss of his wealth and of his children's death (Job 1:13-22). A just man should be deprived of all the honors and gifts related to the esteem in which he is held, to see if that man is truly just or only seems so. That man, although just, will therefore suffer a reputation of injustice. Reduced to the most severe suffering, he will learn the lesson that he must not only seem just but truly be so (*Rep.* 360e-62a). This resembles how Satan tries to persuade God that Job is pious only because of God's benefits (Job 1:9-11) (Hoare, 1875: 632). Plato also shows that the unjust man may appear to be successful (*Rep.* 362a-c), which resembles Job questioning why the wicked seems to be prospering (Job 21:7-21). Plato suggested to test the Guardians of his would-be State, to see if they would maintain their righteous attitude when facing sorcery or violence (*Rep.* 412e-14a). As remarked by Gmirkin, this resembles the way in which God decides to test Job (Gmirkin, 2017: 265, 291

n. 133). Plato thought that for the truly righteous man, falling into poverty or disease would eventually prove to be a good thing, for the gods would never neglect him (*Rep.* 613a-b) (Hoare, 1875: 631). In the perspective of a direct Platonic inspiration pervading the whole Hebrew Bible, these similarities would need to be developed. However, the present article will focus on Job's likeness to Prometheus. While this latter parallel has been often noticed and discussed, I believe that a new perspective based on intertextual connections existing within Greek classical literature may offer a new understanding of Job's possible relationship to *Prometheus Bound*.

The Book of Genesis seems to display knowledge of the Prometheus myth. The biblical narrative of the Serpent tempting Eve into eating of the fruit of the knowledge of good and evil in Gen. 3 has often been compared to Hesiod's story of Prometheus giving fire, as a symbol for arts and knowledge, to humans (*Theogony* 565-616).⁵ As a punishment, Zeus decided to create, with the help of the other gods, the first woman, Pandora. The biblical narrative seems to reverse this sequence by making the first woman a positive helper for Adam, and by turning Prometheus into the crafty Serpent. Evidence of Genesis' probable knowledge of Hesiod appears, among others, in the name of Noah's son Japheth (Gen. 5:32, 6:10, 7:13, 9:18, 10:1) which is a near homophone of the Titan Iapetus (Homer, *Iliad* 8.478-81; Hesiod, *Theogony* 134, 507), who is Prometheus' father, and the grand-father of Deucalion, the survivor of the Greek version of the Flood myth (Pindar, *Olympian* 9.40-56), and an ancestor of Ion, known in Gen. 10:2, 4 as Yavan (Brown, 1995: 82-83; Wajdenbaum, 2011: 75-76, 108; Loudon, 2013; Thompson and Wajdenbaum, 2014: 15). Loudon writes: "Iapetus' status as a god in Homer and Hesiod but Japheth's mortal status in Genesis should be understood as an instance of Old Testament myth's tendency to euhemerize divine characters from other traditions" (Loudon, 2013: 3). Loudon's remark might be applied as well to the case of Job, which would therefore appear as euhemerized version of Prometheus visited by other gods. However, this translation from the divine to the human is already implied in *Prometheus Bound*, as Prometheus allegorically represents humanity (Irwin, 1950: 91, 100).

5. Origen, *Against Celsus* 4.38. Irwin (1950: 96-97). Wajdenbaum (2011: 99-101). Gnuse (2017: 136-137).

Job and *Prometheus Bound*

Both Job and Prometheus suffer at the hands of the supreme deity and both question the god's sense of justice. The difference is that Job is entirely innocent, being tested by God, whereas Prometheus proudly recognizes that he has offered fire and knowledge to the humans against the will of Zeus; for which he is chained on a mountain and destined to have his liver devoured every day by an eagle. Job is visited by his three friends Bildad, Eliphaz and Zophar, by Elihu, and eventually by God himself who appears in a whirlwind. Prometheus is visited by the chorus of the Oceanid nymphs, their father Oceanus, by Io transformed into a cow, and finally by Hermes. In both texts, the friendly visitors offer their sympathy to the protagonists but at the same time aggravate them by insinuating that they have somehow deserved their punishments (cf. Irwin, 1950: 92); which causes both Job and Prometheus to protest that they are innocent or unjustly punished. I will follow the order of *Prometheus Bound*

in presenting the parallels with Job. While there is no doubt that the Hebrew text was composed before its Greek translation, and while the former presents more accurate parallels with *Prometheus Bound*, I will indicate the occasions where Aeschylus and the Septuagint use comparable vocabulary.

As Dell observes, in both texts, the protagonists suffer on the orders of the godhead, but the sentence is executed by an intermediary, Satan in the case of Job and Hephaistos, with Power and Force, in the case of Prometheus (Dell, 2007: 13). As he chains him to the mountain, Hephaistos warns Prometheus that his flesh will be scorched by the sun; he will be glad to see the night veil the brightness, and glad to see the sun scatter the frost of the morning, and his burden shall wear him out (PB 24-27). Quite similarly, Job says that when he lies down, he asks when he shall rise, for the night is long and he is full of tossing until dawn. His flesh is clothed with worms and dirt, and his skin hardens and breaks out again (Job 7:4-5). As Hephaistos pities Prometheus, Power warns him that he should not groan over the enemies (ἐχθρῶν) of Zeus, lest he would one day grieve over himself (PB 67). Comparably, Job complains that God has kindled his wrath against him and counts him as one of his enemies (LXX ἐχθρόν, Job 19:11). Before leaving him, Power tells Prometheus that he can now indulge his insolence, keeping on wresting the gods their honors to give them to creatures of a day. Can mortals lighten his load of sorrow? He can't even free himself (PB 82-7). In a comparable way, Eliphaz tells Job that he can call now. Is there anyone who will answer him? To which of the holy ones will he turn (Job 5:1)? In his opening speech, Prometheus calls for the Ether, the winds, the rivers, the all-nourishing Earth (γῆ), and the sun, the eye who sees everything, for them to hear about his complaints (PB 88-92, cf. 1080-93). Likewise, Job calls the earth (LXX γῆ) not to cover his blood, and to let his cry have no resting-place (Job 16:18). Prometheus says that he sighs (στενάχω) on his present and future miseries (PB 99-100). Equally, Job says in his opening speech that his sighing (LXX στεναγμός) comes instead of his food (Job 3:24). Upon seeing Prometheus, the Oceanid chorus speaks of a mist of tears covering them (PB 145); further they weep with tears on Prometheus (400-402). This is comparable to Job's friends weeping with great tears on him (Job 2:12). Prometheus wishes that Zeus had hurled him into Tartarus, but now he is the object of gloating (PB 152-9). Comparatively, Job wishes that God would hide him in the Sheol until his wrath is past (Job 14:13 [Slotki, 1927: 132; Irwin, 1950: 92; Dell, 2007: 13]; cf. 17:12-16), and he complains that he is mocked (17:2) and has become the byword of the peoples (17:6). Prometheus complains that he is moved high in the air to delight his enemies (PB 158), and Job says that God makes him fly above the winds (Job 30:22) (Slotki, 1927: 132). The chorus tells Prometheus that he is bold, not yielding to his bitter anguish, and that his mouth speaks too freely (PB 180-82). In the same way, Bildad asks Job how long he will speak such things, comparing the words of his mouth to a mighty wind (Job 8:2).

Prometheus says that it is painful (ἀλγεινὰ) to tell of his tale, and painful to keep silent (ἄλγος δὲ σιγᾶν, PB 199-200). Job similarly complains that if he speaks, his pain (LXX ἀλγήσω) is not assuaged, and if he keeps silent (σιωπήσω), what does it leaves him (Job 16:6) (Slotki, 1927: 133)? Criticizing Zeus' reign, Prometheus remarks that it is a disease inherent to tyranny to have no faith in

friends (PB 226-7). In the same way, Eliphaz says that God has no trust in his servants and angels; so how much less those who live in houses made of clay (Job 4:18; cf. 15:15-16)? Prometheus proclaims that Zeus took no account at all of the wretched mortals (PB 231-2), and Job similarly says that from the city, the dying groan and the throat of the wounded cries for help, yet God does not pay attention to their prayers (Job 24:12) (Slotki, 1927: 133; Dell, 2007: 14). Prometheus claims that he had pity on mortals, but he himself was found unworthy of pity, being mercilessly disciplined by Zeus (PB 241-3). In a comparable way, Job says that one does not turn away from the needy who cry for help; did he not weep for those whose day was hard? Was his soul not grieved for the poor? But when he looked for good, evil came; he waited for light and darkness came (Job 30:24-6).

The Oceanids tell Prometheus that one would be iron-hearted or made of stone if one would not feel compassion at his sufferings, to which he replies that to his friends he is indeed a spectacle of pity (PB 244-8). This can be compared to Job asking if he has the strength of stones and if his flesh is of bronze (Job 6:12) and saying that one who suffers should receive kindness from his friend (6:14). The Oceanid chorus asks Prometheus what hope (τις ἐλπίς) is there that Zeus will free him (PB 261)? Equally, Job asks where is then his hope (LXX ἐλπίς, Job 17:15)? The Oceanids tell Prometheus that he must see that he has wronged, but it is painful for them to say it, and for him to hear it (PB 263-4). This is echoed in Eliphaz' opening sentence, as he asks Job whether one ventures to speak to him, will he be weary (Job 4:2)? Furthermore, the Oceanids' reproach corresponds to Job's friends preaching to him that he must recognize that he has erred (11:14, 22:5ff.). Prometheus replies to the Oceanids that it is easy for one who keeps his feet free from harm to counsel and admonish him who is in misery (PB 265-6). This is comparable to Job responding to his friends that he could lecture them as well if they were in his place; he could join words together against them and shake his head at them (Job 16:4-5) (Slotki, 1927: 133).

Prometheus tells the chorus not to bewail anymore on his present woes and asks them twice to consent to listen to his oncoming fortunes (PB 274-5). This lament is echoed in Job asking twice his friends to have pity on him, for the hand of God has touched him (Job 19:21) (Slotki, 1927: 133; Dell, 2007: 14). Prometheus proclaims that affliction wanders impartially abroad and alights upon all in turn (PB 278). This might be compared to Job claiming that one dies in happiness, while the other dies in bitterness, both having the same fate (Job 21:23-6; however, a closer parallel is found in the *Iliad*, see below). Oceanus tells Prometheus that he is his best friend, and that it is the truth, for he is not in the habit of speaking to please others (PB 295-9). In the same way, Elihu tells Job that he will speak his mind, not showing partiality or using flattery towards anyone, for he does not know how to flatter (Job 32:20-22). Oceanus tells Prometheus to dismiss those angry feelings and seek some way out of his troubles (PB 315-6), which can be compared to Zophar advising Job to put iniquity far away (Job 11:14) (Slotki, 1927: 133; Dell, 2007: 13). Oceanus says to Prometheus that he is better at admonishing others than himself (PB 338-9). This is paralleled in Eliphaz' opening speech, in which he tells Job that he has often instructed, strengthened and supported many, but now that he is hurt, he is impatient (Job 4:3-5). Oceanus tells Prometheus that in all his wisdom,

does he not know that chastisement is inflicted on a wagging tongue (PB 330)? Oceanus further claims that he can intercede for Prometheus and that Zeus will surely deliver him from his sufferings (340-42). This can be compared to Eliphaz' trust in God and his claiming that one whom God chastises is happy, as God is the one who wounds but also heals and will deliver him from six troubles and protect him from the scourge of the tongue (Job 5:17-21). Also, Bildad promises that though Job's beginning was small, yet his end should greatly increase (8:7) (Slotki, 1927: 133).

Prometheus evokes his brother Atlas who bears on his shoulders the pillar of heaven (PB 351), and Job speaks of the pillars of heaven that tremble (Job 26:11) (Slotki, 1927: 132; Dell, 2007: 13). Prometheus speaks of the fire-breathing primordial monster Typho, whom Zeus subdued (PB 354-74), which can be compared to God's evocation of primordial monsters Behemot (Job 40:15-24) and fire-breathing Leviathan (41:21) (Slotki, 1927: 133). Prometheus mentions the dart of Zeus (PB 360-62) while Job speaks of the arrows of the almighty (Job 6:4) (Slotki, 1927: 132). The Oceanid chorus describes the waves uttering a cry as they fall, the black abyss of Hades (Ἅιδος) rumbling, and the streams of river lamenting on Atlas' fate (PB 431-5). This might be compared to Job's description of the shades trembling below the waters, the Sheol (LXX ᾄδης) naked before God, and the abyss having no covering (Job 26:5-6). Prometheus explains all the benefits he provided humankind with, such as the sciences of building houses of bricks, of observing the stars and the changes of seasons, of numbers, writing, ploughing and sailing (PB 436-71, cf. 235-6). This can be compared to Job recalling all the goodness he provided to people around him (Slotki, 1927: 133; Dell, 2007: 14). He was respected (Job 29:7-11) and would help the poor and the orphan (29:12), the blind and the lame (29:15), the needy and the stranger (29:16). But now that he is cursed, he cannot hope for help from those, younger than him, who mock him (30:1-2). They are unable to find food (30-3:5) and live in holes in the ground and rocks (30:6). This latter point echoes how Prometheus claims that humans, like swarming ants, lived in sunless caves before he taught them how to build bricks and use wood (PB 453-4). The Oceanids tell Prometheus that he has lost heart like an unskilled doctor (ιατρὸς, 472-5), and Job calls his friends worthless physicians (LXX ἱατροὶ, Job 13:4) (Slotki, 1927: 132). Prometheus further claims that he gave humans the knowledge of medical science, of dream divination and bird omens, the art of offering sacrifices to the gods, and how to mine the earth for bronze, iron, silver and gold (χαλκόν, σίδηρον, ἄργυρον, χρυσόν, PB 476-506). Similarly, Job speaks of the mining of silver, gold, iron and bronze (LXX ἀργυρίω, χρυσίω, σίδηρος, χαλκός, Job 28:1-2) (Slotki, 1927: 134). The Oceanids tell Prometheus that all his goodness towards humans was not repaid and ask him what kind of help is there in creatures of a day (PB 545-7), much like Job claims that he cannot get help from the strength of human hands (Job 30:2). The chorus proclaims that never shall the counsels [βουλαί] of mortal men transgress the ordering of Zeus (PB 550). Equally, Eliphaz says that God takes the wise in their own craftiness, and the schemes [LXX βουλήν] of the wily are brought to a quick end (Job 5:13).

Prometheus' third visitor, Io, exclaims that she would rather die than suffer what Prometheus foretells her, for it is better to die once and for all than linger out in misery. Prometheus replies that his fate is worse, as he cannot even

die, for death would free him from his sufferings (PB 748-54). Similarly, Job asks why God gives light to the one who suffers, to those who long in vain for death, who rejoice to find the grave (Job 3:20-22). Prometheus says that the ever-ageing Time teaches all things, but Hermes responds that it has not taught him to keep a sober mind (PB 982-3). Comparably, Elihu explains that he had refrained from talking thus far because he thought to himself that he should let the elders speak, but upon hearing them he realized that old age does not teach wisdom (Job 32:7-9) (Slotki, 1927: 132).

From this condensed presentation of parallels between Job and *Prometheus Bound*, we can observe that these are mostly centered in the first halves of both texts. Job responding to his three friends corresponds mainly to Prometheus responding to the Oceanids and their father Oceanus. On the other hand, Job's longest speech (Job 26-31) is found in the second half of the book, and presents Job recalling of his former prosperity (29-30), which matches in several details the section in which Prometheus evokes his benefits towards humans (PB 400-559). The visit of Io (560-886) presents almost no parallels with Job. In this section, Io appears as the character unjustly suffering, and Prometheus, acting as the sympathizing friend, foretells her destiny, foreshadowing his own deliverance by Io's descendant Heracles. The final section of *Prometheus Bound*, the visit of Hermes (944-1079) also presents fewer direct parallels with Job, although the increasingly harsh tone of the discussion corresponds to Job's growing impatience towards his friends lecturing him. The very ending of the play, in which Prometheus sees a storm coming from Zeus surge upon him (1080-94) might be compared to Gods' appearance in a whirlwind near the end of Job (38:1, 40:6). A now lost sequel to *Prometheus Bound* was *Prometheus Unbound*, known only through fragments, in which Prometheus was freed by Heracles and reconciled with Zeus, this latter point corresponding to Job's restoration by God (Dell, 2007: 13). It is supposed that in *Prometheus Unbound*, Prometheus revealed to Zeus that he would be overthrown by his son if he had one with Thetis – a secret which he refuses to tell in *Prometheus Bound*. Therefore, Thetis was given to a mortal, Peleus, and they gave birth to Achilles.

Job and the Embassy to Achilles in *Iliad* 9

The prologue of Job depicts two divine assemblies in which the sons of God present themselves before him. Satan intends to hurt Job but is not allowed to kill him (Job 1:6-12, 2:1-6). B. Loudon compares these two divine councils with similar scenes in *Odyssey* 1.26-95 and 5.1-49, in which Athena pleads to Zeus for an end to Odysseus' sufferings at the hands of wrathful Poseidon, who makes him suffer but does not kill him, quite like Satan does with Job (Louden, 2006: 179-180; cf. Taylor, 2007: 59). Furthermore, Loudon compares the Book of Job with the famous scene of the Embassy to Achilles in the *Iliad* (Louden, 2006: 180-182). Achilles, withdrawn from the battle against the Trojans because Agamemnon has confiscated his captive Briseis, receives an embassy of three Achaean warriors, Odysseus, Phoenix and Ajax, who try to convince him to let go of his grudge and return to the fight. Achilles listens to each of their pleas, replying that he suffers an unjust fate at the hands of Agamemnon. Loudon

writes: “In each myth a delegation of three associates comes to the estranged protagonist, to try to talk him out of his present isolation [...]. The delegations that visit them commiserate, up to a point, but are critical of the protagonists’ perceived aloofness” (Louden, 2006: 180). Louden remarks that the speeches of Achilles’ three visitors are comparable to those of Eliphaz, Bildad and Zophar in Job. More so, in each text, the first speaker of the delegation warns the protagonist that he should not give in to his anger. I will present Louden’s parallels, with a few additional ones, following the order of the *Iliad*.

Odysseus tells Achilles to keep his great-hearted spirit in his chest, and to leave off the strife (*Il.* 9.255-7). Likewise, Eliphaz tells Job that fools are destroyed by their angry passion, and the end of childish resentment is death (Job 5:2) (Louden, 2006: 181). Achilles says that he despises the one who hides his thoughts and says others (*Il.* 9.313), quite like Zophar reproaches those who think that wickedness is sweet in their mouths and hide it under their tongues (Job 20:12). Achilles claims that he will speak what seems best to him, not hiding his thoughts (*Il.* 9.314), which is comparable to the many instances where Job says that he will speak of his suffering (Job 7:11, 9:35, 10:1, 13:13, 15:17, 21:3). Achilles remarks that the same lot is for the one who stays at home and the one who fights at war; the brave and the coward are held in the same honor; death comes alike to the idle man and to him that works much (*Il.* 9.317-21). Similarly, Job complains that God destroys both the blameless and the wicked (Job 9:22); and he further proclaims that one dies in prosperity, at ease and secure, while another dies in bitterness of soul, never having tasted good. Both lie down alike in the dust, and the worms cover them (21:23-6). Achilles and Job both complain that they are mistreated, either by Agamemnon (*Il.* 9.319-20) or by God (Job 19:2-9) (Louden, 2006: 181). Achilles claims that he would refuse to come back even if Agamemnon would offer him gifts in number as sand and dust (*Il.* 9.385-6), which might be compared with Job complaining that his pain is heavier than the sand of the sea (Job 6:3). Achilles claims that the soul of man cannot return once it has gone past the fence of his teeth (*Il.* 9.408-9); Job says that one does not come back from the Sheol (Job 7:9-10) and he laments that if a man dies, he can never be roused from this sleep (14:10-12) (Louden, 2006: 181-182). Louden compares Ajax’ remark that Achilles does not care about his friends (*Il.* 9.628-30) to Bildad’s exclamation that Job treats his friends like mere cattle (Job 18:3) (Louden, 2006: 181). Hence, the Book of Job, the Embassy to Achilles in *Iliad* 9 and Aeschylus’ *Prometheus Bound* all portray a character who is suffering and receives several visitors who offer their sympathy while attempting to reason with them. In the three texts, the main character refutes the arguments of his visitors and stubbornly claims that he is unjustly treated.

Two-Tier Allusions in Job?

While most biblical scholars consider the parallels between Job and *Prometheus Bound* insufficient to prove literary dependence, it is quite certain, on the other hand, that Aeschylus had read Homer’s *Iliad*, and it is very likely that he may have, as a matter of fact, modelled *Prometheus Bound* on the Embassy

to Achilles in *Iliad* 9. Indeed, R. Garner remarks the many intertextual links that Aeschylus created for his audience to notice the resemblance between Prometheus and Achilles (Garner, 2014 [1990]: 42-48). Prometheus knows of a secret, revealed to him by his mother Themis, to whom it had been foretold that, like Ouranos had been overthrown by his son Cronos, and like Cronos had been overthrown by his son Zeus, Zeus himself would be dethroned by his own son if he had one with Nereid nymph Thetis. However, in Aeschylus' play, Prometheus refuses to reveal this secret, and means to use it as a bargain in order to be freed (PB 517-25, 755-70, 907-26). This theme foreshadows the very birth of Achilles. In order for the prophecy not to be fulfilled, Zeus gave Thetis to a mortal man, Peleus, and both gave life to Achilles (*Il.* 18.432-6). While Achilles is never mentioned by name in *Prometheus Bound*, Aeschylus' audience was reminded of this hero and of the embassy scene in the *Iliad* through a careful game of allusions.

As Garner writes: "Achilles removed himself from the company of his peers by choice, whereas Prometheus is forced into isolation. But Prometheus will be no more inclined to accept embassies and attempts at peace-making than was – or rather, will be – Achilles: Ocean and Hermes will be dismissed as decisively as Ajax and Odysseus" (Garner, 2014 [1990]: 43). "Just as Prometheus hints at his secret, so the playwright keeps the figure of Achilles constantly just below the surface of the text, an allusive and pervasive subtext" (Garner, 2014 [1990]: 44). "Just as Prometheus' power over Zeus derives from his knowledge of the danger of Thetis' child, his power as a dramatic figure derives from this resemblance to that child – the mortal Achilles, who in the *Iliad* stands for all mortals and their struggle against the limits of necessity and death" (Garner, 2014 [1990]: 45). "[T]he chronological, historical connections between Prometheus and Achilles and the allusions which link the Titan and hero are enriched by a presentation which makes them thematically parallel as well and which places the parallelism at the heart of the play. Aeschylus' allusions make the proudly resistant and unfortunate Prometheus and Achilles, their mothers, and their relationship to the universal sufferings of humankind barely distinguishable variations of each other" (Garner, 2014 [1990]: 48). Garner's observations may help understand why the Book of Job presents parallels with both the Embassy to Achilles in *Iliad* 9 and Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*. Indeed, the latter was meant to echo the former, both representing variations on the question of human suffering. Therefore, in the hypothesis of the author of the Book of Job being learned in Greek literature, it is quite possible that they may have perceived these intertextual links and chosen to emulate both *Prometheus Bound* and its source the *Iliad*.

A relevant analogy to this possible process is found in the use by Roman authors of "two-tier allusion", that is, when an author alludes both to a previous author, which they used as a source, and to the latter's own model. For instance, S. Hinds has showed that Ovid referred both to classical sources and to Hellenistic poets inspired from the latter (Hinds, 1987: 56; cf. 151 n. 16). F. Cairns has pointed out that in composing the *Aeneid*, Virgil took inspiration from Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as well as from Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* (Cairns, 1989: 195). However, it happens that Apollonius himself took inspiration from Homer (Knight, 1995). Thereafter, D. P. Nelis has exposed in more details how

“Virgil imitates both Homer and Apollonius simultaneously, fully aware of Apollonius’ imitation of Homer” (Nelis, 2001a: 247; cf. 2001b: 5-21). Nelis further explains that “[t]he technique whereby an imitative poet refers simultaneously to a source text and to the model, or models, of that source text has become known in recent years as “window reference” (the poet “looks through” text A to text B, which is A’s model) and “two-tier allusion”” (Nelis, 2001a: 247). A. M. O’Leary has applied the notion of imitative writing to biblical books such as Tobit, 1 Corinthians and to Matthew’s use of Mark (O’Leary, 2006). Commenting on the use of two-tier allusion by Virgil, she writes: “Vergil’s epic is built out of a consistent, structured pattern of imitation based on awareness of Apollonius’ imitation of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*” (O’Leary, 2006: 28-29). And further: “As well as demonstrating literary artistry, the effect of two-tier allusion is that the reader familiar with the ultimate model is sent back to it, mentally or literally, and the message of the later text is thereby amplified for him/her” (O’Leary, 2006: 29). O’Leary shows that this use of two-tier allusion is found as well in the works of Seneca, Livy and Plutarch (O’Leary, 2006: 57).

In creating their own national literature through an appropriation of Greek literature, Roman authors used, among others, the technique of two-tier allusion. However, the antecedence of Greek sources from archaic, classical and Hellenistic periods over Roman texts is not questioned, which makes literary dependence much easier to demonstrate. This is not the case with Hebrew Bible texts, the dates of which are still disputed. As we saw above, trying to prove a possible borrowing of a Hebrew Bible book from Greek texts through the assumption of a Hellenistic dating –or vice versa– might be considered by some as circular reasoning. I believe however that the notion of two-tier allusion could be a determining criterion for establishing literary dependence.⁶ To support the possibility of the author of Job using two-tier allusions, I will take two examples of similar techniques from my previous research.

6. On previous criteria, see Brodie (2001: 421-432), MacDonald (2015: 13), O’Leary (2006: 18-23), Nelligan (2015: 18-32).

In comparing books from Genesis to Kings with Greek classical texts, I have tried to show that its author(s) seemed to have adapted several Greek myths through the guidelines provided by Plato in books 2 and 3 of the *Republic*, sometimes by “correcting” the very examples of narratives which Plato thought unsuitable for educating the citizens of his would-be State. For instance, Plato thought that the story of Cronos castrating his father Ouranos in Hesiod’s *Theogony* (130-210) was not proper to prompt respect from sons towards their fathers, hence it should not be told to thoughtless young persons. It should be either buried in silence or told to a limited audience after offering a proper sacrifice (Plato, *Rep.* 377e-78a). The story of Ham seeing his father Noah’s nakedness (Gen. 9:20-27) might be understood as a euhemerized and euphemized version of Hesiod’s account, corrected along Plato’s guideline (Wajdenbaum, 2011: 107-108). In both stories, the brother of the protagonist is named Japheth or Iapetus and is the ancestor of the Greeks (Gnuse, 2017: 138). Plato thought that gods should never be portrayed as lying (*Rep.* 382a-e). As an example, he condemned the Homeric story in which Zeus sent Agamemnon a lying dream-spirit who falsely promised him victory (383a, referring to *Iliad* 2.1-50). This Homeric episode is very similar to the story of God sending a lying spirit to the prophets in order for them to wrongly predict victory to Ahab in 1 Kings 22:1-23.⁷ The biblical narrative however differs from the Homeric

7. Voltaire (1818: 341-342) knew of this parallel through the works of Lord Bolingbroke, who argued that the authors of the Hebrew Bible wrote very late and imitated the Homeric fable. See also West (1997: 356-357).

one in that Micaiah, God's true prophet, reveals the false inspiration of the other prophets and therefore predicts the truth, Ahab's demise in the battle. Hence, the biblical god ultimately did not lie to Ahab. It would appear again that the biblical author rephrased a Greek narrative according to Plato's guidelines (Wajdenbaum, 2011: 90, 278-281). These two examples from Genesis and Kings might be considered specific forms of two-tier allusions, in that the biblical author(s) used Plato's references to Hesiod and Homer and rewrote their respective narratives according to Plato's criticism of these.

If we return to Job, it would not seem impossible that its author may have imitated Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* and the Embassy to Achilles in Homer's *Iliad*, being aware that the latter is the model for the former. To be sure, there are fewer parallels in Job with the Embassy to Achilles than there are with *Prometheus Bound*. This could be explained by the possibility that *Prometheus Bound*, being in many ways an expansion of Achilles' complaints about human sufferings in Homer's text, was used as a predominant source by the author of Job, whereas the briefer scene of the Embassy to Achilles provided only enough material for the author of Job to allude to both of these texts. While we may never reach any level of certainty, the probability that the Book of Job would present such accurate parallels with these two texts, therefore reproducing the existing intertextual links between these, all of this by mere coincidence, seems quite slight.

Conclusions

Within the paradigm of the whole Hebrew Bible as a concerted product of the Hellenistic era, a project initiated from Plato's ambition in the *Laws*, probably at Alexandria's Library, the Book of Job appears indeed as an imitation of Greek tragedy and seems directly inspired from Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*. It appears that almost every part of Prometheus' discussion with the Oceanid chorus and their father Oceanus provides a similarity with Job. Furthermore, the fewer parallels between Job and Achilles in *Iliad* 9 can be explained by the possibility that the author of Job used the literary technique of two-tier allusion, in this case conflating elements borrowed from *Prometheus Bound* and from the latter's own model, the Embassy to Achilles in the *Iliad*. The use of two-tier allusion could be a determining criterion in favour of literary dependence in further studies comparing biblical texts with their possible sources of inspiration.

Bibliography

- » Brodie, T. L. (2001). *Genesis as Dialogue: A Literary, Historical and Theological Commentary*. New York, Oxford University Press.
- » Brown, J. P. (1995). *Israel and Hellas, Volume 1*. Berlin, W. de Gruyter.
- » Burton, J. B. (2005). Themes of Female Desire and Self-Assertion in the Song of Songs and Hellenistic Poetry, in: Hagedorn, A. C. (ed.), *Perspectives on the Song of Songs/Perspektiven der Hoheliedauslegung* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 346). Berlin, W. de Gruyter: 180-205.
- » Cairns, F. (1989). *Virgil's Augustan Epic*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- » Craig, P. C. (1985). Job and Ugaritic Studies, in: Aufrecht, W. E. (ed.), *Studies in the Book of Job*. Waterloo (ON), Wilfrid Laurier University Press: 29-35.
- » Dell, K. J. (1991). *The Book of Job as Sceptical Literature* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 197). Berlin, W. de Gruyter.
- » Dell, K. J. (2007). Job, Sceptics, Philosophers and Tragedians, in: Krüger, T., Oeming, M., Schmid, K. and Uehlinger, C. (eds.), *Das Buch Hiob und seine Interpretationen: Beiträge zum Hiob-Symposium auf dem Monte Verità vom 14.-19 August 2005*. Zürich, Theologischer Verlag Zürich: 3-19.
- » Dell, K. J. (2017). *Job: An Introduction and Study Guide: Where Shall Wisdom Be Found?* (T&T Clark Study Guides to the Old Testament). London, Bloomsbury T&T Clark.
- » Driver, S. R. and Gray, G. B. (2015 [1916]). *Job* (Bloomsbury Academic Collections, Biblical Studies: The Hebrew Bible). London, Bloomsbury Academic.
- » Dunham, K. C. (2016). *The Pious Sage in Job: Eliphaz in the Context of Wisdom Theodicy*. Eugene (OR), Wipf & Stock.
- » Fokkelman, J. P. (2012). *The Book of Job in Form: A Literary Translation with Commentary*. Leiden, E. J. Brill.
- » Fries, K. (1904). *Das Philosophische Gespräch von Hiob bis Platon*. Tübingen, Mohr.
- » Garner, R. (2014 [1990]). *From Homer to Tragedy: The Art of Allusion in Greek Poetry*. London, Routledge.
- » Gmirkin, R. E. (2006). *Berosus and Genesis, Manetho and Exodus: Hellenistic Histories and the Date of the Pentateuch* (Library of Hebrew Bible / Old Testament Studies 433 / Copenhagen International Seminar 15). New York, T&T Clark.
- » Gmirkin, R. E. (2016). Greek Genres and the Hebrew Bible, in: Hjelm, I., and Thompson, T. L. (eds.), *Biblical Interpretation beyond Historicity: Changing Perspectives 7* (Copenhagen International Seminar). London, Routledge: 91-102.
- » Gmirkin, R. E. (2017). *Plato and the Creation of the Hebrew Bible* (Copenhagen International Seminar). London, Routledge.
- » Gnuse, R. K. (2017). Greek Connections: Genesis 1–11 and the Poetry of Hesiod, in: *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 47: 131-143.
- » Harkins, A. K. (2016). Job in the Ancient Versions and Pseudepigrapha, in: Harkins, F. T. (ed.), *A Companion to Job in the Middle Ages*. Leiden, E. J. Brill: 13-33.

- » Hinds, S. (1987). *The Metamorphosis of Persephone: Ovid and the Self-conscious Muse*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- » Hoare, H. W. (1875). The Book of Job and Plato's Dialogue on Justice, in: *The Fortnightly Review* 24: 625-641.
- » Hoffman, Y. (1996). *A Blemished Perfection: The Book of Job in Context* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 213). Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press.
- » Hooks, S. M. (2006). *The College Press NIV Commentary: Job*. Joplin (MO), College Press.
- » Hunter, R. (2005). 'Sweet talk' – Song of Songs and the Tradition of Greek Poetry, in: Hagedorn, A. C. (ed.), *Perspectives on the Song of Songs/Perspektiven der Hoheliedauslegung* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 346). Berlin, W. de Gruyter: 228-244.
- » Irwin, W. A. (1950). Job and Prometheus, in: *The Journal of Religion* 30: 90-108.
- » Jastrow, M., Jr. (1906). A Babylonian Parallel to the Story of Job, in: *Journal of Biblical Literature* 25: 135-191.
- » Kallen, H. M. (1918). *The Book of Job as Greek Tragedy Restored*. New York, Moffat, Yard & Co.
- » Knight, V. H. (1995). *The Renewal of Epic: Responses to Homer in the Argonautica of Apollonius*. Leiden, E. J. Brill.
- » Kupitz, Y. S. (1997). La Bible est-elle un plagiat?, in: *Science et Avenir*, hors-série 86: 85-88.
- » Kupitz, Y. S. (2014). Stranger and City Girl: An Isomorphism between Genesis 24 and Homer's *Odyssey* 6-13, in: Thompson, T. L., and Wajdenbaum, P. (eds.), *The Bible and Hellenism: Greek Influence on Jewish and Early Christian literature* (Copenhagen International Seminar). London, Routledge: 117-145.
- » Kuriakose, J. (2016). The Book of Job: A Greco-Hebrew Rhetorical Drama, in: *English Language and Literature Studies* 6: 72-78.
- » Lambert, W. G. (1996 [1960]). *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*. Winona Lake (IN), Eisenbrauns.
- » Lemche, N. P. (2001 [1993]). The Old Testament: a Hellenistic Book?, in: Grabbe, L. L. (ed.), *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 317). Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press: 287-318.
- » Louden, B. (2006). *The Iliad: Structure, Myth, and Meaning*. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- » Louden, B. (2011). *Homer's Odyssey and the Near East*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- » Louden, B. (2013). Iapetus and Japheth: Hesiod's *Theogony*, *Iliad* 15.187-93, and Genesis 9-10, in: *Illinois Classical Studies* 38: 1-22.
- » Lowth, R. (1829). *Lectures on the Sacred Poetries of the Hebrews*, translated from Latin by G. Gregory, a New Edition with notes by Calvin E. Stowe. Boston, Crocker & Brewster.
- » MacDonald, D. R. (2015). *The New Testament and Greek Literature, vol. 2: Luke and Vergil*. Lanham (PA), Rowman and Littlefield.

- » Migne, J. P. (ed.) (1864). *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca* 66. Paris, Imprimerie Catholique.
- » Nelis, D. P. (2001a). Apollonius and Virgil, in: Papanghelis, T. D., and Rengakos, A. (eds.), *A Companion to Apollonius Rhodius*. Leiden, E. J. Brill: 237-259.
- » Nelis, D. P. (2001b). *Vergil's Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius*. Leeds, Francis Cairns.
- » Nelligan, T. P. (2015). *The Quest for Mark's Sources: An Exploration for the Case of Mark's Use of First Corinthians*. Eugene (OR), Picwick.
- » Niskanen, P. (2004). *The Human and the Divine in History: Herodotus and the Book of Daniel* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 396). London, T&T Clark.
- » Nodet, É. (2011). Moïse ou Platon ou ... ?, in: *Revue Biblique* 118: 595-604.
- » Nodet, É. (2014). Editing the Bible: Alexandria or Babylon? in: Thompson, T. L., and Wajdenbaum, P. (eds.), *The Bible and Hellenism: Greek Influence on Jewish and Early Christian Literature* (Copenhagen International Seminar). London, Routledge: 36-55.
- » O'Leary, A. M. (2006). *Matthew's Judaization of Mark: Examined in the Context of the Use of Sources in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* (Library of New Testament Studies). London, T&T Clark.
- » Oshima, T. (2014). *Babylonian Poems of Pious Sufferers: Ludlul Bel Nemeqi and the Babylonian Theodicy* (Orientalische Religionen in der Antike 14). Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck.
- » Ranston, H. (1918). Ecclesiastes and Theognis, in: *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 34: 99-122.
- » Schmidt, N. (1911). *Messages of the Poets*. New York, Charles Scribner's sons.
- » Shelton, P. (1999). Making Drama out of a Crisis? A Consideration of the Book of Job as a Drama, in: *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 63: 69-82.
- » Slotki, J. J. (1927). The Origin of the Book of Job, in: *Expository Times* 39: 181-184.
- » Taylor, J. (2007). *Classics and the Bible: Hospitality and Recognition*. London, Duckworth.
- » Terrien, S. L. (2005). *Job: Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament / XIII*. Geneva, Labor et Fides, 2nd edn.
- » Thompson, T. L. (1999). *The Mythic Past: Biblical Archaeology and the Myth of Israel*. New York, Basic Books = *The Bible in History: How Writers Create a Past*. London, Jonathan Cape.
- » Thompson, T. L. (2005). *The Messiah Myth: The Near Eastern Roots of Jesus and David*. London, Jonathan Cape.
- » Thompson, T. L. and Wajdenbaum, P. (2014). Introduction: Making Room for Japheth, in: Thompson, T. L., and Wajdenbaum, P. (eds.), *The Bible and Hellenism: Greek Influence on Jewish and Early Christian Literature* (Copenhagen International Seminar). London, Routledge: 1-15.
- » Vicchio, S. J. (2006). *Job in the Ancient World*. Eugene (OR), Wipf & Stock.
- » Voltaire. (1818). *Œuvres Complètes, Nouvelle Édition, Philosophie Générale, Tome 2*. Paris, Lefèvre et Deterville.

- » Wajdenbaum, P. (2010). Is the Bible a Platonic Book? in: *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 24: 129-142.
- » Wajdenbaum, P. (2011). *Argonauts of the Desert: Structural Analysis of the Hebrew Bible* (Copenhagen International Seminar). Sheffield, Equinox [repr. London, Routledge, 2014].
- » Wajdenbaum, P. (2013). In Search for Platonic Israel, in: Pfoh, E., and Whitelam, K. W. (eds.), *The Politics of Israel's Past: The Bible, Archeology, Biblical Studies and Nation Building*. Sheffield, Sheffield Phoenix Press: 28-48.
- » Wajdenbaum, P. (2014). La Bible hébraïque et l'hellénisme: Questions de datation et d'emprunts, in: *Cahiers du CIERL* 4: 59-77.
- » Wajdenbaum, P. (2016). From Plato to Moses: Genesis-Kings as a Platonic Epic, in: Hjelm, I. and Thompson, T. L. (eds.), *Biblical Interpretation beyond Historicity: Changing Perspectives 7* (Copenhagen International Seminar). London: Routledge: 76-90.
- » Wajdenbaum, P. (forthcoming). The Book of Proverbs and Hesiod's *Works and Days*, in: Niesiolowski-Spano, Ł. and Pfoh, E. (eds.), *Biblical Narratives, Archaeology and Historicity* (Library of Hebrew Bible / Old Testament Studies). London, Bloomsbury T & T Clark.
- » Wesselius, J.-W. (2002). *The Origin of the History of Israel: Herodotus' Histories as Blueprint for the First Books of the Bible* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 345). London, Sheffield Academic Press.
- » West, M. L. (1997). *The East Face of Helicon: West-Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*. Oxford, Clarendon.

