THE NON-PROMISE NARRATIVES IN GENESIS

In our previous study* the promises, together with their corresponding narratives, were examined and were found to be more or less united with their respective setting. It remains now to define more exactly the relation between the promise-narratives and the rest, which provide the background for the whole history. In other words we propose to establish how far one may extend the homogeneous lines disentangled and to see how they were interwined together. This enquiry will be based on the same criteria applied so far.

CHAPTER XIV

This chapter is admittedly a *crux criticorum*. Analysis is impossible. Many critics give up all hope of tracing this narrative back to its source and consider it as a midraschic composition belonging to later Judaism and written with a view to glorifying Abraham.¹ Others admit, at least, the possibility of a historical nucleus and try either to link it up with any of the sources J, E, P, or to specify it with special undefined sources.² De Vaux defends the historical background of the whole narrative putting it in the Nineteenth Century B.C. It is an old document which cannot be linked with any of the traditions to be traced in the rest of the book.³

But it is not so difficult to discover the context of this episode or to justify the correctness of its present context. First of all it does not seem right to say that the story aims at glorifying Abraham for his victory over the allied kings, but rather to bring out in a more sensible way his disinterested love for his selfish nephew. This is enough to connect the story with the preceding one (cfr. especially 13,9). Moreover the

³De Vaux, La Genese, Paris 1951, p. 78; Les Patriarches hebreux et les decouvertes modernes. RB 55 (1948) 321 ss.

^{*} Melita Theologica, Vol. XI, pp. 1-13; Vol. XII, pp. 14-27.

¹T. Noldeke, Untersuchungen yur Kritik des At, Kiel 1869, pp. 156-72; Carpenter, 1.c. p. 321; Chapman, 1.c., p. 317.

²Driver, Genesis, 1920, pp; 155. 168-173, XXXIII-XXXVI; Holzinger, Genesis, 1898, pp: 146ff; E. Sellin, Einleitung in das A.T., 1935, p: 31; E: Konig, Die Genesis, 1925, pp. 477ff.

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topographical indications take us back to ch. 13 and carry us farther to chapters 18, 19. Thus Abraham lives 'by the bale mambre', 13, 18; 14, 13; 18, 1. Lot dwells in Sodom, 13, 11; 14, 12; 19, 1. We, therefore, feel strongly inclined to assign chapter 14 to the same source of chapters 12, 13, 18 and 19. As we are only concerned with the analysis of Genesis into sections, not with the analysis of the several sections, we renounce to any attempt to distinguish the original narrative from possible later additions.

CHAPTER XVI

This chapter relates the birth of Ismael and Sarah's envy of the motherhood of Hagar; Ismael, therefore, finds a place in both 16 and 17. It. is noteworthy that he is the object of two promises set in a totally different setting. In 16, 11-12 the Angel of Yahweh הוה יהוה (עער.9, 19, 10) לאדך יהוה (עער.9, 19, 11), speaking to Hagar, forecasts that he will be 'a wild man and will be against all men and all man's hands against him' and that he will dwell 'in the presence of all his brethren'. God himself אר־שרי, on the other hand, in His solemn promise in 17 to Abraham, his father, in answering the latter's prayer 'Oh that Ismael might live before thee' has these words for him: 'Blessing'. 'Fruitful', 'Multiply', 'twelve princes shall be beget and I shall make him a great nation' (vv. 20, 21). But for the covenant, Ismael has the same blessings as Isaac, his halfbrother, v. 21. This points out to different sources; hence 16 is outside class C. Can it be included in class A or B? In 11, 30 there is a reference to the childlessness of Sarah: 'and Sarah was barren and had no children' corresponding to 16, 'bore him no children'; to this is added another indication about the nationality of Hagar: And she had a handmaid, an Egyptian', When could have Sarah taken this Egyptian handmaid if not during their sojourn in Egypt narrated in 12, 10ff? This points to the conclusion that 16, 1ff. except for some verses (cfr. infra), belong to A.

CHAPTER XX

The first problem that one has to solve in this section is whether the events related happened at the time in which they are actually presented to have happened. The chapter is inserted between the narrative of the overthrow of the Pentapolis and the birth of Isaac, between which there was an interval of only one year (18, 10). In the meantime Abraham must

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have had travelled from Mambre (18, 1) southwards to the region between Kades and Shur and thence northward again into Gerar where he settled. Can all this have happened in the short space of a year? In vv. 17, 18 we read that 'Abraham prayed unto God: and God healed Abimelech and his wife, and his maid servants; and they bore children, for Yahweh had fast closed up the wombs of the house of Abimelech, because of Sarah, Abraham's wife'. This news seemingly suggests that Abraham must have had sojourn in Gerar for much more than a year; neither could he have said that Sarah was his sister if she was pregnant with child, if we are to suppose that the birth of Isaac took place in Gerar. Therefore an interval of a year is not enough to explain the difficulties. Hummelauer suggests that this section is out of its original place in tradition.⁴ Sarah, a woman of ninety years of age could not have had such an attractive appearance as to arouse the passion of Abimelech; therefore the episode must have happened at the same period of 12, 19ff. In fact Abraham says to Abimelech: 'When God caused me to wander from my father's house I said unto her, This is Thy kindness.' (20, 13). It seems, therefore, that the trouble occured a short time after his migration into Canaan, which was fresh in his mind. But is it likely that the same writer would narrate two episodes of the same nature one immediately after the other, when one of them had no interest for the general argument of the book? Neither is it probable that one and the same tradition would contain two similar events about the same person and nearly at the same time. These observations lead us to conclude tentatively that this story was inserted here from another source by the compiler, the reason for its place here being, perhaps, the narrative of Abimelech and Phicol in 21, 22ff. which surely belongs to the same source of Chapter 20. This story then has not the same origin as Chapters 18-19, which enshrine the promise of a son. Perhaps it might be linked with chapter 15, where there is a promise of a son, to be Abraham's inheritor in place of Damascus Eliezer's son (15, 2), who is not referred to by his name in 24, 2, which belongs to A (cfr. infra). Chapter 20 therefore does not belong to A. On the other hand it has none of those characteristics that mark out C from other sources (such as dates, genealogies, etc.). Therefore it is linked up with B.

⁴Konig, p. 420. Heinish too (*Genesis*, p; 257) admits that the chapter is out of its chronological context.

CHAPTER XXI

We may divide this section into three parts: 1-7; 8-20; 20-31; the first (1-7) dealing with the birth of Isaac, the second (8-20) dealing with the expulsion of Hagar, and the third (21-31) dealing with the relations between Abraham and Abimelech. With respect to the birth of Isaac we have had two promises before, 17, 16 and 18, 10; it is very likely that we find their corresponding fulfilment. Both of these may be detected in 21, 1-7:

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18, 10ff. And he said: 'I will certainly return unto thee when the season cometh round; and so Sarah thy wife shall have a son.... And Sarah laughed within herslef, saying, After I am waxed old shall I have pleasure, my Lord being old also?.... At the set time I will retutn unto thee, when the season cometh round and Sarah shall have a son.

17, 16-17. And I will bless her and moreover I will give thee a son of her: yea, I will bless her.... Then Abraham fell upon his face and laughed, and said in his heart: Shall a child be borne unto him that is an hundred years old, and shall Sarah that is ninety years old, bear?... 21. But my covenant will I establish with Isaac, which Sarah shall bear unto thee at this set time in the year.

FULFILMENT

21, 1a. 2a ff. And Yahweh visited Sarah as He had said..... And Sarah conceived, and Abraham bore a son in his old age.... And Sarah said: God hath made me to laugh; every one that heareth will laugh with me....for I have borne him a son in his old age.

21, 1-5. And Yahweh did unto Sarah as He had spoken at the set time of which God had spoken to him. And Abraham called the the name of his son that was born unto him Isaac. And Abraham circumcised his son when he was eight days old, as God had commanded him. And Abraham was an hundred years old when his son Isaac was borne unto him.

A glance at these parallel columns is enough to draw our attention to the traces of amalgamation, or at least additional elements to the underlying story. 1a. 2b-5 refer to 18, 10ff: note the identical phraseology; the other 1b. 2b-5 refer to 17, 16ff with its reference to the age of Abraham and to the circumcision. Hence the first block (1a. 2a-7) belongs to A, the rest to C.

21, 8ff. relate an event which must have happened somtime after the birth of Isaac, after the latter was weaned. This section cannot be included within C for these reasons: firstly the promise in 21, 18 and its setting are very different from those in 17. Contrast the simplicity of a great nation with the rambling in the copious language in 17 mainly concerned with a special blessing and a numerous posterity; secondly according to 21, 14a, 15.18⁵ Ismael is an arm-born child, whereas in 17, 25; 21, 5 at the birth of Isaac, Abraham was hundred years old and Ismael fourteen, that is, the latter was at least sixteen or seventeen years of age when he and his mother were expelled. This age discrepancy is explicable only by diversity of authorship, for textual corruption cannot actually produce such harmony and a total different presentation throughout the whole passage. At first sight it appears that 21,8-21, should be linked up with 16, 1-14 but the standpoint of the narrative is different. In 16 Hagar is commanded to return to her mistress; in 21 Abraham is authorised to send her away; in 16 Abraham allows his wife to punish Hagar despite her pregnancy; in 21 Abraham is reluctant to send Hagar away. In 16 the blessing sounds more like a curse; in 21 it is a real blessing:

16, 11. Behold thou art with child, and shalt bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Ismael, because Yahweh hath heard thy affliction. And he shall be a wild man; his hand (shall be) against every man and every man's hand shall be against him; and he shall dwell against all his brothers. 21, 13. And also of the son of the bondwoman will I make a nation, because he is thy seed.... 21, 17. What aileth thee Hagar? Fear not; for God had heard the voice of the boy from the place wherein he is. Arise, take up the boy, and hold him by the hand; for I will make him a great nation.

The first affection is shown towards Hagar in distress; in the second interest is laid on Ismael's future. The seed of Abraham is more important to the writer of 21 than the stranger Hagar. The pathetic picture of nomadic life in 16, 12 is sharply contrasted with the laconic notice in 21, 20; in 16 Hagar asserts her personality and will not stand insult; she went into the desert without worrying about the hard life in store

⁵ In Hebrew Ismael is called 77' in vv. 14 and 15e and 797 in 18; LXX translate always mathews

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for her, she is at home anywhere. In 21, on the other hand, she easily succumbs to the hardships of the desert and in despair leaves the child to die beneath the shrubs. Therefore the story does not belong either to A or to C, but to B. It is linked with 22, 19 for Hagar went into the wilderness of Beersheba (21, 14, 31), that is Abraham could not have been living in Mamber, the distance would have been too long for Hagar to traverse with the scanty provision of water and bread (21, 14).

21, 22-34 concerns the relation between Abraham and Abimelech, who are here represented as already known persons. Its scene is set at Beersheba, and probably is connected with 21, 8; 22, 19 and hence with B, a continutaion of ch. 20.

CHAPTER XXIII

This chapter is a homogeneous well-knitt story recording two important events, i.e., Sarah's death and Abraham's purchase of the cave of Machpelah for her burial. Sarah is 120 years old, and Abraham 130, according to the data in 17, 1 and 17, 17. The field is bought in the land of Canaan. an earnest that one day his posterity will inherit it. It is a supposition that points to a promise referring to the land of Canaan as the future inheritance. This promise is the only one solemnly addressed to Abraham in 17, 8. This conclusion is confirmed by the chronological data in the text itself just noted. 'The land of your sojournings'; 'all the land of Canaan' of 17, 8 are closely related to 'I am a stranger and a sojourner with you' of 23, 4. This story therefore belongs to C.

CHAPTER XXIV

This chapter relates Isaac's nuptials with Rebecca. Abraham's order to his servant (vv 2-9) to go to Mesopotamia to fetch a wife for Isaac out of his master's kindred, the servant's happenings in a foreign soil (vv. 10-60), his return to his master (vv.61-2) and the union of Isaac with Rebecca (v.67) are all colourfully and minutely described. It is a fine description of matchless harmony and unity, standing any attempt to dissect it. In v.7 Abraham refers to a promise of God: 'unto thy seed will I give this land'; and also to the 'God of heaven that took me from my father's house, and from the land of my nativity, and that spoke unto me, and that sware unto me'. It is clear that he is recalling the promise in

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12,7 'unto thy seed will I give this land' and in 13, 15 'the land which thou seest, to thee will I give, and to thy seed for ever'. It is very probable then, that Chapter 24 links with 12 and hence with A.

CHAPTER XXV, 7-21

Abraham's death and his burial at Machpelah, where Sarah, his wife, was buried, are concisely related. The beginning of the generation of Isaac follows immediately after those of Ismael, repeating the ever recurring process of eliminating first the secondary branches to leave the ground clear for a more detailed narrative on the principal personages. The narrative proceeds evenly and unerringly with a definite purpose in view up to v. 10, i.e. the old age of Abraham (vv. 7-8), his death (v. 8), his burial by Isaac and Ismael beside Sarah (v. 9), the genealogy of Ismael (v. 12ff), his sons, twelve princes according to their nations (a harking back to 17-20: 'he shall beget twelve chiefs and 8 will make him a great nation'), follow in quick succession. All details square exactly with 17 and 23, which were both assigned to C. With v. 21 the narrative of the previous lines seems to stop and take another turn, presenting us with different and perplexing problems.

CHAPTER XXV, 21-34

In itself it is a homogeneous whole, and it is linked with 27, 1-46, and hence with promise 10 in chapter 28. Both here and in Chapter 27 Esau is a hunter (25, 27; 27, 3.5) and Jacob is a plain man dwelling in tents (25, 27; 27, 9.43.45). 25, 21.34, therefore, belongs to source A.

CHAPTER XXIX-XXXIII6

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Jacob's stay with Laban and his flight back into Canaan are carefully recorded in these chapters. The account cannot belong to C according to which Jacob betook himself into Paddan-Aram and not to Haran, although these two names undoubtedly refer to the same place. The question is, therefore, whether these chapters are homogeneous or not, and if so to what source do they belong. There are signs pointing out the mixing up of heterogeneous materials, but such evidence is very scanty

[•]Cfr. Chapman, 1.c. p. 101ff.

and its value difficult to assess. 'The separation of J and E is uncertain on account of parallelism of the two documents and the absence of material differences of representation to support or correct the literary analysis'⁷ writes Skinner in analysing Chapter 29. This statement may be applied with equal force to the rest of this question. Hence the only analysis that is being proposed is tentative, enjoying a certain probability with respect to its general outlines.

In 31, 11-13 a dream theophany is reported, referring to the vision and promise in 28, 18.20 'I am the God of Bethel, thou anointedst a pillar where thou vowdest a vow unto me: now arise, get thee out of this land and return unto the land of thy nativity'. This theophany carries with it all the section 31, 2-42; it is also linked with 28, 17-22 which in its turn seems to be one with its promise 10, of line A. It should be noted, however, that 28, 18 is probably a duplicate of 28, 16. In 12 Jacob saw in a dream the ladder reaching to heaven, and the 'angels of God ascending and descending on it', whereas in 13 Yahweh himself stood beside him. Moreover the contrast between Jacob's mental serenity in 28, 16 and his excitement in 28, 17 is noteworthy. Therefore 28, 17-22 do not seem to belong to A.

In 31, 5-13 Jacob insists on his fair dealings with Laban, who was in the habit of changing his wages at his whim whenever it suited him; but Jacob evaded the consequences by the disposition of providence. Jacob here is represented as the innocent, conscientious fellow, meekly obeying his master's orders; in chapter 30, on the other hand, he is the crafty man trying to circumvent the wily arrangements of the astute Laban. In 30 emphasis is laid on Jacob's trick, not on Divine Providence, and there is no reference to any change in wages.

The source of Chapter 30 may be extended back to 29; the connecting links are numerous. V. 30, 26b 'for thou knowest my service wherewith I have served thee' presupposes a former contract between Jacob and Laban. This agreement is reported in 29, 19. 20. 27, which form an integral part of 29, 15-30. This section is linked with 29, 1-14 and with 29, 31-30, 20. The arguments adduced in favour of the distinction between 29, 1-14. 31-35 on the one hand and 29, 15-30 on the other hand are not convincing. The links between 29, 15-20 and 1-14, are evident and those between 29, 15-20 and 29, 31-30, 25 are numerous: Jacob's preference for Rachel 29, 18a.30; Rachel's barenness 29, 31; 30; 1; 30, 22c; Leah's un-

⁷ J. Skinner, 1.c., p. 87.

attractiveness 29, 17a. 25. 30. 31. 32. 33; Leah's inability to bear children for some time 29, 35b; 30, 9; Reuben Leah's son 29; 32; 30, 14. Therefore the whole section 29, 1-30, 43 forms a unit, which belongs to tradition A, on account of the data 29, Iff. in strict harmony with those in 24. The literary form of this chapter and of 24 joins them in one tradition:

CHAPTER XXIV

CHAPTER XXIX

13b. I stand by the fountains of water and the daughters of the men of the city came out ot draw water.

15. Rebecca came out, who was born to Bethuel the son of Milch the wife of Nachor, Abraham's brother.

27.28. And he said blessed be Yahweh the God of my master Abraham, who had not taken away his mercy and his truth towards my master; as for me Yahweh hath lead me in the way to the house of my father's brother. And the damsel run and told her mother's house according to these words.

30. And it came to pass when he saw the ring and the bracelets and when he heard the words of Rebecca his sister...that he come unto the man.... There is no need of further evidence of the kind. 2. and behold a well in the field and lo three flocks of sheep lying there by it.

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9. Rachel came with her father's sheep.....

12. And Jacob told Rachel that he was her father's brother, and that he was Rebecca's son, and she ran and told her father.

13. And it came to pass when Laban heard the tidings of Jacob, his sister's son, that he ran to meet him and embrace him and kissed him and brought him to his house.

Chapter 31 is an introduction to and the beginning of the account of the return journey of Jacob into Canaan; hence it is but natural that the whole or at least the bulk of the narrative belongs to the same sources of 31. In fact up to 31, 42 there is no evidence for diversity of sources. The record of the pact between Jacob and Laban betrays however the

signs either of disarrangement of verses⁸ or of a later insertion;⁹ perhaps they represent two different traditions confusely amalgamated. These two lines of tradition seem to be characterised by 'Masseba-country' and 'heap-daughters' respectively. In 43.ff. Laban is more interested in his daughters and his property than in anything else: 'What can I do this day unto these my daughters?' v. 43; he strikes a bargain with his sonin-law, by which the latter bound himself not to marry another woman, thus the wealth which Jacob amassed in Mesopotamia would remain in the possession of his grandson v. 50; in memory of this covenant a heap was erected and the place was called Galaad v. 46. Note that in vv. 43-49 there is no reference to the arrangements between the two kinsmen. In v. 51ff. a new agreement with respect to the boundry line is introduced a 'masseba' and a heap mark off the frontier and the pact is guaranteed by an oath on the part of Jacob, who bound himself not to pass beyond the heap and the pillar for harm; the emphasis is laid on security. The proceedings are closed with a meal, which is twice reported vv. 46b.54, a confirmation of our view that the two stories are intertwined. The nonaggression pact is probably linked with the main story in 31, 1-42; the other one is drawn from the second source. The whole account is impregnated with the fear of Jacob's and Laban's grabbing, and it seems natural for the two kinsmen to seal off their last meeting with such an agreement. In confirmation of our results we may add here these chronological considerations. According to 31, 41 Jacob worked fourteen years to get his wives, and six years for Laban's flocks. These six years naturally began with Jacob's new arrangement related in 30, 27-33 which took place, according to 30, 25, after Joseph's birth. Therefore after fourteen years' stay in Mesopotamia Jacob begot twelve children. Now supposing that Jacob married Leah after seven years' service (29, 20, 21), it follows that Leah had seven children during the next seven years, This is not impossible; but it becomes impossible if we take from these seven years, the number of years, not less than two, druing which Leah bore no children 29, 35; 30, 9. Joseph must have been born during the six years and very probably shortly before their end. But in this case he was still a baby during Jacob's return journey, and could not therefore bow himself down to Esau (33,7), while supposing he was born

⁸ The LXX arrange vv. 44-54 in this order; 44.50b;45.46.48a:47.51.52a:48b.49. 50a.52b.53.54.

Volz-Rudolph, pp. 103-12, especially p. 112.

before the six years, he was grown up at that time. It appears therefore that there existed a double tradition, or better a double narrative of Jacob's stay with Laban, and the origin of his family: the one simply related his marriages and the birth of his children schematically and without any chronological preoccupation, the other, on the contrary, emphasising the duration of his service. These two narratives have been welded together in such an artistic way that it is impossible to define which parts or verses belonged to one and which to the other.¹⁰

Having settled accounts with his father-in-law, Jacob resumes his journey southwards and prepares to meet his brother Esau (32, 1-33, 19). In spite of its apparent unity there are in this narrative some inconsistencies pointing to amalgamation of sources. It is not clear whether Jacob sent one or two embassies to his brother (32, 3ff and 16ff); 33, 1, is very closely connected with its context. The chronological sequence of events is slightly confused: Jacob sends messengers to Esau, and they bring back the report, apparently on the same say, that Esau is advancing with four hundred men to meet him; he passed the night in the same place probably (v.13) beyond the Jordan. Early in the morning (v. 22), seemingly the same morning, he crossed the Jabboc and espied his brother coming to meet him. Again in 32,7 Jacob's people and cattle are divided into two groups; whereas in 32, 23 and 33, 1 there is no mention of such a division. There are also topographical difficulties: in 32, 3ff. and 33, 14 it appears that Jacob was journeying southwards in the neighbourhood of Esau's territory which stretched out of the Dead Sea; otherwise Jacob's fear would seem inexcusable nor would the messengers return so suddenly (32, 6). But Mahanaim, Jabboc, Penuel, Succoth are all situated on an area of a few square miles, about midway between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea and not far from Shechem, West of the Jordan. Finally in 32, 1-2, 22-32 there is no reference to Jacob's fears, while the whole story in 32, 3-21; 33, 1-16 is centered on Jacob's fear of his brother. Hence we believe that the bulk of the narrative consists of 32, 3-21; 33, 1-16. The other episodes are taken from other lines of tradition. As the main part of 32 and 33 is based on Jacob's fear it may be confidently linked with 27, 41-45, that is, with A.

We may conclude therefore that 29-33 is composed of two lines of traditions, which cannot be traced beyond their main outlines; one of them (29-30; 31-33) is linked with A; the other probably with B: the ¹⁰ Cfr. P. Heinisch, *Das Buch Genesis*, Pp. 311ff.

literary form of the theophanies resemble closely that of 22.

CHAPTER XXII

1..... That God did prove Abraham, and said unto him, Abraham, and he said, Here am I....

7. And the Angel of Yahweh called unto him out of heaven and said Abraham, Abraham and he said, Here am I....

CHAPTER XXXI

And the Angel of God said unto me in the dream, Jacob: and I said, Here am I.

Chapter 34 records the outrage of Dinah by Shechem, the subsequent negotiations with the sons of Jacob, who stipulated circumcision of all the Shechemites in return for their sister. This condition, however, was only a trap whereby the sons of Jacob would have a chance to avenge themselves of their sister's honour. In spite of views to the contrary the unity of the story is solid, it draws to a climax in 25 and ends in 31. But there is no sufficient evidence of its relation to any of the main threads of Genesis.

In Chapter 35 Jacob is called upon by God to go to Bethel and make an altar unto God who appeared 'unto thee, when thou fleddest from the face of Esau thy brother'. Besides this reference to the vision at Bethel there is another one to the teraphim of Rachel in 2b and 4. That this story in 35, 1-8, is distinct from the one in 35, 9-15 is clear from the duplicate 'Bethel', when the name was presupposed as imparted already. Hence this story is linked both with the account of Laban's pursuit of Jacob and Rachel's successful attempt to hide out the teraphim and with the vision at Bethel, two sections assigned to B. 35, 16-21 is one with vv. 1-8; it is its logical conclusion.

35, 22-29 is a duplicate of 29, 29-30, 20, where the birth of Jacob's children is fully described. The topographical names Paddan-Aram and Kiriath-arba link it with tradition C. Again 36, 6-8, in a duplicate of 33, 16-17 recording the separation between the two brothers. The whole account 35, 22-36, 30 is undoubtedly a unit, and it does not belong to the same sources as its parallels just noted.

The analysis of Genesis 11-35 is concluded. Through the subjectmatter criterion we traced three traditions in the account. We do not hold that sharp cut divisions have been brought to light; we have, C. SANT

however, outlined them sufficiently well to carry on with our investigation. This conspectus represents the results reached so far:

A	12-16 18-	19		24-25	26, 7-27, 45
В	15	20 21, 6-34,	22	26, 36	
С	17	21, 1-7	23		
A		28, 10-30, 43	32-33		
B		31	L	35, 16-22	

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